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GRADUATE COLLEGE

THE ACCEPTANCE OF WESTERN PIANO MUSIC IN JAPAN

AND

THE CAREER OF TAKAHIRO SONODA

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THE ACCEPTANCE OF WESTERN PIANO MUSIC IN JAPAN
AND
THE CAREER OF TAKAHIRO SONODA

A DOCUMENT APPROVED FOR THE
SCHOOL OF MUSIC

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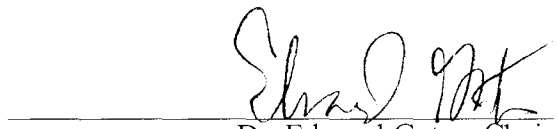

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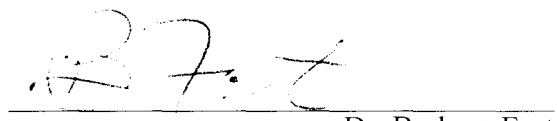

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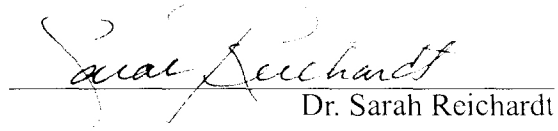

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ABSTRACT

THE ACCEPTANCE OF WESTERN PIANO MUSIC IN JAPAN
AND
THE CAREER OF TAKAHIRO SONODA

By: Mari Iida

Major Professor: Dr. Edward Gates, D.M.

Western music was almost completely unknown until 1853 when Japan opened the country to the world. However, recently, young Japanese pianists have become very active in the field of international piano competitions. And Western classical-music concerts flourish in Japan to this day. It is obvious that Western music is rooted firmly in Japan. The author considers that there is a need of a succinct account that traces the progress of acceptance and popularization of Western music in Japan.

The purpose of this study is twofold; to reveal how Japanese people, who had no Western music tradition, reached this high level of understanding of Western music, especially Western classical piano music; and to provide a focus on the career of Takahiro Sonoda, the first internationally recognized Japanese concert pianist. It observes the process of acceptance and popularization together with concurrent social and political phenomena and deals with many figures and events that the author found significant and worthy of documentation.

Part one of the study, entitled “The Period of Acceptance,” is devoted to a historical background related to pianists and teachers before 1928. It describes the drastic Westernization by the newly established Meiji government, which included

adoption of Western music as a part of a national compulsory education curriculum. This government-led Western music education planted the seed of Western music in Japan.

Part two, entitled “The Period of Challenge,” concerns musical events from 1928 to today and focuses on a biographical survey of Sonoda. It is a history of the challenge of closing the musical gap between Japan and the West. The performance techniques of Japanese musicians were advanced by the rise of musical media, the immigration of European musicians, the diversification of school music programs, and the success of domestic piano mass production.

The author found that the accomplishment of Western music acceptance and popularization was a natural outcome of the trajectory that began with the Meiji restoration and the opening of Japan to the West. Sonoda’s achievement represents the last stage of 150 years of challenge and progress by Japanese pianists.

THE ACCEPTANCE OF WESTERN PIANO MUSIC IN JAPAN AND THE CAREER OF TAKAHIRO SONODA

INTRODUCTION

Background

Recently, young pianists from East Asia have become very active in the field of international competitions. Japan, when it opened its door to the world in 1853, was the first Asian country to accept Western music. Japan led other East Asian countries by adopting Western music as a part of the national compulsory education curriculum in 1872. In June 2002, 150 years after opening the country, a young pianist, Ayako Uehara (1980-), became the first Japanese pianist and the first woman to win the first prize in the piano division at the twelfth International Tchaikovsky Competition in Moscow, the most prestigious international music competition in the world. Furthermore, she was the youngest pianist and the first East Asian winner in the history of the Tchaikovsky Competition.

Western classical-music concerts flourish in Japan to this day. Tokyo is the most attractive and profitable market for international impresarios not only in East Asia but also in the world.[1] As a result, success in Tokyo has become an important barometer for aspiring young international competitors. Nearly every world-famous pianist eventually performs in Tokyo.

This enthusiasm for Western classical-music in Japan today could not have

[1]Hiroko Nakamura, *Konkūru de oaisimashou* (Let's Meet at International Competitions) (Tokyo: Chūōkōron shinsha, 2003), 145.

been accomplished without the efforts of many early pianists and, most recently, of Takahiro Sonoda (1928-2004). Takahiro Sonoda was the first Japanese pianist to be internationally recognized by various renowned Western musicians, including Herbert von Karajan and Sergiu Celibidache. In 1954, Sonoda played Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 4 with Karajan when he made his first visit to Japan. Karajan immediately urged Sonoda to perform in Europe, which eventually led Sonoda to move to Germany in 1957. Friedrich Pasche, a former secretary to Wilhelm Furtwängler, who quickly recognized Sonoda's remarkable talent, became his personal manager. On January 13, 1959, Sonoda made his debut as a soloist at a subscription concert of the Berlin Philharmonic, playing Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 5. The *Berlin Kurier* reported on his performance: "We were simply awestruck by Sonoda's presentation, wondering to ourselves whether this Japanese pianist came to us across the miles to demonstrate how to play Beethoven."[2] After this triumph, Sonoda appeared as a soloist with such prestigious orchestras as the Vienna Symphony, Warsaw Philharmonic, Dressden Stadt Kapelle, Munich Philharmonic, Stuttgart Stadt Orchestra and many others. He gave recitals in the major cities of Europe, America, and Japan.

Sonoda's life as a concert pianist and pedagogue paved the way for succeeding young Japanese musicians. On October 31st of 2003, Sonoda played to a capacity crowd at Suntory Hall in Tokyo, Japan, commemorating his seventy-fifth birthday. In this recital he presented Bach-Busoni's Toccata, Adagio and Fugue in C major, Beethoven's Sonata op. 57 (*Appassionata*), Debussy's *Reflets dans l'eau*,

[2]Kurt Westphal, "*Ein Japaner in Berlin*" (The Japanese in Berlin), *Berlin Kurier,* 14 January 1959. Translated by Noriko Brown.

Takemitsu's *Saegirarenai kyūsoku I-III* (Uninterrupted Rest), Yuasa's *Naishokkaku-teki uchū* (Cosmos Haptic), and Prokofiev's Sonata No. 7. The performance was a significant feat, considering his advanced age. Sonoda was the first Japanese pianist to make his/her career solely as an active concert pianist. Sonoda's achievement represents the latest stage of 150-years of challenge and progress by Japanese pianists.

Purpose and Need for the Study

The purpose of this study is to reveal how Japanese people reached a high level of understanding of Western music, especially classical piano music, with a special focus on the career of Takahiro Sonoda. Because Western music was almost completely unknown in Japan until 1853, it is necessary to trace the process of its acceptance and popularization before Sonada. This process is not discussed extensively in any of the existing literature.

Procedures

Materials for a history of a classical music in Japan have been collected from a variety of primary and secondary sources. The primary sources include the published books by early musicians and people involved withWestern music, diaries, and correspondences. The secondary sources include: dictionaries, encyclopedias, newspapers, periodicals, or other publications with regard to musicians and historical matters, and unpublished dissertations related to the research.

Material and methods needed for the study of Takahiro Sonoda's career have

been collected from a variety of primary and secondary sources as well. The primary sources include all the published issues of Takahiro Sonoda's autobiography and books; personal interviews and correspondence with Sonoda's wife, Haruko, and Sonoda's former students and colleagues; selected issues of interviews and articles about Sonoda; and existing recordings and videotapes of Sonoda's piano performances and lectures. The secondary sources for the study include dictionaries, encyclopedias, newspapers, periodicals, or other publication with regard to Sonoda, other musicians, and Japanese historical matters.

Two sets of questionnaires, along with the Informed Consent Form, were sent to eighteen individuals in May 2006, the first addressed to Sonoda's former students and the latter to his former colleagues and co-performers. The student questionnaire asked for information about Sonoda's pedagogy, including practice methodology, technique, and interpretation. The colleague questionnaire requested an evaluation of his teaching methods and his personal status as an artist and a teacher as well as a description of the personal qualities distinguishing his pedagogical approach. The English version of the questionnaires can be found in Appendices A and C. Seventeen participants out of eighteen preferred face to face interviews over written answers.

Interviews were conducted with eighteen Japanese individuals including Mrs. Haruko Sonoda, Sonoda's friends and colleagues, and young pianists who were championed by Sonoda as listed in the bibliography. Interviews were recorded and took place in Japan, between May, 2006 and May, 2007. All translations from Japanese to English were done by this author, unless otherwise noted. The testimony

of these individuals provides various perspectives on Sonoda's life and piano performance.

Design of the Study

This thesis includes an introduction followed by two parts, which consist of ten chapters. The introduction gives an overview of the subject in the following sections: general background of Japan, purpose of the study, need for this study, organization, procedures, and limitations.

The next two parts cover the span of about 150 years. The part one may be called the Period of Acceptance (1853-1928), when Western music was gradually accepted by the Japanese. The part two may be called the Period of Challenge (1928-2004), when young Japanese pianists including Sonoda attempted to establish their careers in the Western world. Starting from only two participants in the Chopin Competition in 1937, the performance activities of Sonoda and other Japanese pianists in Europe and the rapid increase of the participation of the following generations in prestigious international competitions clearly indicate this trend. Mass production of domestic pianos, especially Yamaha and Kawai, as well as their export overseas, reveal this challenging spirit of the period.

Obviously, it is difficult to specify the exact year of demarcation between these two parts, because all social activities interact and shift gradually. However, there are certain phenomena which reveal the transition from the Period of Acceptance to that of the Period of Challenge in the1920s to 1930s in Japan. Moreover, the seventy-five years beginning from 1928 coincide with the life of Takahiro Sonoda (1928-2004).

Part one, “Period of Acceptance,” consists of four chapters which are devoted to a historical background related to Japanese pianists from 1853 to 1928. Consequently, this part surveys the various social factors associated with Japanese pianists, such as the national educational mindset, music experts from America and Europe, and the industrial movements connected with domestic piano making.

Part two, “Period of Challenge,” consists of six chapters which discuss the musical events after 1928, with a biographical survey of Takahiro Sonoda. The topics related to Sonoda are discuss his childhood; his education; his piano study with Leo Sirota, Marguerite Long, and Helmut Roloff; his concert activity, especially in Europe and Japan; his teaching; and the Takahiro Sonoda competition. It also discusses Sonoda’s legacy.

Limitations

The study does not provide all the particulars of Western music history in Japan, nor purport to furnish a detailed biography of Takahiro Sonoda. Rather, this study is developed sufficiently to outline the process of acceptance and popularization of Western piano music associated with Japanese pianists from 1853 to the present. Also, the survey of Sonoda’s pedagogical methods does not intend to provide a practical manual. The information is employed to form a portrait of Sonoda as Japan’s premier concert pianist, interpreter of Western classical music, and revered teacher. .

REVIEW OF SELECTED LITERATURE

Sources surveying Japanese pianists in the context of social circumstances span various fields. These sources are categorized as follows:

1. Books Related to Japanese Music History
2. Biographies of Pianists Other than Sonoda
3. Books Related to Takahiro Sonoda
4. Books Written by Pianists
5. Books on the Japanese People by Cultural Anthropologists
6. Histories of the Japanese Music Events and Music Industry
7. Books by American Scholars about Japan

Books Related to Japanese Music History

There are numerous books written on Japanese music history in Japanese and English. Ikuma Dan, a leading Japanese composer (1924-2001), author of *Watashi no nihon ongakushi* (My Japanese Music History), describes musical matters occurring in Japan from the Jōmon Period (B.C. 11000-1000) to the 1990s.[3] Dan's book is very concise and general. It is the best reference for acquiring the overall history of music in Japan. In addition, the book is unique, since Dan is an active composer and erudite about Japanese traditional music and culture.

Hikaru Hayashi (1913-) is a Japanese composer who wrote an autobiography based on his musical activities from around the end of the Second World War to the 1980s.[4] This is a precious testimony of the thirst of the Japanese

[3]Takuma Dan, *Watashi no nihon ongakushi* (My Japanese Music History). (Tokyo: Nihonhōsō shuppan kyōkai, 1999).

[4]Hikaru Hayashi, *Watashi no sengo ongakushi* (My Music History after the War) (Tokyo: Heibon sha, 2004).

general public for Western music in the turmoil of daily life during that period. He is a delightful person and his depiction of Japanese society is not pessimistic, even after the Second World War. His autobiography vigorously depicts his zest for life as both a composer and a performer for the general public.

Yōgaku: Japanese Music in the Twentieth Century written by Luciana Galliano, an Italian music scholar, includes the period of Meiji Restoration (c1867-) and illustrates the achievements of Japanese composers up to the closing decade of the twentieth century but excludes Japanese pianists.[5]

Kazushi Ishida authored an excellent book entitled *Modernism Variations* depicting East Asian modern music history.[6] Similarly, the book focuses on contemporary composers without referring to Japanese pianists.

Biographies of Pianists Other than Sonoda

Publications of individual pianists' biographies have gradually increased during the last several decades. These biographies include not only Japanese musicians, such as Nobu Kōda (1870-1946), Motonari Iguchi (1908-83), Chieko Hara (1914-2001), Kazuko Yasukawa (1922-96), and Kiyoko Tanaka (1932-96), but also European and American musicians and educators who worked actively in Japan, including Leo Sirota (1885-1965), Henriette Puig-Roget (1910-92), and Vera V. Gorunostaev (1929-).

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[5]Luciana Galliano, *Yōgaku: Japanese Music in the Twentieth Century* (Lanham, Maryland, and London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2002).

[6]Kazushi Ishida, *Modanizumu hensoukyoku: Higashi Ajia no ongakushi* (The History of East Asian Modern and Contemporary Music) (Tokyo: Sakuhoku sha, 2005).

Kōda Shimai (Kōda Sisters), written by Yukiko Hagiya, describes Nobu Kōda and her sister, Sachi Ando.[7] They were the younger sisters of Rohan Kōda (1867-1947), one of the great writers of Meiji Period (1868-1912). Nobu Kōda studied piano, violin, harmony and composition in Boston (1889) and Vienna (1890-95), when Brahms and Bruckner were still alive. Nobu Kōda was the first Japanese woman composer educated by Robert Fux (1847-1927). She graduated from the Vienna Conservatory in 1895 and became a piano professor at the Tokyo Music School, the predecessor of the Tokyo University of Fine Arts and Music.

Chieko Hara: Densetu no pianisuto (Chieko Hara: Legendary Pianist) was written by Yasuko Ishikawa in 2003. Chieko Hara (1914-2001), following her Spanish piano teacher's recommendation, went to France when she was twelve years old.[8] She studied with Lazare Lévy (1882-1964) at the Paris Conservatoire from 1930 to 1932. She participated in 1937 as the first Japanese pianist in the Chopin Competition, receiving the 'Special Audience Prize' for her skills. In 1959, after concertizing in Europe and Japan, she married Gasper Cassadó (1897-1966), a well-known cellist and a leading disciple of Pablo Casals (1876-1973), and played for Cassado's recitals as accompanist. After Cassadó's death in 1966, she devoted herself to holding the International Cassadó Competition for twenty years in Florence, Italy, though her last ten years in Japan were rather forgotten, compared with her earlier brilliant life in European high society.

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[7]Yukiko Hagiya, *Kōda Shimai* (Kōda Sisters) (Tokyo: Chopin Corp., 2003).
[8]Yasuko Ishikawa, *Hara Chieko: Densestu no pianisuto* (Chieko Hara: Legendary Pianist) (Tokyo: KK Bestsellers, 2001).

The biography of Russian pianist Leo Sirota, written by Takashi Yamamoto, may be the first biography discussed on Jewish musicians in Japan.[9] It includes descriptions of the political situation in Europe and Jewish musicians in Japan around the Second World War. Sirota was one of the three leading disciples of Ferruccio Bussoni (1866-1924). He was a successful pianist in Europe from 1909 to 1928 and was recognized internationally as a virtuoso. In 1928, he went on a year-long concert tour starting from Vienna heading east crossing the Eurasian continent to Russia, China and Japan. This changed his life, and he decided to reside in Japan with his family, eventually living there eighteen years. He loved teaching his young students, who included Takahiro Sonoda, and performing for appreciative Japanese audiences.

Although individual Japanese musicians' biographies have been published, no thorough examination of Japanese pianists from 1853 to 2008 exists. Above all, most of these Japanese pianist's biographies were written by and for non-musicians, mainly literature or sociology majors.

Books Related to Takahiro Sonoda

Sonoda's autobiography *Pianisuto, sono jinsei* (A Pianist, His Life) was published in 2005, on the first anniversary of his death. It is based on "My Career," a series of articles in the Nikkei newspaper, the largest national business newspaper.[10] The book was reedited according to the stenographed interview record of eight

[9]Takashi Yamamoto, *Leo Sirota: Nihon wo aisita yudayajin pianisuto* (Leo Sirota: The Jewish Pianist who Loved Japan) (Tokyo: Mainichi shinbun sha, 2004).

[10]Takahiro Sonoda, *Pianisuto, sono jinsei* (A Pianist, His Life) (Tokyo: Shunjū sha, 2005).

sessions, totaling sixteen hours. Some information, which was omitted in the published articles, was added according to the data of the interviews, as well as some of Sonoda's lectures and speeches.

Sonoda was an excellent writer. His writing was concise and thought-provoking. He was also honest in his private reflections. *Ongaku no tabi: Yōroppa ensou-ki* (Music Tour: Diary of a European Tour) published in 1960, was a summary of his first European concert tour (from July 19, 1957 to January 24, 1958).[11] He described in detail, and occasionally with humor, negotiations with his German manager, Pasche, the atmosphere of various concert halls in Germany, Italy, and France, conditions of the pianos, various audiences, and the backstage life of a pianist. He also vividly recounted scenes of his travel from one city to another, the weather, and some unexpected happenings. The book testifies to Sonoda's high spirits and endless motivation to aim for an even higher standard in his art and his abundant sensitivity. It was and is a precious record that gave courage and guidance to Japanese pianists who desired to perform in Europe after the War.

A book entitled *Mieru ongaku, mienai hihyō* (Visible Music, Invisible Criticism), by Sonoda, was published in 1986.[12] It is a collection of conversations with five famous figures, including Tōru Takemitsu, a leading Japanese composer. Sonoda conversed with them about the problematic aspects of musical education in Japan of that time. Together they sought the appropriate direction of Western classical music education.

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[11]Takahiro Sonoda, *Ongaku no tabi:Yōroppa ensou-ki* (Music Tour: Diary of a European Tour) (Tokyo: Misuzu shobou, 1960).

[12]Takahiro Sonoda, *Mieru ongaku, mienai hihyō* (Visible Music, Invisible Criticism) (Tokyo: Sōshi sha, 1986).

Sonoda recorded the complete volumes of Beethoven piano sonatas three times (1968, 1983, and 1997) during his life. With the composer Makoto Moroi, he also published books on analysis and performance of Beethoven's thirty-two piano sonatas and other piano pieces of the Romantic era.[13] In 1969, a year before the commemoration of the bicentennial of Beethoven's birth, Sonoda and Moroi wrote an epistolary series studying Beethoven's piano sonatas in the magazine *Ongaku Geijutsu* (Music Art). This series began between Sonoda's first seven consecutive evening recitals of Beethoven's complete piano sonata from April 22 to May 18 in 1968. This joint study, in the form of exchanged letters, was a rare case in the Japanese music world which might be called, borrowing Moroi's word, a "debate" between performer and composer. The series was summarized and published as a book in 1971. A second series of twelve articles by Moroi and Sonoda, picking up piano pieces of the nineteenth century Romantic school (Schumann, Chopin, Liszt, and Brahms) was published in1977 in the same magazine and later in book form in 1984.[14] However, there is nothing in either book or in his critical biography which features Sonoda's career in the context of the 150 years of historical background of Japan.

[13]Takahiro Sonoda and Makoto Moroi, *Ōhukushokan: Bētōben no piano sonata: bunseki to ensou* (Correspondence: Beethoven's Piano Sonatas: Analysis and Performance) (Tokyo: Ongaku no tomo sha, 1971).

[14]Takahiro Sonoda and Makoto Moroi, *Ōhukushokan: Romanha no pianokyoku: Bunseki to ensou* (Correspondence: Piano Works of the Romantic Era) (Tokyo: Ongaku no tomo sha,1984).

Books Written by Pianists

It is hard to find a biographical book written by a Japanese pianist. The first exception is Izumiko Aoyagi, a Japanese female pianist, who wrote two books on pianists. Aoyagi is a rare person who possesses both literary and musical talent. Her first work is a biography of Kazuko Yasukawa (1922-96), Aoyagi's former piano teacher and pianist who lived in Paris from the age of two to eighteen, ultimately graduating from the Paris Conservatoire.[15] Yasukawa was one of the most famous piano teachers at the Tokyo University of Fine Arts and Music.

Aoyagi's second book, entitled *Pianisuto no mita pianisuto* (Pianists Viewed by a Pianist), offers her analysis of six European pianists' secrets of performances.[16] These pianists are Sviastoslav Richter, Benedetti Michelangeli, Martha Argerich, Samson François, Pierre Barbizet, and Eric Heidsiek. The fact that this book became a bestseller in Japan (2005) shows the heightened interest of the general public in Western classical piano music.

Another pianist writer is Hiroko Nakamura, who, together with Sonoda, is one of the most popular Japanese judges in the world of international piano competitions. She was a winner (the fourth prize) of the Chopin Competition in 1965, when Marth Argerich won the first prize. A graduate of Juilliard School, a student of Rosina Lhevinne (1880-1976), and a friend of Van Cliburn (1934-), Nakamura was frequently invited to adjudicate the Van Cliburn Piano Competition. She wrote the

[15]Izumiko Aoyagi, *Tubasa no haeta yubi: Hyōden, Yasukawa Kazuko* (The Pianist with Winged Fingers: Critical Biography, Kazuko Yasukawa) (Tokyo: Hakusui sha, 1999).

[16]Izumiko Aoyagi, *Pianisuto ga mita pianisto: Meiensouka no himitu toha* (The Pianists Viewed by a Pianist: Secrets of Great Pianists) (Tokyo: Hakusui sha, 2005).

book entitled *Konkūrude oaisimashou* (Let's Meet at International Competition).[17] Her comments, told from the viewpoint of an experienced judge, enhanced the interest of Japanese music students and audiences in international competitions.

Vera Gornostaeva, a Russian pianist and professor at the Moscow Conservatory since 1971, wrote *Konsāto no atono 2jikan* (Two Hours after the Concert), which was published by Yamaha Music Media Corporation in 1994.[18] In this book, Gornostaeva describes her memory of Russian musicians before perestroika, including her teacher Heinrich Neuhaus (1888-1964) and her classmate Sviatoslav Richter (1915-97). Gornostaeva has been internationally active after perestroika giving lessons and seminars, and judging for international competitions. From 1990 Yamaha Music Promotion frequently has invited Gornostaeva to teach gifted young students who are taking lessons at the Yamaha Music School.

In the fall of 1994 NHK (Nationwide Broadcasting Association) broadcast television programs of education featuring Gornostaeva's lessons with various Japanese students from the age of eight into their thirties. The program was called "Let's play piano masterpieces, from Bach to Prokofiev." The 2002 Tchaikovsky Competition winner, Ayako Uehara, participated in this program when she was a junior high school student. Together with Henriette Puig-Roget (1910-92), the French *musicienne complete* and professor at the Paris Conservatoire, who taught at the

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[17]Hiroko Nakamura, *Konkūrude oaisimashou* (Let's Meet at International Competition) (Tokyo: Chūōkōron shinsha, 2003).

[18]Vera Gornostaeva, *Konsāto no atono 2jikan: Mosukuwa ongakuin peresutoroika izennno ongakuka gunzou* (Two Hours after the Concert: Moscow Conservatory: Group of Musicians before Perestroika) (Tokyo: YAMAHA Music Media Corp., 1994).

Tokyo University of Fine Arts and Music from 1979 to 1991, Gornostaeva is one of the most influential teachers of Japanese students and teachers in the late twentieth century.[19]

Histories of the Japanese Music Industry and Music Events

The history of Japanese pianists developed concurrently with that of the Japanese piano over the past 100 years. *Nihon no piano 100nen: Pianozukuri ni kaketa hitobito* (100 Years of Japanese Piano: Those Who Bet on Piano Manufacturing) written by two historians, Yuichi Iwama and Takanori Maema, provides an account of the modernization of Japan from the viewpoint of piano making.[20] It depicts the lives of those who developed the finest pianos, such as the Yamaha CF concert grand, which are loved by artists such as Sviastolav Richter (1915-97) and Glen Gould (1932-82).

Musical events increased dramatically after the end of the Second World War owing to the efforts made by several music companies. *Oto to hito to: Kaisou no 50nen* (Sound and People: Memoir of 50 Years), written by Naoyasu Kajimoto (1921-) in 2001, is based on his experiences with audiences and musicians from the viewpoint of an impresario.[21] Since he established his own music company in Osaka in 1951, Kajimoto is a pioneer who is vigorously involved in the management of

[19]Nobuko Funayama, ed., *Aru kanpekina ongakuka no shōzō: Madam Puig-Roget ga nihon ni nokosita mono* (A Portrait of an Accomplished Musician-Henriette Puig-Roget) (Tokyo: Ongaku no tomo sha, 2003).

[20]Takanori Maeda and Yuichi Iwano, *Nihon no piano 100nen: Pianozukuri ni kaketa hitobito* (100 Years of Japanese Piano: Those Who Bet on Piano Manufacturing) (Tokyo: Sōshi sha, 2001).

[21]Naoyasu Kajimoto, *Oto to hito to : Kaisou no 50nen* (Sound and People: Memoir of 50 Years) (Tokyo: Chūōkōron jigyō shuppan, 2001).

musicians and the planning/creating of musical events in Japan and abroad. His main events include public performances of Ikuma Dan's opera, *Yūzuru,* in China in 1979, invitations to Vladimir Horowitz to perform in Japan in 1983 and 1986, and the Pierre Boulez Festival in Tokyo in 1995.

Eloise Cunningham no ie (The House of Eloise Cunningham) was written by a well-known announcer, Akiko Shimojū, from her experience of purchasing Cunningham's summer cottage in Karuizawa, one of the most famous and oldest summer resorts in Japan.[22] Cunningham (1899-2000) was the daughter of an American missionary who came to Japan with her parents and lived there from the age of two until she died at the age of 101, leaving only for the period of the Second World War. Her remarkable feat was the establishment of a musical organization, originally called Juvenile Music Association, in Tokyo in 1948, which provided high quality, free concerts to Japanese youth (elementary to senior high school students), and which continued throughout her life. Her motto was, "Music is mission."[23]

Books on the Japanese People by Cultural Anthropologists

Ruth Benedict wrote *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, based on the study of Japan directed by the American Military Intelligence Bureau during the Second World War, which became the source of her theory of Japanese roots and culture.[24] It analyzed the Japanese actions and culture that led to a unique Japanese way of

[22]Akiko Shimojū, *Eloise Cunningham no ie* (The House of Eloise Cunningham) (Tokyo: Hakusui sha, 2005).
[23]Ibid., 207.
[24]Ruth Benedict, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946).

thinking and elucidated the characteristics behind them. It succeeded in illustrating the Japanese as uniquely complicated in character and feature. The pattern of Japanese culture was symbolized in the elegance of the chrysanthemum and the might of the sword. Amazingly, the book was written by Benedict, who never visited Japan, from correspondence with Japanese residing in America and from Japanese films. It is the first book of its kind, and it is considered one of the most useful books for the understanding of different cultures, even beyond the study of Japan.

Tadao Umesao's *The Roots of Contemporary Japan,* published in 1990, is primarily based on a series of lectures given at the Collège de France in Paris in 1984.[25] Umesao develops his theory of the Edo period (1600-1867) as a preparation for modernization and considers that Japan is the last participant in the Industrial Revolution that began in England in the nineteenth century. The Japanese loved science, mathematics, and manufacturing from the Edo period; therefore, Japan moved toward an industrialized country and achieved its growth in a comparatively short period. Unlike other scholars, he points out the historical parallels between Japan and Western Europe. His completely new angle to observe Japanese history in the global context immediately received attention among academic communities.

Books by American Scholars about Japan

A quarter century ago, in 1979 Ezra F. Vogel (1930-), professor of Social Science at Harvard University, wrote a book titled *Japan as No.1*.[26] It was published

[25]Tadao Umesao, *The Roots of Contemporary Japan* (Tokyo: Japan forum, 1990).

[26]Ezra F. Vogel, *Japan as No.1* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979).

at the time when a small portion of the Japanese public had realized that they had been achieving the restoration of the nation after the Second World War with miraculously high speed. Vogel pointed out that there are merits of Japan compared with Western nations, which was a great surprise and sounded pleasant to the general public of Japan. It was persuasive because he lived with his family in Japan from 1958 to 1960 and had many Japanese friends. Naturally, the book became a bestseller; it sold 700,000 copies in Japan.

Vogel wrote in the preface of his 2004 edition of the same book that most of the responses from readers were "interesting but the author might be crazy living too long in Asia."[27] This book was remarkable by being substantiated with justifying statistics of Japan in the 1970s. For this document's purpose, chapter seven of the book, "Education: High Quality and Equal Chance," is valuable as it reports the detailed situation of Japanese compulsory education and Japanese attitudes toward education outside of the schools.

Embracing defeat: Japan in the wake of World War II, was written by John W. Dower (1938-) in 1999, and was translated into Japanese in 2001.[28] It provides a detailed depiction of the turmoil of Japanese society and the lives of the Japanese general public under the American occupation (1945-52) after the Second World War. Dower's way of writing is impartial yet warm, in that he covers the subject extensively from the bottom to the top of Japanese society, citing from various sources including newspapers, and reveals the turmoil, survivals, moral changes, and

[27]Ezra F. Vogel, *Shinpan: Japan as No.1* (New edition: Japan as No.1). (Tokyo: Hanshin Communications Co., 2004), 2.

[28]John W. Dower, *Embracing defeat: Japan in the wake of World War II* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co. , New York Press, 1999).

the feelings of loss of Japanese citizens. Dower spent thirteen years writing his masterpiece. It was awarded nine prizes, including the Pulitzer Prize.

The above two books are extensive; however, there is almost no reference to people in the Japanese music field during and after the Second World War. This author strongly feels that it is necessary to document Japanese musical education and performance along with the great appreciation of the Japanese people for Western classical music, particularly piano music. The author has extensive experience, first, as a music student in post-war Japan, and, later, as a professional musician and teacher of piano.

PART ONE

THE PERIOD OF ACCEPTANCE (1853-1928)

CHAPTER I

WESTERN MUSIC AND NATIONAL SECLUSION

Western Music in Japanese History (1549-1852)

The first substantial Japanese encounter with Western music occurred in the middle of sixteenth century.[29] The sixteenth century was one of the most dramatic periods in Japanese history; in this time Japan went through a historic change from the medieval to the early modern period. It was the last years of the ongoing Warring States Period starting from 1467 (the Revolt of Ōnin).[30]

During this period of upheaval, two historically important influences from European countries appeared. In 1543, European firearms were introduced into Japan by the Portuguese. Six years later, in 1549, Francis Xavier (1506-52), the Spanish missionary of the Society of Jesus, introduced to Japan not only Christian church music but also Western musical instruments such as the flute, viola, harp, and small keyboard instruments.

Within twenty years after the arrival of the Spanish priest, more than two hundred churches had been established in the western part of Japan. Moreover, in

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[29] Throughout this document all translations were done by this author, unless otherwise noted.

[30] The Warring States Period started with the outbreak of the Revolt of Ōnin (1467-77) and continued until 1568, when Nobunaga Oda (1534-82), a prominent feudal lord, entered into Kyoto. After one hundred years (1467-1568) of prolonged civil strife, Oda and Hideyoshi Toyotomi (1537-98), a warrior of Oda, succeeded in unifying Japan at the end of the sixteenth century.

1580, two seminaries and collegiums were also founded. Simple forms of the pipe organ were also brought by an Italian priest, Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606), and installed in churches near Nagasaki: the first one in 1579, and the second in 1580. Unfortunately, both were destroyed during the civil strife. However, in 1600, only twenty years after the introduction of the organ, the Japanese produced organs which had bamboo instead of metal pipes.[31] These scant facts reveal the Japanese early enthusiasm for Christianity and their ability to grasp foreign concepts and technology.

At Christian seminaries, Latin and music education, including lessons in choral singing and Western musical instruments (monocordio, cravo and viola), were taught to young Japanese friars. Four teenaged students were sent to Rome by Alessandro Valignano and presented at the Vatican Palace to Pope Gregory XIII (1502-85) in 1585. Two of the students played a cathedral organ in Evora, Portugal, and drew loud applause from the archbishops and audiences.[32] They were the first Japanese keyboard players educated by European teachers. Regrettably, we do not know the names of the pieces they played.

