

ABSTRACT

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MUSIC LITERATURE DURING THE ALLIED
OCCUPATION OF JAPAN AND DEBATES ON
THE FUTURE OF JAPANESE MUSIC, 1945-
1949

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Research on how countries under military occupation developed their music range from studies of the American occupation of Germany to studies of the Allied Occupation of Japan. Even though studies on Japanese music under occupation mainly focused on how composers dictated this culture, Japanese scholars should also be considered because scholarly writings have historically influenced what styles and aesthetics the Japanese endorsed. This study examines music literature from the University of Maryland's Gordon W. Prange Collection. From 1945 to 1949, this literature is characterized by scholars studying the *hōgaku*, European, and American art music traditions. They also advocated that readers appreciate composers, pieces, styles, and genres from European art music, American art music, or *hōgaku* to establish a new music culture for Japan. However, these authors were divided on whether this music should only employ Western and Japanese styles or be a fusion of both. By examining this literature, this study offers an analysis of an under-researched perspective on music during Japan's occupation and provides a new musicological approach toward examining occupation cultures.

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ON THE FUTURE OF JAPANESE MUSIC, 1945-1949

By

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Notes

On transliteration:

Words in the text translated from Japanese are given in standard Hepburn Romanization. For many instances, I have included the *kanji* (漢字) characters at a word's first introduction. Japanese names are given in Japanese-style order, with the family name first and the given name second, both in the text and bibliography. Some common words, such as place names like Tokyo, are given without diacritical marks or italics.

On copyright:

Due to copyright restrictions on the materials in the Gordon W. Prange Collection, I have not been able to include images of all of the materials I would ideally show in this thesis. For those who want to see more, I urge readers to visit the collection.

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Chapter 1:

Introduction

On August 15, 1945, citizens from across Japan heard Emperor Hirohito announce their country's surrender to the Allied powers on the radio. The Japanese who remembered that day often referred to it as the moment they realized that the nation had indeed lost the war. These same citizens also regarded that moment and the ensuing occupation as a rebirth, as the country could chart a new course and pursue new ideals or defend old ones.¹ Historians studying the Allied Occupation of Japan agree that a division on how the country should move forward did occur based on the population's actions from 1945 to 1952. These scholars have identified three mindsets that the Japanese fostered during this period. Andrew Gordon argues that the first emerged amongst citizens struggling to find food and shelter, which caused them to slip into a state of "despair and passivity."² In the second, citizens were "resolved to defend the world they knew."³ Fukunaga Fumio defines the third as being "keenly aware of the need for some forms of dramatic change" and using the occupation's systems for the "construction of a new Japan."⁴ Scholars like Fumio and Gordon discovered these mindsets by examining themes found in Japanese writings published during the Allied Occupation.

One place where scholars analyzing Japanese culture during the Allied Occupation can access these writings is the Gordon W. Prange Collection at the University of Maryland. Prange

¹ Andrew Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present Fourth Edition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), 232.

² Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, 232.

³ Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, 232.

⁴ Fukunaga Fumio, *The Occupation of Japan 1945-1952: Tokyo, Washington, and Okinawa* (Tokyo: Japan Publishing Industry Foundation for Culture, 2021), 17.

was a professor of history at the University of Maryland who joined the United States Army in 1942; in 1946, General Douglas MacArthur made him chief of a 100-person historical staff. In 1949, after the Allied Occupation lifted censorship in Japan, Prange recognized the historical significance of the material that had been processed for censorship by the occupation government and arranged for its shipment to the University of Maryland. This collection houses almost all of the printed materials published across Japan from 1945 to 1949 reviewed by the Civil Censorship Detachment (CCD), a bureaucratic agency within the occupation government focused on censorship. The collection only contains items from those years the Allied Occupation ceased all censorship operations in 1949.⁵

This collection's printed materials include books, pamphlets, magazines, and newspapers. Also, the collection contains the original version of each—and post-review versions of writings as well as any literature that the occupation had banned. These items have been discussed in the scholarly literature about Japanese culture during the Allied Occupation, including Jonathan Abel's *Redacted: The Archives of Censorship in Transwar Japan* and Jay Rubin's "From Wholesomeness to Decadence."⁶ However, there is a lacuna in the English-language scholarship analyzing occupation-era Japanese writings about music, especially regarding items found in the Gordon W. Prange Collection. The few works of scholarship with this focus include Nathaniel Lyn Gailey-Schlitz's 2014 University of Maryland master's thesis and Misako Ohta and Carol J. Oja's chapter "U.S. Concert Music and Cultural Reorientation during the Occupation of Japan."⁷

⁵ "Postwar Japan," University of Maryland, accessed May 16, 2022, <https://www.lib.umd.edu/collections/special/japan>.

⁶ Jay Rubin, "From Wholesomeness to Decadence: The Censorship of Literature under the Allied Occupation," *The Journal of Japanese Studies* 11, no. 1 (1985): 71-103.

⁷ Misako Ohta, Carol J. Oja, "US Concert Music and Cultural Reorientation during the Occupation of Japan: A Bicultural Perspective," in *Sounding Together: Collaborative Perspectives on U.S. Music in the 21st Century*, ed. Carol J. Oja and Charles Garrett (Ann Arbor: University of Maryland, 2021), 51-81.

This observation does not mean that the Gordon W. Prange Collection has no occupation-era Japanese writings about music. On the contrary, there are 6000 items classified between Music Literature (ML), which includes 257 cataloged items, and Music Instruction & Study (MT), which includes 5,743 cataloged items. Music Literature refers to books and pamphlets in which the written content expounds upon the history or theory of music.⁸ Meanwhile, Music Instruction & Study are books and pamphlets where the written content provides instruction material for performing vocal or instrumental music.⁹ In this collection, the ML category consists of books and pamphlets discussing European classical music from the Baroque to Romantic eras, US classical music, and *hōgaku* (邦楽), which is a repertoire comprising of music created in Japan before 1868.

Meanwhile, the MT category consists of scores for *ryūkōka* (流行歌), popular music created by Japanese composers for commercial purposes, and *dōyō* (童謡) Japanese-composed vocal music for children.¹⁰ Gailey-Schlitz's thesis examines the lyrics of *ryūkōka* and *dōyō* scores to understand how the occupation reviewed popular music for censorship.¹¹ Meanwhile, Ohta and Oja examine the European and American art music that the occupation imported as part of its concert initiative. In both instances, the scholars do not focus on the viewpoints in the collection's music literature items. However, upon examining these writings, one finds how the

⁸ Mark McKnight, "An Introduction to Music Classification: Music Classification—History and Background Systems of Classification," in *Music Classification Systems* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2002), 7.

⁹ McKnight, "An Introduction to Music Classification: Music Classification—History and Background Systems of Classification," 7.

¹⁰ Hiromu Nagahara, *Tokyo Boogie-Woogie: Japan's Pop Era and Its Discontents* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017), 2; Nagahara, *Tokyo Boogie-Woogie*, 24.

¹¹ Nathaniel Lyn Gailey-Schlitz, "Publication and Censorship of Popular Song during the Allied Occupation of Japan, 1945-1949" (MA thesis, University of Maryland, 2014), 71.

second and third mindsets identified by Fumio and Gordon were present in Japan's music at the time since musicologists and music critics debated what Japan's music should be going forward.

This thesis offers specific and broader contributions to English-language scholarship about Japan during the Allied Occupation. On a micro level, this thesis expands the research that can be conducted at the Gordon W. Prange Collection since it examines music literature, a branch of the archive that has yet to be heavily studied. Meanwhile, the broader contribution is to add a new perspective to English-language scholarship about Japan's culture during the Allied Occupation: the analysis of Japanese musical literature from 1945 to 1949. In examining the Gordon W. Prange Collection's music literature, I argue that Japanese scholars and music critics from 1945 to 1949 desired to cultivate a new musical culture after the Allied Occupation ended so that Japan could again be seen as a nation. Despite this common goal, these academics were divided on how the country's musical culture should develop. This division centered around whether this new musical culture should only employ Western music styles or if it should fuse Western art music with Japanese music.

Literature Review and Significance

A review of the scholarly literature I consulted for this study will better explain the significance of my contributions. This thesis only engaged with English-language secondary scholarship. Adding Japanese voices to a dialogue about their music would be ideal, given more time and a larger project. Nonetheless, this review centers around themes, each with its own set of scholarly texts, on the nature of censorship, the United States' goals within occupied countries, and the nature of Japanese music.

The nature of censorship is a broad topic within scholarly research about occupied countries. The scholarship I consulted examined the nature of censorship within the Allied occupation of Japan to reveal the overall traits of censorship as an institution. The comparative literature scholars that have focused on this include Jonathan Abel and Etō Jun. Abel's book, *Redacted*, primarily focuses on what form of censorship the occupation government enacted toward Japanese literature on war and crime. Abel asserts that the institution of censorship creates canon, which he defines as ideals solidified when discourse occurs since its "patrolling of important ideas" decides which topics are made available.¹² Abel observes how the occupation government, known as the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP), had demilitarization goals, so the only works the SCAP allowed to be published were thematically anti-militaristic. Jun's study, *Closed Linguistic Spaces*, supports a similar idea but analyzes occupied government documents. Jun specifically examines documents issued by American officers within the CCD that expressed the desire for a censorship system to regulate ideas so Japanese discourse could expand much faster.¹³

Scholars of censorship are divided on employing a top-down or bottom-up focus examination, with both corresponding to a group of citizens in society. The top-down perspective deals with companies, the press, and political parties and their awareness that an institution of censorship is present. One study illustrating this is Fumio's *The Occupation of Japan 1945-1952: Tokyo, Washington, and Okinawa*. Fumio examines the occupation's political history via SCAP documents and uncovers its effects on policies and literature. By examining memos, Fumio learned that the SCAP desired to make Japan into a pacifist country. However, members of

¹² Jonathan E. Abel, *Redacted: The Archives of Censorship in Transwar Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 112.

¹³ Etō Jun, *Closed Linguistic Space: Censorship by the Occupation Forces and Postwar Japan* (Tokyo: Japan Publishing Industry Foundation for Culture, 2020), 191.

SCAP feared that if the Japanese population realized that a censorship system was in place, the items the SCAP allowed to be published, which corresponded to their goals for the country, would be ignored. Therefore, the SCAP advised publishing companies not to accept books with militaristic themes. Thus, the SCAP created the illusion that a censorship system did not occur since it seemed that the prohibition of literary works came from the Japanese.¹⁴ The top-down perspective allows scholars to see the goals of censorship institutions based on how the organization employing censorship institutions designed the system.

The bottom-up perspective deals with instances in which authors wrote about taboo topics that would warrant a censorship system and instances in which authors subverted the censorship system. Abel examines three trends he found from 1945 to 1949 in Japanese literature about war, crime, and sex. The first comprises of works whose phrasing of content indirectly comments on the SCAP's censorship via caricatures and stories of the writer's experiences. Abel refers to the first trend as explicit censorship or censorship action.¹⁵ The second is the presence of implicit censorship, otherwise known as self-censorship, which he defines as when writers have internalized the goals of the censorship system and write with them in mind. Abel believes this is present since similarly themed works sometimes did or did not receive explicit censorship. However, the non-explicitly censored works discussed taboo topics with vocabulary and adjectives that supported the sentiments the SCAP desired the Japanese to practice.¹⁶

The third trend, which Abel does not specifically name, is the existence of writings that went through the censorship system but do not contain signs of implicit or explicit censorship.

¹⁴ Fumio, *The Occupation of Japan 1945-1952*, 51.

¹⁵ Abel, *Redacted*, 67-86.

¹⁶ Abel, *Redacted*, 91-92.

According to Abel, this literature did not warrant explicit censorship or self-censorship because the views and topics discussed were apolitical.¹⁷ Thus, the bottom-up perspective allows scholars to see the goals of censorship systems while simultaneously uncovering the beliefs a society holds by examining what topics they wrote about and how the censorship system responded to them.

Despite the SCAP having its own goals for the censorship system, these objectives are based on the United States government's desires for the occupation. The main type of scholars researching this topic are historians who discovered the United States' agenda by analyzing plans for the occupation and directives that the U.S. government sent to the SCAP. Dayna L. Barnes's *Architects of Occupation: American Experts and Planning for Postwar Japan* examines the various plans for the occupation since 1942. According to Barnes, a group of Americans specializing in the study of Asian culture, which she calls "The Japan Crowd," dominated this planning. The group believed in "supporting preexisting liberal elements in post-war Japan" since militarists had usurped Japan's Western culture.¹⁸ Much of this group's sentiments came to fruition in the main document governing the SCAP, the "United States Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan," since it emphasized reigniting Western-based culture in Japan. Barnes argues that the United States had planned for the occupation to replace Japan's militaristic culture and make it more Western.

Andrew Gordon is another historian who uncovers the United States' goals for the occupation through its relationship with the SCAP. Gordon illustrates this in the thirteenth chapter of his book *A Modern History of Japan* by examining the orders that the United States

¹⁷ Abel, *Redacted*, 264.

¹⁸ Dayna L. Barnes, *Architects of Occupation: American Experts and the Planning for Postwar Japan* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2017), 41.

government issued to the SCAP. Then Gordon looks at what policies the SCAP enacted not long after receiving these orders and analyzes whether the SCAP followed the U.S.'s goals. Through this procedure, Gordon argues that the “American strategy in Japan was encapsulated in two words: demilitarize and democratize.”¹⁹ Gordon proves the SCAP followed through on the demilitarization goal due to the plethora of laws disbanding the military and preventing it from re-emerging, with Article 9 of Japan’s constitution revoking the country’s right to war. The SCAP conducted democratization, or Westernization, by reforming Japanese education to instill Western values. However, like Barnes, Gordon is vague on what aspects of Western culture the United States or SCAP desired the Japanese to adopt—an area that my thesis will expand upon by examining music.

