

MUSICAL LIFE IN REGIONAL CITIES OF THE 1920s AND '30s: A PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATION OF KAWAGOE

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Between 1985 and the late 1990s most of my research involved spending time with biwa players who had acquired their musical skills in Tokyo, Osaka and Kyushu during the 1920s and '30s. My concerns were with the world of biwa singing as they had experienced it, variously as aspiring young professionals in the nationally popular styles of Satsumabiwa and Chikuzenbiwa or as blind entertainers and ritualists in the remote countryside of southern Japan. In retrospect, perhaps I did my utmost to ignore the fact that those men grew up in a world where music-making and consumption occurred in a setting quite unlike that which prevailed in the world of traditional music as I knew it. For decades after the Second World War traditional and non-traditional musics existed in fiercely guarded enclaves with little or no contact beyond the experiments of modernist concert-hall composers such as Takemitsu, musicians who were not of the *hōgaku* world and who worked with mavericks from within it to produce their experimental works. The Satsumabiwa player with whom I studied between 1985 and 1989, Fumon Yoshinori, once told me that when he started learning biwa in the mid-1920s he had also hoped to learn Spanish guitar, having been inspired by records and the occasion of a concert by Andre Segovia in central Osaka. Fumon spoke to me of this in 1988, but it took me seventeen years to begin to think about the kind of inclusive, discriminating but non-discriminatory attitude to musical experience that lay behind those words. The investigation I've recently begun, and intend to pursue for some years to come, is an attempt to understand that attitude's origins in the musical life of the interwar decades.

In Tokyo, recordings and performances of Western music, hybrid genres and 'traditional music' were all a part of common experience by 1930. Among the elite, symphony orchestras and study groups on the European classical tradition - even small opera troupes - were an important element in the music of modern life (*modan raifu*). In districts renowned as sites for display and indulgence in leisure - most of all Ginza and Asakusa (but also some more recently developed districts like Shinjuku) - people of all classes listened to jazz (*jazu*), hybrid forms of popular song and music-theatre at cafes, small theatres and dance halls. At the same time many indigenous musical practices continued to enjoy the support and amateur participation of the populace: the music-drama tradition of *kabuki* was still the form of theatre with broadest popularity; the historical narrative form of musical recitation, *Naniwa-bushi*, was far and away the most favoured genre in

programming for the new medium of radio from 1925, and amateur groups for learning *gidayū* recitation thrived.

In 1935, after the nation's fifty years of relentless modernisation, a music scholar could yet write that "even though the music of the schools has been westernized, that of society in general still clings to its old traditions" (Sunaga 1936: 56). Such a blanket observation directed at a foreign readership can only be tested through examination of evidence for music in everyday life during the 1920s and 30s. I would argue, moreover, that this must include evidence from places beyond the metropolis of Tokyo, which has been the basis for most research writings on Japanese music in the modern era. If the 'old traditions' were still beloved of the populace, how was the relative mix of old and new music, music-theatre and dance, shaped by specific histories in distinct regions and locales? Just as the social historian and cultural theorist Harootyanian has argued for 'coeval modernities' in East Asia and the West (2000: xvi), one can seek for coeval ways of experiencing modernity through music *within* Japan.

Research on Japanese music of the modern era that crosses both genre and 'East-West' (*hōgaku/yōgaku*) lines is only just beginning,¹ and of course most of what little there is is Tokyo-centred. For regional communities there is a great deal of documentation - most of it scattered in local, municipal and Prefectural archives - of particular local traditions and the changes they underwent in the twentieth century, but studies of the broad spectrum of music-making in a given locale at a given time are hardly to be found.²

I, too, have only just begun to research 'modern musical life' in places beyond Tokyo. I have proposed to examine Osaka, Japan's second metropolis, which in fact was its largest city for most of the 1920s after the devastating Tokyo earthquake in 1923. That is work I will begin next year (during 6 months in the Osaka region), but to date I have considered a far smaller regional urban setting as a pilot study: While a visiting researcher at Daito Bunka University's Higashi Matsuyama campus in April-May of 2006, I spent some of my time seeking documentary evidence of musical life of the 1920s and '30s in Kawagoe, a nearby city in Saitama Prefecture that is now one of several that form the western rim of Greater Tokyo. I sought materials at the two principal institutions in Kawagoe for local heritage preservation: the Kawagoe Museum and the central branch of the Kawagoe Library. In this short paper I will present some of the results, and consider implications for how to proceed with this study.