The introductions of Christianity and firearms greatly influenced later Japanese history. European firearms, as new and powerful weapons, completely changed the war tactics and advanced the war's end. The Tokugawa military regime (Tokugawa Shogunate) finally won the prolonged war and governed all the feudal lords in Japan (1600). In 1614, the Tokugawa military regime decided to ban Christianity because they thought the individualistic nature of Catholicism was a

[31]Takuma Dan, *Watashi no nihon ongakusi* (My Japanese Music History), 64-73.

[32]Michael Cooper, *The Japanese Mission to Europe, 1582-90* (Kent, UK: Grobal Oriental, 2005), 49-50.

potentially subversive element. Consequently, Western music was suppressed as well. It should be remembered also that Christian church music was played only for congregations who lived in the western part of Japan. Therefore, it had never become popular among the general public. Due to the brief period of the time between its introduction and ban, along with its geographic limitation, Christian music could not take root in Japan. These two introductions were the first physical and spiritual contact the Japanese people enjoyed with Western civilization.

An unintended result of the introduction of Christianity was that it eventually led the new regime to adopt national isolationism. In 1639, twenty-five years after the ban on Christianity, the Tokugawa military regime enacted a policy of seclusion that shut Japan off from the outside world. The only exception was the compound of Dutch traders in Nagasaki, which is in the Kyushu district. Holland was a Protestant country, not Catholic, like Spain or Portugal. The Dutch did not proselytize for their faith because they wished to monopolize trade with Japan to the exclusion of their rivals, Spain and Portugal.

The Tokugawa military regime kept Japan under its rule and away from European cultural influences for over two hundred years (1639-1867).[33] Accordingly,

[33]Ieyasu Tokugawa's victory of the Battle of Sekigahara in the 1600's marked the beginning of the Edo period. The Edo period (1600-1867) is also known as Tokugawa Era or Early Modern Japan. Other historians see it as part of the Feudal era (from about the eighth century) of Japanese history. However, Tadao Umesao, cultural anthropologist, considers that the political system of the Tokugawa Shogunate was basically different from the feudalism of the medieval age, and the Edo period is a long transition period from feudalism to capitalism, and would correspond, in terms of European history, to the absolute monarchy of the Bourbons. In the system of Tokugawa military shogunate, which designated members of the Tokugawa family, the shogun had national authority and the daimyo (feudal lord) had regional authority. See Tadao Umesao, "The Edo Period: Absolute rule, or The Pax Tokugawana," in *The Roots of Contemporary Japan* (Tokyo: Japan Forum, 1990).

during that period, the Japanese started developing and creating art and music in a fashion amazingly unique and original to themselves. This almost complete isolation from the world brought about a peaceful social life for the Japanese people and allowed the Tokugawa people to round out Japanese culture to its full extent. Authentic Japanese music reached its maturity through mutual relationships among and between the new performing arts of *Kabuki, Joururi, Nou, Kyougen*, the new instruments (*Shamisen, Koto*), the new performing places (Theaters, Entertainment districts, Households), and the newly urbanized people in the Edo-Tokugawa period.[34] The most distinctive characteristic of the music which blossomed and matured in the Tokugawa period is that it was created mainly for the enjoyment of people living in the big cities of Edo (the old name for Tokyo) and Osaka. Edo and Osaka had already become two of the largest cities in the world and the population of eighteenth century Edo at the height of its prosperity totaled over 1.3 million. Both in the East and West, music came into being as the means to communicate with a deity. However, the case in Japan was different. Although Shintoism and Buddhism were the main religions of Japan, neither religion formed a powerful common culture for the Japanese. Therefore, Japanese traditional music was produced strictly for the people's enjoyment. Music was created to serve as a suitable atmosphere or

[34]During the Edo period the Japanese developed educationally, economically, and industrially. Each feudal lord set his private school to educate his warriors (samurai) and encouraged them to study mathematics, astronomy, cartography, engineering, and medicine. Throughout the Edo period the temple schools called "terakoya" were created all over Japan and taught public children reading, writing and arithmetic. It is said that even in the middle of the nineteenth century literacy rates were about fifty percent for men and fifteen percent for women, which is a high proportion compared with European standards of that time. Japanese parents were keen on their children's acquiring higher education. Regional clans also encouraged and assisted the promotion of craft industries depended on investments made by urban merchants. The rising merchant class could support a new mass culture.

background for narrative literature. It was always attached to the performing arts and did not exist independently. This was the reason why absolute instrumental music did not develop in Japan.

The art of traditional music was passed down by a strict guild system which maintained a high regulation over content and technique. These successors never thought to infuse the influence of foreign music; today, the authentic traditional forms still remain. Most of the artistic ideas and musical arts that we consider as "authentically Japanese" were developed and perfected during this Edo-Tokugawa period.

The End of the Tokugawa Shogunate and Opening the Country to the World

In August 1844, a special envoy sent by Willem the Second (1792-1849), the King of Holland, visited Nagasaki and submitted a signed document addressed to the Tokugawa Shogun, calling him "the King of Japan." The document stated that the Ching dynasty had been defeated by England in the Opium War (1840-42) and it alerted Japan not to be defeated likewise by lifting the order of national seclusion. It also stated that the world was becoming smaller owing to the invention of the steamship, and consequently Japan could not hope to maintain its national isolation forever. The Tokugawa Shogunate decided despite a division of opinions to maintain its isolation.

Shortly thereafter, the Western fleets appeared one after another in the seas surrounding Japan to demand concessions from the East Asian countries, such as sailing fuel, provisions of food and so on. Japan, weakened by the long lasting seclusion, was compelled to conclude treaties of peace and amity with the European

nations. Leaders of regional clans had started to seek structures to protect them from the Tokugawa Shogunate, which was then in its denouement.

July 8, 1853, the most famous event in Japanese history in its relation with America, is also the most important date for Western music in Japanese music history. The American Captain Matthew Calbraith Perry (1794-1858), commodore in chief of the U.S. naval forces stationed in the East Indies, anchored with four black battleships at Uraga, the entrance to Edo Bay. He brought a letter from the American president, Millard Fillmore (1800-74), who demanded that Japan open its door to the West.

The Tokugawa Shogunite refused the request; however, Commodore Perry intruded deep into Edo Bay by sending two battleships to demonstrate the immense superiority of the Western military power over Japan. The people of Edo (Tokyo) seethed with this demonstration. The Tokugawa Shogunate realized that its closed-door policy was no longer enforceable. The report showed that the American national airs including "Yankee-Doodle" were played by the military band when they first landed at Uraga. After an interlude of 250 years, the Japanese living along the street and watching the American military parade encountered Western music once again.[35]

Under pressure, treaties were signed that officially ended Japan's isolation in 1854. After these treaties, Japan opened five ports (Nagasaki, Kobe, Yokohama, Hakodate, and Niigata) to Western colonial fleets and allowed foreigners to reside in

[35]Strictly speaking, Takashima Shirodayū (1798-1866), a scholar of Dutch military science in Nagasaki, started a reform of the armed forces including the training of military bands in 1839. See Ury Eppistein, "Dutch Studies and Dutch-style Music," in *The Beginning of Western Music in Meiji Era Japan* (Lewiston, N.Y.: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1994), 10-11.

Edo and Osaka. These foreigners' residential enclaves immediately became a conduit for Western culture.

The Tokugawa Shogunate concluded commercial treaties with Western countries in 1858. Many foreigners took this opportunity to rush to open factories and firms in the five officially opened sea ports. Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant missionaries from various Western countries became active as well. Japanese feudal lords competed to learn Western politics, economics, and culture from these missionaries, as they felt the necessity of acquiring Western civilization more strongly than did the Tokugawa Shogunate. As the Japanese were still prohibited from becoming Christian, missionaries focused on the education of Japanese youths, who were more thirsty for new knowledge than for religious missionary works. Among the missionaries, Guido Herman Fridolin Verbeck (1830-98) was sent to Nagasaki by the Dutch Reformed Church of America in 1859.[36] He taught languages as well as politics and science to future core politicians of the Meiji government (1868-1912), such as Hirohumi Ito (1841-1909), Toshimichi Ōkubo (1830-78), and Shigenobu Ōkuma (1838-1922).

[36]Guido Herman Fridolin Verbeck was born in Holland and immigrated to America in 1852. He was an influential missionary and engineer. Verbeck became a teacher at Nagasaki yōgakusho which was established as the English school of the Tokugawa Shogunate. He was also invited to be the principal of the Saga clan school (1859). He built the foundations of the first university education in Japan. He is also the first instructor who lectured on the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States of America in Japan. Bright youths from all over Japan attended these two schools and they later became the leaders who brought about the political reforms and modernization of Japan. Verbeck arranged for outstanding youths to study in America. The personal relationships from these activities brought him to the position of political adviser to the new Meiji government in Tokyo from 1869. He dedicated himself to the propagation of the Christianity from 1877. He died suddenly of a heart attack in Tokyo in 1898. He was buried in the Aoyama cemetery in the middle of Tokyo.

By the 1860's, the Tokugwa Shogunate and other feudal lords were not only importing Western technology and science, but also seeking new governmental structures to meet the foreign threat. They were aggressively sending their young men to learn Western culture from America and European countries.

CHAPTER II

MEIJI RESTORATION AND MUSIC EDUCATION

Three Small Girls in the Iwakura Mission (1871)

Before the start of the Meiji Restoration, January of 1868 to June of 1869, Japan passed through the last revolt of the provincial lords over the pros and cons of the new open-door policy. The battles of the Bosin War were between those who supported the Tokugawa regime and those who supported the Emperor. The defeat of a group of the former warriors (samurai) of the Tokugawa Shogunate at Hakodate, the northern most port in Hokkaido, marked the end of the Edo-Tokugawa era. The Meiji restoration began in 1868, when the Emperor gained control from the Tokugawa. The Emperor Meiji (1852-1912), who has the reputation of being one of the best emperors in Japanese history, became the head of the political and military hierarchy in the new era under the new Meiji constitution. Practically, however, the real power resided with the oligarchic genro, which mostly consisted of the intelligentsia who had studied in Western countries. The capital was moved from Kyoto to Edo, and consequently renamed Tokyo (literally the "eastern capital," to distinguish it from Kyoto, the imperial center from the eighth century). The name of a new era was called "Meiji," which means "enlightened rule." The Meiji Restoration marked the beginning of large-scale Westernization led and sponsored by the government to drastically shift Japan's social, political, and economic makeup, transforming it into one of the great powers of the modern world. It was inevitable that Meiji Japan had to act quickly to close its economic and military gap with the West. Immediately, the feudal system was discarded. All governmental systems were studied and adapted to

European models. The Meiji government held up the new motto, “Fukoku kyōhei,” which meant “Enrich the country, strengthen the army.”

To strengthen the army, the Japanese government learned the military systems of mainly England and France. Consequently, the Japanese military had to learn the military music from the West as well. Military music was relatively simple and artless, but it sounded to the Japanese of that time like the epitome of Western music. By 1870, John William Fenton, the English military band master, was teaching young military musicians at an army post in Yokohama, the port for Tokyo.

To enrich the country, the Meiji government also regarded education as important. The new government invited Guido Verbeck to Tokyo as a political adviser and teacher in the Kaisei School (later the University of Tokyo) for the education of the leaders for the new government. Shigenobu Ōkuma, one of core politicians of the new government and a former Verbeck student, asked Verbeck to make a plan to send high officials to America and Europe. In 1869, Verbeck submitted to the Meiji government a concrete proposal for a Japanese diplomatic journey around the world.

The Iwakura Mission, named after the mission’s leader, Tomomi Iwakura (1825-83), one of the most celebrated ex-court family members and a politician with a cosmopolitan perspective, was organized on Verbeck’s proposal as a large-scale official delegation sent by the Meiji government. The official members of the mission were Tomomi Iwakura, the extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador, four vice-ambassadors, and various administrators and scholars. There were forty-six members in the delegation. Three vice-ambassadors (Toshimichi Okubo, Takayoshi Kido, and Hirobumi Ito) were ministers in the new government. Their average age was thirty-years, surprisingly young by present-day standards. Additionally, eighteen

attendants and forty-three students were brought along, among whom were five young girls, the first female Japanese students to go abroad.

The diplomatic mission had three purposes. The Meiji government needed to negotiate the postponement of the deadline for the amendment of the unequal treaty which had been agreed upon with Western countries during previous decades under the Tokugawa Shogunate.[37] The second purpose was to gather information on Western traditional culture, education, and technology and its social and economic systems. The third was to survey and reorganize the situation of Japanese students abroad by official expenditure.[38]

The dispatch of the female students was proposed by Kiyotaka Kuroda (1840-1900) and Arinori Mori (1847-89). Kuroda was a deputy minister for the Hokkaido Development Bureau and was visiting America for the survey to learn how to develop Hokkaido. Mori was the Japanese representative in Washington, who was seeking a progressive education in order to prepare women appropriately for their roles in a modern Japan. The proposal was immediately accepted by Iwakura. The recruitment of students was carried out in October, just one month before the departure of the Iwakura Mission (November 12, 1871).

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[37]In the "General Convention of Peace and Amity" signed between the Tokugawa Shogunate and the American Commodore Matthew C. Perry in 1854, the terms of the trade treaties included a system of extraterritoriality and fixed low import-export duties, subject to international control. See Conrad Totman, "Crisis and Rupture" in *A History of Japan,* 2d ed. (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 289. Kunitake Kume, "Introduction" and "Translator's Introduction" in *The Iwakura Embassy 1871-73,* vol. 1, *The United States of America* (Matsudo, Chiba: The Japan Documents, 2002), xvi, xxxii.

[38]Charles Lanman (1819-1895), the Japanese Legation in Washington, reported that five hundred Japanese had already visited America by 1872 and about two hundred were still in America at that time. See Charles Lanman, "The Japanese Students," in *Leaders of the Meiji Restoration in America* (Tokyo: The Hokuseido Press, [c 1931]), 52. This book was edited originally under the title of *The Japanese in America* by Charles Lanman, published in 1872.

The conditions proposed for the students included a ten-year stay, with governmental funding for round-trip travel, tuition and living costs of eight hundred dollars a year. No female applicants initially appeared, despite such generous conditions. In those days girls were supposed to provide domestic help by taking care of younger siblings. Commonly, around the age of fifteen, young women were sent out to be married. The daughters of nobles were trained with discipline and brought up to be good wives and mothers. Most parents thought a ten-year stay in a foreign country would ruin their daughters' chances of marriage. The Japanese general public of those days did not eat four-legged animals, which was regarded as barbaric. Moreover, they suspected that wine was blood, therefore, regarded with horror the sending of their daughters to wine-drinking Western countries.

Five girls were finally found after a second recruitment. They were fourteen-year-old Ryoko Yoshimasu and Teiko Ueda, eleven-year-old Sutematsu Yamakawa, eight-year-old Shigeko Nagai, and six-year-old Umeko Tsuda. All of them were from samurai families, and, unlike common parents, their parents, brothers, and relatives had already been well versed in foreign matters and were progressive in thought by the standard of that age. The fathers of the two older girls worked in the foreign ministry during the Tokugawa Shogunate. Sutematsu Yamakawa's elder brother had already visited Russia as an attendant for the Shogunate's minister in 1867 and then had toured European countries. Her younger brother, Kenjiro Yamakawa, was studying at the Sheffield Scientific School at Yale University in America and later became Yale's first Japanese graduate. Shigeko Nagai's father and brother joined the Tokugawa government mission and visited Europe in 1863. Umeko Tsuda's father worked for the Shogunate as an interpreter and had joined the

Shogunate mission to America for negotiations to purchase battleships.

On December 23, 1871 the Iwakura Mission sailed from Yokohama and reached San Francisco on January 15, 1872. Then, they crossed the continent by the transcontinental railway, staying briefly in Salt Lake City and Chicago. Their rail journey took longer than they expected because America had its heaviest snowfall in forty years. They reached Washington on February 29, 1872.[39]

The five female students were separated from the mission in Washington and lived under the supervision of Mori in a rented residence on Connecticut Avenue. They lived together with a hired English teacher and cook. Two-hour English study in the morning and a once-a-week piano lesson were required of each student. But by the autumn, the older two students were gradually weakened by heavy homesickness and judged to be incapable of continuing their study. They left for Japan the end of October, chaperoned by the wife of an American chemist who had been hired by the Hokkaido Development Bureau.

The remaining three students made no progress in English because they lived together and spoke Japanese. They needed to be separated and educated in American families, which Mori sought. Seven-year-old Umeko was assigned to Charles Lanman, who had no children and was a secretary to Mori. Sutemastu and Shigeko were assigned to the Reverend Leonard Bacon of New Haven, Connecticut, who was introduced by the friends and acquaintances of Mori and Sutematsu's younger brother.

[39]In Washington, the first destination for the negotiation, the mission found it impossible to negotiate a substantial amendment to the treaty and had to be satisfied with making known their hope. They stated, during their visit to European countries, only their desire for an amendment. The delegation returned to Japan September 13, 1873. Their almost two-year round-the-world journey far surpassed their initial ten-month plan.

The following letter was sent by Leonard Bacon to Mori stating the final memorandum of conditions with regard to the two female students. The letter covers not only English education and piano instruction, but also the decent morals and manners as a lady in Western high society.[40]

Hon. Mr. Mori

New Haven
Oct. 31, 1872

Dear, Sir,

I respectfully submit to you the following memorandum of the condition on which the two Japanese young ladies are this day received into my family, and of the care and responsibility which we as a family assume in their behalf.

1. We (Mrs. Bacon and myself) receive them not as mere boarders and lodgers, but as if they were the children of some near friend, who would expect us to have a parental care over them, and to treat them with all parental kindness---or as if they were our grand children. Mrs. Bacon and my daughters will be watchful over the health, morals and manners of these young ladies, and will take care that their training is like that of daughters in the best New England families. We expect them to require that knowledge of domestic duties and employments which qualifies an American Lady to become the mistress of a family. . . . Till they have sufficiently acquired the use of English language, and it shall be thought best for them to attend some school or to receive lessons at home under masters, they will be learning from my wife and daughters the art of reading and writing in English, and as much of Arithmetic and Geography as will prepare them to enter a suitable school. When they shall have learned to read English with sufficient facility, we shall take care to interest their minds in such books as will be useful to them.

2. My understanding is that for boarding, lodging, washing and all their care and instruction, the compensation is to be fifteen dollars a

[40]Leonard Bacon (1802-81) was born in Detroit, Michigan and graduated from Yale (1820) and Andover Theological Seminary (1823). He was the minister at Center Church for forty years (1825-66) in New Haven and acting professor of didactic theory in the theological department of Yale University from 1886 to 1871. He was already seventy-one years old when his family accepted the two Japanese female students. Japan abolished the laws banning Christianity in February 1873 by Iwakura's report from Europe, which mentioned that he thought Japan would never be treated equally by Western countries if this law was not abolished. It is not well known that the first draft for the new law was written by Leonard Bacon by himself.

week for each of the two young ladies, payable quarterly, namely for the first quarter at the end of six weeks or 12th of December, and thereafter on the 12th of March, June and September.

3. Medical advice and aid in case of illness, with other extraordinary expenses thus arising, will be an additional charge and will be met in the quarterly payment next succeeding.

4. Instruction on the piano will be given, at present, if desired, by competent teachers in my family and the charge for instruction, with the use of the instrument, at the rate of forty dollars for a year to each of them. Whenever Mr. Mori, or his successor in the guardianship of the young ladies, shall determine to employ a professional music teacher, the charge for the use of the piano will be to each of them eight dollars a year.

5. I reserve the power of annulling these arrangements at any time after giving six weeks' notice, and I concede the same power to Mr. Mori or his successor.

I have the honor to be
Very respectfully yours,
Leonard Bacon

P.S. I have omitted to mention that the books and stationary, pencils, etc. for young ladies will be a separate charge in the account of their expenses; and that Mrs. Bacon will purchase for them, at their expense, all necessary articles of apparel so that they shall continue to be dressed in a style suitable to young ladies in a family like ours. If all allowance is made to each of $150 a year for clothing and incidental expense, we will make the expenditure as much less than that amount as we can with due regard to propriety, and promise it will not be more than the allowance.[41]

Suematsu and Shigeko headed toward New Haven from Washington on the midnight train on October 30, 1873, accompanied by Mori. It was their good fortune to be assigned to the Bacon family, as the Bacons were austere and pious, living in the educationally and culturally high-standard small town of New Haven, the site of Yale University. The motto of the samurai society was "Simple and sturdy," which corresponded to the traditional Puritanism of New Haven. The two surprised their

[41] Akiko Kuno, *Unexpected Destinations: Poignant Story of Japan's First Vassar Graduate,* trans. Kisten Mclvor (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1993), 77-78.

New Haven family by adapting quickly to the new environment and leaned everything immediately. Bacon noticed it was not good for the two girls to live together because they spoke Japanese with one another, and he assigned Shigeko to Reverend John S. C. Abbot's family in Fair Haven.

All three girls were taking piano lessons throughout their stay in America. When Sutematsu and Shigeko were allowed to meet Umeko in Washington by the arrangement of Mori, they were asked to play the piano for Mrs. Lanmen and their friends. Sutematu sent a letter to Mrs Bacon:

> Last night Mrs. Lanman's friends came to see us, and I had to play new plays for them and then what they wanted me to play on the piano. I was afraid that I would make so many mistakes, and I did not make many mistakes. Shige [Shigeko] played hers very nicely. [42]

Six years later, on September 18, 1878, Sutematsu and Shigeko entered Vassar College in Poughkeepsie, New York, as official students with their tuition and expenses paid by the Japanese government. Sutematsu became the first Asian female student to obtain a degree from a university in America.[43] What is most important for Japanese piano history, however, is that Shigeko Nagai majored in music at Vassar College. Vassar College then was a pioneer of music education. The music course was a special course in the department of fine arts with a three-year curriculum. It was not until 1923 that the music course became a four-year curriculum culminating in a bachelor's degree. Shigeko, not knowing Western music before coming to America, obtained a diploma. She studied brilliantly among the American women, considering that not all students graduated.

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[42]Ibid., 87. The letter is dated from Georgetown, Whashington, D.C., 20 December, 1874.

[43]Vassar College, *The Magnificent Enterprise: A Chronicle of Vassar College* (Poughkeepsie, N. Y.: Vassar Cooperative Bookshop, 1961), 24.

Shigeko Nagai returned to Japan in 1881 after her ten-year stay in America, having acquired a systematic piano performance technique. She became the first woman to give a piano recital in Japan. Then she was one of the first Japanese piano teachers and was appointed as the piano teacher at the Music Investigation Center, which had been created three years before (1879) by the Japanese Ministry of Education to transplant Western music to Japan.[44]

Shūji Isawa and Luther W. Mason

There were two forms of imported Western music in Japan from the middle of the nineteenth century: military music and Christian church music. Military music started with the drum and fife corps as a part of military training for the individual clan, which remarkably developed after the establishment of the Department of the Army and the Navy in 1871 into a decent military brass band. This was used for military training and ceremonial events, as well as for independent concerts, thus playing a major role in the popularization of Western music with the general public. Women, who were not in the military, were naturally excluded from these military bands.

Hymns were the most accessible Western music. They were effective for the missionary, as congregations sang them together with the choir. Hymns contained what the Japanese considered to be modern sounds. Hymns were translated beginning in 1866, and six different hymn books were available by 1873. Many of those who later became musicians had been influenced by hymns during their childhood, such as

[44]Umeko received a high school diploma from the Arther Institude in Washington and returned to Japan with Sutematsu after eleven years, on November 12, 1882.

composer and conductor Kōsaku Yamada (1886-1965). There were few chances of hearing live Western music, however, for the people living in regions far from the big cities.

The third influx of Western music was initiated by the governmental direction to change the educational system according to Western guidelines in July, 1872. It was only seven months after the departure of the Iwakura mission. The new education system provided that the children of all classes had to take the educational curriculum decided by the Ministry of Education. Elementary schools and middle schools were set up in all parts of Japan. The curriculum was composed of fourteen subjects (calligraphy, reading, ethics, arithmetic, earth science, etc.) for the elementary school and sixteen subjects (Japanese language, history, science, etc.) for the middle school. It was notable that the curriculum for the elementary and middle school included the "class for songs" and "class of music" respectively. However, there were no appropriate songs for these classes. The curriculum was decided after a study of the various educational systems of Western countries, but it did not supply a policy or method for music education. No one had the background necessary to establish the policy and method of music education for Japan's children. The state announced that for elementary and middle school children there would be "no classes for the time being." Songs, music, and the techniques of teaching would have to be imported immediately.

Here emerged Shuji Isawa (1851-1917), who was called "the father of Western music education" or "the father of the music world in Japan."[45] He

[45]Takanori Maeda and Yuichi Iwano, *Nihon no piano 100nen: Pianozukuri ni kaketa hitobito* (100 Years of Japanese Piano: Those Who Bet on Piano Mnufacturing) (Tokyo: Sōshisha, 2001), 21.

contributed greatly to the popularization of Western music, including education in music and piano as well as the manufacturing of pianos in the Meiji Restoration. Isawa was a brilliant person from early childhood, but not specifically versed in music. He came by chance to create the method of spreading Western music in Japan. He happened to meet the American music educator, Luther Whiting Mason (1818-96) in Boston, Massachusetts, with whose collaboration he made the spread of the unfamiliar temperament of Western music in the form of "shōka" (song) throughout Japan.

Isawa was born in 1851, in what is now Nagano prefecture, and was known as a bright youth, mastering law, economics, martial art strategy (military art, art of war) and natural sciences, as well as the Chinese classics and Dutch studies of Edo. In addition, he learned English from the American missionary Christopher Carrothers (1839-1921) in Tokyo after studying it by himself at around the age of eighteen. In 1870, he studied at the University of Minami (predecessor of the University of Tokyo, faculty of law, science, and literature) on a scholarship from the Takato clan. He then became the principal of the Aichi Normal School when he was twenty- three. In this normal school, he devised a new song called "yūgi-shōka" (play-song) converting the American song "Lightly Row" by substituting Japanese words, which made it possible for Japanese children to dance together in a group while singing. It was a unique idea in Japan at that time, though influenced by Friedrich Wilhelm August Fröbel (1782-1852).[46] Isawa reported several times on this play-song experiment to the Ministry of Education. This attracted the eye of David Murray (1830-1905), who

[46]German educator who established the first kindergarten in the world.

was hired as a supervisor by the Ministry of the Implementation of the Education System. Murray was so impressed by Isawa's creativity that he recommended Isawa for the envoy to America to be sent by the ministry to survey teacher education in America.

In July 1875, four years after the five girls arrived in America, Isawa was sent to America to study the training of teachers. He went with two students and Tanetarō Megata (1853-1926), a government official for the supervision of Japanese students in America. The purpose was not limited to music, but the study and survey of all subjects and the entire American education system.

Isawa studied at the Bridgewater Normal School in Boston, Massachusetts. Though he excelled in all other subjects, he was poor at music because he had not studied any Western music before. At his graduation, the school had to give him an exemption from the test in music, due his special circumstances as a student from Japan. He was in sorrow for three days, according to his diary, agonizing that he could not return to Japan with an incomplete accomplishment. Those who studied abroad at the beginning of Meiji period had an exceptionally strong sense of vocation and responsibility. Most of the students sent abroad were elites who usually entered into governmental offices or the academic world, without even considering music.

Isawa, through experiencing how music and music education were rooted in American life, must have felt that music education was a new field where he might play a major role as a pioneer in Japan. Aiming at the complete graduation without exemption, he asked for private music lessons from Luther Whiting Mason, who was working as an inspector of music education and music teacher in Boston. It was only in 1857 that music was adopted as a subject in the classrooms of Boston. It was just

the beginning of music education, even in America. A Boston school official had appointed Mason in 1864, inviting him from Cincinnati because of his inventions of music instruction charts, school song collections ("Music Readers"), and music instruction manuals for teachers. By using his own methods, Mason raised the level of music education for Boston public schools. He witnessed the success of the music instruction charts, which was beyond his expectation, and he wanted to apply their use outside Boston. Mason was fascinated by Asians, especially the Japanese. Mason's interest in Japanese is evidenced in Isawa's writing "Grieve for Mason":

> There was a friend of mine named Takeo Misono whom I happened to see one day in Boston. Misono said that he had encountered a peculiar American in the street. He [Mason] asked me [Misono] first whether I was a Japanese or Chinese and knowing my answer, that I was a Japanese, he invited me to his residence and tried to teach me songs. Surprised at his extraordinariness I asked the reason. He replied that he was eager to have Japanese learn songs and introduce music to Japan and that he would like me to realize his desire. However, my purpose was to master technology; therefore, I refrained from it. On hearing this, I [Isawa] thought it an unbelievable chance and I asked Misono to introduce me to him immediately, to open my ear and train my voice for songs through the American. Then I visited Mason to speak of my desire. He was so excited that he started to teach promptly *do re mi fa*. Thereafter, I used to visit his house in the afternoon every Saturday, being served dinner each time, and was taught how to sing songs, being provided breakfast the following morning, thence accompanied to the library of music schools here and there, to listen to the useful speeches of the famous people whom I met before returning to the Bridgewater Normal School more than ten miles away.[47]

The encounter of Mason and Isawa was a decisive one in the history of Western music in Japan. On April 8, 1878, Isawa together with Megata, who had a strong personal interest in music education in Japan, wrote a report to the Ministry of Education. They wrote that music education was indispensable for its effect on the intellect, morals, and health of the students, and that a system of music research ought

[47]Shūji Isawa, "*Mason wo tomurau* (Grieve for Mason)," *Tokyo Ongaku Gakkō Dōsōkai zasshi* (Journal of Tokyo Music School Alumi Association), no.6 (1897).

to be promoted. This letter was their preparatory work for the invitation of Mason to Japan.

After graduating from the Bridgewater Normal School and then studying at the Natural Science Faculty of Harvard University from 1877 to 1878, Isawa returned to Japan in May, 1878, after nearly three years of study in America. According to Isawa's "Plan for Launching a Project of the Investigation Center for Music Education," the Ministry of Education established the Ongaku Torisirabe Gakari (Music Investigation Center) in Tokyo in March, 1879, and appointed Isawa as its first chief. Isawa proposed the establishment of a national music school for the purpose of music education. His reports contained details with regard to school facilities, expenses, and teachers. He also mentioned the conditions under which to invite Mason: his appointment would be for the period of two years as a teacher at the training school with a salary of 250 yen per month, traveling expenses of 450 yen, and a free offer of a house during the stay. The salary was extraordinary considering the combined salary of fourteen staff members at the Music Investigation Center was 246 yen per month. It was also more than forty percent of the annual budget of the Music Investigation Center. On June 6, 1879, Mason received an official invitation from the Ministry of Education through Megata who was still staying in America. Mason sent his own Knabe & Company's upright piano to Japan that fall. His piano was the first piano placed in the Japanese music educational facility and is still kept at the Tokyo University of Fine Arts and Music.

On March 2, 1880, Mason arrived in Yokohama with two organs and a flute. In May, ten pianos, sixty music scores, and other literature for educational purposes arrived. These ten pianos were the first imported by the Japanese government. Some

say they were square pianos and upright pianos by Chickering and Son's, while others say they were those of Knabe & Company. A document found in Daniel Spillance's *History of the American Pianoforte: Its Technical Development, and Trade* originally published in 1890, provides precious information for this question.

> Among the honors that have fallen to the lot of Knabe & Company in recent years must be mentioned the fact that in 1879 they were selected, an American firm producing instruments of national excellence, to supply the Japanese Government with a large number of pianofortes –squares and uprights—for use in the public schools in that country. These were the first instruments ever purchased by the Japanese Government, and it is a matter of some consequence in musical history to know that, though England and other European countries supply Japan with most goods usually, the United States was chosen by the Government of that highly-civilized Eastern nation as the place to buy its first pianos.[48]

Because of the correspondence of the document to the period, it is reasonable to consider that these ten pianos were Knabe & Company's. Each piano then was priced at 660 dollars per unit, the equivalent of 957 yen.

Of the sixty music scores, twenty were Beyer's manuals in the English version.[49] This is noteworthy, as it became an unwritten law for more than hundred succeeding years in Japan that the first fundamental training in piano should start with Beyer. As for piano education, two Czerny, four Kuhlau, and two Clementi music books were included as well. Czerny's etudes became obligatory for classic piano literature, and it is perhaps not too much to say that there is no Japanese piano student who does not practice the sonatines and sonatas of Clementi and Kuhlau even today.

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[48]Daniel Spillane, *History of American Pianoforte: Its Technical Development and the Trade,* introd. Rita Benton (New York: Da Capo Press, 1969), 298. This edition is an unabridged republication of the first edition published in New York in 1890 by the author.

[49]Ferdinand Beyer (1803-63), German composer and pianist, wrote *Preparatory School,* op. 101 for beginners.

These lesson books for the fundamentals of piano education were imported through Mason.[50] The preparation for piano education was done for the nation under Mason's guidance just twenty-five years after the opening of the country to Western influence.