Finally, I surveyed scholarship examining the development of Japanese music by musicologists and ethnomusicologists. These scholars aim to understand how the Japanese define its two musical traditions, *hōgaku* and *yōgaku* (よがく). In her analysis of Western art music’s influence on Japan, Judith Ann Herd defines *yōgaku* as “a term which embraces Western-style music of both Japanese and Western origin.”²⁰ Bonnie C. Wade asserts that *yōgaku* is “the melding of Japanese content and Western techniques” and is regarded as Japan’s “modern, hybrid Asian culture.”²¹ In other words, *yōgaku* is a hybridization of Western music styles, especially from the Baroque to Romantic period, with similar styles in Japan.

¹⁹ Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, 235.

²⁰ Judith Ann Herd, “Western-Influenced ‘Classical’ Music in Japan,” in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Japanese Music*, ed Alison McQueen Tokita and David W. Hughes (Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), 363.

²¹ Bonnie C. Wade, *Composing Japanese Musical Modernity* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press), 103.

Meanwhile, scholars such as Jennifer Milioto Matsue defined *hōgaku* as music created in Japan before 1868 and often tied to class structures.²² This tradition consists of works for individual instruments like the *koto* (琴) and *shamisen* (三味線), instrumental ensembles like the percussion groups of *Gagaku* (雅楽), and theater such as *Noh* (能) or *kabuki* (歌舞伎). However, Shigo Kishibe points out in his studies that, despite being in different mediums, these works focus on “the refinement of free rhythm” through “non-harmonized” music dealing with nature.²³ In this project, I will be looking at Japanese musicologists’ and music critics’ writings on both traditions from 1945-1949.

Scholars who examine how the Japanese defined *yōgaku* and *hōgaku* also focus on understanding why composers desired to write pieces within these traditions. The study that best illustrates this is Luciana Galliano’s examination of *yōgaku*. According to Galliano, the first discussions on *yōgaku* began in 1868 under the Meiji regime, when the canonization of Western art music in Japanese schools was part of an effort to modernize Japan, which continued until 1945.²⁴ As a result, Japanese composers from 1868 to 1945 perceived *yōgaku* as “an integral part of Japanese culture,” and composers regarded Western art and traditional Japanese styles as “viable sources for the creation of new music.”²⁵ Galliano also believed that this sentiment towards Western art music provided new forms of creation that continued into the occupation period. Meanwhile, the study that best illustrates this for *hōgaku* is Jennifer Milioto Matsue’s book *Focus: Music in Contemporary Japan*. Despite mainly discussing *yōgaku*, Matsue does

²² Jennifer Milioto Matsue, *Focus: Music in Contemporary Japan* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 24.

²³ Hugu de Ferranti, Shigeo Kishibe, David W. Hughes, W. Adriaansz, Robin Thompson, Charles Rowe, Donald P. Berger, W. Malm, W.P. Malm, David Waterhouse, Allan Marett, Richard Emmert, Fumio Koizumi, Kazuyuki Tanimoto, Masakata, Kanazawa, Linda Fujie, and Elizabeth Falconer, “Japan,” *Grove Music Online*, (2001): accessed 15, July 2022.

²⁴ Luciana Galliano, *Yōgaku: Japanese Music in the Twentieth Century* (Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, 2002), 97.

²⁵ Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 97.

examine how *hōgaku* is still practiced through “cultural homogenization” since “the Japanese identification of people through songs is very strong.”²⁶

Major themes from scholarly literature with which my thesis will engage include analyzing censorship systems, the development of *yōgaku* and *hōgaku*, and the United States’s goals for the occupation. My project examines literature by Japanese musicologists and music critics during the Allied occupation. This examination reveals how these writers followed the Westernization goals of the occupation and if Japanese authors tweaked their arguments due to explicit or implicit censorship.

English-language scholarship has yet to focus on censorship in academic writings by the Japanese on music. This perspective is ripe for research since musical works, both in terms of scores and books, not only went through the censorship system but also dealt with topics that Abel discusses, like war or sex, and one can thus assume that the occupation also decided what concepts can be discussed in music. Gailey-Schlitz’s 2014 master’s thesis showed that this research is possible since he uncovered how occupation removed lyrics in popular songs that glorified warriors because they fostered “military and violence.”²⁷ However, Gailey-Schlitz focuses on songs rather than books and pamphlets written by Japanese musicologists and music critics; my study will address this gap.

A second theme that has received little attention is the ideas of Japanese music critics and musicologists concerning what constituted *yōgaku* and *hōgaku* in this period. Galliano and Matsue instead focus on analyzing the pieces and personal writings of Japanese composers or performers who were actively writing and performing the music for this tradition. However, as

²⁶ Matsue, *Focus*, 29.

²⁷ Gailey-Schlitz, “Publication and Censorship of Popular Song during the Allied Occupation of Japan, 1945-1949,” 71.

Galliano notes in her research, the Japanese “began to preserve Western music” and *hōgaku* as “integral parts of Japanese culture” due to scholars suggesting hybridization approaches.²⁸ By focusing on Japanese musical literature, this thesis will contribute to broader scholarship on Japanese culture during the occupation.

Methodology

My thesis examines books and pamphlets specifically focused on *hōgaku*, *yōgaku*, and Western art music, by Japanese musicologists and music critics within the Gordon W. Prange Collection. I gathered the relevant publications by referencing metadata of the collection’s music sources that director Kana Jenkins provided me. Then I took pictures of each item’s table of contents and translated them to see if I should analyze the source in its entirety or at least a chapter. I then translated chapters and sections by referencing Japanese dictionaries, online *hiranga* (ひらがな) and *katakana* (カタカナ) drawing programs, and assistance from Dr. Louisa Rubinfiem. The sources this thesis examines comprise pamphlets (classified as 8-100 pages) and books (anything longer than 100 pages) that the collection categorized as Music Literature (ML). Following some surface-level analysis, I noticed that these items had different schools of thought regarding how the Japanese should compose or listen to Western or *hōgaku*. As a result of this analysis, I generated two research questions and a corresponding methodology designed to answer each one.

The first research question is: what composers, pieces, styles, and genres of European art music, North American art music, and *hōgaku* were promoted by Japanese scholars? I attempted

²⁸ Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 91.

to answer this by examining each work's argument concerning what composers, pieces, styles, and genres they referenced as examples. Since these publications occurred during an occupation, the decision to use particular examples may have been influenced by censorship. Abel's research emphasizes this by noting that Japanese authors took two routes after receiving explicit censorship, characterized by the SCAP issuing various x and o on items. Some avoided specific topics or terms or used *Fuseji* (伏字) or hidden words to insinuate other meanings.²⁹

In my research, I looked at what Japanese scholars wrote, taking note of what European art music, American art music, or *hōgaku* composers, pieces, styles, and genres appeared as examples of the author's argument. I then examined the comments made by the SCAP that advocated for the deletion or suppression of that item based on its content, especially if it related to music that the author mentions. I then compared them to the rules set out by the SCAP's 1945 Press Code, the governing censorship document for the occupation. By doing this, I illustrate how strictly the SCAP followed these rules and identify potential examples of implicit censorship by scholars who phrased topics that might be controversial. Congruently, I identify what elements of European art music, American art music, or *hōgaku* the scholarship advocated for and if those topics followed the SCAP's westernization goals.

My second research question is: why did Japanese musicologists and music critics emphasize specific composers, styles, pieces, and genres? In the next step of my analysis, I examined how authors justified using specific examples and what they hoped the reader would get out of their writing. Then I compared that publication to similarly themed ones to see if Japanese musicologists and music critics had a consensus on certain European art music,

²⁹ Abel, *Redacted*, 3.

American art music, or *hōgaku*. Furthermore, the occupation's goals could make the censors stricter on specific topics than others. Abel's research notes that the SCAP did not explicitly censor discussions that glorified demilitarization and Western culture, while discussions about opposing themes did.³⁰ The SCAP desired for the Japanese to discuss Western culture and demilitarization since it would accelerate Japan's adoption of those ideas. I thus analyzed the arguments of each writing and compared them to other pamphlets or books discussing a similar topic. Finally, I tracked whether the initial themes of these writings changed throughout the occupation. By following this methodology, I identified the different aspects of Western and *hōgaku* music these scholars favored and why Japanese composers and listeners might endorse those aspects.

Thesis Structure

My thesis unfolds through six chapters, beginning with this introduction. Chapter Two traces the development of *yōgaku* and *hōgaku* in Japanese society from the Meiji Restoration of 1868 to the end of Japan's involvement in World War Two in 1945, examining how *yōgaku* became established in Japan and *hōgaku*'s fluctuating status as a living practice. Chapter Three examines explicit censorship toward Japanese scholarship on Western art music and *hōgaku*, revealing that music literature did not receive significant explicit and implicit censorship by the SCAP. Chapter Four examines how Japanese scholars during the occupation glorified figures, genres, and pieces in Western art music through their various music appreciation approaches. Chapter Five analyzes how certain Japanese musicologists and music critics advocated for *hōgaku*'s relevancy after the

³⁰ Abel, *Redacted*, 91.

occupation while sometimes also advocating for *yōgaku* to preserve Japanese musical traditions through fusion. This defense arose in response to Japanese citizens and composers dismissing *hōgaku* due to its supposed lack of artistic quality and its use under the military regime. In the final chapter, I present my conclusions and suggestions on how scholarships for post-defeat countries can be conducted.

Chapter 2:

A History of *Yōgaku* and *Hōgaku*

Japanese theories on *yōgaku* and *hōgaku* did not first appear during the Allied Occupation of Japan but instead date back to the Meiji Restoration.³¹ According to scholars, the Japanese generally defined *yōgaku* as a fusion of Japanese music styles with Western styles, while *hōgaku* refers to any Japanese musical genre that emerged before 1868. However, the importance of *hōgaku* as a living tradition and what form this fusion took varied throughout Japan's changing socio-political history.

What is *Yōgaku* and *Hōgaku*?

In surveying English-language scholarship, I have identified three forms of *yōgaku*. The first form has the Japanese creating works that only employ European and North American art music styles but are considered Japanese due to indigenization. When analyzing pieces from famous *yōgaku* composers like Moro Saburō, Jennifer Matsue encountered this form. Matsue noticed how despite the “orchestral works being written by Japanese composers trained in Western music” many Japanese orchestras consider this music Japanese.³² Matsue argues that the Japanese believe this since, in their culture, if “something is perceived as representing an ideal Japanese cultural identity, it must be grounded in long-standing local practices.”³³ Matsue noticed that *yōgaku* is grounded in historical practice because, during the Meiji regime, many

³¹ Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 97.

³² Matsue, *Focus*, 24.

³³ Matsue, *Focus*, 37.

European-educated composers wrote pieces that corresponded to Western art music and styles. Regarding Kosuke Komatsu's 1906 *Hagoromo* (羽衣) or *The Cloak of Feathers*, Matsue observes that, despite this work being composed in the style of a one-act opera, it is still considered part of Japan's repertoire due to its continued performance.³⁴

The second form of *yōgaku* I identified comprises of pieces couched in Western art music genres that employ traditional Japanese and Western art music styles. However, these two cultures' musical traits are individually used in specific segments of the piece. Luciana Galliano encountered this form when examining published writings by famous Japanese composers that described the ideals of Japanese music. Moro Saburō's 1930s articles in *Ongaku hyōron*, Galliano writes, claimed that the Japanese had mastered the "sensual and expressive values of the nineteenth-century European music" but lost the "mediative values" of Japanese music.³⁵ Saburō suggested that composers can retain these values within Western art music genres by having moments emphasize Japanese "timbre and rhythmic effects."³⁶

The third form of *yōgaku* that I encountered in this scholarship fuses Western art music styles and techniques with similar ones found in traditional Japanese music. For example, Matsue noticed that, in music journal articles in the late Meiji era, Japanese composers believed that Western art music and Japanese musical styles "could be theoretically fused in a blended synthesis."³⁷ Matsue refers to this fusion as hybridization, which she defines as "something new that emerges from the joining of elements brought together from all over the place."³⁸ Galliano

³⁴ Matsue, *Focus*, 37.

³⁵ Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 99.

³⁶ Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 116.

³⁷ Matsue, *Focus*, 44.

³⁸ Matsue, *Focus*, 44.

encountered a similar sentiment in post-1945 music journal articles by Japanese composers, seeing musicians advocate for fusing Japanese and Western “form, development, and structure” to create a sound that could distinguish Japan from other countries.³⁹

Meanwhile, *hōgaku*, according to Matsue, was not regarded by the Japanese “as traditional nor representing a unified national identity” until Western imperialism “concomitantly imported ideologies of nationhood.”⁴⁰ In light of this, the Meiji regime coined the term *hōgaku* to refer to any music regarded as the country’s national tradition before 1868 that was created to entertain Japanese audiences.⁴¹ According to Matsue, the genres that entertained the nobility were *Gagaku* and *Noh*. Matsue also notes that the nobility had a host of instrumental music for the *koto*, *shamisen*, and *shakuhachi*. The theatrical genres of *Bunraku* and *Kabuki* are also part of the *hōgaku* tradition, but they differ from *Noh* since their intended audience was the working class.⁴² The second form of *yōgaku* I identified comprises of pieces couched in Western art music genres but employ traditional Japanese and Western art music styles.⁴³

Yōgaku and Hōgaku in the Meiji Regime

The Meiji regime, which lasted from 1868 to 1912, saw a reconstruction of Japan’s government, military, and economy to combat imperialism. This reconstruction, often referred to as the Meiji Restoration, centered on making Japan a modern nation with an “economy organized according

³⁹ Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 116.