For centuries Kawagoe had been an independent community, as the castle town of the Kawagoe Domain adjacent to Edo, to which it had important political and commercial links. From the late nineteenth century Kawagoe had political autonomy as a town close to the new capital of Tokyo

about twenty kilometers away, and through population growth largely linked to its textiles industry, achieved the status of a *shi/city* in 1922. While a railway line to Ikebukuro in Tokyo was established from 1914, for most people it provided a means for occasional, rather than daily trips to or business with Tokyo; it was only in the post-war era that Kawagoe to be regarded as primarily a satellite community - one of outer Tokyo's desirable residential districts for commuters (a 'bed-town').

In the interwar era, Kawagoe residents accessed the culture of the capital largely through text and photographic media, films, records and, from 1925 on, radio. To judge from the evidence available, in music this meant that the economy of 'live' music-making was still primarily of local dimensions: in other words, local professional instrumentalists, singers and dancers performed for and taught local audiences and amateurs. Only occasionally did performers based in Tokyo make appearances in Kawagoe, it seems, and those occasions were well marked in memory.³

What was this local musical life, and how was it or might it have been experienced as a part of *modan raifu* in Kawagoe?

The conventional terms of distinction between new (modern) and old (traditional) musics in early twentieth Japan are homologous with the categories of Japan and the West: *Hôgaku* (Japanese music) and *yôgaku* (Western music). Yet at the *hōgaku* end of that spectrum there were a variety of genres that were wholly modern (of the *kindai* era that began in 1868), but involved only Japanese instruments and vocal styles derived from established historical genres. Chikuzenbiwa and Naniwa-bushi are two examples of *hōgaku* genres that emerged in the mid and late Meiji, respectively. In looking at modern musical culture (as distinct from 'modern music' as a grouping of newly-created or introduced music styles) in a given locale, attention must be given both to these kinds of *kindai hōgaku* genres, and to responses to modernity in genres of 'pre-*kindai*' music that continued to be performed and enjoyed in new circumstances. Modernity is evident in the contemporary practices of such music, just as it is in music that was hybrid and emphatically *modan*.

Accordingly, most of the documentary evidence for local music and performance of 1920s-30s Kawagoe which I found through a short 'first-cut' investigation are materials on music that is now labelled 'traditional', that is, genres that were established well before the end of the Shogunate and the opening of Japan from the late 1860s. In a table of extant and potential sources (see Table 1), I indicate by question-marks the genres for which I could find no documentation. While I could find nothing on the practice of *utai* and *jiuta*, there are important sources on most of the other *hōgaku* genres listed. Yet when it comes to *yôgaku* genres and contexts for music-making in which

yôgaku and hybrid styles are likely to have been performed in Kawagoe (for instance ‘music for silent films’), there is little in the ‘Extant Sources’ column except question-marks; just a single item of evidence on each of *ryûkôka* (recorded popular song of the era) and *kurashikku* (music in the European classical tradition) comprise the only substantial items that I was able to find.

Most of the primary and secondary sources obtainable from public archives and heritage institutions in Kawagoe, then, tell us about musical and musical-theatre genres and traditions that had existed from long before the modern era. The bulk of those sources, moreover, concern music-making in the conventional settings of *zashiki* (including tuition in *zashiki* arts such as *nihon buyô*), *yose* and theatres (the *engeikan*). The little extant evidence that suggests ‘multi-musical’ or hybrid musical activity is as follows: miscellaneous photographs of *gungakutai* (military-style bands centred on wind instruments and drums); record catalogues owned by a prominent local businessman, Itô Teiji, that list *yôgaku* and *hōgaku* in ways that suggest the consumption of both by him and other music-lovers; and a *shin min’yô*, the “Kawagoe Kouta”, composed by the music researcher, Machida Kashô with a text by the Waseda University professor of French literature and author of lyrics for some of the most famous pop songs of the era (“Tōkyō Kōshinkyoku”, “Tōkyō Ondo”, and “Aoi Sammyaku”, among others) Saijō Yaso.