Isawa held the theory that it was better to create suitable music for Japan by mixing Japanese and Western music. To carry it out, the following three principles were the basis: (1) to create new music by mixing Eastern and Western music, (2) to bring up a core of people who will promote national music in the future, and (3) to introduce the new music to every school. It was clever to have invited Mason, who had results already in integrating European merits imported to American society, rather than first inviting musicians directly from Europe, where a long tradition of music already existed.

To realize principles 1 and 3, it was very important to edit educational school songs. Isawa and Mason immediately created together school songbooks for primary, middle, and teachers' schools. The first songbook, *Shōgaku shōka-shū* (Songbook for primary school), which consisted of 33 songs, was published on November 24, 1881. Many of the songs were in a literary style with poetic texts. The melodies for these songs were mainly from famous Western folk songs or the traditional songs of Scotland and Ireland, except for several *Gagaku* tunes.[51] Even Gregorian chant and

[50]In June the strings, wind instruments, their manuals, scores, and research literature were added, and other materials for instruments and general western music were gradually collected under Mason's guidance.

[51]Between the sixth and eighth centuries, the music of the Asian continent was introduced together with Buddhism, mainly from China. The court picked up the music, *Gagaku,* as an official and ceremonial music and developed it under the patronage of the court, temples, and shrines. Therefore, *Gagaku* had never been popularized. Because *Gagaku* was passed down by the imperial court, it still retains almost its original form, although it has been more than 1500 years since it was introduced. This is a rare case in the world. The tradition of *Gagaku* is upheld today by the Music Department of the Imperial Household Agency.

melodies by Haydn and other historically famous musicians were included. It was fairly reasonable in those days for Isawa to borrow Western melodies with the assistance of Mason and set Japanese literary texts with Japanese traditional melodies as well. It was, however, doubtful whether or how much Japanese society and children of the early Meiji period could accept directly imported Western melodies. The school songbooks led by the Education Ministry oscillated thereafter, but what was most important was that Japanese acquired the major and minor tonalities. Considering the present day penetration of Western tonality throughout every stratus of Japanese society, it is obvious that the education by songs devised and initiated by Isawa and Mason formed the basis.

The second purpose, training a core of people to promote national music, necessitated the establishment of the Music Training Center. It was opened on October 8, 1880, seven months after Mason's arrival. The Music Investigation Center recruited thirty trainees who had some experience in playing Japanese traditional instruments. Ultimately, twenty-two passed the entrance exams and were accepted. Nine men and thirteen women became the first Japanese Western music trainees. Seven out of the nine men were court musicians from the *Gagaku* department in the Imperial Household Agency. They were qualified teachers in Japanese music, but they became trainees to learn Western music to entertain honored Western guests. Female trainees ranged from a twelve-year-old girl to a forty-five-year-old married woman. Tuition was free. The subjects taught were elementary harmony, musicology, song, and instrumental performance (piano, organ, and violin). Classes were two hours every day and practice in the practice room was obligatory. Twenty-four trainees besides the eleven court musicians entered during the period of Mason's stay

from March 1880 to June 1882. They were taught both Japanese and Western music according to Isawa's instruction policy. Not a small number of them, however, were forced to drop out, because they were judged as having no prospect of mastering Western music. To the rest, Mason taught songs and performance on the piano, organ, and violin. He taught higher level songs and harmony one year later, from the autumn of 1881, and the performance of orchestral instruments from early winter of 1881.

The Music Investigation Center carried out the first end-of-term examination in the form of a concert at the Center on July 7, 1881, one year and four months after Mason's appointment. The concert consisted of a "song division" accompanied by piano, organ, and/or traditional instruments (*shanisen* and *koto*) and a "performance division" by solos or duos of organ and piano. Isawa reported to the Education Ministry that the capabilities of the trainees were fairly advanced. They were able to sing in parts and learn higher level songs, and they also were learning harmony as well as piano. Following this end-term examination concert, large-scale concerts were held on January 30 and 31, 1882, at the Kanda Shōheikan Hall. The concerts were a type of report for the Music Investigation Center. Among the invited guests were his Excellency Prince Kitashirakawa-miya and his Princess, various ministers and their spouses, the president of the University of Tokyo, the presidents of newspaper companies, and eminent leaders of the financial world. Twenty-one-years-old Shigeko Nagai was also included. She was invited to the Music Training Center as an assistant piano teacher to Mason from March 2, after this two-day grand concert.

In the morning of both days, reports and lectures were given to the relevant people of the Education Ministry by Mason and Sentaro Kōzu, assistant teacher of music theory. In both afternoons, a concert open to the public was held from one until

five o'clock, with a thirty-minute intermission when tea and cakes were served to the guests. The concert included ensembles by *koto*, *shamisen*, and piano, was intended to be an eclectic concert of Japanese and Western.[52] Choruses by 128 Gakushūin students, 105 attached primary school students of the Tokyo Normal School, and 113 attached kindergarten students of Tokyo Women's Normal School were accompanied by *koto*, organ, and piano. Not only piano solos and violin solos, but also piano quartets by trainees were performed. Mason accompanied vocalists and violists on the piano or organ. Without Mason's instruction, it would have been impossible to realize within two years such a grand concert. Lovely weather contributed to the concerts' great success.

Mason's work was prodigious. It extended to the survey of Japanese and Western music, the practical teaching of songs at primary schools and kindergartens, the editing of educational song books to be used at primary schools, and the education of trainees recruited to become teachers in the primary schools. Mason's contract originally lasted until March 1882, but it was extended for another year. The Japanese government faced a tight budget and needed to minimize expenses; nevertheless, it judged that its goal for music education would fail if it was continued only by Japanese, when the basis was not yet solid. Mason, however, submitted a letter to the Minister of Education in June 1882 for a temporary return to America. His reason was that the music chart and collection of songs he had developed needed revision; without revision they would be too obsolete ten years after publication, due to the

[52] *Koto* is a Japanese stringed instrument which has a rectangular wooden body and 13 silk strings plucked with plectra. It is classified as a zither. *Shamisen*, a plucked lute with three strings, is very popular instrument in the nagauta, a kind of traditional Japanese music which accompanies the kabuki theatre.

rapid progress of American education. His works needed to be revised immediately; otherwise they became useless and unsellable, which would cause him an annual loss of two thousand dollar in royalties. Mason was scheduled to depart from Japan in early July, with a return expected in seven or eight months. He left Japan in July, directing that piano lessons outside of school were assigned to the assistant of the Music Training Center and trainee piano lessons were assigned to Shigeko Nagai. He never thought that this was the last of his job in Japan.

Mason has left no trace of revising his collection of songs or his music charts as he intended in his letter. He met his family in the state of Maine, then left for a journey in Germany on August 30. The Ministry of Education wrote a letter to Mason in November, 1882:

> The work at the Center has been carried out by the staffs. Things are going well mostly. Also piano is assigned to Shigeko Nagai without problem. We owe this to your great endeavor during your stay here which we appreciate so much. It is therefore not necessary anymore to ask for your toil after March 1883. We are not in a position to renew the agreement with you after March partly because of the tight budget and ask your understanding that the agreement shall not be continued.[53]

Mason wrote a letter to Isawa from Bohemia, saying that he was researching music education methods in Europe. He requested his employment again in Japan for three years with an annual salary of 4,000 yen. However, the ministry of Education did not renew his contract.

Though many questions remain about why Mason was not rehired, it is reasonable to consider that the decision was made to operate the Center by itself

[53]Tōkyō Geijutsudaigaku hyakunen shi henshū iinkai (Editorial Committee for Tokyo University of Fine Arts and Music Centenary), ed., *Tōkyō Geijutudaigaku hyakunen shi. Tōkyō ongaku gakkō hen dai ikkan* (History of the first hundred years of Tokyo University of Fine Arts and Music. Compilation of the Tokyo Music School, vol. 1) (Tokyo: Ongaku no tomo sha, 1987), 237.

without Mason and that heavy fiscal burden. The view of later historians is not persuasive that the Japanese music world fired him as it started aiming at higher artistic quality as a next step, while Mason was perceived not an artist, but merely an educator. Considering that Japanese educators, including Isawa, had a limited capacity to evaluate the artistic quality of Western music, the author cannot agree with this view.

Mason was certainly the best person to realize Isawa's concept and his results were overwhelming in that he planted firmly the basis of Western music in harmony with Isawa in a land so virgin as Japan. After returning to America, Mason dedicated his life to music education. Isawa did not fail to communicate with Mason also thereafter, asking his assistance in purchasing musical instruments and so forth. Mason was awarded the Fourth Cordon of the Order by the Japanese government in 1896 for his work. In the winter of the same year, he passed away, as if following his wife, who had died ten weeks earlier. He was seventy-eight.

CHAPTER III

THE FOUNDATION OF YAMAHA PIANO

Torakusu Yamaba and the Organ

The importation of Western music instruments, mainly for the use of foreign residents in Japan, began in 1867. Among the five ports opened for foreign vessels, Yokohama and Kobe, being adjacent to Tokyo and Osaka respectively, attained remarkable growth to become great trading ports by 1870. Foreign trade houses and counselors' houses stood side by side in those cities, and various western people living in the foreign residential areas had brought pianos with them from their home countries. Besides these instruments for domestic use, German Steinway, Broadwood, purveyor to the English Royal Household, and Collard & Collard pianos started to be imported and sold by British and German instrument firms that opened one after another. These traders not only imported and sold instruments, but also undertook the rental of pianos, as well as repair and tuning. Their clients were exclusively foreign residents. The number of pianos in Japan reached approximately three thousand by 1877.[54]

In the early 1880s, German piano engineers undertook the production of pianos in Japan. Some Japanese craftsmen of traditional Japanese instruments wanted to learn the technology and tuning of the piano by becoming apprentices to the German makers. One was Torakichi Nishikawa (1846-1920), who later became a strong competitor of Torakusu Yamaba (1851-1916), founder of the Nippon Gakki

[54]Takanori Maeda and Yuichi Iwano, *Nihon no piano 100nen* (100 Years of Japanese Piano) (Tokyo: Sōshi sha, 2001), 29.

Seizō Company, Ltd., which eventually became number one in the production of pianos in the world.

At the end of 1877, within five years of the official announcement of the new educational system, the construction of schools advanced all over Japan with such rapidity that the total reached 28,000 schools. A tremendous number of pianos were needed for normal schools and singing classes in primary schools. It was difficult, however, to obtain enough pianos as pianos were expensive instruments. Isawa introduced reed organs rather than expensive pianos, as instruments for music education in the schools. The importation of reed organs had to be considered as a substitute for pianos even for the Music Investigation Center, which was the supreme academic institution. A reed organ, at 45 yen, was less expensive than a piano, of 1,000 yen, but it was still an expensive imported good.[55] Trade restrictions, freight charges, and traders' high commissions brought the price of a reed organ to two or three times the local price in Western countries.

Isawa, as a matter of course, thought about the national production of the organ before that of the piano. In fact, Isawa tried to have two Japanese craftsmen manufacture the first national reed organ. When Mason visited Japan in March 1880, he brought two organs for his personal use and one of them went out of order. Then Isawa applied to the Ministry of Education for the purchase of that broken organ together with the non-broken organ for the Music Investigation Center. He bought the

[55]A reed organ creates sound by using free metal reeds which are activated by air under pressure or suction. While a reed organ, which was made by François Debain (1809-77) in Paris, France, in 1840, and named Harmonium, was operated with pressure, the American reed organ was operated by suction bellows. Both types were widely used in small churches and individual homes because they were smaller, cheaper, and easier to tune and maintain than pipe organs. The reed organ Japan targeted was a suction type called the American organ.

organs at $55 and at $80 respectively and dismantled them piece by piece to learn how they were made. The first national organ was manufactured in 1881 with imported components under the instruction of Mason. This organ remains today in the museum of Tokyo University of Fine Arts and Music. It is said that two craftsmen, Norimichi Okubo and Mitsunori Saida, were engaged in the work. Saida was a Sashimono-shi (wood craftsman). The organ cost ninety yen, excluding the reed portion.

It was Torakichi Nishikawa, not Isawa, who first started a business of producing Japanese organs. Nishikawa learned the repairing and manufacturing of pianos and organs from a British pipe organ tuner and a German piano engineer. He became independent in the early 1880's, establishing the Nishikawa Organ Factory in Yokohama. Nishikawa was a success and expanded his sales route to churches and other organists in 1884.

There was another man who tried to make organs. He was a peripatetic craftsman who repaired watches and clocks; his name was Torakusu Yamaba, the founder of Yamaha piano. Yamaba called the company "Yamaba" when it was established. His father was an astronomer of the Kishū clan, but he as well as his son could not maintain their samurai life after the fall of Tokugawa Shogunate and the abolition of the samurai class. Under the influence of his father, Yamaba, who was interested from his early life in science, technology, and machinery, went to Nagasaki to learn to make watches from the British. He opened a shop making watches and repairing scientific and medical equipment in Osaka but it failed. He headed thereafter to Tokyo in 1886 at the age of thirty-five as a vagrant craftsman. Being a rural man, he could not find his place in the large city of Tokyo. He left Tokyo again,

and on his way back to the Osaka region he was asked to repair medical devices in a hospital in Hamamatsu in the Shizuoka Prefecture, where he stayed about one year.

In April, 1887, several keys of an American reed organ manufactured by the Mason & Hamlin Organ Company, which had been imported and donated to the elementary school in Hamamatsu, lost sound, and Yamaba was asked to repair them. Contrary to his initial guess, he found it easier than repairing watches and medical devices, as the organ's internal structure and functioning were simpler. Yamaba was surprised to learn the organ was priced at forty-five yen, and he told a music teacher that he could make an organ for three yen. The teacher overlooked the fact that Yamaba had completely dismantled the organ before repairing it. Kisaburo Kawai, an ornamental craftsman, collaborated with Yamaba to dismantle and copy each component of the organ. The outer wooden box was simple, but the metallic reed parts required tremendous skill to make. Their organ was played for the governor and the principal of Shizuoka normal school, but neither of them could point out how it differed from an imported organ. The governor of the Shizuoka Prefecture, impressed by their effort, wrote a letter of introduction for Yamaba so Isawa could evaluate the trial organ. Yamaba and Kawai carried the organ on foot by shoulder poles the 250 miles from Hamamatsu to Tokyo, since there was no railway up to the Shizuoka Prefecture. Isawa's evaluation of the organ was that it was not usable despite its appearance. At any rate, Yamaba did not yet have any knowledge of either the scale or the system of equal temperament. With Isawa's permission, Yamaba became an auditing student at the Music Training Center and gained a minimum knowledge of music and organ tuning in only one month. He then returned to Hamamatsu to re-tune the reeds and complete a second prototype organ, which was approved by Isawa.

Further, Isawa wrote a letter of introduction for Yamaba to the Kyōeki-sha Company, which was engaged in the publication of school textbooks and sales of educational materials in the Kanto area, which includes six prefectures around Tokyo. Importantly, Kyōeki-sha had a close relationship with the Ministry of Education. One year later, the president of Kyōeki-sha introduced Yamaba to the Miki-Sasuke Bookstore, which had a sales network in the Kansai area and the western part of Japan.[56]

Yamaba established the Yamaba Fūkin Seisakusho (Yamaba Organ Factory) in 1889 with the support of powerful individuals from Hamamatsu. With the recommendation of Isawa and highly positioned government officials in the Ministry of Education, he began to sell organs to the whole country as the standard school instrument. He won a large market from the Nishikawa Organ Factory, which sold mainly to church related people and organ performers.

The First National Piano

In April 1890, the third National Business Promotion Exposition was held at the Ueno Park in Tokyo. At the time of "Bunmei-kaika" (Western cultural enlightenment), all the industries were potential venture business fields. 89,468 manufactures presented 187,946 items. Among them, seven presented organs, with only two people, Nishikawa and Yamaba, presenting both organs and pianos. However, these were not regarded as the first Japanese-made pianos, because major components were imported, though the outer wooden box was manufactured by

[56]Yamaba Torakusu dōzō kensetsu jimusho (Yamaba Torakusu Bronze Statue Erection Office), *Yamaba torakusu ou* (Venerable Torakusu Yamaba), ed. Senji Isobe (Hamamatsu: n.p., 1929).

Japanese craftsmen. Pianos, priced twenty times more than organs, were eagerly awaited to be manufactured nationally. However, a piano is more complicated with more numerous parts than an organ. It was also difficult for Japanese piano makers to assemble imported parts precisely. The pianos domestically assembled using imported parts were sold at 250 to 350 yen. There were difficulties to be overcome in the manufacture of national pianos. The mastering of the technology, the manufacturing facilities, and the training of piano engineers were urgently needed. A younger generation of enthusiastic engineering candidates started to gather around Yamaba. In 1896, Koichi Kawai (1885-1955), a later competitor of Yamaha piano and Kawai piano founder, began to work as an apprentice at the age of eleven in Yamaba's organ factory. Kawai, an invention lover, undertook the development of a Japanese piano action.[57]

It was unthinkable to hire foreign engineers at unaffordably high salaries, as piano making was not a government subsidized enterprise. Yamaba, who studied by purchasing used pianos from Western countries, needed six to seven years to become a piano manufacturing engineer, which requires a high degree of technological proficiency. Yamaba finally made up his mind to visit America and see the American piano industry which was developing remarkably with its rational mass production methods. The American piano business world was booming due to the immigration of European piano makers in the 1850s.[58] The yearly production of American pianos in

[57]Koichi Kawai became later the most contributing engineer to Yamaba Piano manufacturing by succeeding in the domestic manufacturing of an action structure.

[58]The Steinway from Germany, Bechstein from Berlin, and Blüthner from Leipzig were founded in 1853.

the 1860s was 20,000, which grew to 72,000 in 1890. Isawa rejoiced to hear of Yamaba's plan to visit America and facilitated his trip by giving him the title "Engineering Surveyor of the Ministry of Education to America." Yamaba departed Yokohama on May 13, 1899. He made a detailed record of his approximately five-month American survey trip. The number of piano companies he visited reached forty-one, including Steinway & Sons, Kimball Organ & Piano Company, and Mason & Hamlin. It reached one hundred if one added his visits to components, materials, and machining manufacturers, such as piano action manufacturers and piano iron frame factories. Yamaba's purchases totaled 6,448 yen 39sen, and he brought back to Japan pianos, organs, and their respective parts, as well as machinery and tools.

In January 1900, he completed the first Japanese upright piano by using components and machines from America. A specially ordered piece with the inscription of Yamaba's name was used on the frame. The reason why this was considered the first national piano is because the sounding board, which makes the sound and decides the character of the piano, was made in Japan. Pianos then were made with actions and frames purchased from specialized makers, even in the case of well known Western manufacturers.

Yearly production of Yamaba's piano company, Nihon Gakki Seizo Company, recorded two piano units produced in 1900, six in 1901, eight in 1902, twenty-one in 1903, gradually increasing to thirty-seven units in 1904.[59] Yamaba manufactured a grand piano in 1902, which was purchased by the Imperial Household Agency. The

[59]Kenji Tanaka, "*Kingendai nihon ni okeru yōgakki sangyō to ongaku bunka* (Japanese Modern History of Western Musical Instrument Industry and Music Culture)," (Ph.D. diss., Osaka University, 1999), 10.

son of Nishikawa, Yasuzo, also was sent to America to stay one and a half years at the Estey Piano Company in New York to master piano manufacturing technology as well as organ manufacturing. Japanese domestic instrument manufacturers were making great efforts to compete with each other in growth. Nihon Gakki Seizo Company (present Yamaha Piano Compamy) reached a total production of 501 units in 1911.

CHAPTER IV

ACCEPTANCE OF WESTERN MUSIC (1882 – 1925)

O-yatoi Gaikokujin

The Meiji government, in power 1867-1912, paid high salaries to many Western specialists for the industrialization and modernization of the central and local governments and private sectors, including the importation of Western technology, education, and various other governmental systems. These specialists, called "O-yatoi gaikokujin" (hired foreigners), had an impact not only on education and technology but also on career perspectives. Some of these hired foreign teachers and their families left detailed diaries and essays.[60] These records contain highly precious materials for Japanese who want to know how the culturally different Japan impressed foreigners then.

The hiring of foreigners was officially abolished in July 1899 as its original purpose was largely attained; however, Western specialists continued to be hired in public organizations, in private sectors, and by individuals even until today. Their influence at the period of tremendous change in the early Meiji was phenomenal, compared with that of today. The Meiji government hired fewer music-related specialists than in other fields. Listed in Table 1 are the hired foreign teachers who

[60](1) Clara A. N. Whitney, *Clara's Diary: An American Girl in Meiji Japan,* ed. M. William Steele and Tomiko Ichimata (Tokyo: Kōdansha International Ltd., 1979). Diary written from 1875 to 1887. (2) Erwin von Baelz, *Awaking Japan: the diary of a German doctor,* ed. Toku Baelz and introd. George Macklin Wilson (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1974).

Erwin von Baelz (1849-1913) was a German medical doctor invited by the Tokyo Medical School, which later became University of Tokyo, School of Medicine. He taught for twenty-seven years (1876-1902) and introduced the latest German medicine. He is praised as the "Father of Modern Medicine" in Japan.

taught from 1883 to the 1920s at the Music Investigation Center, which changed its name to the Tokyo Music School in 1887.

Table 1. Foreign Music Teachers Who Taught at the Tokyo Music School from 1883 to the 1920s

Name	Subject	Nationality	Tenure	*
Eckert, Franz (1852-1916)	Orchestra music, Harmony, Composition	Pruisen (Holland) Germany	1883/2-1886/3	3
Sauvlet, Guillaume (1843-?)	Piano, Conducting, Composition	Holland	1886/4-1889/1	3
Dittrich, Rudolf (1867-1919)	Violin, Harmony, Song, Composition	Austria-Hungary	1888/11-1894/7	6
Koebel, Raphael von (1848-1923)	Piano	German-Russian	1898/5-1909/9	11
Junker, August (1870-1944)	Violin, Orchestra	Germany	1899-1912	13
Peri, Noël (1865-1922)	Organ, Theory, Composition	France	1899-1904	5
Lhär, Anna (1848-?)	Piano	Germany	1900/1-1905/3	5
Heydrich, Hermann (1855-1909)	Piano, Harmony, Composition, Organ	Prussia (Germany)	1902-1909	7
Reuter, Rudolf Ernest (1888-?)	Piano, Song	German-American	1909-1912	3
Werkmeister, Heinrich (1883-1936)	Cello, Contrabass, Harmony	Germany	1908-1921	13
Petzoldt, Hanka (1862-1937)	Voice, Piano	Germany (b. Norway)	1910-1926	16
Scholz, Paul (1889-1944)	Piano	Germany	1913/10-1922/8	10
Kron, Gustav (1874-?)	Violin, Harmony Voice, Chorus, Composition, Conducting, Orchestra,	Germany	1913-1921 1922-1925	7 3
Netke-Löwe, Margarete (1889-1971)	Solo Art Song,	Germany	1924-1931 1946-1965	7 19

*= the years of employment

The table shows a marked tendency to hire performers in specialized instruments in addition to general music teachers. Another notable trend is the Germanization of the music world, along with other academic fields. This was partially the results of the Japanese Navy's transition from the British to the German system, imported at the beginning of Meiji era.

Shigeko Nagai and Piano Education

It was Shigeko Nagai (1861-1928) who became active as the first Japanese piano teacher at the Music Investigation Center, having returned home with a music diploma from Vassar College.[61] She taught at the Music Training Center for eleven years until she retired in March, 1893. The twenty-one-year-old Nagai received the highest salary then for a woman. Her thirty yen per month, compared with ten yen per month for school teachers who graduated from Japanese normal schools of that era, shows how she was especially appreciated. As the first Japanese person to study music abroad, she was highly prized by Isawa.

It is important to know about the contents of Nagai's music education at Vassar. Sources of information are found in the "Nagai box" kept in the Archives and Special Collections Department of the Vassar College Libraries. It states that the object of the school is (1) to provide complete courses in singing, piano, and organ playing, (2) to instill a thorough knowledge of music theory, and (3) to study classic

[61]Besides Nagai, there were several Japanese men who taught piano at the Music Training Center as assistants to Mason. They were court musicians entering as trainees taught by Anna Lhär who succeeded Eckert in 1880. Eckert visited Japan in 1879 after Fenton to teach Navy Music Band and advocated the necessity of mastering piano. Anna Lhär also gave piano lessons to trainees for the Navy bands from 1880 to 1890.

compositions of European masters and recent artists. The contents of the music course are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Music Courses and Contents Taught at Vassar College (1878-1881)

Course	Contents
Singing	Sight reading, chorus and solo singing - solo singing taught to one or two (+) simultaneously - chorus singing taught in classes
Theory	Harmony, through-bass, canon, fugue, forms of composition and instrumentation - harmony + composition taught in classes
Piano	Elementary and technical exercises, ensemble playing, training in artistic performance - lessons taught to individual students
Organ	Specific reference to church services, competent knowledge of its construction
History	History of music/ music aesthetic/ acoustics

School concerts called “Soirée Musicale” were held regularly by Dr. Frederic L. Ritter (1834-1891), director of the Music Department.[62] The following is the program of the “Eighth Soirée Musicale (season 1878-1879)” when Nagai finished her first year. The entire program shows the pieces students were learning at that time.

[62]The Vassar College Libraries maintain a collection of Music Department concert and recital programs from 1865 to the present.

Table 3. Programme of "Eighth Soirée Musicale (season 1878-1879)" Held by the Vassar College, School of Music at 8 p. m. on Saturday, June 14, 1879

Programme	
1. Lied ohne Worte, A major, -----*Mendelssohn.* Miss Thompson. 2. The Swallow's Farewell, ----------*Kücken.* Misses Ayrault and H. M. Reynolds. 3. Bright things can never die, --------*Rembault.* Miss Van Benschoten. 4. Impromptu, op. 90, No. 4, ----------*Schubert.* Miss Nagai. 5. By the Blue Sea, ----------*Smart.* Miss G. Nichols. 6. The May-bells and the Flowers, ---*Mendelssohn.* Misses Nagai and Van Benschoten. 7. Sensucht, ----------*Rubinstein-Læschhorn.* Miss Valleau	8. Eventide, ---------- -*Gumbert.* Miss Parry. 9. Nocturne, transcribed for Violin, ---*Field.* Miss Webster. 10. Ballade, op. 20, ---------- -*Reinecke.* Miss L. F. Glenn. 11. Embarrassment, ----------*Abt.* Miss Burch. 12. "Deck we the Pathway," from "Paradise and the Peri," ----------*Schumann.* Choral Class. 13. Through meadows green, ----------*Haas.* Miss Bentley. 14. It was a Dream, ----------*Cowen.* Miss Hartmann. 15. Grand Duo Concert, -------*Waber-Henselt.* Misses Wetzel and Cooley.

Nagai performed not only on the piano (no. 4) but also in a vocal duet (no. 6) in this concert. Among the piano pieces, there are Schubert's Impromptu, op. 90, No. 4 and Mendelssohn's *Lied Ohne Worte* (Song Without Words) which are still popular today. However, also included are Reinecke's Ballade and Henselt's arrangement of Weber's Grand Duo Concert, which are scarcely performed today. A comparison of this concert, which includes many vocal pieces, with the programs of the fifth and sixth "Soirée Musicale (season 1879-1880)" shows the greater degree of proficiency developed by the Vassar students.

Table 4. Programme of "Fifth Soirée Musicale (season 1879-1880)" Held by the Vassar College, School of Music at 8 p. m. on Saturday, April 24, 1880

Programme	
1. Saltarello, Op. 77, ----------*Heller.* Miss Bailey. 2. Lieder ohne Worte, Nos. 25 and 10, ---------- *Mendelsshon.* Miss Titus. 3. Nocturne, Op. 32, No. 2, ----------*Chopin.* Miss Iddings. 4. Impromptu-Valse, Op. 94, ----------*Raff.* Miss S. Thompson. 5. a. Romance, E flat major, --------*Rubinstein.* b. Minuet, ----------*Boccherini-Foseffy.* Miss J. M. Patterson. 6. Lieder ohne Worte, No. 21, ---*Mendelssohn.* Miss Nagai. 7. Impromptu, Op. 142, No. 3, -------*Schubert.* Miss Bell. 8. Fantasia, for the Organ, G major, ------*Bach.* Miss Tappan	9. Chanson Hongroise, ----------*Dupont.* Miss Armstrong. 10. Impromptu, A flat, Op. 29, --------*Chopin.* Miss McMillan. 11. Moment Musical, Op. 7, No.2,--*Moskowski.* Miss C. M. Canfield. 12. Polonaise, Op. 71, No. 2, ----------*Chopin.* Miss Van Kleeck. 13. "Auf Flügeln des Gesanges,---------- *Mendelssohn-Heller.* Miss Palm. 14. Polonaise, Op. 40, No. 2, ----------*Chopin.* Miss Wells. 15. La Gazelle, Op. 22, ----------*Kullak.* Miss Brittan. 16. Capriccio, B minor, Op. 22, --*Mendelssohn.* Miss L. F. Glenn. Second Piano, Miss Mabury.

Nagai, finishing her second year in June 1880, played Mendelssohn's *Lieder ohne Worte*, No. 21, with arpeggios in both hands throughout the piece, giving it aspects of an etude. Though this piece is an advanced one compared with Schubert's Impromptu, op. 90, No. 4, which she played the former year, those pieces played by other students and new students were even more advanced. The program required great stamina on the part of the audience as well as the performers. The level of the pieces in the program still belonged to the intermediate class by today's standard. The school

concerts were organized to give the feel of a home concert in the era when few entertainments existed. Nagai performed also Weber's *Invitation to the Dance*, and at the last concert on June 20, 1881, she played Chopin's Valse Brilliante, op. 34, No. 1. These pieces she learned and heard at Vassar probably remained her important repertoire when she came to teach at the Music Training Center.

Beginning in 1882, the general music curriculum of the Music Training Center was modified into a four-year college system which was nearly equivalent to the Western system.[63] Applied music students had to practice several instruments, such as piano, organ, violin, and the Japanese *koto* and *kokyū*.[64] Though the *koto* and *kokyū* are difficult to master compared with the organ, they were far more easily acquired at that time. Izawa made it his policy to allow use of these instruments for accompaniment in music education until organs spread all over Japan. The organ was considered the best alternative to the piano as an instrument for accompaniment to teach songs at the school, because it was less expensive and easier to learn and tune than the piano.

It is known, however, from this new curriculum that piano was regarded as the most important subject, as Franz Eckert (1852-1916) emphasized to the military band that the base of Western music resides in the piano. Piano was the only obligatory subject through the whole four years. One may also judge its importance

[63]Tōkyō Geijutudaigaku Ongaku torisirabe gakari kenkyū-han (Tokyo University of Fine Arts Investigation Group of Ongaku torishirabe gakari), ed., *Ongaku kyōiku seiristu eno kiseki* (The Trajection toward the Establishment of Music Education) (Tokyo: Ongaku no tomo sha, 1976), 347-348.

[64]*Kokyū* is a traditional Japanese string instrument played with a bow. Although both instruments were supposedly introduced to Japan from China in the eighth century, their material, shape and sound are unique to Japan.

from the nine hours of piano required per week. Nagai, who was assigned these piano lessons, adopted as her piano textbook *Prize Piano School* by Karl Urbach (translated from the eighth German edition by Eliza M. Wiley, published in 1881).[65] It is reasonable to assume that Nagai was trained in this method because the translator of this textbook, Eliza M. Wiley, was a music teacher at Vassar College from 1865 to 1882. It is also considered to be a new piano textbook first introduced by Nagai, as the name Urbach isn't found before Nagai among the records of music imported by Mason from America. It can be said that Japanese piano education started with the American education Nagai received. Beyer was used for the first-year class as it was with Mason. Urbach was taught by Nagai from the second year. The following table is the piano curriculum from 1882 to 1887.[66]

[65]Karl Urbach, *Prize Piano School,* trans. from the eighth German edition by Eliza M. Wiley (New York: Edward Schuberth & Co., 1881)

[66]Tokyo University of Fine Arts Investigation Group, ed., *The Trajection toward the Establishment of Music Education*, 347-348

Table 5. Piano Curriculum of the Tokyo Music School from 1882 to 1887

Grade	Semester	Lesson area, Exercises, Other pieces	Hours/Week
Freshman	Spring	Beyer: Lesson 1 to Lesson 64	9 hours
	Fall	Beyer: Lesson 65 to Lesson 105	9 hours
Sophomore	Spring	Urbach: Lesson 72 to Lesson 109	9 hours
		All major scales	
	Fall	Urbach: Lesson 110 to Lesson 146	9 hours
Junior	Spring	Urbach: Lesson 147 to Lesson 165	8 hours
		All minor scales and ornamented notes	
	Fall	Urbach: Lesson 166 to Lesson 184	8 hours
		Ornamented notes , songs, marches and duo pieces	
Senior	Spring	Urbach: Lesson 185 to Lesson 197	8 hours
		Chromatic scale, octaves and sixths	
	Fall	Urbach: Lesson 198 to Lesson 209 Songs and review of previous pieces	6 hours

Urbach's textbook was composed of two parts, one for the technical training of the fingers, like *Hanon* exercises and the other to teach folk songs and small pieces for acquiring musicality. Among the small pieces were included "Lightly Row," "Song of ABC," and works by Crammer, Burmüller, and Urbach. Advanced pieces included sonatas by Kuhlau and Clementi. Explanations and examples of simple harmony and cadence progressions were placed here and there. Also included were Schubert's songs, and arrangements of pieces from Mozart's and Weber's opera and piano duos. A list of other 46 pieces to learn along with this book is given on its first page. Urbach's book shows the rapidly increasing interest in piano and the tendency to enjoy opera and other works by transcribing them for the piano.