⁴⁰ Matsue, *Focus*, 24.

⁴¹ Gerald Groemer, “The Rise of ‘Japanese Music,’” *The World of Music* 46, no. 2 (2004): 18.

⁴² Matsue, *Focus*, 24.

⁴³ Kishibe Shigeo, *The Traditional Music of Japan* (Ongaku No Tomo Sha: Tokyo, 1984), 14.

to capitalist principles” and a “political system organized around a central nation-state supported by popular nationalism.”⁴⁴ However, the Meiji’s view of modernity matched Western European society, Hence, the reconstruction is a form of westernization.⁴⁵ The Meiji westernized the government by establishing a representative administration, industrializing the economy, and adopting European military structures.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, Meiji officials believed that Japan did not have a modern culture and, in response, revamped the education system’s structure and curriculum after Western-European schools. According to Gordon, Meiji officials believed this modernized Japan since they believed that mass schooling “was a fundamental source of the economic and military power of the West since it taught students their culture, thereby making them modern.”⁴⁷ The 1872 Fundamental Code of Education institutionalized mass schooling and required courses to develop modern citizens by teaching Japanese social values and aspects of Western culture.⁴⁸ It is in this new education system that *yōgaku* and its first form emerged.

The basic concepts of *yōgaku* were first developed in these schools. The Meiji hoped mass education would produce modern citizens, moral Japanese who were well-versed in western culture yet retained patriotic sentiments.⁴⁹ Thus, when the Meiji integrated music history and performance courses into schools in 1889, the regime also required these classes to produce modern citizens.⁵⁰ However, because the Meiji viewed Japanese culture “as something antiquated and inferior,” Meiji education officials designed these courses to primarily focus on

⁴⁴ Matsue, *Focus*, 41.

⁴⁵ Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, 67.

⁴⁶ Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, 67.

⁴⁷ Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, 67.

⁴⁸ David G. Hebert, “Where Are These Bands From? - An Historical Overview,” in *Wind Bands and Cultural Identity in Japanese Schools*, (London: Springer, 2012), 31.

⁴⁹ Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, 67.

⁵⁰ Wade, *Composing Japanese Musical Modernity*, 179.

Western European music.⁵¹ Shuji Isawa, who established the first music education courses, illustrates this by writing in 1884 that Japanese music “did not advance moral or physical culture” and, because of that, “it is against the progress of the education of society.”⁵² According to Galliano, education officials designed music performance courses to focus on Western art music because it made students “perceive Western music as being an integral part of Japanese culture.”⁵³ Thus, the Meiji’s education system fostered the beginnings of the *yōgaku* tradition.

Hōgaku also emerged as a tradition during the Meiji regime. As discussed earlier, Matsue argues that the concept of a national music tradition did not emerge in Japan until Western imperialism “concomitantly imported ideologies of nationhood.”⁵⁴ Having a “unified national identity” around a set of practices, the Meiji regime believed, would make Japan modern because Westerners defined a country as a nation through its centuries-long customs.⁵⁵ Thus, the Meiji recognized genres such as *Noh* and instruments like the *koto* as embodying Japan’s national music because they had been created by the Japanese themselves and were “grounded in long-standing local practices.”⁵⁶ However, since the Meiji also viewed anything Japanese “as something antiquated and inferior,” it caused the *hōgaku* tradition to “not be seen as relevant to schoolchildren’s education—as central to shaping new modern citizens.”⁵⁷ Therefore, during the Meiji regime, the Japanese recognized the genres and instruments of *hōgaku* as the country’s national music but did not encourage the practice or teaching of this tradition.

⁵¹ Matsue, *Focus*, 45.

⁵² Hebert, “Where Are These Bands From?” 31.

⁵³ Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 91.

⁵⁴ Matsue, *Focus*, 24.

⁵⁵ Matsue, *Focus*, 24.

⁵⁶ Matsue, *Focus*, 37.

⁵⁷ Matsue, *Focus*, 45.

Yōgaku and Hōgaku from 1912 to 1935

The years 1912 to 1935 saw a series of advancements and disasters, including the 1920s economic depression and an earthquake in 1923, that influenced the socio-political concerns of Japan. Calamities made the Japanese population increasingly frustrated with the government and instigated feelings of nationalism.⁵⁸ Meanwhile, this period's main achievement was the increase in Japan's global stature from fighting alongside the Allies in World War One. This status became solidified when Japan became a founding member of the League of Nations.⁵⁹ As a result of this newfound status, a sense of cultural awareness emerged amongst Japan's new middle class. Since this class had greater economic freedom, it allowed them to be exposed to high art forms, such as orchestra concerts, in Japan. This exposure caused members of this class to wonder "what values are especially inherent in Japanese culture" since many of these events seemed Western.⁶⁰ In this environment of reflecting on what made something Japanese, *yōgaku* further developed, and *hōgaku*'s role changed.

According to Wade, this period's attitudes on how to compose *yōgaku*-style works appeared in music journals, in which Japanese composers gave theories on the Japanese quality of melodies, harmonies, forms, and structures.⁶¹ This discourse is historically referred to in Japan as *Nihonjinron* (日本人論), or discussions on being Japanese. For example, according to Galliano, the journal *Ongaku no Tomo*, (音楽の友) or *Friends of Music*, had articles that

⁵⁸ Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, 146-147.

⁵⁹ Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, 178.

⁶⁰ Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 99.

⁶¹ Wade, *Composing Japanese Musical Modernity*, 102-103.

examined the aesthetics of Japanese and European music.⁶² In 1905, Tsutsumi Masao, in the journal *Ongakukai* (音楽評論), or *World of Music*, argued that Japanese composers need “to feature in equal measure Western art music and traditional Japanese music.”⁶³ In 1935, Saburō expanded upon this in the journal *Ongaku hyōron* (音楽評論), or *Music Criticism*, by asserting that Japanese-composed pieces needed to incorporate European melodies and harmonies but keep traditional Japanese rhythm and timbre.⁶⁴ Based on these statements, it seems that *hōgaku* was considered the country’s national music. However, since these composers advocated for Western art music, it shows that the Japanese did not desire to practice this tradition in its entirety. Instead, *hōgaku* should only be used to maintain a connection to Japanese musical aspects.

Similarly, as discussed by Galliano, in a 1905 issue of *Friends of Music*, Masao wrote that pieces using Western art music and traditional Japanese music styles must “not treat them separately, but to consider both impartially as viable sources for the creation of new music.”⁶⁵ Galliano also notes that Saburō expanded upon this in a 1937 issue of *Music Criticism* by asserting that Japanese *yōgaku* pieces should fuse Western art music and traditional Japanese form, development, and structure since they are “fundamental concepts” in both cultures.⁶⁶ Thus, Japanese music journals show that composers during this period considered *yōgaku* a means to distinguish Japan’s music from the world. All the while, *hōgaku* was still considered Japan’s

⁶² Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 96.

⁶³ Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 97.

⁶⁴ Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 99.

⁶⁵ Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 97.

⁶⁶ Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 115.

national music, but to maintain a connection with Japanese music aesthetics or to create new sounds.

Yōgaku and Hōgaku under Militarism

Despite the previous era's advances, rising nationalist sentiment finally overtook the country by the mid-1930s. Japanese generals and militaristic bureaucrats propagated the idea that Japan's ability to handle economic and environmental issues failed since Japan's culture had become too Western. These figures advocated for a return to Japanese-centered values, especially loyalty, and culture, to counteract these crises.⁶⁷ These officials also entwined this nationalism with a form of militarism that held that Japan needed to pursue a war in Asia to remove Western imperialism. However, this war could only achieve victory if the general Japanese population followed Japanese values and fully supported the military.⁶⁸ These nationalists established a military government in 1935 and fostered a nationalistic militaristic culture by demonizing Western culture, including censorship designed to control the population's mindset, which consequently affected *yōgaku* and *hōgaku*'s trajectory.

Composers who specialized in certain *yōgaku* forms were thus blacklisted.⁶⁹ The Association for Japanese Musical Culture, a music-focused bureaucratic organization for the military government, served as the only group that could hire composers and reviewed all commissioned works to see if they fused Japanese styles or only used Western ones. If the association found a work that did this, the association revoked that composer's license. For

⁶⁷ Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, 188.

⁶⁸ Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, 215.

⁶⁹ Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, 215.

example, composers like Matsudaira Yoritsune, who composed pieces in *yōgaku*'s first form, did not receive work.⁷⁰ Meanwhile, as outlined by Galliano, composers with pieces that separated Western art music and traditional Japanese music styles and “displayed the morale of the army” received commissions.⁷¹ For example, since Ifukube composed pieces within *yōgaku*'s second form, he received numerous commissions from the military.⁷²

In this period, *yōgaku*'s second form exemplified the military regime's cultural goals and illustrated a change in *hōgaku*'s status in Japan's cultural goals. According to Galliano, since the military regime valued Japanese traditions, it needed music that “took the glamorous, bombastic aspects of European orchestra spiced up with Japanese folk music.”⁷³ Wade believes the regime desired this type of music because the orchestra's size physically showed Japan's power and that it allowed pieces with sections that only used Japanese music styles to appear grand, thereby glorifying Japanese traditions.⁷⁴ The military regime seemed to view *hōgaku* as the primary indicator of Japan's national culture and proof of its superiority. For example, as outlined in Herd's research, Kiyoshi Nobutoki's 1937 *Kaidōtōsei* (海道東星), or *Along the Coast, Conquer the East*, is classified as a cantata. However, it has movements in which *Gagaku* melodies and instruments are the driving force.⁷⁵ This period's form of *yōgaku* glorified Japanese culture to increase *hōgaku*'s status as a nationalistic tradition.

⁷⁰ Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 114.

⁷¹ Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, 120.

⁷² Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 114.

⁷³ Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 114.

⁷⁴ Wade, *Composing Japanese Musical Modernity*, 103.

⁷⁵ Herd, “Western-Influenced ‘Classical’ Music in Japan,” 371.

Conclusion

Across the centuries, the Japanese have constantly debated on what defines *yōgaku* and *hōgaku*. However, what defined both traditions wavered based on what the country needed its culture to be at the time. Based on my examination of English-language scholarship on both traditions, *yōgaku* seems to have alternated between three forms across the country's history. The prevailing form of *yōgaku* in Japan at any given time varied based on whether the country needed to be seen as modern, culturally distinct, or culturally superior. Meanwhile, English language scholarship has shown that *hōgaku* was regarded as Japan's national music, but the country's support of the tradition varied. Often, Japanese society viewed *hōgaku* simply as an indicator of sonic Japaneseness, while other periods regarded the tradition as proof of Japan's superiority. Both *hōgaku* and *yōgaku*'s cultural purpose in Japan changed based on what would best support the country's socio-political goal, which continued during the occupation period.

Chapter 3:

Allied Occupation Censors and Music Literature

All the printed items found within the Gordon W. Prange Collection went through the Allied Occupation's censorship system since the collection houses both the original and altered versions of its objects. The Civil Censorship Detachment (CCD) created altered versions by prohibiting the original object's publication or removing sections, phrases, and sentences that could negate the Allied Occupation's goals. The collection's music literature also went through the CCD's censorship system, though every music publication received banishment or redaction. The meaning behind why some music items evaded this fate reveal the Allied Occupation's goals and what characterized the discourse on music at this time. We see this from 1945 to 1949 with how the occupation explicitly censored music literature for its potential to inspire resentment directly or indirectly toward the occupation or reveal policies that the SCAP did not want the Japanese public to know about the system. However, some music literature, both *hōgaku* and Western-focused, avoided censorship by indicating support for the occupation's policies while using this support as the launchpad for the authors' goals of establishing a new music culture in Japan.

Overview of the Censorship Process

In order to understand the significance behind the data that this chapter analyzes, it is necessary to provide an outline of how the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP) organized its censorship system. The SCAP had several departments, known as sections, that served a single administrative function. These sections conducted administration through the help of

detachments which also relied on smaller groups known as divisions. The Civil Intelligence Section (CIS) oversaw all matters of censorship, while the Civil Censorship Detachment (CCD) reviewed anything produced in Japan.⁷⁶ According to Etō Jun, most of the personnel conducting this censorship were Japanese citizens who, despite working in an institution that regulated Japanese thought, did not publicly object to its purpose and instead viewed employment as a financial opportunity.⁷⁷ In addition to Japanese citizens, which the SCAP hired since they could read Japanese, the CCD's personnel also included Japanese-Americans who translated problematic writings into English so American officers, who were mainly white, could review them.⁷⁸ The CCD conducted these reviews through two separate divisions based on the type of media they covered. Those divisions were the Communications and Press (CP), which examined radio shows, and Postal, Pictorial, and Broadcast (PPB), which reviewed publications ranging from books to leaflets.⁷⁹ The Gordon W. Prange Collection's *yōgaku* and Western music publications went through the PPB for censorship since many of the books, like *Daisakkyokuka monogatari*, contained stamps stating "Book Dept File Copy" [Figure 1].⁸⁰ Despite reviewing different materials, the CP and PPB examined publications in terms of what part of an item's content warranted it being explicitly censored based on one guiding document.

⁷⁶ Abel, *Redacted*, 38-40.

⁷⁷ Jun, *Closed Linguistic Space*, 145.

⁷⁸ Jun, *Closed Linguistic Space*, 145.

⁷⁹ Abel, *Redacted*, 38-40.

⁸⁰ Motoo Ōtaguro, *Daisakkyokuka monogatari*, ML-0001 Gordon W. Prange Collection, University Archives, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, MD.