In Table 1 I have listed beside the extant source ideas about ‘potential sources’. These are the principal - albeit speculative - avenues for further investigation that are suggested by the limited range of extant sources. For example, the oral history accounts of women who were trained in song and dance as indentured *geiko* in the 1910s and 1920s suggest the potential importance of diaries or other records of the men who acted as patrons for *geisha*. This is further suggested by the fact that Itô Teiji owned some scores of popular items of a principal genre of geisha dances, *nagauta*. References to two *yose* theatres, the *Engeikan* and *Maizurukan*, in the local newspaper the *Musashino Shinpō* (later titled *Musashino Shinbun*), suggest that more detailed documentation of programmes performed there should be sought. Fujii Midori, who produces the bi-annual magazine on local history, *Ko-Edo Monogatari*, has found obtained a range of photographs and short texts about the creation of the “Kawagoe Kouta” in 1930, but a surviving SP record has yet to be obtained. Itô Teiji’s documents in the possession of the Kawagoe Museum include a self-tutor for the violin, but no instrument nor records of violin music. The latter may yet exist; even if they cannot be found, information about the supply of Western instruments in Kawagoe and notices for *kurashikku* concerts can and should be sought.

Conclusions

As a city so close to Tokyo, one would expect that Kawagoe of the interwar years would have supported a lot of ‘Western’ and hybrid musical activity of the sort documented for the capital. Yet

Table 1: SOURCES for KAWAGOE MUSICAL LIFE in the INTERWAR YEARS

Genres and contexts	Extant sources	Potential sources	Notes and references
<i>zashiki</i> songs and dance: <i>nagauta</i> , <i>kouta</i> , <i>mai</i> (<i>buyô</i>)	i. oral history on contracting and training as a geisha in the 1920s ii. oral history of Hanakawa Kiyuu (b.1918), including accounts of her mother Nishikawa Kihô iii. short oral history of 'the last Kawagoe geisha', Kinko-san	Diaries of geisha patrons (<i>danna</i>) may exist (Involvement of <i>danna</i> in <i>zashiki</i> arts suggested by <i>nagauta</i> score among possessions of Itou Teiji)	i. <i>Kawagoe Shishi Shiryô</i> , v.7: Kikigakisho II: Meiji kara Taisho e ii. Nishikawa Kihô trained both indentured <i>geiko</i> and girls of Kawagoe merchant families (Kawagoe Bunka Kai 1991) iii. Fujii 2006
<i>jiuta-sôkyoku</i> (repertoires of <i>koto</i> and <i>shamisen</i>), and <i>shakuhachi</i>	?	<i>Koto</i> , <i>shamisen</i> and <i>shakuhachi</i> teachers shown in police records of residents' occupations?	Girls of the Shingashigawa area learned <i>koto</i> and <i>shamisen</i> , as their families had frequent contact with Edo/Tokyo merchants (Saitô 1990: 22)
<i>utai</i> (noh chant)	?	<i>Utai</i> teachers shown in same?	
kabuki	Accounts of amateur performances on temporary outdoor stages		Professionals from Tokyo were engaged for special festival occasions (Daito Hyakunen-sai Jikkô I-inkai 1993)
<i>yose</i> musical narrative arts: <i>Naniwa-bushi</i> , <i>jôruri</i> ; <i>kindai biwa</i>	Brief accounts in miscellaneous oral histories	Documentation of programmes at the Engeikan (from 1921) and Maizurukan (1924)	
songs of professions	<i>Sendô uta</i> from oral history of Kawagoe boatmen		<i>Kawagoe Shishi Shiryô</i> : Minzoku' volume: 628-633
<i>kagura</i> and festival arts	i. oral history accounts of festival genres in certain areas ii. a collection of news items about Kawagoe Festival from 1902-34		i. Imafuku <i>shibai</i> , <i>mansaku gei</i> and others. (Arai 1975, Daito Hyakunen-sai Jikkô I-inkai 1993) ii. Kawagoe-shi Kyôiku I-inkai 2003
music for silent films	?	i. Documents concerning the city's film theatres. ii. Documents left by <i>benshi</i> (and <i>gakushi</i>) who performed there.	Several film theatres, one of which, the Tsurukawaza, was among the largest in the Prefecture, (741 seats in 1953; Takizawa 1995: 2)
<i>chindonya</i> bands	?		a few photographs (Okamura 1978)
brass and wind bands (<i>gungakutai</i>)	?		a few photographs (Okamura 1978)
<i>yôgaku</i> : 'jazz' (<i>jazu</i>) and dance-hall music	?	Taiyou-kan, a European style café-restaurant established in 1929 perhaps a venue.	Fujii 2005 notes on the Taiyou-kan
recorded popularsong: <i>ryûkô-ka</i>	Research notes on <i>shinkyoku kouta</i> for Kawagoe (1930), Ogose, Tokorozawa, etc.	A surviving 78rpm record of the 'Kawagoe Kouta' may yet be found?	Fujii 2006 notes
<i>yôgaku</i> : classical	a single violin tutor among possessions of Itô Teiji	i. instruments and records owned by same. ii. notices of concerts given	<i>Kawagoe-shi Shûzô Monjo Mokuroku</i> v.1