Nobu Kōda and Franz Eckert

Mason discovered Nobu Kōda's (1870-1946) talent when he was giving lessons at the primary school attached to the Tokyo Normal School.[67] He recommended that eleven year-old Kōda begin to study the piano. In April 1882, the young girl, who would later be called the "Queen of the Japanese Music World," entered the Training Center. Kōda had learned *nagauta* (a kind of *shamisen* music) from the age of six, and also *koto*. Because of these early experiences, she found little difficulty in singing a scale and identifying the notes which Mason played. Kōda started to take piano lessons from Mason and his assistant Sen Nakamura once a week before entering the Training Center.[68] But as Kōda had no piano of her own, she practiced several times with the old square piano in the Music Investigation Center just before receiving her lesson. She was said to practice *shamisen* and *koto* at home. After entering the Music Training Center, Nagai became Kōda's piano teacher. Nagai taught Kōda and the other students one after another the pieces she had learned at Vassar. Kōda's experience of learning both piano and violin simultaneously helped her growth as a musician.

An active foreign teacher while Kōda was in school was Franz Eckert. In

[67]Nobu Kōda: The family of Kōda for generations served for Tokugawa as tea ceremonial monks. Tea ceremonial manner was indispensable as an education of artistic accomplishments. Kōda had eight brothers and sisters, all of whom achieved remarkable results. Her elder brothers Rohan and Shigetada Gunji were a novelist and an adventurer/ scholar respectively. Her younger sister Sachi (Yasuda) learned violin, studied abroad and took lesson with Joseph Joachim (1831-1907) in his last years. Sachi became a professor at the Tokyo Music School in 1903.

[68]Sen Nakamura entered at the age of seventeen as the first trainee of the Music Investigation Center. She was born into a wealthy banker's family and was able to play the piano as well as *koto* and violin. As she was fluent in English, she won the confidence of Mason and became his interpreter from1881. She had been teaching *koto* and English as his assistant at the Training Center. The piano, which Mason brought from America, was donated to Nakamura.

February, 1883, the Music Investigation Center asked Eckert, who had been hired by the Ministry of Navy as the Naval band teacher in 1879, to become a teacher, holding the posts concurrently. He taught orchestral music, theory, and harmony at the Training Center until March, 1886. Educated in Germany, he was the first musician to introduce German music to Japan. He taught his students pieces by Beethoven, Wagner, and Schubert, arranged for the Training Center orchestra and chorus. Kōda was so good at the violin that she was trained for Eckert's orchestra. She had the compounding experience of playing with an orchestra, which was not true for Nagai. Eckert showed a strong interest in Japanese traditional music as a composer, and he contributed greatly to the composition of national ceremonial music and the national anthem. A third volume of school songbook was created with his collaboration. Isawa expected him, as a collaborator in creating national music, to assimilate Western music into Japanese music. The current trend was to absorb Western culture and music as quickly as possible. In such an environment, teachers and trainees of the Training Center were required to meet the demand of performance in public and society, besides school concerts.

Rokumeikan

On November 28, 1883, the Meiji government officially opened the foreign guest house (an entertainment center) called Rokumeikan, built in a Victorian English style and designed by British architect Josiah Conder (1852-1920). Its construction was motivated by then foreign minister Kaoru Inoue's (1835-1915) desire to show to foreigners that Japan was a civilized country. Around twelve hundred guests were invited to the opening ceremony, including foreign diplomats, members of the

Japanese nobility, and high-ranking bureaucrats. Nagai (Uriu), Sutemastu Yamakawa (Ōyama) and Umeko Tsuda played the roles of refined noble ladies as well.[69] The opening of Rokumeikan caused the higher classes and intellectuals to embrace an admiration for the Western finery. Newspapers and magazines in Tokyo reported minutely the scenes of official celebrations, parties, and domestic events held at Rokumeikan.

In Rokumeikan, the Army and Navy bands played for balls and gave concerts almost every day. Nagai (Uriu) and other teachers and trainees of the Music Training Center were also asked to play for these events. Before Rokumeikan was built, Western balls were held under Japanese auspice from 1880, but only the Westerners danced. The Japanese women were so troubled in even choosing their costumes that they hesitated to attend. Under such a situation at the opening of Rokumeikan, there were no Japanese women who could dance among the government dignitary spouses, except for Nagai (Uriu), Yamakawa (Ōyama), Tsuda, and the wife of Naohiro Nabeshima (1846-1921), the Japanese Minister to Italy who was one of the students in the Iwakura Mission.[70] It was recognized that a social

[69]On December 1, 1882, Nagai married in a Christian ceremony in Tokyo Sotokichi Uriu (1857-1937), lieutenant junior grade. Uriu went to America in 1875, entered the United States Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland in 1877, graduated with high results (26th out of 71), and returned to Japan in October, 1881, the same year as Nagai returned. They knew each other since they were in America and married in a love marriage, which was rare in that era of Japan. Sotokichi Uriu became later an Admiral and was raised to Baron.

[70]Sutematsu Yamakawa (1860-1919) could not become a teacher because of her lack of proficiency in Japanese. In November, 1883, she married Iwao Ōyama (1842-1916), a General who later became a Marquis. Ōyama was eighteen years older than Sutematsu and an elite who studied at the Ecole Militaire in Paris, though a widower with three children. Sutematsu was beautiful and was praised as the "Flower of Rokumeikan." She was active in high society, contributing to the Japan Red Cross Society, etc. However, she was never involved directly in education like Nagai and Tsuda.

relationship was impossible without mastering the dances, so dance lessons were given every Sunday from July of 1884 at Rokumeikan. A German, Johannes Ludwig Yanson, was appointed as the dancing master.[71] Anna Lhär, who was a piano teacher at the naval band, and, occasionally, Nagai undertook piano accompaniment for dance practices. Today, the only dance program in the Foreign Ministry's reference room showing the category of dances performed at Rokumeikan balls is that of Tenshōsetsu (Emperor's birthday) on November 3, 1893. It mentions the performance of seven categories of dances. They were performed in order: 1. Quadrille, 2. Valse, 3. Polka, 4. Caledonians, 5. Valse, 6. Valse, 7. Mazurka, 8. Luncier, 9. Valse, 10. Galop.

Pierre Loti (1850-1923), a novelist and Admiral born in France, who attended the Emperor's Birthday Ball on November 3, 1886, wrote of the scene in his book, "Two complete orchestras (military bands), one conducted by a French, the other by a German, were performing a magnificent contredanse extracted out of the most famous French operetta."[72] The French man is supposed to have been Charles

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Umeko Tsuda (1864-1929), who could not find a desired education post, went again for study at Bryn Mawr College in 1889 to major in Biology. She graduated in 1892 and returned home. She twice invited to Japan Alice Mabel Bacon (1858-1918), daughter of Reverend Bacon who had hosted Sutematsu Yamakawa in New Haven. In 1900 Tsuda opened the first women's college of English in Japan, Tsuda Women's College of English. She remained single, dedicating her life to women's professional education.

[71]Johannes Ludwig Janson (1849-1914) taught veterinary medicine for six years from 1880 at the Komaba agricultural school. His monthly salary was 300 yen but his stipend for giving dancing instruction was 350 yen. He stayed in Japan until 1902 and created a legacy in the history of veterinary medicine in Japan. He was decorated with the Fourth as well as the Third Cordon of the Order. He was also provided with a perpetual annuity of 1200 yen on his return to Germany. He came back again to Japan and died in Kagoshima in 1914.

[72]Pierre Loti, *Aki no Nippon* (Japan in Autumn), trans. Kikuichirō Murakami and Kiyoshi Yoshihi (Tokyo: Seijisha, 1942), 63.

Contradanse was the most popular French dance during the late eighteenth century and was performed by two couples facing each other.

Leroux and the German, Eckert.[73] By this description, we may guess that such a performance was not strange, even to Westerners. Though the military band was a brass band, not only pieces by Mozart, Beethoven, and Schubert, but also the excerpts of Meyerbeer's (1791-1864) *Le Prophète*, Wagner's (1813-83) *Lohengrin*, Gounod's (1818-93) *Serenade*, Donizetti's (1797-1848) *Lucia di Lammermoor,* Johann Strauss'(1825-99) *Blue Danube*, Verdi's (1813-1901) *Macbeth* and so on, were often performed. Popular European opera tunes were conveyed to Japan by Western music teachers.

Loti described the dancing of Japanese ladies:

> Even when I stretch my imagination and realize that the costumes, manners and dancing were decreed by the Imperial House, I cannot but admit they are a wonderfully perfect copy. It seems to me the ball is one of the most intriguing master performances of this nation, which possesses unique talent in performing stunts.[74]

He grasped the essence of the Rokumeikan parties with his shrewd eyes. To copy was regarded as improvement by Meiji government and high society. And enjoying Western music was regarded as a prerogative of the upper class.

Concerts were also often held at Rokumeikan. The major performance group was called the Japan Music Society which was established by Naohiro Nabeshima.[75] It was composed of court musicians, the Army and Navy bands, and members of the Tokyo Music School, which gave the first concert at Rokumeikan on July 1, 1886.

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[73]Charles Leroux taught Army band from 1884 to 1889.

[74]Ibid., 79.

[75]Naohiro Nabeshima was interested in music and had his wife take private piano lessons. In the high society of those days, playing piano was about to be a fashion. It is written in "Bealz's Diary"; "It [Nabeshima's house] is built partly in the European and partly in the Japanese style and is splendidly furnished. It even has a grand piano in the drawing-room, brought from London, where he lived on the grand scale." Erwin Baelz, *Awaking Japan*, ed. by his son, Toku Baelz (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1974), 45.

Frequently, Kōda played a violin solo accompanied by Sauvlet, and Nagai played a piano solo, such as *Invitation to the Dance*.[76] The performance records of the Japan Music Society at Rokumeikan remain vague, but there are a few references written in Japanese regarding the works performed. The following program at Rokumeikan at eight p. m. on May 18, 1889, is in the custody of music scholar Hiroshi Endo, and is precious in that the original European names of pieces were mentioned.

[76]Eckert retired from the Training Center in March, 1886, but continued to teach the Naval band, staying in Japan until 1899. Isawa hired Guillaume Sauvlet, a Hollander (1843-?), residing in Yokohama. His career is not well documented, but he was a handy musician, being able to teach piano, organ, strings, pipes, harmony, and even composition. Saublet was a kind of substitute teacher until Dittrich's arrival in 1888.

Table 6. Programme of Nippon Ongaku-kai (the Japan Music Society) Held on May 18, 1889 at Rokumeikan[77]

1st Part.	2nd Part.
1. Sonata for Piano for four hands. ----------W. A. Mozart. by Miss Vincent and Mr. Griffin. 2. Maedchenlieder for Orchestra. ----------C. Reinecke-Genée. by the Sikibushoku Band. 3. Song, Dem aufgehenden Vollmonde. (Goethe.) with Violin ----------E. Mandyczewski. by Mrs. Dittrich. Violin: Mr. Dittrich. 4. Nōgaku Hayashi; Tōru. by Mr. Komparu and other Gentlemen. 5. Violin –Solo. (a) Cavatina ----------J. Raff. (b) Hungarian dances (No. 4 & 5) ---------- Brahms-Joachim. by Mr. Dittrich	1. Chorus a capella a. Mastu no Miyuki ----- Fr. Schubert. Words by Mr. Nakamura b. Gokoku no uta ---------- Rink Words by Mr. Torii by the Ladies and Gentlemen of the Tōkyō Academy of Music 2. Mazurka Op. 24, No. 2 for Piano ----------Leschetizky. by Miss Tōyama 3. Songs. a. Song of "Lurlei" ----------R. Mader. b. Mein Liebster ist ein Weber ---------- R. Hildach. by Mrs. Dittrich. 4. "Künstlerleben" Waltz for Orchestra. ---------- Joh. Strauss. by Shikibushoku Band. 5. Chinese Music. a. Gekkyū Den. b. Baikwa Ryūsei. by the Members of Nagahara Baigen.

Miss Vincent and Mr. Griffin, who opened the program with Mozart's four-hand Sonata, were presumably music lovers residing in Tokyo. The Shikibushoku Band which played No. 2 of the 1st Part and No. 4 of the 2nd Part was composed of court musicians. Tōkyō Academy of Music in No. 1 of the 2nd Part means the Tokyo Music School, which had converted its name from the Music

[77]Hiroshi Endo, "*Rokumeikan jidai no ongaku* (Music of the Rokumeikan Period)," *Ongaku no tomo* (Tokyo) 7, no. 1 (January 1949): 30-31.

Investigation Center. Tōyama who played the Mazurka is Kine Tōyama, Kōda's classmate. And Mr. Dittrich, who played most, is Rudolf Dittrich, a professional violinist visiting Japan from Vienna as a teacher at the Tokyo Music School.

Though the performances at Rokumeikan were under the auspices of the government and were demanded by the upper class, they surely enhanced the level of the trainees by incremental experiences and served to develop the general public's adoration for Western music through newspaper and magazine accounts of the concerts.

Musical Environment (1880-1900)

In such an environment, Kōda graduated from a one-year preparatory course in 1884 and entered the Music Training Center. From around this period, the Music Training Center made it a custom to hold school concerts the second Saturday of every month. This was a good chance to display the latest activity of the Music Training Center for those from all over Japan who desired to observe the classes. It encouraged the trainees and contributed to their remarkable progress under the severe instruction of Eckert. Programs of these school concerts consisted of a "mixture of Japanese and Western music," as intended by Isawa, and were performed on Western and Japanese instruments. Nagai's responsibilities were expanded and she was extremely busy. Her salary was increased to 35 yen from September, showing her activeness and the confidence of Isawa.

In 1885, the Music Training Center sent out the first graduates since its opening in 1880. Only three completed the course of study, namely Nobu Kōda

(fifteen years old), Michi Ichikawa (seventeen years old) and Kine Tōyama (nineteen years old). Many of the trainees out of the twenty-two who started from the opening withdrew during the preparatory course and the court musicians changed their course of study to become assistant teachers. At the graduation concert on July 20, Kōda performed Weber's *Invitation to the Dance;* Tōyama played a Chopin Polonaise and Ichikawa Weber's Polka Brilliante. The level of these piano pieces was not high by today's standard; however, Nagai's instructional efforts were highly praised. She made her students able to play these pieces in a mere few years, despite the fact that she gave birth to her first daughter and first son during that period, which removed her for a time from the classroom. Kōda also played violin for "The Last Rose of Summer" accompanied by Tōyama. Noteworthy was that these three graduates also performed on Japanese instruments, the *koto* and *kokyu*. Kōda and Ichikawa proceeded to the four-year graduate course, while teaching students as assistants, earning eight yen per month.

On October 5, 1886, Isawa submitted a proposal to Mori, the Minister of Education, for the expansion of the Music Investigation Center to educate artists in the same manner as the Paris Conservatoire. Isawa believed that his initial purpose of creating song collections and developing the teachers of songs had been mostly achieved and he now felt the necessity of creating experts in music as an art form, rather than as part of a general education. The proposal by Isawa and others for the establishment of the national music school was adopted in April, 1887. The Music Investigation Center was upgraded to the Tokyo Music School, the only music school under the direct control of the Ministry of Education, and Isawa became its first president.

Along with the opening of the music course for developing the performer, Isawa desired to invite a specialized teacher from Italy. The initial negotiation through the Japanese ambassador to Italy, Tanaka, was not successful and Isawa asked the Japanese minister to Austria. Rudolf Dittrich (1867-1919) was the answer to that request. Dittrich was the best musician and performer among those hired so far. He studied piano from age five, violin from age seven, pipe organ from age nine, and music theory from age fifteen. In 1878, he entered the Vienna Conservatory and graduated in 1882. Dittrich studied violin with Joseph Hellmesberger Jr. (1855-1907) and organ, harmony, and counterpoint with Anton Bruckner (1824-1896).[78] He was already a popular performer in Vienna with his great talent as a professional violinist when he was hired to go to Japan.

Dittrich came to Japan in November, 1888, and was hired by the Tokyo Music School as its artistic director to teach violin, harmony, composition, and general chorus for six years. Dittrich's role was to educate musicians who might be able to perform artistically. Actually, Dittrich performed frequently in various concerts such as school concerts, concerts at Rokumenkan, and private and charity concerts. Dittrich's performance as a European professional violinist and ensemble performances with visiting foreign musicians fascinated Japanese audiences. Though the concerts took place within the limited circle of high society, for students of music schools and their families, Dittrich's performance must have impressed upon them the

[78]The father of Joseph Hellemesberger Jr., J. Hellemesberger Sr. (1829-1893), was from a musical family, being a violinist and famous teacher. In 1851 he became a professor of violin at the Vienna Conservatory and its director. Joseph Hellemesberger Jr. also became a Violin professor from 1878 at the Vienna Conservatory. Among his disciples were Fritz Kreisler (1875-1962) and George Enesco (1881-1995).

difference between an artistic performance and mere playing.

On being appointed, Dittrich emphasized the necessity of sending young Japanese students abroad, on top of inviting foreign teachers to enhance the level of the Japanese music world. Dittrich's counsel was immediately adopted by Education Minister Mori. Nineteen-year-old Nobu Kōda was selected on the recommendation of Dittrich as the first music student of the Education Ministry sent abroad.

Kōda left Japan on May 3, 1889, and studied for one year at the New England Conservatory of Music in Boston, Massachusetts. It was the Education Ministry's policy to study for the first year at the Conservatory because its principal, Eben Tourjee (1834-1891), was an intimate acquaintance with Kōda's former teacher Mason.[79] She majored in violin, studying with Emile Nohr (1851-1914), a disciple of Joseph Joachim (1831-1907), besides taking piano lessons with a German teacher. After a short return to Japan, Kōda departed for Vienna according to Dittrich's plan. In 1890, she arrived in Vienna, where Johannes Brahms (1833-1897) and Anton Bruckner (1824-1896) were still active, and spent one year learning German. She was admitted to the Vienna Conservatory as a violin major in September, 1891 and became its first Japanese graduate in July, 1895. She learned violin with Joseph Hellemesberger Jr., and piano and voice as second majors; she studied harmony and composition with Robert Fuchs (1847-1927) whose students included Gustav Mahler (1860-1911), Jean Sibelius (1865-1957), and Hugo Wolf (1860-1903). For Fuchs's class she composed a violin sonata, the first sonata written by a Japanese. Kōda wrote about her study to her brother, Rohan Kōda, in 1892: "I acquired 'the excellent' in all

[79]Eben Tourjee founded the New England Conservatory in 1867 and became the first president of the Music Teachers National Association.

subjects in quarterly examination of the conservatory. I am the only person who acquired 'excellent' in all subjects in my class of violin. There are some who acquired it in violin, but 'good' or 'satisfactory' in piano and harmony."[80] This letter also told that she was looking forward to seeing Mason again, who was to visit Vienna in May. She told later about her memories of concerts in Vienna, "I had attended so many concerts. When I heard Beethoven's Symphony No. 5 conducted by Hans Richter, I could not but cry for such marvelous music unbelievably existing in this world."[81]

In July 1892, three years before Kōda's return to Japan, Nagai (Uriu) retired from the Tokyo Music School. She must have rejoiced in her students' growth, but she probably felt her own limit as a piano teacher. She was still young at the age of thirty-one, but she had three sons and two daughters by that time. Besides working in two schools since 1886, she could not advance her piano skill beyond Chopin's waltzes without a teacher with whom to study.[82] She must have felt the end of her role as she listened to Dittrich's and Raphael von Koebel's professional performances. The music Nagai (Uriu) learned was disappearing from the music school. Beginning in the 1890s the propensity for things German was enhanced in every field, including politics, economy, law, physics, and education. This phenomenon led the destination of governmental students toward Europe centering on Germany. Music followed the same trend.

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[80]Keiko Takii, *Sōseki no kiita Bētōben* (Beethoven's Music which Sōseki Heard) (Tokyo: Chūōkouron shinsha, 2004), 73.

[81]Hans Richter (1843-1916) was German (Austro-Hungarian) conductor and one of the greatest conductors of his period.

[82]On October 1886 Nagai (Uriu) was appointed to teach piano at the Tokyo Girl's High School, which was originally opened in 1877 by government as an experimental girl's school for Western style education. She was given twenty yen per month.

In November of 1894, Dettrich departed one year before Kōda returned to Japan. Kōda succeeded him in teaching violin, piano, vocals, and composition, and became a professor. In April, 1896, she made her homecoming concert at Sōgakudō Hall, which was constructed on the campus of the Tokyo Music School and opened in 1890. Kōda played the first movement of Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto, and Haydn's Quartet no. 1, sang Schubert's "Der tod und das mädchen" and Brahms's "Die Mainacht," and accompanied a clarinet solo on the piano. Moreover, she presented a Bach's fugue (from a violin sonata), which she had arranged for a four-violin ensemble. In Japan's male-dominated society, nobody could compare with her talent. Her excellence was so overwhelming that she was called the "Queen of Ueno."[83]

When Dittrich departed, techniques in each field of music were advanced, owing to the increased level of art music education. It was no longer possible for one foreign teacher to teach piano, violin, orchestra conducting, and composition. Such an era was over. In 1898, the Tokyo Music School invited Raphael von Koebel (1848-1923) to be a piano professor. He had been teaching philosophy, Greek, and Latin at the University of Tokyo since June, 1893. Nobody knew Koebel had a unique career ahead of him when he arrived in Japan as a philosopher. Koebel was a German-Russian born in Nizhny, Novgorod, Russia. He was educated in piano by his grandmother from the age of six. He entered the Moscow Music Conservatory as a piano major. This was the age of Pyotr Tchaikovsky (1840-1893) and Anton Rubinstein (1830-1894). He graduated at the age of twenty-four, but he went to Germany when he realized that he did not enjoy performing as a concert pianist. He

[83]The Tokyo Music School was located at Ueno, Tokyo.

entered the University of Jena in Germany, where he studied natural history and philosophy, receiving his doctorate at the age of thirty. He had been teaching music history and music aesthetics in Berlin, Heidelberg, and Munich. He came to Japan at the age of forty-five to teach at the University of Tokyo, playing piano for his own pleasure, but he was talented more than enough for Japan in those days.

Educational System at the Tokyo Music School in the Early 1900s

In 1889, the Tokyo Music School established more strict and detailed entrance requirements. It also published its revised curricula and educational goals. The educational substance is as follows:[84]

Article 1: The school shall be the place where professional music education is to be given and qualified music teachers and musicians are to be brought up.
Article 2: The subjects are composed of a preparatory course and the main course. The main course is further divided into the education course and the music course.
Article 3: The one-year preparatory course is for mastering the subjects of general music.
Article 4: After graduating from the preparatory course, those who have a special talent in music are to be accepted into the music course and those who are appropriate for music teachers are to enter the education course. Those who are not qualified for either of these courses are to withdraw or change to an optional course.
Article 5: The two-year education course is to master the subjects to become music teachers and is divided into two classes.
Article 6: The three-year music course is to master respective professional music and is divided into three classes.
Article 7: Students will be placed in courses at the discretion of the faculty.
Article 8: The applicants are composed of two types, those who apply by themselves and those who have been selected by either their prefecture or their school.

[84]Tōkyō Geijutsudaigaku hyakunen shi henshū iinkai (Editorial Committee for Tokyo University of Fine Arts and Music Centenary), ed. *Tōkyō Geijutudaigaku hyakunen shi: Tōkyō ongaku gakkō hen dai ikkan* (History of the first hundred years of Tokyo University of Fine Arts and Music: Compilation of the Tokyo School of Music, vol. 1) (Tokyo: Ongaku no tomo sha, 1987), 430.

Article 9: All applicants, except for an optional course, male and female, must be between the ages of fourteen and twenty and present references for their good character and manners. Applicants must also present a letter guaranteeing their ability to meet all of the financial obligations to cover the cost of their music education. Letters of financial support may be from parents, relatives, prefectures, or schools.

These rules became more and more detailed because the level of the entrance examination was heightened and the competition among students became harder. By 1900, Article 2 was changed to "The main course is basically composed of the preparatory, regular, research, music education, and optional courses. The school terms varied according to the course. The preparatory course was one year long."[85]

The regular course, the equivalent of today's undergraduate collegiate course in music, took three years to complete, while the research course, the equivalent of a graduate level course of study, took two years. The regular course was divided into three majors: voice, applied music, and *gakka.*[86] After graduating from the regular course, only the top students were allowed to enter the research course. The music education course, on the other hand, corresponding to today's Department of Music Education, was divided into A-category and B-category. A-category was a three-year class to educate teachers for the normal schools and the senior high schools; the one-year B-category class was to educate teachers for primary schools.

Both the regular course and the education course required a one-year preparatory course, and according to their results, students were sorted as either

[85]Ibid., 447-8.

[86]*Gakka* was abolished in 1909. It was not clear what careers existed for students brought up in this major. In the curriculum, besides general music such as theory, harmony, composition, music history, aesthetic, ethics and acoustics, students of this major had to study lyric, Western, and Chinese poetry, as well as general history, which were unique and not included in other majors. This author supposes that the Tokyo Music School intended to educate students with what today would be a double major in composition and musicology.

musicians or potential teachers in the schools. In this respect, there was no change. Those who did not attain the required level were forced to choose the optional course or withdraw from the school. Evaluation was based upon one's ability in piano, singing, and other instruments in the preparatory course. The curriculum was stipulated in detail for majors in the regular course and the education course. Interestingly, piano was obligatory for A-category students of the education course but organ was required for the B-category students who would become primary school teachers. Thus those who could not play the piano could not become a teacher beyond the primary grade.

Though the Tokyo Music School clearly divided the music performance course from the teacher's course, graduates of the music performance course could not make a living as a performing artist in those days. Therefore, a middle class teacher's license was given to those who graduated from the music performance course, and they were employed in most cases as teachers in the schools. Women's high schools or normal schools were their employers.

7. Hisako Kuno

Hisako Kuno (1885-1925) was one of the most popular pianists from the end of the Meiji era (1868-1912) to the Taisho era (1912-1925) in Japan. It is remarkable that Kuno gained popularity as a pianist in those days, but her life was at the mercy of her background, as well as the music world of her day.

At the age of fifteen, she was allowed to enter the preparatory course of the Tokyo Music School and study with Kōda. Kuno was different from Nagai (Uriu) or Kōda in several points. Being a girl from rural Japan, she started piano lessons at a

later age. She also needed to earn her living as a professional musician. She had fallen down some steps as a child and permanently injured her leg, which caused her to limp. Kuno was born into a family of grand landowners, who also made a business as pawnbrokers. She lost her parents one after the other at the age of six and was brought up by a step-mother. Later, she was separated from her brother and sister and put into the custody of her uncle in Kyoto. Perhaps her uncle felt sorry for her limp; he made her learn the *shamisen* and the *nagauta* so that she might be able to make a living for herself. Possibly she intuited her uncle's intention, as she became so good at the instruments and traditional singing that she obtained an instructor's certificate at the age of thirteen. Her brother in Tokyo suggested that she learn Western music, as he believed that it would be more appropriate for her as a woman, because Western music was free from tradition and convention. Though she had never touched a piano or had a chance to listen to Western music, her brother presumed she would have better chance in it than in Japanese music. Kuno went to Tokyo according to his advice.

The times had changed since Kōda had enjoyed the spotlight as a pioneer. The entrance examination now required the singing and the playing of an organ. Kuno needed at least one year to prepare for the examination. In 1900, Kuno enrolled in the preparatory course of the Tokyo Music School. After the entrance, however, she studied piano with Kōda and practiced so often that the noise disturbed her neighbors and she had to change her residence several times. Frequently, her fingers bled because of her terribly intensive practicing. Fortunately, she had her own piano. Most students had a fierce daily scramble to secure a practice room at school.

In 1905, she played a Clementi's sonata at a school concert and in 1906, for

her graduate concert, she played Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 1 with orchestral reduction by her teacher Kōda. She graduated with supreme honors. Kuno, already famous as a performer, was mentioned in the newspapers by music critics even during her student days; she became an assistant instructor in the Tokyo Music School on her graduation and began her teaching career.

In 1908, Kōda encountered an unreasonable hatred in the music world due to her popularity and an unjust accusation.[87] Many were jealous of her enormous influence. In September, 1909, she retired voluntarily and spent one year in Europe. Returning home, she became a private teacher of the young men and women of the nobility and the upper classes. Koebel also left the Tokyo Music School in 1909 and dedicated himself to the profession of philosophy at the University of Tokyo. In 1910, Kuno became an assistant professor after Kōda and Koebel left the school.

The Tokyo Music School also experienced drastic changes at about this same time. Firstly, the optional course came to compose sixty-two percent (272 students) out of a total student body of 445 in 1903. The music performance course shared around ten percent (46 students) and the education course numbered twenty percent (91 students). Since the optional course was a free course, it admitted students from the age of nine and allowed them to stay as long as they desired. Thus students with various purposes gathered there. As the Music School entrance examination became more competitive, the optional course started to be used for the preparation for the entrance examination of the preparatory course. Under this situation, beginning in

[87]The Tokyo Asahi Newspaper carried an article entitled "Anxiety in the Music World," by an anonymous writer on September 14, 15, 18, 19, and 25, 1908. It criticized Kōda's assertive and aggressive behaviors as she was called the "Queen of Ueno." However, it shows that Japan's male-dominated society could not accept an independent woman like Kōda.

1909, the qualifying age for entrance to the optional course was raised from nine to twelve, while the maximum allowed stay in the school was limited to five years.

Second, private music schools created by graduates of the Tokyo Music School started to advertise in music magazines as preparatory schools for the Tokyo Music School. These magazines carried examples of examination questions and advice regarding the entrance examination. Third, some students chose to study abroad, withdrawing from the courses at the Tokyo Music School. Examples were Ayako Kanbe and Sue Ogura, who studied in France and Germany respectively and later became piano teachers at the Tokyo Music School. Mainly, the male piano teachers were foreigners and the female piano teachers were Japanese at the Tokyo Music School. The world of musical education was under such circumstances when Kuno began to be active as a "passionate" pianist.

Audience in Meiji (1867-1912) and Taisho (1912-1925) Eras

The musical audience in Japan had changed considerably between the Meiji Restoration of 1867 and the time of Kuno. There were three steps in the development of concert audiences in Western countries: invitation, membership, and ticket. Concerts in Japan were initiated by the government and were attended only by those who were required to have social contacts with foreigners. Audiences for concerts held from the middle of the Meiji era (around 1880), principally by Rokumeikan and the Tokyo Music School, were gathered by invitation or membership. These concerts were not open to the public, but represented a closed world; musicians and audiences were in a closed society and the sound of concerts did not reach beyond the privileged few. In fact, the Tokyo Music School was not the place to educate performers. Its role

was to educate teachers rather than to hold concerts. Students entered the music school to prepare to earn a living as music teachers. Only in 1903 did teachers and students of the Tokyo Music School organize a performance group, called "Gakuyū-kai " (Society of Music Friends), to hold regular concerts; however, even then it was merely a membership concert for seven hundred people. The chances to contact Western music were not many in an era without recordings or radio.[88]

Nevertheless, by the end of the nineteenth century in the wealthier families in cities, there were more and more daughters of the intellectual class who were encouraged to play the piano and sons who were allowed to do so as a hobby. Intellectuals who studied in Europe were highly interested in music and frequently wrote about their concert experiences. A physician and literary scholar, Ōgai Mori (1862-1922), was fascinated by the opera in Germany, where he studied from 1884 to 1888, and he advocated that those charmed by opera collaborate in establishing the National Opera Association in 1913. Mori also participated in the Japanese translation of European operas. Sōseki Natsume (1867-1916), a scholar in English and a writer, who studied in London from 1900 to 1902, picked up music as a trope in his novels. Other literary scholars and scientists, who did not study abroad but who had abundant language capabilities, started to show an interest in Western music. They frequented concerts, taking every possible chance to attend.

Twice monthly open-air concerts by the Army band were held in summer

[88]In 1879, two years after Thomas Alva Edison (1847-1931) invented a phonograph, James Alfred Ewing (1855-1935), English physicist teaching mechanical engineering at the University of Tokyo, manufactured the first unit according to Edison's theory and publicly displayed it. Ewing's phonograph initiated record manufacturing in Japan. American Victor's gramophone was imported from 1902 and the first Japanese record and gramophone started manufacturing from 1907. However, the arrival of a record boom had to wait until the 1910s. See the section 2 in Chapter VI on this topic.

time beginning in 1905 at the Hibiya Park in Tokyo. Hibiya Park, the first modern park in Japan opened in 1903; it has a location and role similar to Central Park in New York City. John Philip Sousa's (1854-1932) marches, Johann Strauss' (1825-99) waltzes, pieces from Wagner's (1813－83) *Loengrin* and Rossini's (1792-1868) overture to *William Tell* were played. The Army band endeavored to play new pieces while not repeating previous programs.[89] The open-air concerts initially started with 800 seats, which were increased the next year to 1500 seats; because of their extreme popularity, the open-air concerts were continued for a long time.