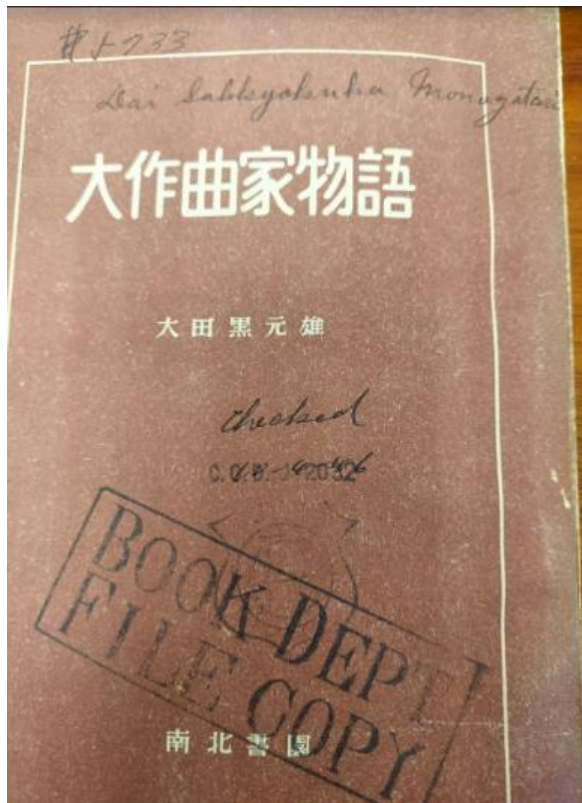


Figure 1: *Daisakkyokuka monogatari*, Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

That document is the SCAPIN-33 or “Press Code for Japan,” which the SCAP released on September 19, 1945 [Figure 2]. This document targeted news outlets since the occupation’s organizers believed journalism strongly influenced the values and mindsets of citizens.⁸¹ The document considers this by outlining which topics news outlets, ranging from the radio to newspapers, must be avoided to instill democratic and non-militaristic ideals into the Japanese population.⁸² As the occupation continued, this code’s guidelines soon extended into all publications.⁸³ The ten codes encompassed two overall topics. First, one could not criticize the Allied powers or occupation policies. Code Three indicates this by stating “there shall be no false

⁸¹ Abel, *Redacted*, 157.

⁸² Abel, *Redacted*, 157.

⁸³ Abel, *Redacted*, 157.

or destructive criticism of the allied powers,” and Code Four affirms that “there shall be no destructive criticism of the Allied Occupation.”⁸⁴ It should be noted that these occupation policies also referred to ones that the SCAP kept secret from the public.

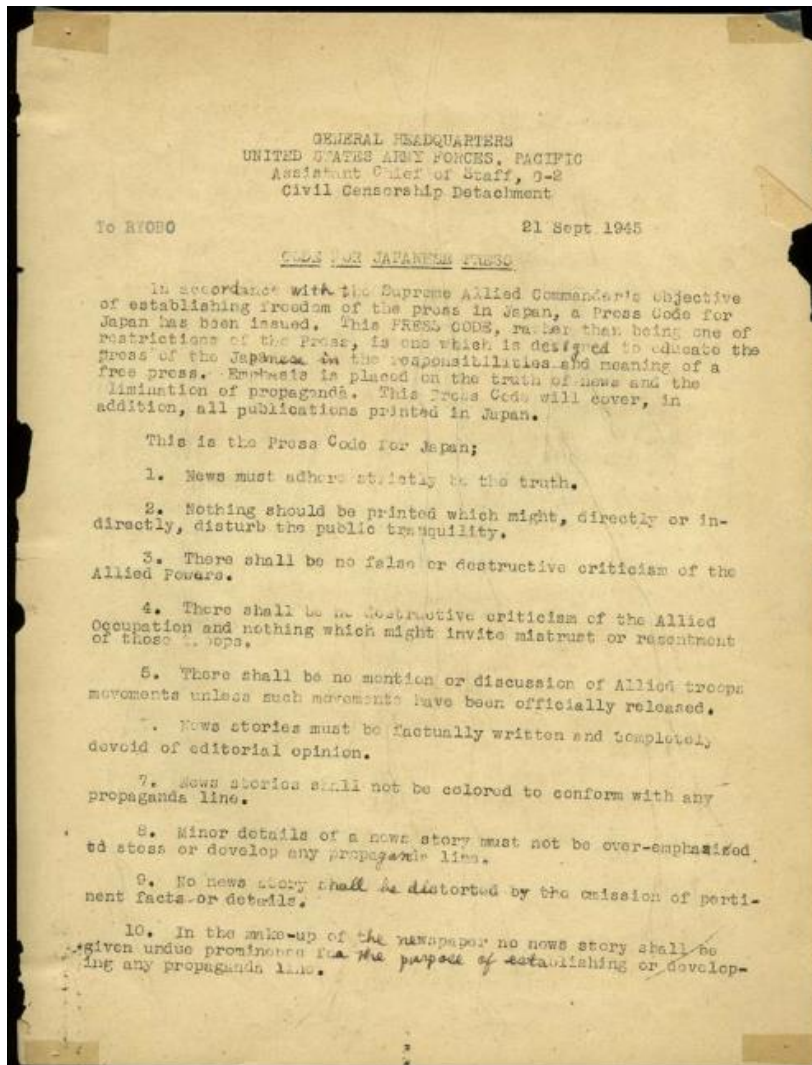


Figure 2: Press code for Japan. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

The second topic prohibited the discussion of militaristic and nationalistic ideas. The document’s opening paragraph first indicates this with statements like “designed to educate the press of the Japanese in the responsibilities and meanings of a free press” and “emphasis is

⁸⁴ Press Code for Japan, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University Archives, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, MD.

placed on...the elimination of propaganda.”⁸⁵ However, the occupation government’s ability to control this topic expanded in Code Two, which states “nothing should be printed which might directly or indirectly disturb the public tranquility.”⁸⁶ Not designating what constituted disrupting public tranquility allowed the PPB to continuously expand its view of what ideas were militaristic or nationalistic, based on the contents of each item they reviewed. Code Two further states that the occupation government considered indirect disruptions harmful. As a result, authors of any publication could receive explicit censorship even if they did not intend to have militaristic or nationalistic ideas.

The PPB reviewed publications through a two-part process. First, Japanese publishers sent to the PPB two copies of the item’s gallery proofs and a card stating the author, publisher, publishing location, house, circulation, price, and date.⁸⁷ Once submitted, the PPB personnel reviewed one of the proofs for violating the codes. If a violation occurred, that proof would receive marks detailing how the publisher could make the item more acceptable to the occupation’s censorship guidelines.⁸⁸ In light of this, it must be said that all publications made during the occupation received censorship, which means being submitted to and reviewed by the PPB. However, plenty of publications during this period received marks while others did not. Thus, to differentiate the publications that received marks from those that did not, I will describe items that went through the SCAP’s censorship system that received marks as explicit censorship.

⁸⁵ Press Code for Japan, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University Archives, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, MD.

⁸⁶ Press Code for Japan, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University Archives, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, MD.

⁸⁷ Abel, *Redacted*, 4.

⁸⁸ Abel, *Redacted*, 4.

The second part of this procedure had a PPB representative review the item's problematic areas with its publisher. If the desired changes were made, then the item could be published. According to Jonathan Abel, the PPB kept the reviewed gallery proof, or in some instances just the segments that received censorship action, since it could act as a reference for similar texts and be used to see if the content "had already been banned in a different form."⁸⁹ However, if the publisher refused to make the changes or the attempts at meeting the PPB's demands fell short, the item would be banned.⁹⁰ Both parts of this procedure remained unchanged until 1947 when CIS switched all its divisions and detachments to a post-publication system. This post-publication system is characterized by publishers providing two gallery-proof copies of an item only after publication. The PPB would still review it for code violations, and if any appeared, the item would cease printing until the publisher made the necessary corrections.⁹¹ According to Jun, the CIS switched to this system since officers believed the older procedure took too long and possibly indicated to the larger public that censorship was occurring.⁹² Nevertheless, the PPB still used the same censorship actions in both systems.

Two kinds of explicit censorship occurred during the first part of the PPB's censorship procedure. Deletion and banishment, but since none of the music literature sources received banishment, it will not be discussed in this overview. The deletion was characterized by the PPB desiring certain words, phrases, or sections to be removed from the item because they either directly or indirectly encouraged militarism and nationalism or commented on the occupation in

⁸⁹ Abel, *Redacted*, 25.

⁹⁰ Jun, *Closed Linguistic Space*, 144.

⁹¹ Jun, *Closed Linguistic Space*, 191.

⁹² Jun, *Closed Linguistic Space*, 191.

some fashion.⁹³ This explicit censorship is characterized by items having those areas crossed out with a line in colored pencil with the word “delete” nearby. The PPB often allowed items that received this form of censorship to be published since the unwanted parts were kept as a reference tool for PPB workers when they encountered similar items.⁹⁴ As a result, this explicit censorship enabled the SCAP to hide the existence of censorship by allowing Japanese works to still be published at a constant rate while ensuring the published works had minimal militaristic or nationalistic ideas.

Besides explicit censorship conducted by the CIS, CCD, and PPB, a more intrinsic form of censorship occurred during the Allied Occupation. That intrinsic form is known as implicit censorship or self-censorship. According to Abel, this is when writers have internalized censorship taboos to such an extent that each creation is specifically designed to follow censorship policies.⁹⁵ In such situations, the content itself might include concepts that support the governing regime, or present controversial ideas in a way that allows for discussion while still supporting the regime’s view. As a result, these kinds of works do not receive explicit censorship since the item does not break any censorship codes. However, because these authors are already working around censorship guidelines, it is difficult to identify when and how such implicit censorship occurs.

Abel asserts that “anticipatory decisions by writers or editors not to publish, not to write, or to retract in an attempt to avoid censorship must be said to have already encountered censorship.”⁹⁶ Abel believes that implicit censorship can be recognized by noting how non-

⁹³ Abel, *Redacted*, 4.

⁹⁴ Abel, *Redacted*, 25.

⁹⁵ Abel, *Redacted*, 91-92.

⁹⁶ Abel, *Redacted*, 33.

explicitly censored items conceal the true meaning behind ideas by how the author substitutes controversial words or phrases with ones that support censorship goals.⁹⁷ Abel even proves this phenomenon occurred during the Allied Occupation since he noticed that books dealing with war had some passages censored while others did not. The difference between the explicitly censored items and the ones that did not receive explicit censorship is that the latter discussed taboo topics with vocabulary and adjectives that supported the sentiments the SCAP desired the Japanese to practice, which was anti-militarism.⁹⁸ Therefore, the existence of topics that the PPB believed deserving of censorship action is evident based because authors writing about similar topics did not receive any censorship action.

According to Abel, some writings that went through the censorship process contain no signs of implicit or explicit censorship. Abel argues that these writings avoided both forms of censorship because the views and topics they discussed did not obstruct any of the occupation goals, thereby making the PPB not view the writing as a threat. As such, this did not cause the author to compromise the presentation of their views to ensure publication.⁹⁹ Abel asserts that one can identify these writings by how the authors do not mention taboo topics, simply because their presence would not make sense to their argument (or if said topics are mentioned, they are presented neutrally).¹⁰⁰ For example, Abel noticed that authors like Hori Tatsuo wrote plays with proletarian-leaning characters. However, since these characters' views did not affect or contribute to the story, they were never addressed. As a result, Tatsuo did not need to adjust his

⁹⁷ Abel, *Redacted*, 33.

⁹⁸ Abel, *Redacted*, 91 to 92.

⁹⁹ Abel, *Redacted*, 264.

¹⁰⁰ Abel, *Redacted*, 264.

writings to follow censorship parameters.¹⁰¹ Many music writings I studied fall into this category, as they cover topics that were not threatening to the occupation government.

Overview of Explicit and Implicit Censorship in Gordon W. Prange Collection

Since only a few of the *hōgaku* and Western art music-focused books/pamphlets received deletion marks, an outline of which items received explicit censorship is needed. As discussed earlier, the Gordon W. Prange Collection's 6,000 music-related items range from literature discussing the history and composers of Western and *hōgaku* music to instructional books and scores. Based on a surface-level examination of these sources, the total number of items in this part of the collection that received marks is roughly twenty-three or 0.575%. This percentage is relatively low, but it does not obscure that all of these items underwent the censorship process. As indicated by Abel's research, sources that did not receive any censorship action may likely have had implicit censorship, which can be seen by comparing them to similarly themed items that did receive censorship action. This process will also reveal that the explicitly and implicitly censored *yōgaku* or Western art music-focused publications during this time were written to encourage the creation of a new Japanese music culture.

The main kind of explicit censorship that occurred amongst the twenty-three *hōgaku* or Western music-focused books/pamphlets was deletion. The markings that indicate this is colored pencil, blue or red and are simply lines crossing out *kanji* (漢字) symbols (the characters in the Japanese language). The markings do not comment on why the PPB took that action, though it can be deduced based on the censored area's content and location. The deletion markings

¹⁰¹ Abel, *Redacted*, 190.

primarily appeared in introductory chapters, especially when the author mentioned how their book was under the supervision of the SCAP or that they wrote it in light of Japan's culture after World War Two. Based on these observations, it appears the main reasons explicit censorship occurred toward music books is that the publications may have indirectly encouraged war resentment or commented on Occupation policies. This reason becomes more apparent when one examines publications discussing similar ideas that did not receive any censorship action but possibly endured implicit censorship.