at present the documentation needed to test such an inference is not there; the extent of involvement in Kawagoe with *yôgaku* and the diverse forms of modern dance and musical entertainment to be found in Tokyo is unknown.

I called this a report on a pilot study, but of course what I was able to do during a short stay in Kawagoe was gather secondary sources, view a handful of primary ones, and thereby gain an idea of how such a study might yet be undertaken: What is clear is that in Kawagoe local historians have documented a huge range of phenomena of the Edo period, but have done far less work on its social history in the twentieth century, and performing arts is a particularly neglected area for which sources have been only partially preserved. There is a lack of basic groundwork - location and confirmation of sources, description in catalogues or indices, and selective preservation or reproduction. As Kawagoe was a castle domain during the Edo period, and continues to market itself for tourism as 'Little Edo', a place not far from downtown Tokyo where one can see traces of the Edo townscape, the concentration of research energies on Edo materials is understandable. (In this sense, not only the musical life of 70-to-80 years ago that I seek to understand, but also the extent of surviving sources is conditioned by the historical specificity of this locale!) A picture of the modern musical life of this regional city will only emerge from a thoroughgoing search for as yet un-documented sources, as well as oral history work with people still lucid enough to talk of music-making as children in the 1920s or teenagers and young adults in the 1930s.

In a book published in May 2006, just at the end of my brief time at Daito Bunka University, I found inspiration to continue this rather arduous investigation: One of the many papers in the extraordinary anthology *Modern Japanese Music Culture and Takarazuka* (Tsuganezawa and Kondo eds. 2006) is on the establishment in the 1930s of a branch of Takarazuka revue at a theatre within an amusement complex outside Kanazawa, north of Kyoto. As the historian Motoyasu Hiroshi puts it:

Kanazawa is a city invariably described as an 'old castle town' or a 'place just like old Kyoto', but for a certain period before the War many regional cities were without doubt also 'modern cities' with respect to the '*modern fûzoku*' of early Shôwa, such as dance halls. (Motoyasu,2006:145)

Kanazawa bears significant resemblance to Kawagoe in that it has long been known as a picturesque city where entire neighbourhoods preserve the architecture, crafts and various traditions of Edo and Meiji period life. And yet it was 'modern' to the extent that it could sustain a branch of what was at the time a new form of music-theatre, an all-female revue that proffered fantasies of both European life and a romanticised Japanese past. Notwithstanding the apparent dearth of evidence for music other than *hōgaku* in 1920s and '30s, I will continue to seek evidence

for the diversity of musical experience in the *modan raifu* of the people of Kawagoe.