From around 1907, music societies were born in Tokyo and Osaka. Management and performance were not yet professional. However, concerts for the general public for a fee began to be viable as a business. The "Tokyo Philharmonic Society" with baron Koyata Iwasaki (1879-1945) and "Ongaku Shorei-kai" (The Society of Music Promotion) with a core of young nobles are examples of music societies that presented concerts.

In 1911, the Imperial Theatre opened in Marunouchi, Tokyo, as the first authentic Western-style theater. Along with the inauguration of the Imperial Theater, a genuine ticket purchasing system was established. In the Taisho era (1912-1925) at the Imperial Theater performance of opera was initiated with Engelbert Humperdinck's (1854-1921) *Hänsel und Gretel*, which was presented by the Italian G. V. Rossi as the principal promoter. This evolved into a common and familiar style called the Asakusa Opera. By the 1910s, an audience of Western music was formed and music became more and more available.

[89]The Army band, composed of 35 members, was dispatched to attend the Japan-British Exhibition held in London from May 14 to October 29, 1910 and performed more than 3700 pieces. They were awarded the Grand Prize.

The Tragedy of Hisako Kuno

Kuno's elder brother, as her manager, planned concert tours for her not only in Tokyo but also in wider Japan and beyond, extending to Manchuria and Korea. The price of a concert ticket was three to five yen. According to his records, her concerts attracted seven to eight hundred people per performance, which was considered large for the era. Hisao Tanabe (1883-1984), then a student at the University of Tokyo, who also took violin lessons at the Tokyo Music School in the optional course, described Kuno's performance style:

> It was Hisako Kuno, the piano major, who bore the popularity of the entire school around the time when Tamaki Shibata graduated.[90] She [Kuno] was short, with a mal-formed limb and a limp; she was not pretty specifically; therefore, she had a tremendous handicap in that respect when compared with Tamaki Shibata. Her [Kuno's] posture, as she sat at the piano hitting the keys with the ferocious power of her arms and with her head moving forward and backward, attracted the entire youth of metropolitan Tokyo by the profound charm of her art and her sexual appeal.[91]

Kiyosuke Kanetune (1885-1957), doctor of literature, music commentator, and Kuno's acquaintance, wrote about contemporary music fans:

> Many of the pieces Kuno played were by Beethoven. In the early Taisho era, even the nine Symphonies of Beethoven were not yet able to be played in Japan. Music fans listened to music mainly on records. As for the Symphony No. 9, even its recording did not exist yet in Japan. Comparatively, many books on music were published. Therefore music in Japan was letters rather than sounds. Beethoven's music was read about as hero's music before it was heard. When the hero's art is played by a young and pretty limping girl, the young people's hearts cannot remain unmoved. Accordingly, it was just natural that Hisako Kuno was praised as a heroine and a pianist of passion.[92]

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[90]Tamaki Shibata, later Tamaki Miura (1884-1946), graduated from the vocal class of the Tokyo Music School in1904. She was accorded great popularity for the part of Euridice when *Orfeo ed Euridice*, the first public opera performance held in Japan was performed at the Sōgakudo in1903. Later, she was recognized by Giacomo Puccini (1858-1924) and performed operas such as *Madam Butterfly* at major opera houses in America and Europe, becoming an internationally known opera singer.

[91]Hisao Tanabe, *Meiji ongaku monogatari* (Music Stories in Meiji) (Tokyo: Seia-sha, 1965), 250.

[92]Kiyosuke Kanetune, "*Eiyū Kuno Hisako* (Heroine, Hisako Kuno)," *Nichiyō-bi* 1, no. 3 (November 1951): 16.

But Yasuji Kiyose (1900-1981), a later composer, wrote about listening to Kuno's *Moonlight* when he was young:

> Finally, the last movement! Her fingers started to crawl with aggressive speed. Then explosive sounds resembling thunder! I was stupefied. I gazed at her fingers and disbelieved my ears. What happened to "Moonlight night"? Her comb flew out of her hair; her fingers were running on the keyboard with a stupendous velocity beyond sight, like in a circus, and the sounds exploded. Her face fell nearly on the keyboard tracing her fingers right and left. I saw the acrobatics of her fingers rather than hearing the music. I was overwhelmed by flooding sounds and my dream of "moonlight" completely disappeared.[93]

Kuno's performance was violent, not one played by a feeble woman. She could not control the pedals freely as she was handicapped in her right leg, but the audience, as well as Kuno, might have thought huge sounds were passionate. Though some in the audience thought it appropriate to play with a little more calmness, most of them felt she was a genuine artist when she showed in her posture the embodiment of her art. In this age when excellent performances could not be heard, people judged the Western music by their eyes, being unable to make any comment on the sounds. Kuno did not intend to draw attention by her posture, but some audience came to watch the moment when her hair would become unbound by her violent movement and her hair ornaments would fly down onto the stage.

On January 21, 1915, Kuno was involved in a serious automobile accident in Akasaka, Tokyo. She was in a critical conditions and narrowly escaped death. Many people thought her career as a pianist was ended and newspapers and magazines

[93]Yasuji Kiyose, "*Sakkyoku-ka wo kokorozasu made* (Until Intended to be Composer)," *Kiyose Yasuji Chosaku-shū* (Kiyose Yasuji Writings) (Tokyo: Dōjidai-sha, 1983), 197.

wrote in the same vein. She was, however, released from the hospital in four months, and started to teach in the school for the new semester in September, 1915.

She returned to in-school concerts, opening in December, 1916 with her "recovery celebration concert." The program included Beethoven's *Appassionata*, Edvard Grieg' s (1843-1907) *Spring Dance*, and *Wedding Day at Troldhaugen*, Chopin's Piano Concerto No. 1, Liszt's *Rigoletto, paraphrase de concert*, Brahms' Rhapsody in G minor, op. 79, No. 2, Chopin's Etude in C minor, op. 10, No. 12, and Liszt's Symphonic Poem *"Hungary"* for two pianos. Though Baroque music was not included, Classic, Romantic, and Grieg, contemporary at that time, were. Motoo Ōtaguro (1893-1979), who had opened a music salon as a music lover and who became a music critic, wrote in his diary on December 3, 1916, about Kuno's concert:[94]

> The concert hall was fully occupied. The performer [Kuno] received loud applause and many bouquets and flower baskets. This concert frankly was the most disordered and unpleasant one of this year. Firstly, it was an inartistic meeting.[95]

The reason for his displeasure was not only from her performance, but the "magnesium smoke burnt by the cameramen" and the "absence of Paul Scholz (1889-1944) without giving any clear account who was supposed to play the second

[94]Motoo Ōtaguro was not from a noble family, but was born into a fairly rich family and studied in the University of London from 1912 to 1914. A natural lover of music, he commuted to concerts and operas and wrote in detail about them. After returning to Japan, he gathered other music lovers to create a music salon called an "Evening of Piano." He published a music club magazine, *Ongaku to bungaku* (Music and Literature), and became active as the first private music critic. He himself played piano and introduced the latest pieces from Debussy, Satie, Schönberg, and Prokofiev. Ōtaguro met Prokofiev, who visited Tokyo and gave recitals there on his way to America in 1918. He published more than one hundred books and translations on music.

[95]Motoo Ōtaguro, *Dai-ni ongaku nikki-shō* (The Second Music Diary) (Tokyo: Ongaku to bungaku-sha, 1920), 38.

piano."[96] "Furthermore, the instrument was out of tune, which was cruel to the player" wrote Ōtaguro. Finally he stated derisively about her performance:

> Kuno's performance totally lacked stability owing to presumably the loss of balance in mind caused by the absence of Scholz. It was hysterical rather than passionate. She needs the study of touch. Her performance is that of a person without the sensibility to create musical sound. Therefore, no mellowness, no fragrance. No one is worse than a music lover without judgment or ability. These people today may compare her violent performance to "passion in flame." Though these [audiences] are incorrigible, what is most annoying is that Kuno herself thinks of her performance as such.[97]

Ōtaguro had listened to enough music in the West to criticize Kuno's performance clearly. But the response of the general public to her performance was that Kuno was as a "passion in flame" or that hers was a "performance of the rarely heard great pieces," which they appreciated very much. Naturally, Kuno herself could not even understand what Ōtaguro wrote.

Kuno managed the second piano part of Chopin's Piano Concerto by herself despite Scholz's absence; however, she could not but replace the Liszt Duo by a Mendelssohn's piece. The reason for Scholz's absence at Kuno's concert is unrecorded. Perhaps Scholz's pride as young pianist from Berlin must have prevented him from playing the second piano with Kuno in public. It is natural that a student who had not had the chance to play with an orchestra would play the second piano, undertaking the orchestra reduction to learn the concertos. When played together with

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[96]Paul Scholz was a student of Heinrich Barth (1887-1922) at the Berlin Hochschule für Musik and taught piano at the Tokyo Music School from 1912 to1922. Barth was a renowned teacher who taught Arthur Rubinstein (1887-1982) and Wilhelm Kempff (1895-1991) in their infancy.

Scholz's performance did not have a good reputation because of his high-finger playing. Kōichi Nomura (1895-1988), who was a music critic and attended Scholz's recitals, commented later that he often banged the keyboard making a "loud and dirty" sound. Kōichi Nomura, *Nihon yōgaku gaishi* (Unofficial Japanese History of Western Music) (Tokyo: Rajio gijutu-sha, 1978), 227-228.

[97]Ōtaguro, *Dai-ni ongaku nikki-shō*, 38-39.

a different instrument, good or bad piano accompaniment can be recognized clearly. In the case of piano concertos, however, two pianos sound simultaneously; it is difficult for those who have not practiced playing or heard a piece before to know which piano is sounding. From the standpoint of the second piano player, it is difficult and unpleasant to play in ensemble with an unmusical and inexperienced player.

In 1917, Kuno became a professor at the Tokyo Music School. Some intimate acquaintances pointed out that she was mentally unstable from time to time, and suffered from depression. However, she acquired her fame as a player of Beethoven among an as yet immature audience. Despite her doubt and agony, she had become known as a "genius" and a "great artist."[98] To cast off her doubt about her ability, she came to embrace a quixotic idea. She started to dream about displaying her talent in a "Beethoven Concert" tour in Europe. Kuno was already in her middle thirties, but she was without the experience of studying in Europe. She must have thought that a successful European tour would confirm her reputation as a passionate artist and drive away her depression.

Eventually she made up her mind to go to Europe. In the early spring of 1923, she held two Farewell Concerts for Europe. They contained a horrifyingly extensive program of only Beethoven's sonatas, including the *Hammerklavier*, op. 106, op. 81a, op. 110, and op. 111. This was an unimaginable program not only for a female, but even for male pianist today. Finally on April 12, she departed for a tragic journey. She held her concert in Shanghai before arriving in Berlin in July.

[98]Kiyosuke Kanetune, *Ongaku to seikatu* (Music and Life) (Tokyo: Iwanami-shoten, 1935), 84-85.

Kuno, however, could not accustom herself to Western life as Kōda had. She rejected Western clothing and always wore a kimono. She did not like Western foods or know the necessary manners and etiquette. Gradually she was distanced even by the Japanese society in Europe. Kanetune, who was in Berlin at that time, told her that her planned concert programs were reckless and recommended that she return to Japan. Kuno spent her days attending concerts. Europe at that time was studded with brilliant pianists such as Emil von Sauer (1862-1942), Ferruccio Busoni (1866-1924), Ignaz Freidman (1882-1948), Egon Petri (1881-1962), and the young Walter Gieseking (1895-1956). Kuno gradually realized her own immature skill and came to feel that she would not be able to go back to Japan as a failure. The scheduled two-year visit to Europe was nearing its end day by day.

Kuno moved to Baden, a suburb of Vienna, where Beethoven spent his last years, to receive a private lesson with Sauer. She did not receive regular lessons, but at last she was given a chance to play *Moonlight* at Sauer's home on November 25, 1924. Sauer praised her, saying "Brava," and promised her a lesson in March of the next year, as he was presently busy. Kuno wrote to newspapers and friends in rapture about her experience of playing for Sauer. She was glad to be able to return after giving concerts in several places and receiving encouragement from Sauer's comment.

However, Sauer's comments at the lesson in March were cruelly different from the first one. Sauer said sharply that Kuno could come to play at least *Moonlight*— if she underwent the training from the beginning and practiced tremendously for several years. For this lesson, a Japanese woman living in Vienna accompanied her as an interpreter. So the rumors spread in Japanese society in Vienna

that Kuno, Japan's number one pianist and professor of the Tokyo Music School, was unable to hold a concert and that she was a mere amateur.

Kuno was planning to return to Japan in August after visiting England, France and Italy. However, she committed suicide by throwing herself from the roof garden of a hotel in Baden on April 20, 1925. The Tokyo Asahi Newspaper of April 22 reported: "It is presumed to have been a suicide, though it is unclear, because she had experienced a severe nervous breakdown caused by excessive study." No letter or will was found.

Playing an instrument has two contradictory aspects. It requires obedience and diligence for the advancement of skills, as well as the spirit of art. At the dawn of importing Western musical technique in Japan, Kuno advanced believing that achievement could be had by only hard exercise. She might not have been able to bear returning home without the glory she expected. While she had the mechanics of a pianist, she did not have the art. Kanetune later wrote about Kuno's death:

> Professor Kuno was a victim of Japan in transition. The past Japan, ignorant of true piano, toyed with this tragic genius unconsciously. It heard her passion instead of her piano. It amused itself with her anecdotes. Her lack of piano technique was supplemented by compassion for her life and vacant literary adjectives. Moreover, the general public did not know how to understand music. And the professor lived in that unhealthy atmosphere.[99]

Kuno's suicide, on the other hand, represents how serious the Japanese attraction to Western music was and how great their efforts to acquire it were. It symbolizes the gap between Japan and the Western music world, as well as the tremendous aspiration and efforts of the Japanese music world, resulting in tragedy when such a dream and attachment was betrayed, denied, and broken.

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[99]Ibid., 85-86.

In Japan, the 1920s was an epoch of transition for musicians as well as audience. Those who wished to be composers, performers, or critics studied in Europe. It was the beginning of an era when the children of scholars and officials staying in Europe were learning piano from Western teachers. The world's first-class performers started visiting Japan, playing in the newly opened Imperial Theatre. Violinists Mischa Elman (1891-1967), Fritz Kreisler (1875-1962), Jascha Heifetz (1901-87), pianists Leopold Godowsky (1870-1938), Mischa Levitzki (1898-1941), Benno Moiseiwitsch (1890-1963), and Russian and Italian opera companies visited Japan through the intermediation of the promoter Aleksandra Stroke, a Russian-Jew living in Shanghai.[100]

Finally after seventy-five years from the opening the door to the outer world, the age had come when Japanese audiences could appreciate the true art of Western music through foreign musicians' performances. The period of the acceptance of Western music in Japan was over and the period of the advancement in Western music was about to begin.

[100]Godowsky's recital on April 18, 1923 entitled "The Evening of Chopin." He performed two Sonatas (No. 2 and No. 3), six preludes, two etudes, two waltzes, Scherzo in C-sharp minor, Berceuse, Ballade in A-flat major, and Polonaise op. 57 in A-flat major. Admission fees were six, five, and two yen.

PART TWO

THE PERIOD OF CHALLENGE (1928-2004)

CHAPTER V

TAKAHIRO SONODA: HIS BACKGROUND

The Early Years to His Father's Death (1928-1935)

Takahiro Sonoda (1928-2004) was born on September 17, 1928, in Tokyo, Japan, to Kiyohide and Shizuko Sonoda.[101] His father was a pianist. It is rare in Japan, even today, that one has a pianist father. Also, it is seldom that the son of a pianist becomes a pianist. Kiyohide Sonoda and Takahiro Sonoda, father and son, are unprecedented in Japanese music history. Without the thoroughness and progressive attitude of his father toward early childhood musical education, Takahiro Sonoda would not have become the first internationally known Japanese pianist. The context of Kiyohide's personal development is important to the understanding of Takahiro's ultimate success.

Kiyohide was born on May 5, 1903, in Ōita, Japan as the oldest child of Umekichi Sonoda, who owned a Japanese-style hotel called "Inada-ya." The Ōita prefecture, which is close to Nagasaki in Kyushu, was the place where Western church music was introduced by Francis Xavier and the fifteen boys' choir was formed by the then Christian feudal lord, Sōrin Ōtomo (1530-87), in 1561. Because

[101]Unless otherwise noted, information on Sonoda in Part Two comes mainly from two books (*Pianisuto, sono jinsei* and *Ongaku no tabi*), an article by Sonoda (*Kokusai konkūru rakusen kikou*), and interviews with Mrs. Sonoda and others.

of these events Ōita is called "the birthplace of Western music in Japan."[102]

After the lifting of the ban on Christianity in 1872, there were many Christians and churches in Kyushu which established its musical tradition. There was a church near Kiyohide's hotel as well. Though not a Christian, from early childhood Kiyohide was fascinated by the sound of the pipe organ and the choir. He often went to a Christian church to enjoy the music and even joined the church choir. Moreover, he started taking organ lessons at church. He longed to study Western music and the pipe organ. He asked his father to apply for his entrance examination to the Tokyo Music School. According to the Japanese tradition of those days, the oldest son had to take over the family business from his father. Generally speaking, almost no man was allowed by his parents to study music, above all the organ, as his chosen occupation. His father was strongly opposed to his son's pleas but eventually conceded to Kiyohide's persistent promise that "he would succeed to the family business if he failed the entrance exam."[103]

Kiyohide took the examination for the piano, as there existed no examination for the pipe organ to study at the Tokyo Music School. Takahiro, his son, wrote later in his autobiography that such an unbelievably comical story could only take place when Japanese musical education was fledgling and poor. However, even without confidence, Kiyohide passed the exam. The following is an extract from Takahiro's autobiography.

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[102]Takahiro Sonoda, *Pianisuto, sono jinsei* (A Pianist, His Life) (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 2005), 5.

[103]Ibid., 5.

> Father had an impulsive nature and furious temper. Despite his bossiness, he was popular at Ueno (the name of the place where the Tokyo Music School was located). He sometimes bargained collectively with the provost while leading a student's strike. Though he looked like a rough and unrefined student walking in his hakama (long, pleated culotte-like Japanese traditional trousers) with an alarm clock hung at his waist, he worked aggressively and obtained excellent results.[104]

Miyaji Takaori (1893-1963), the pioneer pianist and Kiyohide's teacher, was depicted by Takahiro regarding an interesting instruction for positioning of the hands.

> I do not know much about Mr. Takaori's instruction, but people say that he ordered students not to allow a silver coin placed on the back of their hand to slip down while playing scales. This is completely alien to the playing method I learned later from Mr. Leo Sirota.[105]

This technique seemed to be due to the influence of Paul Shultz, a twenty-four-year-old graduate of the Berlin Hochschule für Musik, who was a visiting professor at the Tokyo Music School beginning in January, 1913 and from whom Takaori received lessons. Shultz wrongheadedly gave instructions for a high-finger playing method, with the fingers kept perpendicular to the keyboard. When Takaori was at the Berlin Hochshule für Musik in 1922, he noticed that this high-finger method was outdated. However, the high finger method, long credited and enforced by certain ruling piano teachers and music critics in Japan, even after the Second World War, brought many tragicomic results to piano students.

Six months after Kiyohide's graduation from the Tokyo Music School, Takahiro was born in September, 1928. After graduation, Kiyohide wished to go to Europe by himself to experience authentic European music with his own eyes and ears. This was a lengthy voyage of six weeks crossing the Indian Ocean to Marseilles via the Suez Canal. His father permitted him a two-year time limit for his travels. At

[104]Ibid., 6.
[105]Ibid.

the time, the yen enjoyed a favorable exchange rate, which facilitated the trip.[106]

Japanese students went to Europe to enhance their technique and musicality. Naturally they were the first generation of Japanese classical musicians, so they had no musical background or pedigree from their ancestral families. They could do nothing to overcome this handicap except work hard. Giddy with all the attentions they received as experts in Japan, they underwent a more or less great disappointment in Europe. Some were thrown into the despair in the birthplace of Western music.

In Paris, Kiyohide studied with a rising young pianist, Robert Casadesus (1899-1972). Most shocking to Kiyohide was to see European children play without effort the piano pieces that Japanese students toiled over at the music school. Also he was surprised to be surrounded by not only students but also non-musicians with "absolute pitch" in Paris, while in Japan only a few students had this ability.[107] Moreover, in Japan, developing absolute pitch was considered a useless capacity in studying music. Kiyohide then realized the necessity of early childhood acoustic education. He was the first Japanese who paid attention to systematic early childhood music education in Europe, which he viewed as important to becoming a professional pianist. Kiyohide made up his mind to become an educator and gave up the idea of becoming a performer. He believed that even the Japanese could be world class musicians if they were born into a musical environment that developed a child's listening capability from a childhood immersed in music to eventual absolute pitch. Reading books on solfège and psychology to obtain the logical pedagogical approach,

[106]One dollar was equivalent to two yen.

[107]The "absolute pitch" or "perfect pitch" is the ability of a person to name the pitch of note, or to sing a named note, without reference to a previously sounded one.

he gradually started organizing his own plan for early childhood music education.[108] Kiyohide's son Takahiro became his first experimental student.

Kiyohide wrote his original thoughts on his music education methods in letters home to Tokyo from Paris, and Takahiro's mother taught him according to his father's instruction. Takahiro's mother, Shizuko, from the same province of Ōita as Kiyohide, was teaching at a primary school in Tokyo after her graduation from the Ōita Normal School and marriage to Kiyohide. She was the ideal person to teach Takahiro, as she understood both education and art. From the age of three, his exercises in pitch were started. Takahiro had to identify a chord while he was standing sideways by the piano where he could not see the keyboard.

Kiyohide purchased and brought back to Japan almost all the major piano music literature published in Europe. He paid the equivalent of about $10,000 for the scores. Among the piano books was the instruction book of Pozzoli and Delachi for solfège. Kiyohide left Europe in October, 1932. After his return to Japan, he taught Takahiro the reading of notes and two volumes of solfège. He not only made his son sing a song by tapping the rhythm, but at the same time moving sideways and swinging his hands while counting the time, which helped Takahiro physically experience various rhythms. Also Kiyohide drummed into Takahiro the difference between the duplet in triple time and the triplet in quadruple time. Takahiro described Kiyohide after his return to Japan.

[108]The French term "solfège" means the training of the rudiments of music, which include the study of intervals, rhythm, clef, key signatures, and solmization.

> My father knew his death was approaching, as he had stomach cancer when he came home from Europe. During the remaining roughly four years, he devoted himself to parenting, struggling with illness at the same time. He taught me piano with all his might and accompanied me often. Looking at the front cover of Burgmüller's music still in my custody, which indicates that the beginning and ending dates of the lesson marked with red pencil, I finished it within one month.[109] It was with furious speed. When weakened, he gave instructions lying on the sofa listening to my piano. Though experimenting in the field of music education, he desired to convey the will of the deceased as musician.[110]

Even while fighting against disease, Kiyohide published in 1934 with composer and music mogul Kōsaku Yamada (1886-1965) "*Kodomo no piano*" (Piano for Children), based on his own invention for children's piano education. Most characteristic was the width of the five lines and the large size of the notes. Taking fully into consideration a child's eyesight, he devised large-sized oblong five-line music paper. He also included a story called "*Oto no kuni eno hanashi*" (Tale toward the Sound World) which aimed to help young child understand elementary music theory by storytelling. The book was intended for use after early acoustic training, which consisted of two parts: various etudes in the first part and Japanese children's songs in the second part. Colored illustrations were employed here and there, provided by his friend, the painter Mamoru Kubo, later a professor of Tokyo University of Fine Art. It was a beautiful manual by the standard of the day.

On February 11, 1935, Kiyohide lectured on his teaching method, called "Early Absolute Pitch Education," in Tokyo at the private piano school of his former piano teacher, Kōkichi Oida (1873-1957). This event, reported by the Tokyo Asahi Newspaper, headlined "Revolution in music education, mass production of prodigy,

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[109]Jun Ozawa, whose father was Kiyohide's close friend, gave testimony that Takahiro could perform by memory in the same evening a piece taught in the morning by Kiyohide. Interview with Jun Ozawa, conducted by the author on June 23, 2006.

[110]Sonoda, *Pianisuto, sono insei* (A Pianist, His Life), 11.

people in music circles shocked," created a great sensation among educators.

> Four to five boys and girls joined Nobuko Nagaoka (eight years old), Sonoda's seven-year-old son, Takahiro, and Kōkichi Oida's nine-year-old son, Toshio, for a demonstration. As soon as the teacher played a piano piece, they dictated music and read notes for one another. The students performed without difficulty, not only the melody, but also the chords, suitable from the viewpoint of harmony. Simple compositions were also written easily.[111]

Kiyohide's comments responding to the Jiji-shinpou newspaper were mentioned.

> I used my own child as my first experiment successfully. He can write simple compositions without difficulty, or identify by notes all of the good parts of Naniwabushi. If children were trained by this method, they could master at the age of primary school the level equivalent to the graduates of music school.[112]

Kiyohide started the Piano School at the Jiyū Gakuen as an experimental program. The Jiyū Gakuen was founded by Tomoko Hani (1873-1957), who had read about Kiyohide's teaching method in this article.[113] The music class where the experiment was practiced was called the "Children's Piano Group." Later important Japanese musicians, such as the composers Hikaru Hayashi (1931-), Akira Miyoshi (1933-), and conductor Naozumi Yamamoto (1932-2002), were trained there.

While interest in absolute pitch education was heightened, Kiyohide's health was declining gradually. After his early pitch-note education, Takahiro started formal piano lessons at the age of six. This age is thought of traditionally as a lucky time to begin lessons with a teacher, but not much time remained for Kiyohide.

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[111]"*Ongaku Kyōiku ni kakumei* (Revolution in Music Education)," *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, 12 February 1935, p. 11.

[112]"*Zettaion sō-kyōiku*" (Early Childhood Music Education by Absolute Pitch), *Jiji-shinpou* (Tokyo), 12 February 1935, p. 15.

[113]The Jiyū Gakuen, established in 1931, targeted an education that was thoroughly life-focused. By this unique education, children voluntarily acquired knowledge, skill, and religion.

Kiyohide was contemplating having Takahiro learn in the traditional environment of the birthplace of Western music. He singled out the Jewish Russian pianist, Leo Sirota (1885-1965), as the ideal instructor for Takahiro. Sirota was a leading disciple of Ferruccio Busoni (1866-1924) and had been living in Tokyo since the autumn of 1929. Sirota was staying in Japan at the request of composer Kōsaku Yamada. Kiyohide sent Takahiro to Sirota as a student through the intermediation of Yamada. Kiyohide died soon after, on December 8, 1935, at the age of thirty-two.

2. Leo Sirota: His Career up to 1928

Leo Sirota, who played a decisive role in the Japanese piano performance history, lived a long and turbulent life.[114] He spoke six languages and lived in as many cultures. His life of seventy-nine years from his birth on May 4, 1885, to his death on February 24, 1965, can be demarcated in four periods, each coinciding with a movement in world history.

The first period (1885-1907) corresponds with his twenty three years in Russia. He was born in the Ukraine during the turmoil of Jewish persecutions, where he was educated to be a pianist. The second period (1907-1927) corresponds to the twenty years just before, during, and after the First World War, when he studied in Austria and established himself in Europe as a young virtuoso. The third consists of his eighteen years in Japan, from 1928 to May, 1946, as a performer and teacher of piano. The fourth is the eighteen years in America until his death in February, 1965.

Though his birth in the Ukraine is certain, there are two views regarding

[114]Unless otherwise noted, information on Leo Sirota comes from books by Gordon, Yamamoto, an article by Allison, and a movie pamphlet by Fujiwara.

Sirota's birthplace as Kiev or Kamerezk-Podolsk. His disciple Joan Allison states that his birthplace was Kamerezk-Podolsk, according to the article of *International Piano Quarterly* (winter 1997); but his daughter Beate Sirota Gordon (1923-) wrote that he was born in Kiev.[115] Before the Second World War many Jewish people lived in the expansive area of Eastern Europe extending from the Ukraine to Poland. In Kamerezk-Podolsk, forty percent of the population was Jewish until the Second World War. As the Ukraine was a part of Imperial Russia, Sirota's nationality was Russian.

Sirota's given names were Leiba Gregorovich, but he started to use the shorter and easier form at an early stage of life. He was one of five, with an elder brother, younger brother, and two older sisters. His elder brother, Wiktor, became a conductor of operettas and light classical music. His elder sister was an actress, and his younger sister became a singer, but she may have died young. His younger brother, Pierre, was a talented manager and was active as an impresario of orchestral music and ballet in Paris during the period between the two Wars.

Sirota's father, Gershon, made a modest living by selling clothes. A pianist by the name of Michael Wexler, who boarded at his house, led Sirota to a life of music. Wexler became his first teacher. Sirota's mastery of piano was amazingly swift and started for him a life as a prodigy. He gave his first recital at the age of eight,

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[115]Joan Allison, "Leo Sirota; one of life's unsung heroes," *International Piano Quarterly* (Winter 1997): 60.

Beate Sirota Gordon, *The Only Woman in the Room* (Tokyo: Kōdansha International, 1995), 41.

In 2006, Tomoko Fujiwara (1932-), documentary film director who made a movie entitled "The Sirota Family and the 20th Century," found that Leo Sirota was born in Kamerezk-Podolsk but was registered his birth arrival in Kiev. He and his brother, Pierre attended the Kiev Imperial Music School and their school reports were still kept in the Kiev National Archive.

entered the Imperial Music School in Kiev at the age of nine, experienced his first concert tour at the age of ten, and started teaching piano about that time. When Ignacy Pederewski (1860-1941) offered to teach him after having attended one of his concerts, his family refused, saying that Sirota was too young.

Sirota studied at the St. Petersburg Conservatory on the advice of Alexander Glazunov (1865-1936), who told him to perform in Moscow. Later Sirota reflected on that period:

> There were lessons twice per week, usually Monday and Wednesday, at the St. Petersburg Conservatory. If a student was given Chopin's etude on Monday, for example, he/she was expected to perform it on Wednesday musically. Then he must learn it by heart completely, to perform at the following lesson and to finish the study of the piece. It is true that the method was hard and every student could not meet the requirements.[116]

The second period of Sirota's life, from 1907 to 1927, started when he attended the master class in Vienna of Ferruccio Busoni (1866-1924), who was regarded as the world's greatest pianist and piano teacher, along with Liszt. It was a period for Sirota to mature as a professional pianist and establish his brilliant status all over Europe.

What brought Sirota to Vienna was a bitter experience at the Anton Rubinstein International Concours held in Paris in 1905. At the age of twenty, he did not win a prize. Among contestants, there were musicians born in the 1880's who soon flourished in Europe. Wilhelm Backhaus (1884-1969) was the first prize winner, but neither Bela Bartók (1881-1945) nor conductor Otto Klemperer (1885-1973) gained a prize. Leonid Kreutzer (1884-1953), who later became Sirota's rival as a foreign piano teacher at the Tokyo Music School, was awarded the fourth prize. Sirota

[116]Takashi Yamamoto, *Leo Sirota: Nihon wo aisita yudayajin pianisuto* (Leo Sirota: Jewish Pianist who Loved Japan) (Tokyo: Mainichi shinbunsha, 2004), 20-21.

decided to study with one of greatest pianists then flourishing, to polish and perfect his performance and intelligence in the European atmosphere. Ignacy Paderewski (1860-1941), Leopold Godowsky (1870-1938), Josef Hofmann (1876-1957), and Busoni, were the great pianists for whom Sirota played. Sirota's strong desire was to enter Busoni's master class which was about to open at the Vienna Conservatory in 1907. Young and brilliant students from all over the world gathered, desiring to enter Busoni's master class, which was far beyond other master classes. Though Glazunov had written a recommendation letter for him to Busoni, Sirota did not use it and still succeeded in entering in the class. After passing the audition, Sirota showed the letter to Busoni, who said, smiling, that the letter was not necessary, as he had listened to his performance.[117]

There was another reason why Sirota moved to Vienna. Russia was defeated in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05) and social unrest disrupted Russian life. In 1905 the first Russian Revolution took place and people's dissatisfaction was addressed not only to the Czar but to the Jews as well. From 1881 on, collective assaults called pogroms took place against the Jews, their residences, and their business.