References to War and Subversions

When examining the Gordon W. Prange Collection's *hōgaku* and Western art music-focused literature, it became clear that the PPB considered topics of war and militarism deserving of censorship. Besides books and pamphlets directly discussing war, as discussed by Abel, the PPB also believed publications that defended war criminals, incited violence, romanticized militarism, or referenced the war's effects in Japan to be worthy of censorship.¹⁰² According to Gordon, the United States and, by extension, the SCAP desired to demilitarize Japan to negate its ability to cause violence to other countries. Gordon also argues that the SCAP demilitarized Japan to ensure no military groups could physically oppose the occupation's democratization policies that "smash authoritarian political rule."¹⁰³ Thus, the PPB likely deleted sections or sentences within the music books and pamphlets that referenced war out of fear that its mention could spark resentment amongst the Japanese public.

¹⁰² Abel, *Redacted*, 25.

¹⁰³ Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, 236.

We can see this in the 1946 *Koruto no piano giho kyohon* (コルトのピアノ技報教本).

This book, whose title translates to *Cortot's Piano Technique Textbook*, is a reprint of a guide by French pianist Alfred Cortot.¹⁰⁴ According to the book's afterword, by musicologists Ryutaro Hattori and Tōroku Tagaki, it had been published because “the piano is a musical instrument in Japan” and “in spite of all kinds of publishing difficulties, due to the great war, we are trying to write books for the young musicians who are making their mark on the country.”¹⁰⁵ In other words, Hattori and Tagaki hoped that making this book available would foster the Japanese ability to play Western art music. Nevertheless, that sentence received deletion in the form of a blue pencil crossing out the phrase “due to the great war.”¹⁰⁶ This passage might inadvertently draw attention to World War Two's negative effects in Japan. Thus, it is possible that the PPB deleted this part to deter resentment toward the SCAP caused by the war's effects.

Meanwhile, the Gordon W. Prange Collection's *hōgaku* sources without redaction marks indicate that implicit censorship occurred because when authors mentioned the war's effect, their phrasing aligned with the SCAP's views on why Japan needed to abandon militarism. One example is the 1947 book *Nihon ongaku no arikata* (日本音楽の在方) or *How Japanese Music Should Be* by Hisao Tanabe.¹⁰⁷ Tanabe mentions the war in his introduction by stating,

¹⁰⁴ It must be stated that not much information is available on the background of these two authors in English language scholarship but nevertheless some information can be gleaned. Regarding, Hattori, he seems to be an ethnomusicologist specifically focused on folk music in Japan while Tagaki is a film composer trained in Western art music.

“Traditional Folk Songs of Japan: Various Artists,” Smithsonian Folk Ways Recordings, accessed May 15, 2023, <https://folkways.si.edu/traditional-folk-songs-of-japan/world/music/album/smithsonian>. ; Matsumoto Teppei, “高木東六作曲『《鶴》-朝鮮舞踊のために-より「春」』その音楽的特徴に関する考察：復元上演を通して,” *Studies of Cultures in Northeast Asia*, no. 42 (December 2016): 29.

¹⁰⁵ Alfred Cortot, Ryutaro Hattori and Tōroku Tagaki, *Koruto no piano giho kyohon*, 1, MT-0238 Gordon W. Prange Collection, University Archives, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park MD.

¹⁰⁶ Alfred Cortot, Ryutaro Hattori and Tōroku Tagaki, *Koruto no piano giho kyohon*, 1.

¹⁰⁷ Once again, not much English-language scholarship is available about Tanabe, who was a musicologist trained in the 1920s by French missionaries and dedicated his musicological work to understanding the imperial court music of Japan and Korea.

Shitamichi Ikuko, “書評 〈雅楽〉の誕生：田辺尚雄が見た大東亜の響き[鈴木聖子著],” *Cultural Resources Studies*, no. 18 (2020): 68.

“the future of Japan, which has completely lost its military power after the end of the war, must become one of the world’s leading nations in terms of culture and contribute to the happiness of mankind.”¹⁰⁸ This sentence could warrant deletion since it acknowledges that Japan’s lack of military rights could cause citizens to become bitter toward America. However, Tanabe indicates that Japan must move past militarism and embrace a new culture, thus supporting the SCAP’s goal of developing a peaceful Japanese culture.

This kind of implicit censorship also shows how Japanese musicologists and critics during the occupation attempted to educate the public on music in order to create a new culture. These authors accomplished this by writing phrases that implied support for the SCAP’s view on changing Japan’s culture and further indicating what that culture should be. For example, in *How Japanese Music Should Be*, Tanabe asserts that Japan must create practices that are “the fusion of Japanese culture and foreign culture.”¹⁰⁹ According to Tanabe, this is because Japan’s most successful periods have been when “Japanese culture acted as a seedling” and “foreign culture as the fertilizer,” so a return to a similar culture could improve Japan.¹¹⁰ Tanabe asserts that Japanese music must be at the center and driving force behind this fusion because, if not, then “our country will lose its position in the world.”¹¹¹ In other words, I assert that Tanabe is arguing that this new culture must retain elements of Japanese or Japan will lose what makes it a sonically distinct country. Tanabe’s book shows that Japanese musicologists or critics during the

¹⁰⁸ Hisao Tanabe, *Nihon ongaku no arikata*, 16, ML-0018 Gordon W. Prange Collection, University Archives, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, MD.

¹⁰⁹ Hisao Tanabe, *Nihon ongaku no arikata*, 127.

¹¹⁰ Hisao Tanabe, *Nihon ongaku no arikata*, 127.

¹¹¹ Hisao Tanabe, *Nihon ongaku no arikata*, 33.

occupation maneuvered around censorship by using phrases that implied support for the SCAP, which reinforced their views on how Japanese culture must change.

Comments on the United States, Occupation, and Subversions

The second topic I found that was a concern for the PPB was the Allied Occupation itself. According to Abel, the PPB reviewed publications for statements that either revealed the movement and behavior of American troops, degraded the SCAP's demilitarization or democratization policies, or revealed policies the public should not know about, like censorship.¹¹² As discussed, the censorship system aided the SCAP's demilitarization and democratization objectives by ensuring that no art or literature that fostered militarism or nationalism became publicly available. However, as Gordon asserts, the SCAP kept this censorship system secret since its discovery could cause the Japanese population to doubt the democratization policies, as censorship goes against civil liberties like freedom of the press.¹¹³ Therefore, I argue that the PPB may have deleted sections within *yōgaku* and Western music-focused books/pamphlets that mentioned censorship in fear of the public learning about those endeavors.

One Western music-focused book demonstrating this is *Ongaku suru Amerika* (音楽するアメリカ), otherwise known as *Music in America*. Published in 1947 by ethnomusicologist Hattori, this book outlines the art music genres developed in the United States with historical context. In his introduction, Hattori appraises American music as “blessed with youth and

¹¹² Abel, *Redacted*, 25.

¹¹³ Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, 237.

richness” and encourages those interested in this music to read “books that look at American music from all angles.”¹¹⁴ Despite this praise, the book received a deletion mark in the following sentence, “this book is under the supervision of the melodious United States.”¹¹⁵ With this in mind, I believe Hattori possibly made such a comment since being reviewed and approved by United States citizens would make his views on American art music seem more genuine. However, since this sentence admitted that the United States reviewed works before they were published, I argue that the PPB presumably deleted it for that reason.

The Gordon W. Prange Collection’s non-explicit censored Western art music sources also indicate potential implicit censorship because, when explaining a work’s publication history, authors allude to the Allied Occupation’s censorship system. One book exemplifying this is the 1946 *Ongaku to bunka* (音楽と文化) or *Music and Culture* by Tetsutarō Kawakami. According to Ara Masahito, Kawakami had no musical experience beyond reading books by European musicologists discussing famous composers such as Mozart and Beethoven, which at the time highly romanticized those figures. Kawakami was a literary critic and public thinker who supported militarism during Japan's military regime. Despite this affinity, Kawakami did not receive any blacklist from the SCAP and, throughout the occupation, supported in writing the idea of a democratic Japan. However, scholars do consider it possible that Kawakami beliefs changed in response to World War Two’s effects in Japan¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Ryutaro Hattori, *Ongaku suru Amerika*, 5, ML-0184 Gordon W. Prange Collection, University Archives, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, MD.

¹¹⁵ Hattori, *Ongaku suru Amerika*, 5.

¹¹⁶ Ara Masahito, “The Responsibility of Writers,” in *The Politics and Literature Debate in Postwar Japanese Criticism, 1945-52*, ed. Atsuko Ueda, Michael K. Bourdaghs, Richi Sakakibara, and Hirokazu Toeda (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2018), 72.

Kawakami discusses *Music and Culture*'s publication history in the introduction chapter by first noting that it had been published multiple times, each with new edits. However, Kawakami states that this edition "has been published in a very sophisticated style and has been published in a special way."¹¹⁷ The author implies that some form of regulation occurred during the occupation because, unlike his previous publications, he had to write in a "special way." However, Kawakami does not explicitly mention censorship; given his affinity with Japan's militaristic regime of the 1930s, it is more than likely that Kawakami used these subversion tactics to avoid explicit censorship by the PPB.

This tactic's implementation also shows that Japanese scholars during the occupation wrote books and pamphlets to educate the public on Western art music with the hope of re-cultivating Western practices in Japan. *Music and Culture*'s allusion to the censorship system is located in a sentence about the most recent version of the book, so one can deduce that Kawakami only alluded to the censorship system as a way to distinguish this edition from past ones. Kawakami then explains why he is re-publishing a book on the lives of Western European composers: because there is a plethora of "music circles where talent has not yet been established" and that it needs "people like me, who are playing the role of leader."¹¹⁸ Considering that Kawakami had a history of criticizing Western culture, as seen by his work in the 1930s, we must be open to the possibility that Kawakami expressed this support as a way to avoid blacklisting from the SCAP. Regardless, Kawakami's writing shows that there must have been enough Japanese intellectuals during the occupation period desiring to generate a new culture in Japan with Western elements to allow him to group himself with them.

¹¹⁷ Tetsutarō Kawakami, *Ongaku to Bunka*, 3, ML-0008 Gordon W. Prange Collection, University Archives, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, MD.

¹¹⁸ Tetsutarō Kawakami, *Ongaku to Bunka*, 3.

Conclusion

All of the printed items in the Gordon W. Prange Collection underwent the process of censorship, but only twenty-three received redaction marks. Many of these marks emerged because the Allied Occupation believed this literature might instigate resentment toward the occupation or reveal its censorship policies. Nevertheless, some music literature avoids censorship by indicating support for the occupation's goals, in tandem with outlining what their authors believed this new culture should be for Japan.

Chapter 4:

Music Appreciation and Romanticizing Western Art Music

There are 257 books and pamphlets in the Gordon W. Prange Collection on American and European art music, *yōgaku*, and *hōgaku*. This chapter will specifically analyze the books and pamphlets discussing the history of Western art music, focusing on music in Europe and the United States from the Baroque to Romantic eras.

Some musicologists and critics wrote these publications to convince readers that Western music is remarkable, that they should cultivate a taste for it, and that it could be a model for Japanese music. This presentation relies on approaches from music appreciation literature and phrases romanticizing pieces or composers.¹¹⁹ In terms of romanticization, I refer to instances when an author uses exaggerated, glorifying terminology to describe a piece or how a composer exemplifies a genre. From 1946 to 1949, a select number of Japanese authors writing about Western art music employed music appreciation approaches to ensure that non-musician readers could engage with their writings and understand Western art music's feats. These authors infused romantic imagery into their explanations, thereby ingraining a sense of respect for the piece or composer into the reader's understanding in the hopes that they would want to learn more about Western art music.

Before examining how Japanese writings utilized music appreciation, I will define music appreciation. Music appreciation studies and teaches the creative processes found in compositions to people with little background in music is to help non-musicians in

¹¹⁹ The principal composers included in these texts are J.S. Bach, Beethoven, Robert Schuman, Mozart, Strauss, Haydn, Schubert, Liszt, Debussy, Berlioz, Bizet, Ravel, Chopin, Mussorgsky, Tchaikovsky, Stravinsky, and Prokofiev. Based on my research, the most examined composers from this group were Wagner, and Beethoven.

“understanding the value and merit of different styles of music,” which is accomplished in three ways.¹²⁰ The first, according to James H. Conely, is an overview of “melody, harmony, rhythm, and tone color” since non-musicians must understand these essential elements to judge a piece’s development.¹²¹ The second describes the sonic traits and historical context of an era since it provides “a base perspective” on why pieces from different periods but in the same genre sound different.¹²² Thirdly, one must explain a piece’s “architecture of forms” since knowing how parts of a piece work together will allow listeners to follow its development.¹²³ Finally, according to Conely, ideally, scholars must not instill their own views of music into their explanations since this field is about helping non-musicians “decide whether or not they like” a type of music.¹²⁴ Thus, music appreciation aims to educate non-musicians on how to understand pieces or genres by providing them ways to judge it without bias. Some Japanese writings from 1946 to 1949 on Western art music did this to make readers cultivate a taste for that music.

However, the kinds of writing that employed those ways varied based on the time period. According to Rebecca Bennett, music appreciation literature during the 1940s and 50s centered on famous pieces or composers, attempting to help readers understand how a piece developed and “assist the musical memory” by highlighting famous parts.¹²⁵ Meanwhile, literature discussing composers provided “copious biographical material” alongside musical accomplishments. As a result, readers could understand and remember the figure’s personality as

¹²⁰ James H. Conely, “Fundamentals of Music Appreciation,” *Music Educators Journal* 51, no. 1 (September 1964): 120.

¹²¹ Conely, “Fundamentals of Music Appreciation,” 120.