- 1) Among the few scholars who have done substantial work on the intersections in various early twentieth-century performance genres of *hōgaku* and *yōgaku* are Hosokawa Shūhei (1998, 2003) and Imada Kentarō (2000).
- 2) Since 2002 a start has been made by Watanabe Hiroshi, who documents the heterogeneity of Japanese modernity in Taishō and early Shōwa, with Osakan music-making during ca.1910-25 as a case study; he concludes that 'Japanese music' was conceived quite differently in Osaka and Tokyo, and that experimental and hybrid activity was more common in the practice of many music and music-theatre genres in Osaka. A more recent anthology, *Modern Japanese Music Culture and Takarazuka* (Tsuganezawa and Kondo eds. 2006), shows the interrelation between the *yōgaku* world of Takarazuka and many areas of popular musical taste and consumption.
- 3) For example, in a collection of memoirs and documents on the area called Daito (near what is now the Kawagoe Public Swimming Complex), a man recounts the thrill of having professional kabuki actors participate in an autumn festival performance for which a temporary stage was built in a large open space among the fields (Daito Hyakunen-sai Jikkō I-inkai 1993: 182)

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ヒュー・デフェランティ氏と その研究について

井上貴子

本論文は、2006年4月24日から5月28日まで、大東文化大学現代アジア研究所、招聘研究員として滞在されたヒュー・デフェランティ氏による、1920年代から30年代（大正末期から昭和初期）の川越周辺の音楽文化に関するものである。氏は、本学の協定校であるオーストラリア、ニューイングランド大学言語文化学部の助教授を務められ、オーストラリアにおける日本音楽研究の第一人者として活躍中の研究者である。氏は、1985年に文部省国費留学生として来日し、5年間にわたる滞在中、東京芸術大学で日本の伝統音楽、特に琵琶楽に焦点をあてて研究され、帰国後はシドニー大学でその成果をまとめられ、博士号を取得された。その後、アメリカ合衆国のミシガン大学を経て、現職につかれた。

氏は、東京芸術大学在学中より、筑前琵琶や薩摩琵琶の演奏家と交流を深め、帰国後も東洋音楽学会をはじめとする学会等で、日本人研究者と意見交換を行ってきた。また、琵琶楽研究は日本においても研究者の少ない分野であり、氏の業績は海外のみならず日本国内でも高く評価されている。さらに、日本人作曲家として海外でも高く評価されてきた武満徹の研究などでも知られる。

今回の日本での研究は、氏が琵琶楽研究を行うなかで交流をもった演奏家たちの多くが、大正時代から昭和初期に琵琶を習得したが、それが、通常の邦楽の習得過程すなわち家元制度の枠組みのなかでの伝承とは異なっていることに着目したのがきっかけとなっている。そこで、氏は、次なる課題として、両大戦間の音楽文化の変容に焦点をあてた研究

をめざすようになった。当時は「近代化・西洋化」が音楽文化にまで深く浸透していった時代である。この時代の洋楽受容の研究に関してはかなりの蓄積があるが、それらの研究は、いずれも東京中心の観を免れない。

そこで、氏は、江戸時代には「小江戸」と呼ばれ、現代も東京の衛星都市として、長年にわたって東京発の文化の影響を顕著に受け てきたと考えられる川越を調査対象として選 び、本学滞在中に精力的な資料収集を行った。その結果、両大戦間の川越の音楽文化には、 伝統邦楽以外にも、東京と同じ洋楽や和洋折 衷的な音楽が行われていたことが明らかにな ったが、それでも、氏は、東京で流行して いる音楽のすべてが知られていたわけではな いと述べる。既存の資料は古い時代に関して はかなりまとまって存在するが、この時代に 関して言えば、十分に整理収集されていると は言いがたい。したがって、氏は、今後も資 料収集に加え、聞き取りを中心とした調査活 動を続け、川越の音楽文化を明らかにしてい くことを課題として、論を結んでいる。