Vienna, which had not yet lost the luster of the Hapsburg Empire, was vibrant with life, economically and culturally. Franz Joseph I (1848-1916) of the Austro-Hungarian Empire was not anti-Semitic. Vienna was full of Czechs, Poles, Hungarians, Croatians, Italians, and others. Jewish financiers and entrepreneurs supported Viennese culture and many Jewish intellectuals were also active. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Vienna was a city with a population of 1,870,000 and a center of music appropriate for the cultural capital of Europe.

[117]Gordon, *The Only Woman in the Room*, 43.

Sirota matured as musician under Busoni. Busoni instructed students not only during the summer, but all year, with lesson hours reaching two hundred eighty per year. Busoni's lessons were severe. The first piece given to Sirota was *Variations on a Theme of Paganini* by Brahms. Though Sirota mastered all of the variations in a week, by practicing seven to eight hours a day, Busoni was disappointed. Busoni said "Your performance is excellent but you did not play without music". . . Sirota said he would never forget the words.[118] He said, "Busoni was very active for young musicians. He put aside a certain length of time every day for his students, to advise, consult, or encourage the young musicians. Busoni was so kind that he tried to communicate and dine with disciples always."[119]

Busoni, as a teacher, was different from the image of mystery and oppression which the general public conceived for him. Sirota described his lessons:

> Busoni did not refer to any technical problem in his teaching. It was assigned to the students. He did not force special practice for a piece by a specific composer. He encouraged his students to grow musically through their own experiences. And he gave them very brief advice about new approaches towards various styles and interpretations.[120]

Busoni's master class started and Sirota rose to prominence with it by the end of a year. The moment when Sirota acquired Busoni's decisive trust occurred on his twenty-third birthday, May 4, 1908. Busoni held small concerts from time to time for the students in his master class. Sirota played Liszt's *Don Juan Fantasy (Réminiscences de Don Juan)*, which was frequently performed in those days. After listening to Sirota's performance, Busoni said closing the piano lid: "After that

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[118]Yamamoto, *Leo Sirota*, 35-36.
[119]Ibid., 37.
[120]Ibid., 36.

masterful piece of playing, I don't wish to hear anyone else today."[121] Then Busoni dedicated his new piece *Elegies* to Sirota as a birthday present. On the title page of the score, which Sirota's daughter Beate keeps even today, Busoni's tribute of praise is written: "To my young colleague from Kiev, for the 'Don Juan Fantasy' on May 4, 1908, in Vienna. Cordially, Ferruccio Busoni."[122] Sirota was proud throughout his life of having been called "colleague" by this historic artist.

Busoni wrote a letter to his leading disciple, Egon Petri (1881-1962) about the growth of his class: "Pity you aren't here. My group of pupils is delightful—the men, at any rate – with many a fine young head. Very able. One of them recently played the Liszt sonata so well that I struggled to retain my tear. There is no rivalry amongst them, they are all good fellows. We carry on until mid-July."[123] Busoni's master class ended July 13, 1908 and he left Vienna.

Sirota' first recital, as far as the record shows, was at the Bösendorfer Hall in Vienna, on December 27, 1909. The program was unimaginably long and massive by today's standards. It started with Beethoven's "*Hammerklavier"* Sonata and Brahms' *Variations on a theme by Paganini* (Vol. 1 and 2). Then followed Chopin's Etudes (op. 10, E-flat minor and A minor), Nocturne op. 48, Mazurka op. 58, and Ballade No. 1. It finally finished with Liszt's *Don Juan Fantasy*. Pianists, even today seldom include on a program the *Hammerklavier,* which takes forty-five minutes and requires technique and stamina. Almost none start with it. Sirota, however, customarily performed such challenging programs. On December 28, the newspaper *Austria Volks*

[121]Gordon, *The Only Woman in the Room*, 43.
[122]Ibid.
[123]Antony Beaumont, trans. and ed., *Ferruccio Busoni: Selected Letters* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 90.

Zeitung stated, "Virtuoso pianist Sirota showed in Liszt's *Don Juan Fantasy* deep comprehension tied with brilliant technique."[124] The *Wiener Algemeine Zeitung* reported, "Great future possibility is observed," on the same day.[125]

The concert which Sirota considered his true debut was held on December 13, 1910 at the world famous "golden music hall" at the Musikverein in Vienna. It was a dreamlike co-performance, with his revered teacher Busoni conducting his own rarely performed piano concerto. Sirota recollected the progress in the following manner:

> I wished to make a debut in Vienna by performing with the famous conductor. Busoni was not only my former piano teacher, but a splendid conductor with his popularity spreading all over Europe. So I decided to persuade Busoni to come over to Vienna. I hurriedly wrote to Busoni to express my desire of performing his piano concerto, not yet performed in Vienna. Vienna was the epicenter of the world music in those days. Busoni immediately responded to me. He made all the necessary arrangements and revealed his design of this concert. It was September and the concert was in November [*sic*]. I practiced this piece eight hours a day during the six weeks until the concert. I performed it without any rehearsal.[126]

The concert followed a unique program. It started with Mozart's Sonata in D and Liszt' *Don Juan Fantasy*, both for two pianos, with Busoni and Sirota performing. It must have been a fantastic piano duo performance for Sirota, as well as the audience. Then Busoni's Concerto for Piano, Orchestra and Chorus was performed with Sirota and the Tonkünstler Orchestra conducted by Busoni. This piano concerto is monumental, consisting of five connected movements, taking almost one hour, and requiring a male chorus. The audience could listen to Busoni as pianist, composer, and conductor. Sirota described the event, "Busoni was greatly pleased with the success. Curtain calls were repeated sixteen times. I will remember that night

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[124]Yamamoto, *Leo Sorota*, 45-46.
[125]Ibid.
[126]Ibid., 49-50.

always."[127]

Before the First World War, Sirota was numbered among the greatest contemporary pianists in the same generation of Arthur Rubinstein (1886-1982). He was young, handsome, calm, and kind, and therefore surrounded always by many fans. One of his rich admirers provided a block of apartments where he could live and receive rents. His financial affairs stabilized. In fact, he studied philosophy, law, and music history at the University of Vienna, besides his performance activities in these days.

The First World War started after the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria-Hungary in June, 1914, and ended with the defeat of Germany and the Hapsburg dynasty in November, 1918. In 1916, Franz Josef I, symbol of the unification of Austria-Hungary, had died. In 1917, the Russian Revolution occurred and a communist government was established. In Vienna, Sirota was exempted from the draft because his nationality was Russian, and he was allowed open concerts and enjoyed a free life.

During the War, Sirota came across Jascha Horenstein, a young Jewish Russian from Kiev, who became his life-long friend. The twenty-year-old desired to be a conductor, having studied at the University of Vienna and the Vienna Conservatory. Sirota taught him piano and played the piano in place missing instruments in Horenstein's pick-up orchestra. Horenstein succeeded later as a conductor under the instruction of Wilhelm Furtwängler (1886-1954) in Berlin. He was especially appreciated for his interpretation of Mahler. He had an elder sister, Augustine, who had majored in piano performance. In 1918 Sirota, thirty-three years

[127]Gordon, *The Only Woman in the Room*, 43.

old, met Augustine, twenty-five years old, and taught her piano.

Peace returned to Europe; however, inflation in Austria was damaging the society. People fervently longed for music, as if they needed to heal their tired minds. Sirota resumed his performance activity. In April 1919, he was challenged to hold his recital at the great concert hall in Vienna, the Konzertsaal. Even a well-known pianist dared not perform a piano recital at the grand hall without an orchestra. Sirota, already a popular pianist with fairly numerous supporters in Vienna, could gather several thousand fans in this grand hall.

In 1920, Sirota and Augustine Horenstein married. Augustine's parental family was from Kiev and had a trade house that had owned vast sugar lands and a sugar company, but they had lost it all during the war and the Russian Revolution. Augustine had been married previously into a rich family; however, she later was divorced, leaving her to marry Sirota. Busoni favored the marriage and said to Augustine, "Leo is a very nice fellow and outstanding musician."[128] She had all the social graces and even cooked excellently. Not only Busoni's students, but Alma Mahler (1879-1964), conductor Serge Koussevitzky (1874-1951), and composer Richard Strauss (1864-1949) visited Sirota's home.[129]

Koussevitzky was one of the estimated two million refugees exiled from Russia by the Revolution. There were excellent musicians among the refugees, such as composers Sergei Rachmaninov (1873-1943), Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971), and Sergei Prokofiev (1891-1953), and violinists Jascha Heifetz (1901-87), Nathan

[128]Ibid., 47.

[129]Alma Mahler was a famous figure in Vienna because of her beauty and intelligence. She married composer and conductor Gustav Mahler (1860-1911) in 1902.

Milstein (1904-92), and others. Among pianists were Benno Moisewitsch (1890-1963), Alexander Brailowsky (1896-1976), Vladimir Horowitz (1903-89), and Nikita Magaloff (1912-92). These pianists displayed "Russian pianism" to the world.

These Russian musicians, having lost their country, were forced to work in foreign cities after the war. Berlin became one of the main cities where Russian refugees gathered. Conductor Koussevitzky was a core person in Berlin for such movements. For a series of concerts in the autumn of 1921, he selected the works of Russian composers such as Tchaikovsky, Stravinsky, Glinka, Scriabin, and Mussorgsky. Sirota, invited by Koussevitsky, played Anton Rubinstein's Concerto No. 5 and Tchaikovsky's Piano Concerto No. 1, which threw Berlin into a whirlwind. *Musical Courier* of December 1, 1921, described the performance.

> Sirota, with his virtuosity, his passionate temperament and energic personality, has literally taken Berlin by storm. . . . The Tchaikovsky had all variety and color, the melancholy and triumph—the life, in short–that it only has when it is interpreted by a master of Slavic origin. . . Do the Russian have a monopoly on pianism?[130]

Russian music, Russian ballet, already successful before the war, prevailed all over Europe. Sirota's activities also spread to all of Europe, along with the popularity of Russian music. In the 1920's, he walked on the cutting-edge of Russian pianism. He performed with not only Kussevitzky and Busoni, but also other conductors such as Karl Nielsen, Bruno Walter, Emile Mlynarsky, Georges Georgescu, Vaclav Talich, Josef Rosenstock, Jasha Horenstein, and Manfred Gurlitt. The newspaper in Vienna, *Wiener Morgenzeitung,* called Sirota "one of the last representatives of the disappearing type of great virtuosos, like Liszt and Anton

[130]Gordon, *The Only Woman in the Room*, 46.

Rubinstein."[131]

Besides Russian and German, Sirota became fluent in English and French. He became an Austrian citizen. He toured all around Europe as a popular performer. Virtuosi in those days had to travel, competing among many pianists. He was performing in London when his only daughter, Beate, was born in 1923. He toured in Europe and the Soviet Union from the winter of 1926 to 1927. He played recent Russian music by Stravinsky, Prokofiev, and Scriabin, in addition to works by Anton Rubinstein, Glazunov, and Balakirev. For Sirota, Russia couldn't be his home anymore, which made him all the more nostalgic. Of course, he played his teacher Busoni's pieces regularly. However, in 1924, Busoni passed away in Berlin at the age of fifty-eight.

In 1928, Sirota went on an unprecedented year-long concert tour, starting from Vienna and heading east across the Eurasian continent for Russia and China, ending up in Tokyo. He had not planned from the beginning to visit Japan, where he was to live eighteen years later. He surely never imagined that the tour led him to a great turning point of his life. Miraculously enough, 1928 was the year of Takahiro Sonoda's birth in Tokyo.

There is another story that the tour was a duo-piano tour with Egon Petri.[132] However, it is not certain whether that tour was in 1928 or not, as Sirota performed many times in Russia. In fact, Sirota was definitely alone when he arrived in the Russian Far East at Vladivostok. Then he visited Harbin, after performing in Tianjin and Beijing, China. Owing to music-loving Russians and Jews, who had fled there

[131]Ibid., 46.
[132]Ibid., 39-40.

after the Revolution in 1917, Harbin had the Harbin Symphonic Orchestra and operas and many other musical activities. Harbin was called the Paris of the Far East. Japanese also moved to Harbin, after Japan acquired rights and interests as a result of the Russo-Japanese War.

Allison writes that Sirota was offered ten recitals in Japan by the Japanese composer, Kōsaku Yamada, who was very impressed by Sirota's performance on May 8, in Harbin.[133] However, according to the recollection of Yamada, himself, he had received a letter from Sirota desiring to visit Japan. Sirota was aware of economically prosperous Japan and was interested in Japanese culture, which had influenced the arts around the turn of the twentieth century in Europe.

By Sirota's sixteen recitals in Tokyo and the Kansai region during November 15 to December 21, 1928, Japanese audiences were emotionally moved. Programs included not only Scarlatti, Beethoven, Schubert, Chopin, and Liszt, but also modern music such as Jose Antonio, Prokofiev, and Stravinsky. Especially Stravinsky's most impressive virtuoso work, Three Movements from *Petrouchka*, gave a tremendous shock to the audience. It is not known who among the Japanese pianists, piano teachers, and musicians of importance, including Takahiro Sonoda's father, Kiyohide, attended Sirota's concert. Sirota's success was compared with Godowsky's. It was said "he might well be called god of piano performance."[134] Godowsky visited Japan in 1922 and succeeded Busoni at the Vienna consevarory.

Sirota was surprised how much he was appreciated by the Japanese. The next year, when he returned to Vienna, he told his wife, "It's hard to imagine, but the

[133]Allison, "Leo Sirota; one of life's unsung heroes," 63.
[134]Yamamoto, *Leo Sirota*, 89

Japanese treat an artist they like as if he were a king."[135] As Sirota resumed his concert activities in Europe, a request for performances and instruction came from Japan. Sirota accepted without delay, leaving for Japan in September, 1929 with his family. His stay was initially planned for a half year. He lived, however, in Japan from the age of forty-four to sixty-one.

There were social and individual reasons for Sirota's decision to almost isolate himself from the European music world. Sirota's country, Austria, was gradually infected by anti-Semitism from the early 1920's. The Nazis became influential, took power in Germany and extended their hold to Austria. The financial crisis of 1929 resulted political extremism in all Europe. The impact of the panic appeared also in Japan; however, there it did not include anti-Semitism. In fact, anti-Semitism never existed in Japan. Another major reason was that Sirota liked the Japanese culture and people. He said to his family, "They're sophisticated, too—their history and culture are comparable, after all, to our own. Japan's going to be a great country one day."[136] He felt sympathy with the common Japanese people's naivety and kindness. Japan was comfortable and livable for Sirota, with the calm and polite Japanese. Beate later disclosed:

> The fact was that he had found a comfortable life in his adopted country. He could teach and play almost at will, his students were diligent and respectful, there were always partners available for chamber music, bridge and poker. There was none of the constant travel, the series of hotels or the relentless competition that were the pattern of a musician's life in Europe or America. It struck me that my father had deliberately opted for a "normal" life, a life he could enjoy.[137]

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[135]Gordon, *The Only Woman in the Room,* 40.
[136]Ibid.
[137]Ibid., 76.

There was an economic reason also. The life of a refugee Russian pianist in Europe was unstable. In Tokyo, however, there were ardent audiences to support his performance activities and serious students to support his living. It caused him to decide to immigrate to Japan as a place where he might be able to pursue music purely and placidly. In 1936, he described the Japanese music field thus:

> In Europe, the Japanese music world was not well known. Though I did not expect a high level at my first visit to Japan, I was surprised by encountering excellency. During the fifty years after the foundation of the Tokyo Music School, Tokyo made remarkable progress, becoming the center of music. There are orchestras by Japanese, and Prince Konoe conducts Beethoven's music. The concert hall, seating three thousand, is almost full every time. The music in Tokyo ranks with Vienna, Paris, and Berlin in its level. Most of the pieces performed in concerts are of European composers; above all classical music is most popular.[138]

Sirota was a foreign musician, completely free from prejudice for or against the Japanese. He contributed truly to the music world of Japan, believing in the musical possibility of the Japanese. His continuous performing and teaching activities brought tremendous merit to Japanese music circles.

Sonoda, Sirota, and the Golden Age of Japanese Music World

Takahiro Sonoda took piano lessons from Sirota for eleven years, from the beginning of 1935 until just before his entrance into the Tokyo Music School. Sonoda said, "It can be said that my fundamental capability as a musician was seeded by my father and blossomed by my teacher Sirota."[139] The Japanese music world was entering into its Golden Age from the autumn of 1929, when Sirota came to stay Japan, through the 1930s.

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[138]Yamamoto, *Leo Sirota,* 183.
[139]Sonoda, *Pianisuto, sono jinsei* (A Pianist, His Life), 14.

On October 12, 1929, soon after his return to Japan, Sirota gave a recital commemorating the centennial of Anton Rubinstein's birth. The following is the copy of this recital program, which is in the custody of Kiyohide.

Table 7. Programme of Leo Sirota, "The Evening of Contemporary Composers Commemorating the Centennial of Anton Rubinstein," on October 12, 1929.

-- PROGRAMME -- Alexander Grazounow Sonata I Op. 74 b moll Allegro moderato Andante Allegro scherzando Anton Rubinstein a. Polonaise es moll b. Prés du ruisseau c. Sérénade d. Mazourka A dur --- INTERVAL ---	Kōsaku Yamada Poem (The Blue Flame) Manuel de Falla Dance rituelle du Feu (El Amor Brujo) Igor Stravinsky a. Valse b. Polka Mily Balakirew Islamey (Fantasie orientale) Michael Grinka = Mily Balakirew L'aloutte Johan Strauss = Schultz Evler An der schönen blauen Donau (Valse)

Such a unique program is hardly heard even today. However, the concert hall was full. To the astonishment of Sirota, many Japanese audiences came to his concerts carrying music. Sirota answered later to an interview question by an American newspaper as follows.

> At first, I thought they turned out by the thousands at each performance just out of curiosity to hear a European play Western music. But as concert followed concert, in the same city and in the same season, I couldn't escape the fact that they came because they liked Western music---and maybe the way I played it![140]

[140]Francis A. Klein, "If Atom Bombs Hadn't Hit Japan, a Famed Pianist

There is a photo of Sirota's concert held at Hibiya Hall, the "Carnegie Hall" of Japan (2650 seats) at that time. Sirota sat at the piano on the stage before the audience, which occupied not only up to the wall of the second floor but also the aisles. The photo depicts the enthusiasm of the audience and Sirota's jubilance and pride. It is noticeable from this photo that there was formed already in Japan in the early 1930s the foundation to welcome Sirota. Unlike when Western music was performed almost exclusively for Westerners in Harbin, the Japanese were interested in Western music, which gladdened him.

Sirota began vigorously concertizing and giving individual lessons. He moved from the house in Mita where conductor Joseph König lived before, to one of the four western-style mansions in Nogizaka, Akasaka ward, where he firmly settled down. In the three other mansions lived a German trade merchant, a middle-aged White Russian male, and the singer Nobuko Hara, who had returned from Paris.

To this house were invited not only Japanese musicians such as composers Kōsaku Yamada and Hidemaro Konoe (1898-1973), who established the New Symphony Orchestra, but visiting musicians such as Feodor Chaliapin (1873-1938), Ignaz Friedman (1882-1948), and Arthur Rubinstein (1886-1982).[141] The noble Tokugawa, Mitsui, and Asabuki families visited often, along with duchesses and countesses, who became admirers after listening to Sirota's performances. Not a small number of foreign artists and foreign embassy members living in Tokyo gathered as well. Sirota's wife Augustine frequently gave parties for Sirota's supporters,

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Wouldn't Be Here to Tell the Story," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* 3 October 1947.

[141]Chaliapin's recital in Japan (1936) was arranged by Sirota's brother Pierre, an active impresario in Paris. *Nihon Keizai Shinbun* (Tokyo), 18 September 2008, 44.

becoming soon, as in Vienna, the hostess of a salon. Owing to this salon, Sirota kept well informed of the latest situations in Europe.

In this period, the second piano boom was about to start with the performances of young girl pianists, who attracted the Japanese public. Female pianists in Japan out-numbered male pianists. The girls were from eleven to sixteen years old and their parents were often intellectuals of the upper or middle classes. For these families the piano was no longer a symbol of wealth but of an intellectual profession.

Such a popular young girl pianist was Chieko Hara (1914-2001), who was born in Kobe, Kansai region, and whose father was an engineer who had studied at Harvard University. She was exceptional in that she went to Paris when she was twelve years old on the advice of her Spanish piano teacher. She studied at the Paris Conservatoire with Lazare Lévy (1882-1964). After she graduated in1932 with the Premier prix, she started giving concerts in Japan. She was the first Japanese pianist to participate in the Chopin International Competition in 1937, winning fifteenth prize. Another example is Sonoko Inoue, born in 1915, who studied at the Vienna Conservatory from age eleven, in a similar environment to Sirota's. Inoue studied with Emile von Sauer right after Kuno and was successful in acquiring Viennese traditional piano style without any problem. The lives of these girls, who played piano concertos with orchestras, became a dream for children and their parents. It became the trend to acquire more specialized technique through individual private lessons from an excellent teacher at a young age, rather than through music education at the music school.

Enhancing the level of piano performance in Japan was easier than elevating an orchestra, as it could be achieved by individual efforts with an excellent teacher. Expert foreign teachers gave individual lessons, not only in Tokyo, but also in the Kansai region, centering in Kobe. Girl pianists became a topic of conversation as prodigies. Newspapers told the story of Chieko Hara's study abroad in Paris and Sonoko Inoue's study in Vienna. The performances by these girls were broadcast all over Japan through radio, beginning in 1925. The common use of the word "prodigy" was an exaggeration, but it shows the level of Japanese music society at that time, clearly indicating that the level of piano performance was entering a new stage.

Students, most of them female, came from all over Japan to receive Sirota's individual lessons. Students from colonial Korea and Manchuria also came. Sirota went on weekends to the Kansai region, where the other large cities of Osaka, Kyoto, and Kobe are located, to teach students and give recitals. Several hundred students studied with Sirota over the years.

Sirota's lesson fee was thirty yen a week for four half-hour lessons. It was expensive compared with a monthly salary of the new graduate students starting in professional music schools. Sirota, however, occasionally exempted a lesson fee for some students who were not rich enough to pay, but who showed talent. His daughter Beate (1823-) wrote as follows about his feeling towards students then:

> I also understood my father's attitude toward his most gifted students. He was looking for people who might someday become his artistic heirs. In the tradition he himself benefited from in Kiev and, later, in Vienna, he felt it was the musician's mission to pass on his knowledge to the next generation. But, musically at least, I knew I could never be his heir.[142]

[142]Gordon, *The Only Woman in the Room*, 63.

Haruko Fujita (1918-2001), Sirota's early disciple, who became the first woman student at University of Tokyo and a noted constitutional scholar, lived in Germany from 1923 to 1928 in comfortable circumstances. Her father was an international lawyer and bank counselor; however, he fell ill after she had studied with Sirota for one year. Sirota did not take any fee after her father's illness, as she was exceptionally talented and called a prodigy. Augustine even ordered her an evening dress for her first recital. Augustine felt it was her duty to encourage this gentle and gifted girl. Beate wrote about the Japanese children who visited their house for lessons:

> There were children, not so different in age from me, sitting patiently on the sofa in the first floor corridor. All the children were reading books while waiting. Those were foreign books translated into Japanese. I felt it impossible to compete with these children; I gradually lost my enthusiasm for piano practice. There were obviously some students who had impressive and growing talents.[143]

Sonoda wrote in his autobiography that he began to commute to study with Sirota at around seven years old. There is a memo, "1935.2.1 Leo Sirota," in his music book of Bach's Small Preludes and Fugue, written in red pencil. His father Kiyohide used to write the beginning and ending date of his lessons on the music; therefore, this memo also must have been marked by his father and proves that Sonoda started taking Sirota's lesson from the age of six and four months or less.

There are two extant pictures commemorating Takahiro's first courtesy visit to Sirota with his father Kiyohide and Kōsaku Yamada. The first one shows from the right Yamada, Sirota, and Kiyohide with Takahiro on his lap. Kiyohide, notwithstanding his ill health, has a refreshed look, as if he had done what should be

[143]Gordon, *1945nen no kurisumasu* (Christmas in 1945), 87.

done. The second shows Sirota sitting on a wicker chair in front of the piano, with the six-year-old Takahiro standing beside him in a neat school uniform with a white collar. Sirota is dressed in a dark suit holding Takahiro's shoulder with his right hand, firmly yet tenderly. Both of them smile quietly, Takahiro with clever and clear eyes and Sirota with responsibility and self-confidence. It was surely the best matching of teacher and disciple that ever happened in the history of Japanese piano performance. Sonoda's father, who died December of 1935, had observed for about one year his son's lessons with Sirota and his development. Of course, Takahiro did not know about Sirota's brilliant career at all until later. Takahiro recollects Sirota's lesson as follows:

> He played for me everything on the spot no matter whether it was Liszt, Glazunov, or Beethoven. I felt his tremendous and awesome talent in my heart, though I was only a small child. I understood that I must play like my teacher as if it were an imprinting education for the conservation of a species of animals. When I made a mistake, Professor Sirota said, "No." Then he said, "Please listen." And he played it for me. Because I did not speak any English, I used my eyes and ears to absorb how the pedaling or accent should go. Then he'd say, "Once more please," and I'd go through it again. "Got it, my pedaling is wrong," "There it is, crescendo," "diminuendo should be slower," and "Chopin's melody is singing." He played clearly different ways: *crescendo* to the extent that the piano shook, *fortissimo* until he was red in the face, and *pianissimo* caressing the keyboard to make it sing. I learned physically. I realized, "Well, Liszt should be played as if the piano swung." He played Beethoven with such quiet power I was surprised by the strong physical effect it had on me. With Liszt, though, I could feel the piano shake. . . I learned the sheer power of Liszt with my body. . . I received a practical performance method, in a sense, by verbal tradition. Moreover, I learned it from a great master who had been taught directly by Busoni.[144]

Sirota's daughter, Beate, wrote about her father's lesson and Sonoda:

> [Sirota's] youngest pupil was a nine-year-old [*sic*] of great intelligence and self-confidence, whose own father was a music teacher. Listening to my father play, the boy was so absorbed he seemed to be hypnotized. But when Leo moved aside to let him play, the boy came to life, playing with remarkable vigor. My father would lean forward and listen intently. Although

[144]Sonoda, *Pianiuto, sono jinsei* (A Pianist, His Life), 14.

> I could not see his face, it was clear to me that he had great hopes for him. His name was Takahiro Sonoda, and indeed later he became a world-class pianist.[145]

Even a very young Beate recognized the seriousness of Sonoda toward the piano, and remembered vividly the lesson scene. The teaching methods Beate observed were not applied only to Sonoda or because he was a young child. Haruko Fujita, who was ten years older than Sonoda, brought up in Germany and proficient in the language, received the same pedagogical approach as Sonoda. Fujita describes Sirota's lesson with her as follows:

> Sirota did not want in his lesson to scrutinize various meticulous points, but only to comment on a wrong point. A student, however, needed to realize the necessity of fundamentally restructuring an entire performance by the word which had hit the problem right on the head.[146]

Sonoda himself observed Sirota's playing as follows:

> At first, I played extending my palms obliquely against keyboard like my teacher. His hands were too big to place them straight, which made his fingers extend to the end of keys touching the lid, but I believed his way of placing his hands was how it should be. His body and hands were incredibly massive. His way of playing was different from what my father had learned at the Tokyo Music School, where the playing without moving hands was taught. Only this method did not go well in Europe. Hisako Kuno, a professor at the Tokyo Music School in the Meiji and Taishō era, committed suicide while she was studying abroad in Vienna. The cause of her suicide was a mystery; however, she might have been most troubled by the gap of piano playing methods.[147]

> Kiyohide Sonoda did not force on Takahiro any specific playing method.

From his European experience, Kiyohide knew what he had been taught by his teacher in Japan was outdated. Kiyohide wrote in a preface, entitled "My Wish to Teachers" in his book *Piano for Children,* published as follows:

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[145]Gordon, *Only Woman in the Room,* 63-64.

[146]Haruko Hujita, "*Wagamiti wo iku* (Going My Way)," *Musica Nova 15,* no.7 (1984): 66.

[147]Sonoda, *Pianisto, sono jinsei* (A Pianist, His Life), 16.

> Recently, the method of piano performance is argued clamorously about the posture of the fingers, the finger touch to the keys, the use of the wrist, etc., in volumes; however, such instructions are necessary for those who start piano lessons late. For children of six or seven it is better not to speak about this for the moment. It is more effective to focus on remembering the relationship between the notes and the keyboard. If you put too much emphasis on the posture of fingers at the beginning of piano, you will distract children's attention away and damage the children's inherent, natural movement of hands. Their wrists will know flexible movements and then hands will show good posture when a beautiful melody is sounded.[148]

Students absorbed the essence of music from Sirota's great playing. Sirota inspired students by having them hear his music with their heart. He did not use abstract logic or explain a meticulous method. He thought it was the teacher's duty to stimulate them to move by themselves. And he believed only in this way could the truly individualistic talent be developed.

In terms of repertoire choices for Sonoda Sirota taught Sonoda with a very systematic order of pieces. Sonoda remembered that Sirota kept a small black notebook, like a teacher's mark book. It contained instructions he had received from Busoni and the titles of pieces he had played. Whenever he gave the next piece to a student, he chose it from this notebook. On the front cover of the music, Sirota always marked the date and the piece for next lesson with a bold pencil. Most of Sonoda's music books used in his childhood were lost in a fire caused by the air attacks on Tokyo, but on the front page of the remaining Bach's Small Preludes and Fugues was written, "Inventions," in Sirota's hand. From this note, Sonoda recognized that he proceeded to Bach's Inventions after Small Preludes and Fugues. Sirota's sincerity is shown by his instruction in the music used for six-year-old Sonoda:

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[148]Kiyohide Sonoda, *Kodomo no piano* (Piano for Children) (Tokyo: Issei-sha, 1934), 49.

> In the music there are marked accents on the strong beats here and there, and *tenuto* over the specific voice to maintain the sound. Then to my surprise, the minimum use of pedal was marked from place to place, which is most adequate, even now, and which shows his intention of teaching the basics of playing Bach by piano. . . I am gratefully impressed by this.[149]

About the fingering Sirota was very sensitive as well as reasonable. When Sonoda learned Chopin's Etude, Op. 25, No. 6, known as the "double-third" etude, and asked his teacher which fingering was the best among ten possible fingerings, Sirota played in all ten different ways and told him the merit of each fingering. Sonoda learned from Sirota that every one of them was good, sticking to one method was meaningless, and technique was not bound by the body's structure or any specific performance method.

From the beginning, Sirota's lessons required Sonoda's concentration. If Sonoda was given a new piece, he had to play it without music in the next lesson. Then this piece was expected to be finished musically at the second lesson. This was similar to the system which Sirota had received at the St. Petersburg Conservatory. Sonoda says it was not easy to keep up with the lessons. However, by following Sirota's instruction, Sonoda was able to build up a huge repertoire before he entered the Tokyo Music School.

Sonoda wrote of his teacher: "Mr. Sirota forced nothing on his students. Such a generous, open-minded teacher is rare, even in Europe. He said nothing, not because he could not speak Japanese, but because he really loved me."[150]

Beate spoke about how Sirota appreciated the willingness and the possibility of Japanese students.

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[149]Sonoda, *Pianisuto, sono jinsei* (A Pianist, His Life), 15-16.
[150]Ibid., 17

> My father greatly appreciated the Japanese students' seriousness and diligence. Moreover, Japanese students were intellectual and interested in learning foreign languages and reading many books. Of course, they were intrigued by the piano and by music; they commuted to concerts. He appreciated such attitudes.[151]

As Beate reflected back Sirota's life, she asserted, "I am sure that my father was very happy in Japan."[152]

[151]Yamamoto, *Leo Sirota,* 119.
[152]Ibid., 182.

CHAPTER VI

MUSICIANS DURING WARTIME

Political Isolation and Musical Globalization

The story of how Japanese musicians, foreign musicians, and Japanese audiences were involved in Western music from the latter half of the 1920s to around 1945, including the Second World War, could be interpreted in various ways depending upon one's viewpoints.[153] The militarization of Japan started at the beginning of the 1930s as it accelerated its isolation, withdrawing from membership in the League of Nations in 1933.[154] Despite the government's move toward isolation, the 1930s was for the music world of Japan an era of globalization, when an unprecedented number of invitations to European musicians were offered. The Japanese music world from around 1925 to the latter half of the 1930s arrived (in a sense) as the climax of the preceding approximately 75 years.

The First Musical Globalization by New Media

Two elements are involved in the globalization that took place in this period. First, new media (recordings, radio broadcasts, and the first talking film in Japan)

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[153]Unless otherwise noted, information in Chapter VI comes from books by Inoue, Horiuchi, Gordon, Hando, Kubota, and Takahashi, and articles by Kochanski and Fujita.

[154]The "Fifteen Years War historical theory" refers to the period from the Manchurian Incident of 1931 until 1945. Japan's South Manchuria Railroad was dynamited near Mukden in southern Manchuria. The imperial Japanese Army accused Chinese dissidents of the act. The prevailing view is that the Japanese colonials of Kwantung Army of Japan staged the explosion in order to invade Manchua. This Incident triggered the Japan-China War in 1937 and the Pacific War in 1941.

enabled an unprecedented expansion of the musical audience. Besides small scale domestic recording companies that existed from the 1910s, three Western recording companies (Polydor, Columbia, and RCA Victor) entered into Japan establishing companies which initiated a genuine record industry. Together with radio broadcasting this brought about a tremendous change in the music experience in people's daily lives.