¹²² Conely, “Fundamentals of Music Appreciation,” 120.

¹²³ Conely, “Fundamentals of Music Appreciation,” 120.

¹²⁴ Conely, “Fundamentals of Music Appreciation,” 120.

¹²⁵ Rebecca Bennett, “Debating Music ‘Appreciation’ outside the American Classroom, 1930-1950,” *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education* 33, no.2 (April 2012): 142.

well as their musical importance through “the spice of anecdotes.”¹²⁶ This kind of literature characterized a handful of Japanese writings from 1946 to 1949, as they desired to push Japan’s musical culture to be more Western.

Occupation-Era Books on Western Music Composers

One portion of the music literature in the Gordon W. Prange Collection deals with European, mainly Austro-German, composers from the Baroque to the Romantic era. There are ninety-eight publications on this subject, and they are classified as books since they are one-hundred pages or more in length. Many of these books examine composers by having some chapters analyzing their personal lives while others focus on their careers. For example, the 1948 book *Shuberuto* (シューベルト) or *Schubert* has a chapter discussing Schubert’s despair titled “Depressing Age (1822-1827), while another, titled “Religious Music,” examines his sacred works.¹²⁷ Other books focus more on pieces, as seen in the 1948 book *Dobyusshi* (ドビュッシー) or *Debussy*, with its sixth chapter titled “*Pelléas et Mélisande*.”¹²⁸ However, twenty of the ninety-eight books have chapters that intertwine biographical information with analysis. These books reveal Japanese writers desiring to make Japan’s musical culture more Western by using the music appreciation approach of narratives to help non-musicians remember the musical achievements of a composer. Then the authors introduce these composers through romantic wording that shows their importance to a genre, thereby instilling astonishment in the composer in the reader.

¹²⁶ Bennett, “Debating Music ‘Appreciation’ outside the American Classroom, 1930-1950,” 146.

¹²⁷ Kosuke Komatsu, *Shuberuto*, 1, ML-0062 Gordon W. Prange Collection, University Archives, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, MD.

¹²⁸ Kosuke Komatsu, *Dobyusshi*, 1, ML-0066 Gordon W. Prange Collection, University Archives, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, MD.

One important example in this area is Tetsutarō Kawakami’s 1946 book *Ongaku to Bunka* (音楽と文化), which translates to *Music to Culture*. As discussed earlier, Kawakami is a literary critic who had a distaste for Western culture during the 1930s but, during the occupation, either changed their beliefs or hid their preconceptions to subvert explicit censorship and wrote various composer biographies and music theories. Despite the book’s abstract title, Kawakami indicates he will provide a history of European composers and opens with the statement that he will “distinguish between each genius as much as possible.”¹²⁹ Each chapter centers on one Western European composer who heavily contributed to art music’s development. For example, Chapter Four focuses on Debussy, while Chapter Five focuses on Schubert. The two might not typically be next to each other since Schubert is a romantic/classical German composer while Debussy is a French impressionist. However, since both represented significant eras in European music, they are included side-by-side.

Kawakami also includes several proclamations in the introduction that signify he wrote this book in a music appreciation format: he states that the book “is written in a popular and introductory style for beginners” so readers can “cultivate an understanding of theory based on the history of music.”¹³⁰ Kawakami further indicates he took the music appreciation narrative approach in claiming that each chapter focuses on the composer “as a writer and as a person.”¹³¹ Kawakami attempts to provide narratives that entertain readers while educating them on that composer’s musical significance. This approach is tied to Kawakami’s goal of educating non-musicians; he writes that he focused on the composers’ lives and careers since “those are two

¹²⁹ Tetsutarō Kawakami, *Ongaku to Bunka*, 3, ML-0008 Gordon W. Prange Collection, University Archives, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, MD.

¹³⁰ Kawakami, *Ongaku to Bunka*, 1.

¹³¹ Kawakami, *Ongaku to Bunka*, 1.

important points in understanding, especially in our country, music history.”¹³² In other words, Kawakami explains these composers via their lives and careers since those aspects are traditionally used in Japan to understand a figure’s importance, thereby making the book accessible to non-musicians.

In each chapter, Kawakami introduces a personal incident in the composer’s life that connects to an aspect of their career or vice versa. For example, in Chapter Five, he informs readers that Schubert wrote piano works by framing this stylistic move within Schubert’s financial woes. The exact sentence is, “When he ran out of money, he sold his piano songs to publishers at exorbitant prices.”¹³³ In Chapter Two, on Mozart, Kawakami states there are no “differences between Italian opera and Mozart's opera” and supports it by referencing quotes from letters by Mozart, while he was in Italy, commenting on similarities with his works.¹³⁴ As a result, not only do readers learn from Mozart himself about how his operas functioned, but they also gain an understanding of his personality based on how Mozart described his works.

Like much music appreciation literature, Kawakami also romanticizes each composer, extolling their impacts on Western music styles. For example, the ninth chapter begins with “Richard Wagner is a revolutionary figure in the Western music world” and “the revolution that he carried out was related to not only the world of music but also the world of art in general.” Another example is Chapter Five’s opening claiming that Schubert “is the pinnacle of individualism.”¹³⁵ By having such exaltations begin each chapter, he impels readers to believe each work and style mentioned in the chapter is proof of that impact. Kawakami even states in

¹³² Kawakami, *Ongaku to Bunka*, 1.

¹³³ Kawakami, *Ongaku to Bunka*, 75.

¹³⁴ Kawakami, *Ongaku to Bunka*, 38.

¹³⁵ Kawakami, *Ongaku to Bunka*, 70.

his introduction that he wants to show the “greatness as a writer” and “to distinguish between each genius,” thereby making readers assume each composer will have significant prowess.¹³⁶

A similar approach appears in Motoo Ōtaguro’s 1949 *Daisakkyokuka monogatari* (偉大な作曲家の物語) or *The Stories of Great Composers*. Ōtaguro is a music critic whose knowledge of Western art music came from research attending the London School of Economics from 1913 to 1916: he attended concerts and read English scholarship on composers such as Debussy and Delius. Upon returning to Japan in the 1920s, Ōtaguro established the genre of music criticism by publishing books that on European art music, then creating journals like *Ongaku to bungaku* (音楽と文学) or *Music and Literature*, which reported on the development of Western art music and introduced European theories on music to Japanese readers.¹³⁷

In the introduction of *The Stories of Great Composers*, Ōtaguro writes, “I put more emphasis on the works and lives of each composer and devoted myself to distilling various tales,” indicating the use of anecdotes.¹³⁸ Meanwhile, statements such as “this is not a book by a professional” imply that the book is designed with general accessibility in mind.¹³⁹ Ōtaguro accomplishes both goals by having each chapter introduce musical accomplishments while commenting on what occurred in the composer’s life. For instance, Ōtaguro helps readers understand that Haydn’s style changed after leaving Austria by emphasizing how Haydn felt his ability to create grew once in England: “Haydn, who had spent all his life within a meager square mile, decided to go to England. As soon as he got there, he threw himself into the big world

¹³⁶ Kawakami, *Ongaku to Bunka*, 1.

¹³⁷ Yumiko Nunokawa, Shin-ichi Numabe, “Motoo Ōtaguro and Serge Prokofiev: An Unexpected Friendship,” Serge Prokofiev Foundation, last modified February 9, 2015, <http://www.sprkfv.net/foundation/foundhome.html>.

¹³⁸ Motoo Ōtaguro, *Daisakkyokuka monogatari*, 1, ML-0002 Gordon W. Prange Collection, University Archives, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, MD.

¹³⁹ Ōtaguro, *Daisakkyokuka monogatari*, 1.

instead of the small world. For Haydn, it was like a great adventure.”¹⁴⁰ It must be quickly stated that Ōtaguro’s claim about Haydn’s travel is incorrect since he had traveled across Europe long before he visited England.

Ōtaguro romanticizes composers as well but in a different manner from Kawakami. In Chapter Eight, which focuses on Robert Schumann, Ōtaguro notes that despite being “stricken with insanity” during his career, he still created works that make him “the leader of orchestra music.”¹⁴¹ In Chapter Five, despite describing how Schubert’s poor economic status is “the reason why he was not successful,” Ōtaguro claims he is “the master of piano music” due to the complexity of his works.¹⁴² In both instances, one can see that Ōtaguro describes the composers enduring hardships before claiming that they still exemplified advanced types of Western music. The wording grabs the reader’s attention but also instills the idea that these composers are geniuses due to creating art while enduring hardships. As a result, readers may develop an affinity for Western-art music due to the perceived greatness of these composers, thereby pushing Japanese music culture to be more Western art music focused.

Occupation Era Pamphlets on pieces from Western Composers

Besides books, pamphlets in the Gordon W. Prange Collection discuss European composers, classified by being one-hundred pages or less in length. Unlike the books, these twenty-four pamphlets include chapters discussing the styles and musical works of the composers’ careers. For example, the 1948 pamphlet titled *Verudi* (ヴェルディ) or *Verdi* has its fourth chapter focus

¹⁴⁰ Ōtaguro, *Daisakkyokuka monogatari*, 51.

¹⁴¹ Ōtaguro, *Daisakkyokuka monogatari*, 130.

¹⁴² Ōtaguro, *Daisakkyokuka monogatari*, 131.

on Verdi's middle period.¹⁴³ Another is the 1948 *Shopan* (シヨパン) or *Chopin*, whose first chapter is titled "Warsaw Period."¹⁴⁴ Ten of these twenty-four pamphlets examine famous pieces by the composer by emphasizing their history, form, and most musically well-known sections. In these publications, one sees Japanese writers attempting to make the Japanese public cultivate a taste for Western music.

One important author amongst these is Keisei Sakka, a Korean Japanese musicologist and music critic who studied Western-style musicology at the Kunitachi Academy of Music, Vienna State Conservatory, and the University of Vienna during the 1930s. Much of his research focused on bringing Western art music forms and theories, especially those by Richard Stöhr, to Japan; he also wrote biographies of various Austro-German composers.¹⁴⁵ One pamphlet Sakka created at the occupation's start is the 1946 *Liszt: Kangengaku sakuhin no Kaisetsu* (リスト : 建設の歴史) or *Liszt: Commentary on Orchestral Works*. Besides the title's allusions to the pamphlet's purpose, Sakka admits to them in statements found in the preface. One such statement reveals that Sakka wrote about Liszt by examining his works since the pamphlet's "emphasis was placed on the music being played in the concert hall."¹⁴⁶ In other words, Sakka aims to outline these pieces in a way that non-musicians can understand.

Each outline begins with a general description of the piece's structure and followed by an analysis of phrases that make the work significant, including how they uphold traits of genres, enhance genres, or are orally distinct so readers can recognize them when listening. In Chapter

¹⁴³ Yamazaki So, *Verudi*, 1, ML-0042 Gordon W. Prange Collection, University Archives, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, MD.

¹⁴⁴ Hideo Kobayashi, *Shopan*, 1, ML-0040 Gordon W. Prange Collection, University Archives, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, MD.

¹⁴⁵ Carl Dahlhaus, "Sakka, Keisei," in *Riemann Musiklexikon: Personenteil L-Z*, ed. Carl Dahlhaus (Mainz: Schott, 1975), 537.

¹⁴⁶ Keisei Sakka, *Liszt: Kangengaku sakuhin no Kaisetsu*, 1, ML -0134 Gordon W. Prange Collection, University Archives, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, MD.

Two of the *Faust Symphony*, Sakka states, “the whole piece is divided into Faust, Gretchen, Mephistopheles, and main characters in the play are depicted in a formative manner.”¹⁴⁷ Sakka ensures the public understands each movement by not using terminology but by explaining how each movement illustrates a character, thereby allowing non-musicians to follow the piece’s development. Sakka then explains the symphony’s central theme, describing the direction of notes, what instrument plays it and including an image of the theme so readers can see the melody’s general direction. Therefore, by relying on descriptions and visual aid, Sakka can help non-musicians understand how that idea generally sounds.



Figure 3: Theme of *Faust Symphony*. Liszt: *Kangengaku sakuhin no Kaisetsu*. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University Archives, University of Maryland Libraries.

However, Sakka does not present these works with a neutral view but instead employs romantic rhetoric. For example, when discussing *Hamlet*, he claims, “amongst the genre of symphonic poems, this is the most distinctive.”¹⁴⁸ According to Sakka, the reason for this distinctiveness is the work’s “motif interaction in the structure.”¹⁴⁹ In this instance, Sakka believes the piece follows symphonic traits since its motifs reinforce the structure of symphonic forms. However, as seen by the use of the term distinctive, one can see that Sakka romanticizes the work to instill a sense of respect among readers.

¹⁴⁷ Sakka, *Liszt*, 4.

¹⁴⁸ Sakka, *Liszt*, 21.

¹⁴⁹ Sakka, *Liszt*, 21.

Sakka maintained this style throughout the occupation, as in his 1948 *Kangengaku meikyoku kaisetsu: Berlioz, Liszt, Wagner* (管弦楽名曲開墾: ベリオ...イシュト、ワーグナー). The catalog classifies this item, whose title translates to *Berlioz, Liszt, Wagner: Commentary on Orchestral Masterpieces*, as a book since it is 300 pages. Upon further inspection, I discovered that this item is simply a compilation of Sakka's pamphlets from 1946 to 1948, so it will be discussed here. Based on this item, it seems Sakka wanted his pamphlets to educate non-musicians on Western music. Not only does his title allude to such a goal with the words "commentary on orchestral masterpieces," but he also reuses statements from the preface of his 1946 *Liszt* pamphlet.¹⁵⁰ Those statements are "the emphasis was placed on the music being played in the concert hall" and "I made it the main point of the book to explain them in a straight-forward manner."¹⁵¹ The first proclamation shows Sakka focused on famous Western pieces but specifically ones performed in auditoriums. Once again, the chapters for these pamphlets support this since each one focuses on a piece whose genre is performed in concert halls. For example, the Berlioz pamphlet's first two chapters examine *Harold in Italy* and *Romeo and Juliet*.¹⁵² Meanwhile, the second proclamation shows Sakka continued to explain pieces to the general public since he assures readers that he will discuss music in a simple style, making it accessible to non-musicians.

Congruently, the pamphlets within this book illustrate that Sakka continually relied on music appreciation approaches when explaining European pieces. For example, when discussing Wagner's prelude to *Tristan and Isolde*, Sakka first discusses the opera's plot and then points

¹⁵⁰ Keisei Sakka, *Kangengaku meikyoku kaisetsu: Berlioz, Liszt, Wagner*, 1, ML-0139 Gordon W. Prange Collection, University Archives, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, MD.

¹⁵¹ Sakka, *Kangengaku meikyoku kaisetsu*, 1.

¹⁵² Sakka, *Kangengaku meikyoku kaisetsu*, 1.

out how those plot points are hinted at in the prelude, thereby giving readers a sonic and narrative way to follow the piece’s structure.¹⁵³ Simultaneously, Sakka describes the prelude’s main theme by stating the general direction of notes, what instruments play it, and the emotions it evokes, such as “hope” and “regret and resignation.”¹⁵⁴ All the while, Sakka includes an image of that theme, thereby providing readers with a visual. Therefore, once again, it is apparent that he aimed to outline these pieces so that non-musicians could understand them.

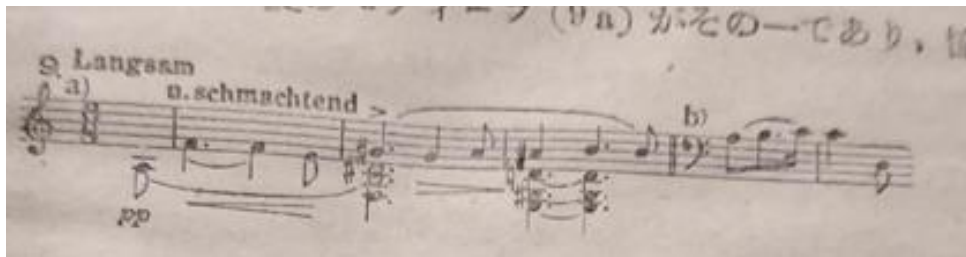


Figure 4: Main theme of *Tristan and Isolde Prelude*. *Kangengaku meikyoku kaisetsu: Berlioz, Liszt, Wagner*. Held by Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

In these pamphlets, Sakka romanticizes music by claiming that a piece or aspects of it enhanced what composers could do in the Western art music tradition. For example, Sakka introduces Berlioz’s *Symphonie Fantastique* by stating, “a new page has been opened in the field of musical history under the name of Berlioz” since the piece “represented something completely new in the field.”¹⁵⁵ According to Sakka, that achievement is the “Idee Fixe, a new discovery of the instrumental motif.”¹⁵⁶ In other words, Sakka believes *Symphonie Fantastique* advanced Western music since it created a new instrumental idea. However, one notices that Sakka’s embellishment of this technique’s introduction romanticizes the work since it makes the piece and, more importantly, Berlioz a driving force in Western music’s development. Therefore, one

¹⁵³ Sakka, *Kangengaku meikyoku kaisetsu*, 81.

¹⁵⁴ Sakka, *Kangengaku meikyoku kaisetsu*, 81.

¹⁵⁵ Sakka, *Kangengaku meikyoku kaisetsu*, 1.

¹⁵⁶ Sakka, *Kangengaku meikyoku kaisetsu*, 2.

can assume that Sakka aimed to make readers feel astonished, by Western art music and by the same virtue, become fascinated by it.

Occupation-Era Books on Musical Periods in the U.S. and Europe

Twenty-six publications within the Gordon W. Prange Collection focused on musical periods and genres, all classified as books addressing Europe and the United States. The books typically describe the sonic traits of a musical period or the historical context of a genre that emerged. For example, the first chapter in the 1947 book *Seiyo Ongaku Monogatari* (西洋音楽物語) or *The Story of Western Music*, asserts that the Middle Ages had “two kinds of ecclesiastical modes, the strict and the grand,” as seen in the development of church modes.¹⁵⁷ Some of these writings do not romanticize their subjects, unlike other books and pamphlets. For instance, Chapter One of the 1948 *Gendai Amerika Ongaku* (現代アメリカ音楽) or *Contemporary American Music* outlines Horatio Parker’s career. However, instead of glorifying him, the book claims he “is known as a writer of religious choral works, but also operas, symphonies, and others.”¹⁵⁸ However, there are a few publications with authors who seem to push for readers to maintain an interest in Western music.

One author whose writings demonstrate this is Ryutaro Hattori and his 1947 book *Ongaku suru America* (音楽するアメリカ) or *Music in America*. According to Hattori, he became interested in researching American art music after wondering “if there is music in

¹⁵⁷ Motoo Ōtaguro, *Seiyo Ongaku Monogatari*, 13, ML-0188 Gordon W. Prange Collection, University Archives, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, MD.

¹⁵⁸ Miura Atsushi, *Gendai Amerika Ongaku*, 12, ML-0185 Gordon W. Prange Collection, University Archives, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, MD.

America other than jazz.”¹⁵⁹ Hattori also claims that he found the research eye-opening since it negated many preconceptions. Hattori asserts that this perception developed because of how Japan’s militaristic regime restricted knowledge of non-Japanese countries in terms of culture and history. In light of this, Hattori wrote this book covering America’s music since he believed that the Japanese public had an “urgent need to know the reality of American culture through American music.”¹⁶⁰ It must be stated that Hattori may be stating this to avoid censorship since he is theoretically also disregarding Japan’s past militaristic regime, which matches occupation’s demilitarization goal. Nevertheless, Hattori’s goals align with those of music appreciation.

In each chapter on a genre of American music, Hattori discusses what sociopolitical events occurred at the time of its emergence. For example, Hattori states that European-style folk music “begins when European immigrants left Plymouth in the year 1620 and settled on the continent of America,” while African music emerged when “the black man who was transported from Africa on the first slave ship.”¹⁶¹ One can see that Hattori relies on this historical approach to introduce readers to the slave trade and colonialism in America as well as help them understand how migrations enabled a variety of folk music styles to emerge.

As previously mentioned, Hattori claims this book grew from an “urgent need to know the reality of American culture through American music.”¹⁶² However, this supposed urgency becomes more specific when considering that this sentence comes after Hattori lambasts Japan’s military regime. Hattori castigates how “artistic understanding among the militarist” regime was

¹⁵⁹ Ryutaro Hattori, *Ongaku suru Amerika*, 1, ML-0184 Gordon W. Prange Collection, University Archives, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, MD.

¹⁶⁰ Hattori, *Ongaku suru Amerika*, 5.

¹⁶¹ Hattori, *Ongaku suru Amerika*, 6.

¹⁶² Hattori, *Ongaku suru Amerika*, 5.

low due to the regime's "arrogant claim that we were the leaders of East Asia," thereby making knowledge of non-Japanese culture unnecessary.¹⁶³ In other words, Hattori believed that Japan's militaristic goals decreased Japanese artists' knowledge of other countries.

According to Galliano, at the beginning of the occupation, only a small group of Japanese composers were interested in American music. However, due to the SCAP employing programs meant to foster a pro-American atmosphere, these composers began performing American music.¹⁶⁴ Galliano argues that these programs succeeded by quoting singer Yoichi Hiraoka, who observed that, following SCAP-sponsored concerts, "Japanese people started to search for true information about America."¹⁶⁵ With that in mind, Hattori recommends readers seek out books that "look at American music from all angles."¹⁶⁶ We can thus see how Hattori participated in this SCAP-endorsed project advocating for American music.

Conclusion

Many of the 257 books and pamphlets in the Gordon W. Prange Collection on music focus specifically on Western art music through writings that analyze the careers or lives of European composers, outline famous musical works, or describe the sonic and historical context of periods and genres. In each of these topics, Japanese musicologists or critics employed music appreciation approaches to engage non-musician readers with their writing and understand aspects of Western music. These explanations were infused with rhetoric glorifying pieces or

¹⁶³ Hattori, *Ongaku suru Amerika*, 1.

¹⁶⁴ Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 132-133.

¹⁶⁵ Hattori, *Ongaku suru Amerika*, 1.

¹⁶⁶ Hattori, *Ongaku suru Amerika*, 5.

composers as the exemplar of genres, thereby making the reader's understanding intrinsically tied to a sense of wonder toward Western music. We can thus see how, during the occupation, Japanese writers pushed their country's musical interests to be Western by helping non-musician readers understand and value Western music.

Chapter 5:

Occupation-Era Publications on Japanese Music

From 1945 to 1949, Japanese musicologists and music critics also produced literature on Japanese music and its history. However, it must be stated that none of the sixteen books in the Gordon W. Prange Collection that comprise this set of literature have *yōgaku* as the primary research subject. Instead, they all center their analysis chiefly on the *hōgaku* tradition and specifically on convincing readers that it should still be practiced within the country. This defense arose in response to how Japanese composers at the time believed Japanese music should imitate Western musical styles. By examining these items, one sees that Japanese musicologists defended *hōgaku* by emphasizing how a composer can obtain artistic expression while maintaining *hōgaku* values of music. Meanwhile, others suggested the creation of a *yōgaku* tradition whose combination of Western art music and traditional Japanese music ensured that the techniques, instruments, or aesthetics of *hōgaku* remained present in the country's increasingly Western-centered music scene.

Occupation-Era Dislike of *Hōgaku*

Despite *hōgaku* having a nationalistic status since 1868, some Japanese composers lost interest in it during the Allied Occupation because of how the tradition had been used in the prior regime and how *hōgaku* purportedly offered minimal ways for composers to express themselves. These naysayers consisted of individuals who learned composition by teaching themselves or received

tutelage from Ikenouchi and Hashimoto.¹⁶⁷ Galliano argues that composers' lack of interest in the tradition began after World War Two since Japan's loss caused "a general feeling of having been betrayed, of having placed their trust in a leadership that had proved to be unworthy."¹⁶⁸ As a result, the military regime's emphasis on *hōgaku* exemplifying Japan's greatness and serving as the ultimate form of musical expression lost meaning.¹⁶⁹ Galliano supports this by pointing to a 1998 interview with composer Matsudaria Yoritsune, who said that "after the defeat, we asked ourselves where we had gone wrong" and, upon discovering the answer, "research into traditional Japanese culture became very rare."¹⁷⁰

Meanwhile, a dislike of *hōgaku* for expressive purposes emerged from how occupation-era composers viewed Western society. According to Galliano, the sense of betrayal in Japanese society became compounded by the view that "the West was after all superior to Japan."¹⁷¹ The reasoning behind this belief was that "it was European and American culture that had inflicted a severe defeat on Japan."¹⁷² Galliano asserts that composers during the occupation shared this sentiment, with the idea that Japanese music should model itself after European art music. Galliano claims that a plethora of occupation-era composers desired "a new language of literally unheard of sounds and structures" and that only by following "similar trends in the West" could they be achieved.¹⁷³ Once again, Galliano turns to the Yoritsune interview for support, where in the interview Yoritsune recollects that, after deciding to abandon *hōgaku*, "there was renewed

¹⁶⁷ Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 132-133.

¹⁶⁸ Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 129.

¹⁶⁹ Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 129.

¹⁷⁰ Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 129.

¹⁷¹ Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 129.

¹⁷² Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 129.

¹⁷³ Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 132.

interest in European music” since people wanted to make “new works written in European classical forms.”¹⁷⁴

Occupation-Era Defense of *Hōgaku*

Occupation-era musicologists partly defended *hōgaku* by addressing the issue that *hōgaku* lacked meaningful expression. Musicologist Eishi Kikkawa wrote five books defending *hōgaku*, including the 1952 *Appreciation of Traditional Japanese Music*. Kikkawa was a musicologist who received a music history education at Tokyo University and specialized in ancient Japanese music, especially *shamisen* and *koto*.¹⁷⁵ In his 1948 book *Nihon ongaku no seikaku* (日本音楽の生活), or *Characteristics of Japanese Music*, Kikkawa claims that it is the uniform dislike for the tradition that motivated the book’s creation. For example, Chapter Seven, “The Past and Future of Japanese Music,” opens by stating, “the accusations normally directed at Japanese music are wrong. Many of these accusations arise when one compares only the superficial form of Japanese music with Western music and with certain forms of modern Western music.”¹⁷⁶ Kikkawa wants to disprove these misconceptions, writing that “it is my hope that the beauty of Japanese music will be rediscovered, and research into the refinement of Japanese music will become active” as a result of his book.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁴ Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 129.

¹⁷⁵ Masakata Kanazawa, “Kikkawa [Satō], Eishi,” *Grove Music Online* (2001).

¹⁷⁶ Eishi Kikkawa, *Nihon ongaku no seikaku*, 181, ML-0015 Gordon W. Prange Collection, University Archives, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, MD.

¹⁷⁷ Kikkawa, *Nihon ongaku no seikaku*, 161.