The number of subscribers to radio broadcasting soared since its inception in July, 1925. Subscriptions increased rapidly, from 5455 at the opening to 200,000 by the end of the first year. There were 350,000 a year later, 600,000 in 1930, and over two million by 1935. Thereafter, there were four million in 1939 and over seven million in March 1943. It is evident that radio influenced the diffusion of music tremendously; there used to be only one radio per family, usually a large family of three generations living together. Various types of music had been spread all over Japan. At first, Japanese music was more popular in local broadcasting, but the Tokyo Central Broadcasting station broadcast Western orchestral music. At the beginning, most broadcasting was live, because recorded sound quality was unsatisfactory.

In 1927, memorial performances for the hundredth anniversary of Beethoven's death were broadcast eleven times. Four symphonies, two orchestra works, one piano concerto, and extracts of *Fidelio* were played under the baton of Hidemaro Konoe. Recording companies were concerned about the opening of radio stations, but the situation brought an unexpected synergy. Imported classical recordings were sold from the early 1920s, but then they showed a jump in sales from around 1925, when radio broadcasting began. The increase was due to those who were interested in Western music by radio broadcasting seeking out Western music

recordings. Western music recordings were of a high level of performance, since they were by top performers in Europe. At the occasion of the centenary commemorations of Beethoven's death (1927), each recording company vied to publish works of Beethoven. Japan Columbia issued all of the Beethoven's symphonies and the whole of his string quartets. The former consisted of 42 (78 rpm) disks and the latter of 65 disks, costing around 1.2 million yen ($10,000) at the present value.[155] They were published because of the demand. In the same year (1927), subscription for an eleven-disk set of Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis* was offered and 1,000 sets were committed, despite the high price of 42 yen (12,000 yen or $1000 at present value).[156] Over 4,000 sets of Schubert's *Unfinished Symphony* were sold, while fewer than 500 were sold in Germany.[157] In 1933, when a subscription was offered for collections of Beethoven's piano sonatas, over 1,000 sets were subscribed in Japan, which was equivalent to the aggregated quantity of all Europe.[158] The demand for Beethoven's recorded piano sonatas was high among Japanese music profrssionals, music teachers, and students because in Japan the chances to hear piano recitals were scarce compared with Europe.

The following examples of Beethoven's Symphony No. 5 demonstrate the rapid increase in Western music's popularity in Japan. In a four-disk set, recorded abroad and published by Japan Victor, it was first slated for sale in 1915. Successively, more than ten versions were published in Japan. A version conducted by Arturo

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[155]Tarō Inoue, *Mōtuaruto to nihonjin* (Mozart and Japanese) (Tokyo: Heibon sha, 2005), 68.

[156]Ibid.

[157]Ibid.

[158]Keizō Horiuchi, *Ongaku Meiji hyaku-nen shi* (100 years of Meiji Music History) (Tokyo: Ongaku no tomo sha, 1968), 216.

Toscanini (1867-1957) in 1939 published by Japan Victor sold around 30,000 sets.[159] Those conducted by Willem Mengelberg (1871-1951), Wilhelm Furtwängler (1886-1954), Franz Schalk (1863-1931), and Flix Weingartner (1863-1942) sold several thousand sets each.[160] Recording companies who were fearful of the opening of radio stations were surprised by this synergy. Recordings by leading conductors were appreciated. Their popularity also indicates the gradual increase in the number of musical amateurs who enjoyed symphonies under different conductors. The sale of recordings in Japan was a surprise to the Western world. European recording companies previously surveyed the Japanese market before they released new products.[161] As by-products of these booming sales, "recording concerts" and "recording critics" appeared, which helped cultivate recording fans.

Audiences for music magazines also developed. The first music magazine that appeared in Japan was *Ongaku Zasshi* (Music Magazine) in 1897, which was discontinued in 1898; then the number of music magazines increased gradually beginning with *Ongaku no tomo* (Music Friend) in 1901. Sales rose rapidly from the mid 1920s, reaching more than twenty publications in 1930. Various magazines appeared, relating not only to general music, music education, and recordings, but also symphony, music critics, brass band, harmonica, accordion, and "films and music." Along with the arrival of the first Japanese talking movie in the early 1930s, various kinds of music reached the whole nation. In addition, movie companies imported Western movies, in the forms of operas, musicals, ballets, and biographies,

[159]Ibid., 216.
[160]Ibid.
[161]Ibid.

which familiarized the Japanese audience with the lives and works of many composers. Through these Western movies the Japanese general public came to see the environment where Western music was born and how it was performed.

The rapid development of recording technology and the new media of this age gave birth to numerous non-elite Western-music audiences in Japan who had never been to concerts or foreign countries.[162] It shows at the same time the start of the Western music transition of the general public who had previously focused only on Japanese music. It can be said that the acceptance of Western music and musicians was well established in the 75 years from Meij to the 1930s.

Musical Globalization by European Musicians

The second element of musical globalization was caused by the political situation in Europe. Musicians whose lives were imperiled in Europe by the Nazis were forced to consider emigrating to Japan. Jewish musicians were incrementally excluded after Hitler became Chancellor of Germany in 1933. They considered Japan a safe haven because there was virtually no anti-Semitism in Japan. The Japanese were generous toward the Jews in the fields of education, compared with other Asian nations. The influx of Jewish musicians unexpectedly animated Japanese music activities before the Second World War.

Sirota, who was already living in Tokyo from 1929, was welcomed as successor to Leonid Kochanski (1893-1980), a piano professor at the Tokyo Music

[162]The number of Western music broadcastings was 395 in 1930. It increased to 452 in 1931. Masanori Ōtuka, "*1931nen no yōgaku hōsō* (Western Music Broadcasting in 1931)," *Gekkan Gakuhu* 12, (December 1931): 75.

School from April, 1931.[163] Kochanski left detailed testimony on the musical atmosphere before Sirota began at the Tokyo Music School.

Kochanski taught at the Tokyo Music School from 1925 to 1931, after Scholz retired.[164] Kochanski was invited for a specific reason. Miyaji Takaori (1893-1963), who learned piano from Scholz at the Tokyo Music School, entered the Berliner Hochschule für Musik as a foreign student sent by the Ministry of Education. Studying with Leonid Kreutzer (1884-1953), he was astonished that the high finger method taught by Scholz was already outdated.[165] After returning home, Takaori, who became a professor at the Tokyo Music School in 1925, wished to invite Kreutzer to Japan; however, Kreutzer was active then in Germany as a prominent figure, making it impossible for him to leave. Even though the Ministry of Education asked European governments to send a piano teacher, it was not probable that a first

[163]Kochanski was born in Orel, Russia and his real name was Joseph Kaganoff. He entered the Königliche Conservatory, Leipzig, in 1906 and graduated in 1910. He had been instructing his juniors as an assistant of Kreutzer in Berlin from 1919. He had been engaged in performing activities with his brother musician, under his stage name Leonid Kochanski. The Tokyo Music School paid him a monthly salary of 500 yen. He visited Japan in 1953 again, working as professor at the Musashino Music Academy and teaching until 1966. In 1980, he died in France. Among his students are Naotoshi Fukui, Motonari Iguchi, Akiko Iguchi, Aiko Iguchi, Izumi Tateno, and Noboru Toyomasu.

[164]Scholz retired from Tokyo Music School in 1922, stayed in Tokyo thereafter, and died there on October 2, 1944. At the time he arrived in Japan, he practiced eight hours every day giving aggressive recitals of Beethoven's 15 Variations and Fugue, op. 35, Schumann's *Carnival*, Brahms' Variations and Fugue, op. 24, and Liszt's Sonata in b minor. Excellent as a student in Germany, Scholz, however, remained immature, being separated from Europe, and he continued to teach piano in Japan for thirty years with outdated techniques. Almost no affirmative critics are found about his performances.

[165]Leonid Kreutzer, pianist and conductor, was born in St. Petersburg and learned piano with Anna Essipova [Annete Esiipoff] (1851-1914), who was a student of Thodor Leschetizky (1830-1915) and later married him. He learned composition with Aleksandr Glaznov (1865-1936). In 1921 Kreutzer became a piano professor at the Berliner Hochschule für Musik. Ullstein, a German publishing company, asked Kreutzer to edit an all-Chopin album. Artur Schnabel (1882-1951), Edwin Fischer (1886-1960), and Egon Petri (1881-1962) were Kreitzer's colleagues at the Berliner Hochschule für Musik.

class teacher would be sent. However, usually an appropriate one could be sent. Leaving Europe for at least two years meant that the prospective teacher would be unable to return to Europe and resume a musical career. Kreutzer recommended his assistant Kochanski.

Kochanski's reputation as a performer was not high, but he was popular as a very enthusiastic teacher. He already had experience in teaching students as an assistant to Kreutzer, in addition to having a pleasant personality. Upon his departure from Japan after completing his term, Kochanski said in an interview with *Gekkan Gakuhu* (Monthly Music).

> Six years have already passed since I came to Japan. It seems to me that the advancement in the music world of Japan is really astonishing. Truly there is an enormous difference between today's teachers and students and those at the time of my arrival. At least it is not too much to say that today's teachers and students in your country have no inferiority compared with those in foreign countries. Therefore, if the progress of the Japanese music world continues to be the same or more, as I believe so, then probably the Japanese music world could be showing wonderful activities equivalent to any musical captal in the world.[166]

Kochanski continues:

> The piano world of Japan six years ago when I came to Japan was fairly immature. The teaching method seemed to me also incomplete in various respects. Above all, the most significant error was that teachers gave students pieces inappropriate to their skills. The repertoires of teachers were very narrow then. Moreover, those pieces were suitable for teachers' practice but were far too difficult for students. Furthermore, these pieces were common pieces given usually by every teacher to students. Therefore, every student was practicing Beethoven's *Moonlight* Sonata or *Pathetique* Sonata and was rarely given works by Brahms and Schumann. Contemporary pieces were not taught at all.[167]

Kochanski worried that Japanese students were being forced to practice only

[166]Leonid Kochanski, "*Nihon ni okeru yōgaku kyōjuhō ni tuite* (About the PianoTeaching Method in Japan)," *Gekkan Gakuhu* (January 1931): 2.

[167]Ibid., 2-3.

one piece for their graduation recitals and would become like machines playing the piano without any taste.[168] To improve the situation, he decided to have students play the following four pieces: (1) a difficult etude, (2) a difficult Bach Prelude and Fugue, (3) a piece from the most difficult of Beethoven's works, and (4) a piece from the Romantic or Modern period. Kochanski reported that the students came to have more interest in music and more ardently studied to achieve better results because of this system.[169]

> Accordingly, nowadays from among the Japanese musicians there seems to be those who are equipped with the technique to be greatly successful, not just to intrigued Japanese, but in equal measure to Western people. This is of course limited to the people related to piano and vocal music.[170]

Kochanski's comment depicts well not only the level of the piano course at the Tokyo Music School, but the situation of Japanese music at that time. One may feel that Kochanski was boasting about the results of his teaching method and flattering the Japanese music world; however, his prediction for the future proved correct. He talked also about study abroad, "I think that untalented students should not go abroad. Excellent students should learn music and choose the best teachers carefully in Europe for that purpose, as they are not inferior in technique." He felt that there was no teacher who could teach truly gifted students in Japan, and even in Europe. As far as he knew, there were only five excellent teachers: Arthur Schnabel, Leonid Kreutzer, Max von Pauer (1866-1945), Nikolay Medtner (1880-1951), and Alexander Siloti (1863-1945).[171]

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[168]Ibid., 3.
[169]Ibid.
[170]Ibid.
[171]Nikolay Medtner, a Russian composer-pianist, was born in Moscow and died in London. He studied piano under Safonov and composition with Arensky at the Moscow Conservatory.

Further, Kochanski advised contemporary teenage female pianists and returnee pianists who had studied in Europe:

> Japanese performers look a little frivolous in attitude for their recitals and are not restrictive enough. Therefore, preparations for public performances are often insufficient. They are required to practice at least ten times more than usual. There seem to be few who prepare so much.[172]

But in the music world of Japan in this era, teenage female pianists advanced through routes other than the Tokyo Music School. The Tokyo Music School, though Kochanski instructed well, was at the point of losing its position at the core of music education, as it had placed the training of educators ahead of performers. It needed to invite more powerful teachers immediately. Former foreign teachers were not great as performers, though they were gifted as educators. Adoption of a professional pianist as an instructor in performance was required for talented piano students.

In the autumn of 1929, Sirota learned of the world panic that began on October 24. His daughter Beate wrote about their situation at the middle of 1930.

> We had originally expected to stay in Japan for six months, but those months passed quickly. When my parents heard that conditions in Europe were growing worse, not better, and that the Nazi Party had been runner-up in the German elections of 1930, it was an easy decision to postpone our return. Besides, in those six months we had taken root.[173]

Owing to such circumstances Sirota responded to the request of the Tokyo Music School to teach as professor of piano from April 1931. He was evidently the best pianist among the teachers who had taught at the Tokyo Music School.

Right after Kochanski left Japan in March, 1931, his teacher Kreutzer, responding to the request of Kōkichi Oida, visited Japan and held lectures and recitals

[172]Kochanski, *Nihon ni okeru yōgaku kyōjuhō ni tuite* (About the Piano Teaching Method in Japan), 4.

[173]Gordon, *The Only Woman in the Room*, 60.

for his private school.[174] The Tokyo Music School asked him to give twenty special lectures for alumni, students, and teachers of piano during the period from April 8 to May 10. The twenty lectures were regarded as an extension of Kreutzer's class in Berlin and were expected to be more instructive than his recitals. Among the audiences were Miyaji Takaori, Sue Ogura, and Nobu Kōda. Each lecture took four hours and Kreutzer taught intensely. He was bestowed a silver cup by Yoshihiro Norisugi, the president of Tokyo Music School, for his contribution to Japanese piano education.

Kreutzer was astounded by the great musical progress of Japan despite the short period since the introduction of Western piano music there. But he mentioned as a defect the lack of the concept of rhythm:

> The next problem is that Japanese pianists do not know how to sing with the piano. Many of them play merely beautifully and do not notice how to sing. Eventually the performance becomes vacant and cold as ice, which does not resemble the Japanese who are of abundant feelings.[175]

Kreutzer might never have imagined that he would move to Japan and that it would become the place of his death. However, he surely had an interest in Japan. He knew the Japanese music world through what he had heard from Kochanski and Japanese students in Europe. Takaori, who visited the villa of Kreutzer near Berlin, wrote later that Kreutzer's visit to Japan might not be only for concertizing.

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[174]Oida was not a graduate of the Tokyo Music School. He was a student of political economy at the Keio University but entered the Berliner Hochschule für Music and learned from Kreutzer. He opened the Oida Supplementary Private Music School in Tokyo.

[175]Kōkichi Oida, "*Kuroituā-sensei wo okutte* (Seeing off Mr. Kreutzer)," *Gekkan Gakuhu* (June 1931): 91.

> Kreutzer's life style was really sophisticated, but presumably he was not always happy. That was because the oppression by the Nazis was already acute, quashing cheerful atmospheres outside of one's residence, especially if one liked to talk about politics. When we were out together looking at the members of Nazis bearing their armbands, he told me to walk away from them, which made even me depressed; therefore, I supposed his inner world was unpleasant.[176]

The newly assigned Sirota might have been pressured by Kreutzer's sojourn in Tokyo for a month. In June, Sirota played Schumann's Piano Concerto with the Tokyo Music School Orchestra at Sōgakudo. At the time, he was teaching only excellent seniors and the research-class students of the Music School. This same year, in 1931, Klaus Pringsheim (1883-1972), who had studied with Gustav Mahler, visited Japan from Vienna and became a professor of a newly created composition class.[177]

Before the Second World War (1931- 1941)

The Manchurian Incident took place in September, 1931. The radio subscriptions of 650,000 then continued to increase by 60,000 each month thereafter, reaching 1,056,000 in March, 1932. Nobody, however, predicted that this incident would lead to a destruction unprecedented since the beginning of Japanese history. In February, 1933, Japan withdrew from the League of Nations, and isolation became its

[176]Miyaji Takaori, "*Kuroituā-sensei no si wo itande* (Lament the death of Mr. Kreutzer)," *Ongaku no tomo* 12, no. 1 (January 1954): 143.

[177]Klaus Pringsheim, conductor, composer, and music critic, was born in Munich. His father, Alfred Pringsheim (b.1950) was a famous mathematician belonging to a wealthy Jewish merchant family. Klaus Pringsheim studied philosophy and musicology at the University of Munich. Later he learned conducting with Gustav Mahler in Vienna. From 1907 he was active as an opera conductor in Geneva, Prague, Breslau, and Berlin. He started teaching in Japan from 1931. However, because of the conflict with Japanese composers, he left Japan from 1939 to1941 and stayed in Thailand. From 1941 to 1946, he directed the Tokyo Chamber Symphony Orchestra. After the Second World War, he lived in California. In 1951 he was appointed a professor of composition at the Musashino Music Academy, the oldest private music academy in Japan, and died in Tokyo. His sister married Thomas Mann (1875-1955).

destiny. In March, Hitler became Chancellor of Germany and in April, Kreutzer was ousted from his position as a professor at the Berliner Hochschule für Musik as a cultural enemy of the Nazis. Also Joseph Rosenstock (1895-1985), who was the general music director of the Mannheim National Opera House, was exiled from Germany and ended up eventually moving to Japan in 1936.[178]

Consequently, several European teachers came to teach at the Tokyo Music School in the 1930s. Robert Pollak, who had formed a trio with Sirota in Vienna, taught violin from 1930 to 1937, and Alexander Moguilewsky (1885-1953), who had visited Japan often as an exiled Russian violinist, succeeded him as a professor. Hermut Fellmer (1908-77) was invited in 1938 to succeed Pringsheim in conducting and composition, and in 1939, also from Germany, came the famous conductor Manfred Gurlitt (1890-1972).[179] They not only taught at the Tokyo Music School but instructed at public orchestras and performances.

Kreutzer stayed in Japan from the end of February to June 1934, when he visited America for a concert tour. He revisited Japan in 1935 without returning to Germany. His third visit to Japan was with the intention of immigrating to Japan.

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[178]Joseph Rosenstock (1895-1985) was born in Krakow, Poland, graduated from the Vienna Conservatory, and worked at various opera houses in America and Europe. He was a conductor at the State Opera in Mannheim from 1930 before he moved to Japan. After the Second World War, he started conducting the Japan Symphonic Orchestra from the 268th subscription concert on September14, 1945. He left Japan for the New York City Center Opera at the end of the same year.

[179]Manfred Gurlitt, German opera composer and conductor, was born in Berlin. He was a student of Engelbert Humperdink (1854-1921). Gurlitt taught at the Chalottenburg Musikhochschule from 1927 and conducted for the Berlin Radio Orchestra before he came to Japan. He lost his official position because he was denounced as a 'Cultural Bolshevist' in 1933. He entered the Nazi party despite being a Jew to avoid arrest by the Gestapo. In 1937, as he was deprived of Nazi membership and tried to move to Japan. Konoe, who was then in Germany, helped him to obtain his visa to Japan in 1939. Gurlitt played an important role as an opera conductor during the period before and after the Second World War in Japan. He never returned to Germany, and he died in Tokyo.

Although the Tokyo Music School was to hire only one foreign piano teacher, it came to require two foreign teachers, because half of the students majored in piano and all the other students who majored in other instruments, vocal music, or composition studied piano in parallel.[180] Though Kreutzer was invited to teach at the Tokyo Music School, he refused. It is not known clearly why Kreutzer refrained, though there are several suppositions: perhaps salary or objections from Jewish musicians in Japan. Instead, in 1936, Paul Weingarten (1886-1948), a professor of the Vienna Conservatory, was invited to teach in Japan through the Japanese Education Ministry.[181]

Besides an annual salary of 9000 yen, Weingarten received an additional 3000 yen from a private donor, giving him a handsome salary of 12,000 yen, which was unprecedented.[182] It was more than double the salary of the foreign teachers at the Tokyo Music School at that time. It was an incredible compensation, even for a first class conservatory and by governmental invitation. The annual salary of the Prime Minister of Japan at that time was 9600 yen.[183]

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[180]Tōkyō Geijutudaigaku hyakunen shi henshū iinkai (Editional Committee for Tokyo University of Fine Art and Music Centenary), ed. *Tōkyō Geijutudaigaku hyakunen shi. Tōkyō ongaku gakkō hen dai nikan* (History of the first hundred years of Tokyo University of Fine Art and Music. Compilation of the Tokyo School of Music, Vol. 2) (Tokyo: Ongaku no tomo sha, 1987), 1255.

[181]Ibid., 1253. Paul Weingarten was born in Brno, Czech (Moravia). He studied piano under Emil von Sauer and composition with Robert Fuchs (1847-1927) at the Vienna Conservatory. He also studied at the Vienna University and became a Doctor of Philosophy in 1910. He taught as piano professor at the Vienna Conservatory from 1922.

[182]Ibid., 1256. Most foreign teachers received an annual salary of about 5400 yen.

[183]Kazutoshi Hando, *Shōwa-shi 1926-1945* (History of Showa, 1926-1945) (Tokyo: Heibon sha, 2004), 81.

After the departure of Weingarten in 1938, Kreutzer started to teach at the Tokyo Music School and was formally adopted as a foreign teacher in 1939. Sirota and Kreutzer were of the same generation. They had studied together at St. Petersburg Conservatory and were competitors at the Anton Rubinstein International Competition. Knowing each other and their capabilities, they seem to have maintained a coolly distant relationship. It cannot be denied they were regarded as rivals. It goes without saying that their students identified with either Sirota or with Kreutzer.[184]

Two episodes show the atmosphere of the Tokyo Music School in the 1930s. The first occurred when Alexander Tansman visited in 1933 and listened to the student performances. He was astonished and said, "I felt as if I were in Paris when I listened with my eyes closed."[185] Ryōsuke Hatanaka (1922-), a vocal student then, recalled Kreutzer as follows:

> One day when I [Hatanaka] was listening to a recording of Chopin, Kreutzer dropped in suddenly and said, "Who's performance is this?. . . Ah, [Alfred] Cortot isn't it," then he disappeared. I was totally moved that the world-famous virtuoso whom I knew only by recordings was walking around in the corridor near me.[186]

Musicians from Europe continued to increase their presence at the Tokyo Music School. The New Symphony Orchestra, later NHK Symphony Orchestra, sought a new regular conductor when Hidemaro Konoe withdrew and left for Europe. Rosenstock, who was recommended by Wily Frei, who had performed under the baton of Rosenstock, visited Japan in August, 1936. Rosenstock conducted all the

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[184]Keiichi Kubota, *Kokō no pianisuto Kajiwara Hiroshi* (Aloof Pianist Hiroshi Kajiwara) (Tokyo: Chopin Corp., 2004), 71.

[185]Yamamoto, *Leo Sirota*, 110.

[186]Junko Yoshida, *"Piano ga mita yume 2* (Dream of Piano 2)," The evening edition of the *Asahi Shinbun* (Tokyo), 24 October 2007.

performances from 1936 to 1942. The program of Rosenstock's first concert included Weber's Overture to *Oberon,* Mozart's Symphony No. 35, *"Haffner,"* Schoenberg's *Verklärte Nacht*, and Mendelssohn's Symphony No. 3. The orchestra members increased from around forty at its creation in 1927 to around eighty in 1937. Rosenstock strictly trained members to enhance their technique and worked to expand the repertoire. He introduced the first performances of many concertos and symphonies in Japan.

Conductors such as Pringsheim, Rosenstock, Gurlitt, and Felix Weingartner (1863-1942) frequently co-starred, not only with Japanese performers but also with European performers residing in Japan and first class European performers visiting Japan. The conductors were sometimes confounded by the performers' strong personalities, contentiousness, and artistic beliefs, sometimes even cancelling performances. The number of foreign musicians, especially Jewish musicians, increased, which aggravated the rivalry among them. However, it is also a fact that Tokyo became an important stage for musical activities, comparable to Europe, owing to these musicians. The population of Tokyo reached 2.2 million (3.2 million if one included the populations of adjacent towns and villages), making Tokyo the second largest city in the world, capable of providing enough audience for many performance activities.[187]

The number of performers and opera companies visiting Japan in this era increased dramatically. Major pianists who visited at the beginning of Showa (1925-1937) included Benno Moiseiwitch, Robert E. Schmitz, Alexander Brailowsky, Alexander Tansman, Ignaz Friedman, Arthur Rubinstein, Shura Cherkassky, Lili

[187]Kubota, *Kokō no pianisuto* (Aloof Pianist), 44.

Kraus, and Wilhelm Kemff. Violinists included Jacques Thibaud, Joseph Szigeti, Efrem Zimbalist, and Szymon Goldberg. Cellists included Gregor Piatigorsky and Maurice Maréchal. The Russian bass Fyodor Chaliapin and Spanish guitarist Andrés Segovia also appeared. The Carpi Italian Opera Company visited five times from 1923 to 1930 and the Russian Opera Company visited four times by 1927, performing mainly Italian and Russian major operas in various parts of Japan and causing an opera boom before the war.

Active Japanese pianists

The Japanese pianists active in the 1930s can be categorized according to their piano education: those who learned with foreign teachers residing in Japan, those who experienced studying in Europe after graduating from the Tokyo Music School, and those who graduated from European conservatoires.

Noboru Toyomasu, Susumu Nagai, and Tatsuo Mizutani, three male students, were taught by Sirota at Tokyo Music School and were called the "Sirota Trio." Teenage female pianists Haruko Fujita, Yōko Matsukuma, Sonoko Tanaka, and Mutsuko Kuroda, were also Sirota's students, brought up exclusively by his private lessons. These four of Sirota's young students won the first prize successively from the sixth (1938) to the ninth Japan Music Competition. The Japan Music Competition, a "gateway to the music world," was started in 1932, sponsored by Jijishinpo-sha (later sponsored by NHK and Mainichi Newspaper).

Those who studied with Leonid Kochanski were Motonari Iguchi, his wife Akiko, and his younger sister, Aiko. Motonari and Akiko were originally Takaori's students and received Kochanski's lessons at the Tokyo Music School. Aiko did not

enter the Tokyo Music School but learned with Kochanski privately. After his graduation, Motonari learned in France with Yves Nat for two years and Akiko studied with Kreutzer in Germany, withdrawing from the Tokyo Music School on the way. Motonari and Akiko became professors at the Tokyo Music School and together were called the Takaori-Kochanski school.

Sonoko Inoue and Chieko Hara graduated from the Vienna Conservatory and Paris Conservatoire respectively and made their debuts performing in Japan. Chieko Hara together with Miwako Kahi participated in the 1937 third Chopin Piano Competition as the first Japanese, and Hara won the fifteenth prize.[188]

Kazuko Kusama (1922-1996), later Kazuko Yasukawa, was a type of pianist that had never existed before in Japan. At the age of fifteen months, she went to Paris where her father, a diplomat, lived. She started piano at three and a half years and entered the preliminary course of the Paris Conservatoire at ten. She also studied with Lazar Lévy at the Paris Conservatoire and graduated in 1937 just before the Japan-China War took place. In September, 1939, when the Second World War began in Europe, she left Paris with her mother and returned to Japan from Napoli via New York, Panama, and Los Angeles by ship. It was a lengthy seventy-five day voyage. She started performing from the autumn the following year and was considered a novelty for having been brought up and educated in France, given the overwhelming German partiality of Japanese pianists.

These pianists continued brilliant music activities with live and broadcast

[188]The third Chopin Competition was participated in by 250 entries from 21 countries with 30 judges from 12 countries. Among the judges were Wilhelm Backhaus and Emil von Sauer. Though Kahi, the first prize winner of the first Japan Piano Competition in 1932 and a student of Maxim Shapiro, a Russian pianist-teacher who lived in the Kansai area, was dropped at the preliminary round.

performances even during the war. Rosenstock, who was very strict with Japanese orchestra members, had no complaint about these pianists. In only ten years, from the age of Hisako Kuno at the beginning of the 1920s, the Japanese piano world experienced great leaps in globalization. One of the reasons for this breakthrough is that these pianists, born between 1900 and 1925, and a different generation from Nagai, Kōda, and Kuno, had heard Western music from the beginning of their lives.

Military Regulation of the Music World

Japan's political isolation from the world was gradually growing, contrary to the globalization of its music world in the 1930s. This situation continued along with the expansion of its military power. Ten cabinets were established and three contemporary prime ministers were assassinated during the ten years from the Manchurian Incident of 1931 to the beginning of the Pacific War in 1941. These phenomena plunged the country into military fascism. The victim of war is always the general public. The music world was not an exception. It became involved in militarism caused by leaders who could not foresee the world situation.

The music world continued, at least superficially, to be prosperous even in the latter half of the 1930s. Virtuoso conductors such as Rosenstock and Gurlitt appeared one after another to perform in Japan. However, performers from Europe ceased to visit Japan after the Japan-China War in 1937. The importation of pianos and components almost stopped, making the repair of pianos impossible.

There was little change in people's daily lives by around the middle of the 1930s. However, Beate, Sirota's daughter, commuted to the German school in Tokyo and wrote of her experiences.

> In 1933, Hitler became Chancellor of Germany and two years later our teachers were replaced by people who were outright Nazi supporters. The pupils were required to say "Heil Hitler!" every morning and sing the "Horst Wessel Lied," a patriotic song.[189]

Consequently, Beate transferred to the American School according to her father's decision. In August, 1939, the Sirotas took Beate across the Pacific Ocean to have her enter Mills College in California, and then they returned to Japan. In September, Germany finally started the Second World War. On December 18, Sirota gave a commemoration recital celebrating his ten-year stay in Japan at Hibiya Hall. The program included all of Chopin's Etudes, op. 10, and op. 25, the three posthumous etudes, the Fantasy, and the Sonata No. 3.

In Japan a war footing deepened the intervention of military power in various aspects of people's lives. Hideo Hirade, a chief of the navy brass band, wrote an essay under the title "Music as Munitions of War" in the August 1940 edition of the magazine *Ongaku Kurabu* (Music Club).

> Music is a speech without words. It has a great power to lead the people's heart in the same direction without words. Both Hitler and Mussolini effectively used music to instruct the general public. They broadcast military songs to the soldiers in the battlefield to inspire them to fight bravely to bring victory to Germany. Thus, music has a strong influence.[190]

This philosophy gradually pervaded the music world of Japan, denying its members any way to escape. The sale of luxury items was abolished. Consequently, piano manufacturing was banned in September, 1940. In October, 1941, the military authorities carried out the first regulation of music magazines in order to control the music world, including the abolition of fourteen music magazines and the creation of

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[189]Gordon, *The Only Woman in the Room*, 66.

[190]Iwao Takahashi, *Shōwa gekidō no ongaku monogatari* (The Music Narrative of the Shōwa Tempestuous Period) (Tokyo: Ashi shobō, 2002), 71.

six new magazines.[191] In November, the military authorities established "Nihon Ongaku Bunka Kyōkai" (Japan Music Culture Association) and started controlling the music world.

In the summer of 1941 Sirota went to see Beate in California. Erich Wolfgang Korngold (1897-1957), who had moved from Vienna to Hollywood to escape from the Nazis, recommended that he immigrate to America. But Sirota replied clearly, "I have a contract with the Imperial Academy of Music (the Tokyo Music School). I must return to the school. My students are waiting for me."[192] Beate wrote about her father's feelings.

> Why, in the face of my mother's and friends' warnings, did my father persist? The answer is complex. He had strong sense of responsibility and sincerely felt he could not break his contract with the music school. In his ten years in Japan, he had also made a name for himself: he had a large public following. He liked the climate, and he appreciated the relative absence of anti-Semitism. He was also by nature optimistic.[193]

Sirota returned to Japan in November, and the Pacific War broke out ten days later. Sirota and Beate could not communicate for the next three years and eight months.

The Music World during the War (1941-1945)

Japan was totally saturated by militarism. Though the music world seemed to be aloof, this was not always the reality. Both the New Symphony Orchestra and the Central Symphony Orchestra continued their twice-monthly subscription concerts. In December, 1942, at a series of Beethoven concerts under conductor Gurlitt, Sirota

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[191]They were *Ongaku kōron* (Music Opinion), *Ongaku no tomo* (Music Friend), *Rekōdo bunka* (Recording Culture), *Suisōgaku* (Brass Band), *Kokumin ongaku* (National Music), and *Ongaku bunka sinbun* (Musical Culture Newspaper).

[192]Gordon, *The Only Woman in the Room,* 82.

[193]Ibid., 82.

played for two nights the Concertos No. 4 and No. 5.