Scholars like Kikkawa attempted to invalidate complaints that *hōgaku* lacks expression by explaining how composers could convey its aesthetics. In *Characteristics of Japanese Music*, Kikkawa identifies a *hōgaku* aesthetic and then demonstrates how a composer could express that musical value through many techniques found in *hōgaku*, including timbre, microtones, and form. For example, in Chapter Six, titled “Influence of Japanese Style on Music,” Kikkawa claims that representing nature is a *hōgaku* value by writing, “Japan's natural scenery resonates with all the elements and phenomena of Japanese music.”¹⁷⁸ Then, Kikkawa outlines how timbre can represent nature by emphasizing how using “a piece of metal, a wooden rod, etc. to make noises and make strange sounds” emulates noises in nature.¹⁷⁹ Kikkawa also discusses how *hōgaku*'s “good rhyme,” which possibly refers to rhythm, enables composers to simulate nature.¹⁸⁰ Thus, one sees that Kikkawa attempted to disprove the notion that *hōgaku* lacked expression by outlining how its musical values could be conveyed through the tradition's techniques.

Other scholars, however, aimed to ensure that *hōgaku* continued to develop in Japan by first admitting to some of the tradition's faults and then explaining how Western techniques could still uphold its values. The suggested method for accomplishing this was the employment of *hōgaku* musical styles alongside ones from Europe or the United States that reinforced or expanded *hōgaku*'s values: essentially, *yōgaku*.¹⁸¹ This approach would ensure *hōgaku*'s presence in Japan's music scene during and hopefully after the occupation.

¹⁷⁸ Kikkawa, *Nihon ongaku no seikaku*, 186.

¹⁷⁹ Kikkawa, *Nihon ongaku no seikaku*, 170.

¹⁸⁰ Kikkawa, *Nihon ongaku no seikaku*, 161.

¹⁸¹ Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 115-116.

One author whose writings exemplify this is Hisao Tanabe and specifically his second book, the 1947 *Nihon ongaku no arikata* (日本音楽の在方) or *How Japanese Music Should Be*.¹⁸² As discussed earlier, Tanabe was a Japanese musicologist specializing in the court music of Japan and Korea. In this book, Tanabe indicates he desires *hōgaku* to remain the national music of Japan and asserts that this tradition helps sonically distinguish Japan. In Chapter Four, outlining *hōgaku*'s national aspects, he writes: “this world of music must not be content with being as feudal and simple as it was in the past although it is national. If we do not develop it, our country will lose its position in the world.”¹⁸³ Tanabe admits *hōgaku* has faults as “feudal and simple,” referencing issues that occupation-era composers had with it. However, he also argues that *hōgaku* is “national” and emphasizes that disregarding it would make Japan less of a unique country. Therefore, one can deduce that Tanabe argues that instead of disregarding *hōgaku* because of these faults, composers should develop musical ways to overcome the tradition's simplicity or militaristic association.

Tanabe also provides a method for fixing *hōgaku*'s faults by combining elements of *hōgaku* with similar ones from foreign countries whose function already upholds an aesthetic of *hōgaku*. Tanabe indicates this in Chapter Six by reaffirming *hōgaku* as Japan's musical tradition since it “contributes to the world” but writing that it must abandon its “rugged culture... the fusion of Japanese culture and foreign culture must come under serious consideration.”¹⁸⁴

Tanabe continues that “Japanese culture is a seedling” while “foreign culture is fertilizer,”

¹⁸² Tanabe wrote a total of three books during the Allied Occupation that dealt with *hōgaku*. The first of these is the 1947 book *Japanese Music* while the third is the 1949 *Music of Japan: Anecdotes of Rakusei and Stories of Famous Songs*. These two books are more in line with Kikkawa's form of defending *hōgaku*, but they also emphasize how the tradition's genres and instrument repertoire is entwined with Japan's cultural history.

¹⁸³ Hisao Tanabe, *Nihon ongaku no arikata*, 33, ML-0018 Gordon W. Prange Collection, University Archives, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, MD.

¹⁸⁴ Tanabe, *Nihon ongaku no arikata*, 33.

thereby making aspects of foreign culture to be “completely Japanized and made into part of Japanese culture.”¹⁸⁵ This combination would also make Japanese culture more “high and splendid” than ever before.”¹⁸⁶ That combination being Japanese value should serve as a basis while a foreign culture should be added to expand upon what can be done in *hōgaku*. Following this statement, Tanabe highlights instances where *hōgaku* took elements of foreign culture to expand its capabilities, such as *bunraku* which uses elements of Chinese puppet theater.¹⁸⁷

Next, Tanabe discusses how, historically, when Japanese culture imitated aspects of Western culture, it expanded Japanese customs while retaining its uniqueness. Despite spending Chapter Two outlining *hōgaku*’s significance in Japan’s history, Tanabe writes that “for Japan to be a highly cultured country, it must never stop imitating other countries.”¹⁸⁸ Tanabe refers to Tokyo and Osaka as exemplifying this because their urban that allowed the cities to be “transformed and developed” but only because said art combines “traditional Japanese music and old Western music”¹⁸⁹ In other words, it appears that Tanabe is arguing that these cities’ music cultures advanced because the combination of Japanese culture with Western influences granted them new forms of expression. Congruently, this shows Tanabe somewhat pushing Japanese music culture to be Western by suggesting that Japanese culture can only thrive if it merges with Western customs.

¹⁸⁵ Tanabe, *Nihon ongaku no arikata*, 135.

This metaphor of “fertilizer” might seem insulting, but that was likely not Tanabe’s intent.

¹⁸⁶ Tanabe, *Nihon ongaku no arikata*, 135.

¹⁸⁷ Tanabe, *Nihon ongaku no arikata*, 134.

¹⁸⁸ Tanabe, *Nihon ongaku no arikata*, 18.

¹⁸⁹ Tanabe, *Nihon ongaku no arikata*, 19.

Following this, Tanabe finally expresses his desire for readers to combine *hōgaku* styles with Western ones to uphold *hōgaku* values. Tanabe demonstrates this desire by explaining how readers can create pieces that combine but separately use elements from Japanese and Western music to express an aesthetic of *hōgaku*. For example, in Chapter Four, Tanabe notes that *koto* and *shamisen* duets have a “sense of time drifting between the instruments” by playing at certain moments, which upholds *hōgaku*’s free-rhythm aesthetic.¹⁹⁰ He then argues that the “Western method of division,” which is indicated by a “cut-off in the staff notation,” can express this free rhythm since it creates “a feeling that transcends the notion of time.”¹⁹¹ In other words, Tanabe is suggesting that composers can write duets for the *koto* and *shamisen* within a Western style and still uphold the *hōgaku* value of free rhythm. Therefore, Tanabe is attempting to save *hōgaku* by illustrating ways Western music can be employed to express *hōgaku* values.

Conclusion

In addition to writings on music in Western Europe and the United States, the other music literature found in the Gordon W. Prange Collection deals with Japanese music, specifically the *hōgaku* tradition. These sixteen books focus on explaining how the repertoire of *hōgaku*, which ranges from music for *koto* to *Noh*, and its aesthetics of nature, free rhythm, and microtonal melismatic melodies must still be practiced by Japanese composers. These genres and musical values had sonically distinguished Japan from other countries throughout its history, so scholars believed that discarding them would make Japan lose an aspect of itself that makes it a nation. That idea is further shown by how those genres have been entwined with the country’s

¹⁹⁰ Tanabe, *Nihon ongaku no arikata*, 40.

¹⁹¹ Tanabe, *Nihon ongaku no arikata*, 40.

governmental and cultural values. Musicologists such as Eishi Kikkawa reinforced these arguments by highlighting how this repertoire of music held social values and developed alongside historical events and demonstrating how composers could express the aesthetics of *hōgaku* in many ways. Other scholars, like Hisao Tanabe, defended *hōgaku* by suggesting the creation of a *yōgaku* tradition and showing how such fusion ensured Japanese elements remained while also expanding ways to express Japanese aesthetics.

Chapter 6:

Conclusion

English-language scholarship on the Allied Occupation of Japan has cultivated a plethora of research topics aimed at understanding how Japanese culture developed during this period, including how the United States' goals for the occupation impacted Japanese culture, how the occupation's censorship system established what concepts the public could discuss; and how composers developed the traditions of *yōgaku* and *hōgaku*. This thesis expands on this topic by analyzing music literature, a resource overlooked by previous scholars from 1945 to 1949, written by Japanese musicologists and music critics.

The music literature items within the Gordon W. Prange Collection underwent censorship, and my study of them helps illustrate how the Allied occupation explicitly censored music and what goals corresponded to this type of censorship. As Luciano Galliano argues, debates amongst Japanese scholars also developed the country's music, so studying these writings provides insight into what music the Japanese considered worthy of discussion at the time. Even though only twenty-three out of the 257 music literature items in the Gordon W. Prange Collection received explicit censorship redaction marks, my study still reveals how the Allied Occupation censored music literature if it obstructed its demilitarization and democratization goals. Further, there was evidence of implicit censorship since the items that did not receive redaction marks often indicated support for the occupation's goals.

I then examined what European, American, and *hōgaku* composers, pieces, styles, and genres did these writers advocate for in the music literature I analyzed. Authors writing about European and American art music desired to create a Japanese culture influenced by Western art

music by cultivating a taste for Western art music amongst citizens or fueling the interest of readers who already desired to hear Western art music. Meanwhile, Japanese scholars that wrote about *hōgaku* were divided between those advocating for a purely *hōgaku* tradition while others desired a *yōgaku*-style fusion: both schools of thought, though, sought to preserve aspects of this national tradition in a new climate.

This thesis offers several contributions by studying items in the Gordon W. Prange Collection on music and Japanese culture during the occupation. My chief contribution is the examination of occupation-era music literature to reveal how the Japanese how authors believed the country's musical culture should develop since it would define Japan after the occupation ended. I also provide another music-centered study of how a country's culture can change or develop under military occupation, building on the work of Hye-Jung Park, Tobey Thacker, and Nathaniel Lyn Gailey-Schlitz.¹⁹² Unlike studies focused on how composers created music under occupation, this thesis uncovers how music factored into an occupied country's culture by examining how its scholars discussed music.

There are still many more directions that musicologists studying music during the Allied Occupation of Japan could take. One such direction might be analyzing what instrumental and vocal collections are present in the Gordon W. Prange Collection and why Japanese musicologists created them, providing insight into what Japanese compilers felt their citizens should listen to or perform and why. Another direction could be analyzing what literature on music theories, instrumental instruction, and vocal instruction appeared during the occupation, possibly further illuminating the debates that unfolded. A third direction could be another study

¹⁹² Toby Thacker, *Music after Hitler, 1945-1955* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Hye-Jung Park, "Musical Entanglements: Ely Haimowitz and Orchestral Music under the US Army Military Government in Korea, 1945-1948," *Journal of the Society for American Music* 15, no. 1 (2021): 1-29.

of music literature published during the Allied Occupation of Japan but from 1950 to 1952. As discussed earlier, the Gordon W. Prange Collection only houses items from 1945 to 1949 since that is how long the occupation had a censorship system. Thus, there is still a plethora of music literature published after censorship ended that scholars could examine. These are only three suggestions, but more can be found by exploring the Gordon W. Prange Collection, as the items there provide a glimpse into what the Japanese valued culturally while under occupation.

Appendix: Descriptions of Materials with Censorship Actions

These two items, examined in Chapter Two, are presented in order based on their call number within the Prange Collection filing system, but I will also include the CCD's assigned numbers. Each entry includes (when possible) the publication's title, title, author, and best estimates for publication dates and censorship.

Call Number: MT-0238

CCD Number: 6744

Publication Title: Cortot's Piano Technique Textbook (コルトーのピアノ技法教本, *Koruto no piano giho kyohon*)

Author: Alfred Cortot, Hattori Ryutaro, Takagi Toroku (アルフレッド・コルトー、服部龍太郎、高木東六)

Date of Publication: 1946

Date of Censorship: January 1, 1946

Japanese Text: 第一次世界大戦のため、あらゆる種類の出版上の困難がありましたが、私たちはこの国で活躍している若い音楽家のために本を書こうとしています。

English Translation: In spite of all kinds of publishing difficulties, due to the great war, we are trying to write books for the young musicians who are making their mark on the country.

Call Number: ML-0184

CCD Number: 6745

Publication Title: *Music in America* (音楽するアメリカ, *Ongaku suru Amerika*)

Author: Hattori Ryutaro (服部龍太郎)

Date of Publication: 1947

Date of Censorship: January 20, 1947

Japanese Text: さて、この本はメロディアスなアメリカの監修下にあります。

English Text: Well, this book is under the supervision of the melodious United States.

Appendix: Descriptions of Materials with Implicit Censorship

These two items, found in Chapter Two, are presented in order based on their call number within the Prange Collection filing system, but I will also include the CCD's assigned numbers. Each entry includes (when possible) the publication's title, author, and best estimates for publication dates and censorship.

Call Number: ML-0018

CCD Number: Unknown

Publication Title: *How Japanese Music Should Be* (日本音楽の在り方, *Nihon ongaku no arikata*)

Author: Tanabe Hisao (田辺久雄)

Date of Publication: 1947

Date of Censorship: Unknown

Japanese Text: 戦後、軍事力を完全に失った日本の未来は、世界有数の文化大国となり、人類の幸福に貢献しなければなりません。

English Text: The future of Japan, which has completely lost its military power after the end of the war, must become one of the world's leading nations in terms of culture and contribute to the happiness of mankind.

Call Number: ML-0008

CCD Number: 8887

Publication Title: *Music and Culture* (音楽と文化, *Ongaku to bunka*)

Author: Kawakami Tetsutaro (川上哲太郎)

Date of Publication: 1946

Date of Censorship: January 17, 1947

Japanese Text: 非常に洗練されたスタイルで特別な方法で公開されています。

English Text: Has been published in a very sophisticated style and has been published in a special way.

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