In October, 1943, the Japan Music Culture Association issued a notice that it wished for member Japanese musicians to play together only with German and/or Italian musicians. In a vague expression, they excluded Jewish musicians from performing activities. The chairman of the Association was Sirota's friend, Kōsaku Yamada, who was always kind to Sirota. The identity of the person who initiated the exclusion of Jewish people from the music world is still a mystery. Finally, in 1944, the Tokyo Music School ousted its Jewish teachers from the school, not renewing the contracts of Sirota and Kreutzer. This meant the end of a golden age for the Japanese music world; however, the Tokyo Music School itself had already been on its way to losing its function and status owing to the war.

A Japanese defeat was becoming evident by that time. The general public had doubts about the credibility of the announcements by the Imperial headquarter, but it was taboo to utter them.[194] Air raids on Tokyo were beginning. Japan ordered foreigners to designated areas like Karuizawa for their protection. Karuizawa had been a high-class resort since it was developed by a Canadian missionary in the Meiji era. The Sirotas moved with their two pianos from their residence in Nogizaka to their summer house in Karuizawa. This relocation was not only for Jews but also for foreigners generally. The fashionable Mampei Hotel housed the Russian embassy and the Spanish and Portuguese legations, and Karuizawa became the diplomatic center of Japan. Rosenstock, without his own summer house in Karuizawa, was offered a summer house from the parents of Mutsuko Kuroda, who was Sirota's student. The

[194]Tarō Inoue, *Kyūsei-kōkōsei no Tōkyō haisen nikki* (Diary of Tokyo Defeat by a Highschool Student under the Old System) (Tokyo: Heibon sha, 2000), 31.

foreigners' residential area at Karuizawa was not surrounded by walls, but the secret police visited daily. In this period, even a mere domestic trip for the Japanese required permission. Among Sirota's students, there were some who visited Karuizawa for lessons, despite the difficulty of obtaining railway tickets. They brought glass to replace broken windows, and food for the Sirotas.[195] The houses at Karuizawa were designed for summer, not for protection from the coldness of the winter. Sirota sought wood to burn, grew chickens, and ate mushrooms he found in the mountains. Even under such harsh conditions Sirota practiced the piano daily for three hours.

After December, 1943, even with Jewish musicians excluded from the music world, subscription concerts were continued. However, the audiences were warned that "the concert would be cancelled if an air alert is not released two hours before the opening."[196] This warning was printed on the reverse side of tickets for Haruko Fujita's piano recital on December 3. Nevertheless, concert halls were always fully occupied during wartime. Foods were on a ration system, the quantity decreased day by day, whereas people gathered more in concert halls, as the extravagance was a limited one. The military authority banned the music of Britain and America, but not that of Germany, Italy, and France; therefore, there were still performable pieces. It also requested that pieces composed by Japanese be included in the program. Patriotic pieces were favored by the military authority. Japanese performers were busier than before with radio broadcasts, concerts, and tours.

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[195]Haruko Fujita, "*Waga michi wo iku, dai san kai* (Going My Way, no. 3)," *Musica Nova* (July 1984): 67.

[196]Haruko Fujita, "*Waga michi wo iku, dai go kai.* (Going My Way, no. 5)," *Musica Nova* (October 1984): 77.

In April, 1944, Sonoda temporarily entered the Tokyo Music School at the age of sixteen. Sirota was no longer on the faculty. At his entrance Sonoda played Beethoven's Sonata in A major op. 2, No. 2, and in June he played the first movement of Mozart's Sonata in C minor K457 and was accepted as a piano major. Sonoda was a genius who could play Beethoven's 32 variations at the age of nine, Mozart's Piano Concerto in A Major at eleven. At the age of fourteen he played Liszt's Piano Concerto No. 1 and Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 3 under the baton of Sirota. Fortunately, Sonoda was watched over by Kiyohide's best friends, cellist Hiroshi Ozawa, vocalist Matabei Kita, and pianist Aiko Kurosawa, who protected him from the commercialism of the performance world. Besides private lessons with Sirota, he took composition privately from Pringsheim and conducting from Feller.

Though still enrolled, senior students were all away for work mobilization. To protect school buildings and to escape the fire from air raids, freshmen males were at school day and night carrying iron helmets. Gradually, classes decreased in size until only the class of music history was left. Borrowing music from the school library, Sonoda practiced piano eight or nine hours everyday. Eventually, he was obliged to stay overnight at the school every third day to serve as a guard. During that period he practiced almost all the famous violin sonatas with his classmate, violinist Toshiya Etō. These two astonished their classmates from the time they entered to the school. Sonoda's classmate Kōzō Takagi reflected, "I was surprised and was incrementally awed not only by Sonoda's posture but his depth in technique and music contents."[197] Takagi wrote also about Sonoda's episode at the school.

[197]Kōzō Takagi, "*Kyūyū ko-Sonoda Takahiro ni yosu* (Giving my heart to my classmate, the late Takahiro Sonoda)," privately printed by *Shōwa nijū-san nen Tōkyō ongaku gakkō honka sotugyō kurasu-kai yūshi* (Volunteers of the piano class of

> Once I entered Sonoda's practice room to see him. It was an incomparable pleasure for me to watch his fingers from a short distance, rather than listening from far away. His finger maneuvering had a unique exactitude of craftsmanship, which might give him a sportive ease as well as incredible concentration. He probably felt me enjoying it and sometimes asked me, looking back, "How is it?" I uttered like an amateur "u--um, perfect to be sure---if it is too faultless, music itself becomes insipid, isn't it?" He spoke to himself, "u--um, maybe so." This unbelievable sincerity toward music might have accelerated his progress.[198]

Meanwhile, Japan's situation got worse and worse. In January, 1945, bombs were dropped in front of Hibiya Hall. Nevertheless, a concert for Tchaikovsky's Piano Concerto played by Haruko Fujita under the baton of Fellmer was held there on February 26 and 27. Fujita wrote as follows.

> Only one poster drawn by hand was displayed [for this concert]. You may know how people were thirsty for music. To get to the rehearsal members of the orchestra had to tramp along railroads under snow. However, three thousand for one concert, namely six thousand for two, gathered at the hall, tacitly risking their lives even to reach the place.[199]

There were students who came for both concerts, escaping from the send-off party for students departing for the war. One of them, Taro Kaneko, wrote, "Though the performance did not have a full sound and was not technically at a high level, as with the brass part, it sounded more distinguished than a modern performance. It seemed that the performers exuded affection for the music."[200] Kaneko confessed his mind, "For me, who might possibly not return from the war, there was nothing to do."[201]

Shōwa 23 [1948]) (2005): 35. This forty-page booklet is a memoir of Sonoda's classmates donated to his wife Haruko in 2005 commemorating the first anniversary of Sonoda's death. It is not published.

[198]Ibid., 35-36.

[199]Haruko Fujita, "*Waga michi wo iku dai hakkai* (Going My Way no.8)," *Musica Nova* (January 1985): 74.

[200]Ibid., 74-75. Tarō Kaneko, president of Marusan Shōken via Finance Ministry after graduation of law faculty of the University of Tokyo, wrote an essay entiled "*Omoide no konsāto* (Reminiscence of Concert)." It appeared in *Zaikai* (Financial Circle), a business magazine, on July 17, 1984.

[201]Ibid., 75.

Music magazines had already decreased to two by the second regulation in October 1943, and they could no longer obtain paper. Printing plants were burnt down, and music reports were stopped completely in February 1945. In March and May, there were concentrated air raids on Tokyo and most of Tokyo was turned into burnt land. Sonoda's house also burned, and he lost not only his piano but most of his music, in which Sirota's indications were written. One of Sirota's four genius students, Nobuko Nagaoka, died during the aerial bombing in May. Concerts were, however, continued until June 13 to comfort and encourage war weary Tokyoites. The last concert held at the air-raid survived Hibiya Hall was Beethoven's Symphony No. 9 with the Nippon Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Takatada Odaka.

Students of the Tokyo Music School were summoned to military band assignment. Yasushi Akutagawa (1925-89) and Takuma Dan (1924-2001), composition students, were ordered to arrange necessary pieces every day for a military band. They learned through this experience how to treat brasses and timbales and to listen to what they arranged on the spot. Dan reflected that this experience helped him later in the composition of orchestral pieces.

In June, Sonoda was called to the Air Force at Kisarazu, which is located to the north of Tokyo Bay. The purpose was to utilize his perfect pitch to research the categories and location of submarines and the altitude and approach direction of bombers. He astonished the military authority by identifying the experimental sounds with 98 percent accuracy. He was asked how he had obtained that ability, but he did not know how to teach perfect pitch to the members of the Air Force. There was a plan to set up a sonar (sound navigation ranging) base in the Miura Peninsula where he was to be assigned on September 1.

By the end of the war the general public lost its ability to function; people were "just looking for something to eat to survive."[202] There was nothing but continuous air raids. The radio broadcast music until August 12, 1945, three days before the Japanese surrender.

After the War

After three years and eight months, the blackout ended and people were released from the heavy pressure of the war. But the shortage of food and materials was worse than ever, and radio broadcasts were the only comfort left for the people. The first music broadcast after the end of the war was begun with *koto* music on August 23. From September 1, a second channel was resumed and Beethoven's Violin Concerto and Mozart's "*Jupiter*" Symphony were on the air.

The first live concert held after the war was a xylophone performance in September at Hibiya Hall. Surprisingly, just one month after the surrender, public performances by the Japan Symphonic Orchestra were held under the baton of Rosenstock. On November 16 and 17, at Hibiya Hall Sirota played Busoni's version of Liszt's *Spainish Rhapsody* and Weber's *Konzertstück,* conducted by Rosenstock. Sirota, who lost his house at Nogizaka, resumed his performance activities nationwide while living at the house of his disciple Shigeko Kaneko. Tarō Inoue, then a twenty-year-old student who commuted to Hibiya Hall for the concert on September 15, writes as follows:

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[202]Nomura, *Nihon yōgaku gaishi* (Unofficial Japanese History of Western Music), 288.

> How many times did I go up by the steps of Hibiya Hall wearing ragged cloths and shoes with holes in them and with no bath for one week or normal food. The hall was always fully occupied, forcing me often to listen to the performance sitting on the step. More or less, the level of the audiences' lives was miserable and wretched, I guess. Nevertheless, people came seeking classic music. Doesn't this reflect that Western music has become indispensable now in Japanese minds?[203]

Ikuma Dan named the period just after the war as the "centripetal period of music," in that "music was produced for all the people and enjoyed as a common experience." As Dan said, the Japanese came to know by experience through this war that "music will not fill your stomach but your mind."[204] People desperately reached for its sustenance.

[203]Inoue, *Mōstuaruto to nihonjin* (Mozart and Japanese), 198-9.
[204]Dan, *Watashi no nihon ongakushi* (My Japanese Music History), 357-8.

CHAPTER VII

SONODA: CONCERT DEBUT AND STUDY ABROAD

The Tokyo Music School after the War

From August 15, 1945 to around March, 1946, the Tokyo Music School was not actually functioning, though it was open. Teachers and students were living from hand to mouth in an uneasy society. The Music School announced before September the hiring of young musicians and the firing of old staffs for "the democratic management" of the schools. At this time the school, which formerly hired only its graduates, employed a non-graduate, Kazuko Yasukawa, who had received her education from the Paris Conservatoire.

The Tokyo Music School also asked Kreutzer and Sirota to return to the school. Kreutzer accepted the offer, but Sirota politely refused. He and his wife moved in with his disciple, Shigeko Kaneko, to continue his performance activities. Sirota used to sing the song *Donzoko no Uta* (Song of the Gutter) together with Kaneko's sisters and his friends by a wood stove. But according to Kaneko, he sometimes played cards by himself for long hours in a dim room, not speaking to anyone. He was in financial difficulties and had to ask Haruko Fujita to pay for his musical scores. On December 24, 1945, he was dramatically reunited with his daughter Beate, who was assigned to the General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander Allied Power, in Tokyo. But in 1946, the living situation worsened, as an increasing number of Japanese returned home from foreign lands and encountered terrible food shortages and starvation. Around that time, Sirota decided to move to America. He left Japan from Haneda Airport to New York City on May 22, 1846.

Only extreme poverty could force him from the Japan he had come to love.

Sonoda's Graduation

Sonoda left Tokyo after the war for a while because of the shortage of food and stayed in Ōita where his mother's relatives lived. He returned to Tokyo at the beginning of 1946 and stayed with his father's friend Matabei Kita, while he built his own house near Hongō using assets inherited from his father. He could not afford to purchase a piano but was offered one free by Nobuko Nagaoka's family. The German Knabe company's upright piano, which Nagaoka had used, allowed Sonoda to his practice until he acquired a Yamaha grand piano.

Sonoda took lessons at the Tokyo Music School with Noboru Toyomasu (1912-75), a disciple of Sirota. Toyomasu recommended that he practice Godowsky's artistic studies based on Chopin's etudes. By practicing these nearly impossible technical works, Sonoda became deeply impressed with Godowsky's sublime pianism. "From Toyomasu, I learned the real fun of piano playing, though I had already learned enough technique with professor Sirota."[205] After Toyomasu resigned from the school, Sonoda studied with Kōji Taku. However, no teacher at the school could play better than Sonoda. His classmate Atsuko Ōbori thought that Sonoda was above the clouds, as he knew everything already and could play anything.[206]

Sonoda graduated from the Tokyo Music School in March, 1948. The graduation concert was held right after the ceremony and was open to the general

[205]Sonoda, *Pianisuto, sono jinsei* (A Pianist, His Life), 30.
[206]Atsuko Ōbori, *Omoide* (Reminiscence), (Volunteer of the piano class of Shōwa 23 [1948]), 18.

public. Among those invited by the school authorities were not only newspaper and magazine reporters, but also the top music critics, which made the concert a gateway to the music world in Japan. Sōgakudo Hall filled rapidly with the audience and chairs were even set on stage. This large audience shows how the concert had attracted the musical public and how the concert was recognized as the first important step for the school's graduates. Only a select eighteen students could perform for this graduation concert, including five piano majors. All four pianists except Sonoda were female. The played pieces were Chopin's Fantasy in F minor, op. 49, Beethoven's "Eroica" Variations, op. 35, Chopin's Polonaise-Fantasie, op. 61, and Brahms's Variations on a Theme of Paganini, op. 35, vol. 1. The music critic Haruo Teranishi criticized the performances:

> Perhaps because of this glorious and important occasion, most of the graduates were so cautious, chicken-hearted, and sullen like sheep going towards a slaughterhouse or a family attending a funeral, which made their performances uninteresting. To be sure, the tendency is common among students of the Tokyo Music School, which reflects the traditional inclination of mutual competition, nitpicking, and the direction of the school's examination system …
> However, later appeared better performers. The concert gradually finished with superb performances by Takahiro Sonoda for piano, succeeded by Toshiya Etō for violin, which gave a feeling of satisfaction to the audience.[207]

Sonoda, the seventeenth performer on the program, played Sirota's favorite, *Don Juan Fantasy* by Liszt. His classmate Takagi, who listened to his performance, wrote:

> Sonoda's awesome technique was beyond imagination. It was the re-embodiment of Liszt's passion. It was impossible for me to suppress the feeling of a blessing. I was shouting in my mind, "At last Sonoda, the world is coming!" forgetting I was there in the Tokyo Music School.[208]

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[207] Haruo Teranishi, "*Kotoshi no sinjin kara* (From New Faces of This Year)," *Ongaku no tomo 6* (July 1948): 47.

[208] Takagi, *Kyūyū ko-Sonoda Takahiro ni yosu* (Giving my heart to my

A music critic Ginji Yamane (1906-82) commented on Sonoda's performance:

> It was a virtuoso type performance attaining a splendid maturity in technique which reminds me of Sirota's style at his era. To say exaggeratedly, it is a living copy of Sirota. I might not be the only person who felt the reminiscence of how Sirota sounded, such as quality of sound, the way of playing passages, and the creation of sound effect. Of course, I am not saying Sonoda is same as Sirota. Sonoda is far younger than Sirota and of delicate taste. He lacks the audacity of Sirota, who skipped some notes from time to time without regret. Sonoda is more pure.[209]

After the concert, Teranishi doubted the legitimacy of the boasting teachers of the Music School. He thought they were inflated with pride when they said, "Look! How wonderful are this year's graduates!" Teranishi had questioned if Sonoda and Etō were the products of "Ueno's education" (education at the Tokyo Music School) to the degree inflating their teachers' pride.[210]

The topic of "male advancement" in performance was welcomed by a music world that seemed monopolized by women and girls. Schools and audiences rejoiced that Japan had finally reached an era where excellent male musicians could occupy the same places of prominence as in other cultural fields. One of the reasons why there were so few excellent male pianists is that boys did not have a chance to receive the early childhood musical education which Sonoda and Etō had enjoyed. Girls, on the other hand started music at an early age as part of a liberal education. Also, it was still difficult for men to choose Western music as a profession. Though Sonoda's seniors of the Tokyo Music School – Mtonari Iguchi, Hiroshi Tamura and Hiroshi

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classmate, the late Takahiro Sonoda), 37.

[209]Ginji Yamane, "*Ueno no sotugyō ensōkai*" (The Graduation Concert at Ueno), *Ongaku geijutu* 6 (May 1948): 46.

[210]Haruo Teranishi, "*Kotoshi no sinjin kara* (From New Face of This Year)," 47. The Tokyo Music School changed its name to the Tokyo University of Fine Arts and Music in 1949.

Kajiwara – were already active as musicians, their early childhood education was far less stringent than Sonoda's.

The Music Concert Organization by Workers

The period when Sonoda became active was still four years prior to 1953, the year TV broadcasting commenced. No mass media yet existed. Though the scars of air bombing still remained, Japanese society was beginning to rebuild rapidly. In the post-war atmosphere of liberation, the workers' demand for culture was heightened. The general workers could not afford to attend concerts or operas. A recital ticket cost about 150 yen, an orchestral concert 200 yen, and an opera 280 yen. An organization that would enable the general public to enjoy excellent music with affordable entrance fees was in high demand.

In November 1949, the *Kinrōsha ongaku kyōgi-kai* (Worker's Society for Musical Events) or "*Rō-On,*" was born in Osaka under the slogan of 'inexpensive good music for the many' and 'planning and management by members.' "*Rō-On*" started with 467 members and planned concerts, which were paid for by membership fees. The organization was composed of units, or circles, each with a minimum of three members. For 50 yen per month, members could attend one concert. *Rō-On* quickly became a huge network, producing concerts and creating subsidiaries all over Japan.

The importance of *Rō-On* cannot be overstated. Before its introduction, Western music had been supported by intellectuals and the upper and middle classes of Japan. Though the musicians were not well paid by *Rō-On*, no one refused to participate, because they believed in its mission to provide music for the masses. On

the contrary, it was a marvelous chance for performers to play to audiences nationwide. At one time, performing at *Rō-On* was regarded as first class.

Anyone could be a member of *Rō-On*. The author's mother was a member of *Rō-On* and used to take her to its concerts while she was a kindergartner. Okayama City where the author was born, suffered also from the air raids, but a wooden public hall was built soon after the war, and music concerts were held. Though the hall was equipped with wooden benches and was cold in the winter, the author remembers that the hall was fully occupied every time. As invitations to foreign musicians were limited under the occupation, the performance of concerts, operas, and ballets were all carried out by Japanese, except for those foreign performers who had remained in Japan from before the war.[211]

Sonoda's Official Debut

Sonoda made an official professional debut on May 11, 1948 at a regular concert of the Nippon Symphonic Orchestra (presently called the NHK Symphonic Orchestra) playing Chopin's Piano Concerto No. 1. In June, he gave his debut recital at Hibiya Hall playing Busoni's arrangement of four Bach choral preludes, Schumann's Fantasy in C major, a Chopin Scherzo and Nocturne, and Liszt's *Don Juan Fantasy*. He was in great demand by the music world. He performed ten piano concertos, one after another (Chopin's No. 1, Liszt's *Totentanz,* Rachmaninoff's No. 2 and No. 3, Schumann's, Beethoven's No. 5, Tchaikovsky's No. 1, Gershwin's in F, Khachaturian's, and Brahms's No. 2） with major symphonies, not only in Tokyo but

[211]The first foreign musician after the war was pianist Lazare Lévy who was sent by French government as a cultural ambassador in October, 1950.

all over Japan, until his departure for Europe in 1952. Gershwin and Khachaturian were performed for the first time in Japan by Sonoda. Notably, he played all-Chopin recitals in three nights from November to December, 1949. The recitals were titled "Memorial Recital of Centennial Anniversary of Chopin's Death." He also gave other recitals with highly ambitious programs including Albeniz, Debussy, Glazunov, Prokofiev, and Poulenc.

Sonoda premiered many Japanese composers' pieces. A group called *Jikken-kōbō* (Experimental Laboratry) was created in September, 1952 by poet and art critic Shuzo Takiguchi (1903-79), who gathered young artists from various fields. Composers Toru Takemitsu (1930-96) and Jyoji Yuasa (1929-) were from the field of music. Sonoda joined as a performer for the second "Modern Music Concert" in January, 1952. These activities of a half century ago were considered epoch-making at the time. Sonoda premiered not only Japanese composers' avant-garde pieces, but also Western pieces, such as Messiaen (the eight *Preludes* and the *Quatuor pour la fin du Temps* for Violin, Clarinet, Cello, and Piano), Bartok (Piano Sonata), Copland (Sonata for Violin & Piano), and Norman Dello Joio (*Prelude for a Young Musician, Prelude for a Young Dancer*). Yuasa believed that there was no pianist other than Sonoda who could play modern music at sight. Sonoda studied Messiaen's musical language with the level of a composer. He thought he could eliminate the uncomfortable feeling produced by avant-garde music and art through participating in the *Jikken-kōbō*.[212]

[212]Sonoda, *Pianisuto, sono jinsei* (A Pianist, His Life), 45.

Sonoda's Reputation as a Pianist

In those days Sonoda thought that only he could play any piece. He memorized pieces by saying to himself things like "I can grasp the target easily by extending my arm."[213] As his activities increased, critics, especially Kōichi Nomura (1895-1988) and Ginji Yamane (1906-82), wrote bitterly about Sonoda's performance as "technically proficient but totally lacking spiritually."[214] But these critics seem not so reliable today, since there was only a shallow history of music criticism at that time in Japan. Another reason is that most of those who became music critics obtained their knowledge through reading, not by their own musical experience. They even criticized works of Takemitsu, who later became an internationally recognized composer, as "music on the outside (or as unacceptable noise)."[215]

Evidently, Nomura thought Sonoda's teacher Sirota was not a real virtuoso. He wrote that Sirota could play anything with his mere finger tips but was a phony pianist who mystified the audience with his aura.[216] Naturally, he then criticized Sonoda, who was the first disciple of Sirota. Sonoda wrote about the criticism he received:

> Anyway, it was impermissible for them to see the playing without toil. It was a beauty to play with apparent difficulty, as if fighting physically. However, I put no value in that at all.[217]

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[213]Ibid., 41.

[214]Ibid., 40.

[215]Takahiro Sonoda, "*Jikken-kōbō to watashi* (Jikken-kōbō and I)," *Misuzu* 42 (March 2000): 21.

[216]Nomura, *Nihon yōgaku gaishi* (Unofficial Japanese History of Western Music), 251-2.

Music criticism was written by composers and music scholars, whereas Nomura was a music fan who majored in literature, becoming a music critic after the war by converting himself from magazine and newspaper reportering.

[217]Sonoda, *Pianisuto, sono jinsei* (A Pianist, His Life), 41.

Kazuyuki Tōyama (1922-), a music critic of the same generation, later a scholar of music history wrote objectively as follows:

> There is an opinion that Sonoda is a typical virtuoso. To be sure, his technique would perhaps be one rank above the highest standard of Japan so far. It is amazing that he shows no feeling of pressure through any extremely difficult pieces. Above all, beauty in chords is conspicuous, which stupefies even Ōtaguro. Well created sound color and spontaneous octave playing are noteworthy. All the more, it causes a feeling that the sound is not expressive enough in rapid passages or a *forte* dynamic is lacking; however, it is of the nature that cannot be necessarily called a defect, since it is a characteristic of his technique. As the audience was stupefied with a wry smile for Sonoda's Liszt *Don Juan Fantasy* and *Totendanz*, it is reasonable to consider that the first legitimate virtuoso has been born in Japan. . . .
> I could disagree with some other critics; I dare to say that Sonoda is regarded as the one who bears the legacy of orthodox and conservative tradition. He will enhance and lead the standard of the Japanese music performance world to the world standard.[218]

Not only the Japanese music world but also the piano industry placed their expectations on Sonoda. In August, 1947, Yamaha resumed the production of pianos after a ten-year stoppage. Gen-ichi Kawakami (1912-2002) who became its new president in 1950, succeeding his farther Kaichi Kawakami (1885-1964), was different in that he himself played the piano as a hobby. Gen-ichi embraced a dream of manufacturing concert grand pianos, which is the ultimate goal for piano makers. He was so impressed by Sonoda's performance of Prokofiev's Sonata No. 7 on his graduation concert from the Tokyo Music School research course that he invited Sonoda to the main factory at Hamamatsu to ask his advice. It was Kawakami's policy to adopt the way of Western piano makers to improve the quality by asking for

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[218]Kazuyuki Tōyama, "*Etō Toshiya to Sonoda Takahiro* (Toshiya Etō and Takahiro Sonoda)," *Ongaku geijutu* 6 (August 1948): 51-52.

Kazuyuki Tōyama is a graduate of the art history department of the Tokyo Imperial University and learned music history with Norbert Dufurk at the University of Paris from 1951 to 1957. After returning to Japan he taught at Tōhō Music Junior College until 1974. He is also an entrepreneur and established the Tōyama Music Foundation in 1962.

advice and collaboration from piano virtuosos. Japanese piano engineers were far from understanding about such things as 'touch' and so forth, as they were not equipped with musical knowledge and could not themselves play the piano. Sonoda reflected on that era:

> I was familiar with the sound of the Yamaha piano, as there was a Yamaha grand piano in my home before the war, which my father loved to play. Then Yamaha modeled Bechstein with soft and bright sound as a feature. After the war, Yamaha under the leadership of Gen-ichi Kawakami, wished to produce a more robust piano. As the tensile strength of wires, hammer, action, and other parts were being improved, I was called in every time a new prototype piano was made to tell my feeling directly to Kawakami. After I tried a new piano, I told to him "this is not good enough" or "I cannot judge such a brand-new piano. Before I play for trial it must be used to some extent." As I myself was interested in the mechanics of the piano and studied for myself, Mr. Kawakami might be persuaded to give credit for my opinion, although I was still young.[219]

In the summer of 1950, the Yamaha concert grand "model FC" was completed. A trial piano concert was held in Hamamatsu for Yamane, Nomura, Tōyama, and other critics. On September 30, a "Piano Concert by Yamaha Concert Grand Piano" was played by Sonoda and Atsuko Ōbori in the Hibiya Hall, Tokyo. This concert grand used imported wire, felt, and ivory keys. The official price was 1.5 million yen. The reputation of Japanese pianos was low because of the shortage of materials necessary to make a high quality grade piano. Imported concert grand pianos were in bleak condition because during the war they went without repairs, and people were demanding the importation of Steinways. An incorrigible foreign piano preference still existed among Japanese musicians. The importation of pianos was resumed in 1952, and major halls and broadcasting companies vied for Steinway

[219]Maema, *Nihonno piano 100nen* (100Years of Japanese Piano), 199.
In January, 1926, Yamaha invited Ale Schlegel, who was a supervising engineer of Bechstein, to train and educate engineers. Schlegel enhanced greatly the standard of the piano manufacturing and level of engineers in Japan.

concert grand pianos. The price was 3.64 million yen, which was more than twice as much as a Yamaha and equal to the cost of a decent individual house in Tokyo. As Kawakami said, there was no intention of "developing and bringing up domestic pianos."[220] Sonoda's collaboration with Yamaha began when such attitudes prevailed. Kawakami encouraged Sonoda to visit Europe as soon as possible to bring the needed expertise back to Japan to develop the level of Japanese pianos.

To Europe

All was going well with Sonoda until 1952, when his mother, Shizuko, died suddenly from a cerebral hemorrhage at the age of forty nine. She had worked all her life as a primary school teacher, even after Kiyohide's death, and brought up Sonoda and his younger brother. Economically, she had no specific difficulty, as she had been supported by her parents before the war. She paid a great deal for her children's education. Sonoda especially appreciated her for not interfering with him even when he idled in piano practice from time to time, though he worked hard usually, as he loved music. Sonoda, twenty three years old at the time of her death, was offered consolation and advice by Kiyohide's friends, and he was supported economically by Kawakami.

Sonoda came to have an interest in going abroad, partly owing to the advice of Kawakami. He could not go, however, without a special reason because of the limited foreign currency reserves. Consequently, he made it his intention to attend the eighth Geneva International Music Competition in Switzerland. It was reported by

[220]Ibid., 201.

music magazines and newspapers as "Takahiro Sonoda participates as Japanese representative in International Competition." Though the age of twenty three was not particularly young for studying abroad, there were few who could study abroad just after the war.[221] In July, 1952, Sonoda left Japan for around two months. In contrast to his father's ocean voyage, he departed by plane from Haneda to Europe. It took forty-eight hours to arrive in Rome via the southern route.[222]

Sonoda's Baptism in the Music in Europe

From his first moment in Europe, Sonoda underwent a baptism of music. After arriving in Geneva and until the beginning of the competition, he attended the Lucerne Music Festival. It is interesting to know his impression of European concerts, because he had accumulated all his previous musical experience in Japan. During the war Japan was separated from the rest of the world. The following is Sonoda's impression of his first European concert, written on August 30, 1952.

> When I listened to the first concert after arriving to Switzerland, frankly I was not so surprised or moved. The program (Prokofiev's Violin Concerto No. 1, Honegger's Symphony No. 5, Ravel's *La Valse,* etc.) was conducted by André Cluytens, with soloist Isaac Stern. I felt strongly that Japanese studied fairly well and listened to recordings more than Europeans, and therefore had an appropriate understanding of Western music. However, it is probably impossible during my life to hear an orchestral performance at that level in Japan as a whole, to say nothing about its individual technique. Honegger's Symphony was the best performance of the night. In return, I was disappointed by Isaac Stern. To be sure, the technique of bowing, *staccato*, and so forth was formidable, like a blade or a typewriter; however, I would not say the music was first class.[223]

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[221]In April 1952, Japan returned to the international world after the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty in September, 1951.

[222]At present it takes about twelve hours to major cities in Europe by air via north route.

[223]Takahiro Sonoda, "*Kokusai konkūru rakusen kikou* (Travel Note by an Unsuccessful Candidate of an International Competition)," *Geijutu sinchō* (January 1954): 233.

He wrote his impression of Edwin Fisher's trio three days later:

> Fisher's trio, which I heard on the second day, was the most moving and enjoyable concert during the Lucerne Music Festival. Fisher was excellent to be sure, but violinist Schneiderhan was especially great.[224] If things go well, he will be the first class violinist who represents Europe in the future. Schneiderhan's serious attitude toward music and his sophistication strikes people's heart. Though I understand that it is difficult to compare people brought up in different societies, presenting them in a short time side by side, makes me think again. When I attended this concert gazing at their motions on stage and listening to them, I was pleased to be able to have a glance at German music and the spiritual greatness of German musicians. It can be unmistakably said that the base of music resides in Germany.[225]

Though Sonoda was a second generation Japanese pianist, having received lessons with Sirota for eleven years until he was sixteen made him an exceptional pianist in Japan. Yet he was dismayed at the level of European piano playing. It was a cultural shock; the environment and culture were different from what he had depicted in his head.[226] He recognized that he was ignorant of how music existed in European life.

The Geneva International Music Competition then divided male and female competitors and had them play behind a curtain, so that they were not visible to the judges or the audiences. Sonoda's emotion increased as he was exposed to other players' performance. "I had not known at all about a living music."[227] He could not pass the preliminary round. It was not because of his technique but, according to his own analysis, because he had lost his own musical identity due to his cultural shock.

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[224]Wolfgang Eduard Schneiderhan (1915-2002), Viennese Violinist, played in the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra as the first concertmaster from 1937 and formed a piano trio with Edwin Fischer (1886-1960) and Enrico Mainardi (1897-1976), cellist.

[225]Sonoda, *Kokusai konkūru* (Travel Note), 233.

[226]Akiho Kurita, "*Interview Room,*" *Musica Nova* 28 (May, 1997): 92.

[227]Sonoda, *Pianisuto, sono jinsei* (A Pianist, His Life), 50.

Moreover, he was not well and had a high fever. Listening to performances of the finalists, especially those who received their education in Vienna, filled him with doubts about his ability ever to express the real essence of each composer in a performance. By this dreadful experience, he felt that his musical life had gone completely blank.[228] The first winner in this competition was Leon Fleisher (1928-). Kiyoko Tanaka (1932-1996) and Ingrid Haebler (1926-) won the second prize, with no first winner in the female section.[229]

Encounter with Marguerite Long

After the competition, Sonoda was glad to have a chance to listen to Brahms's Piano Concerto No. 2 played by Robert Casadesus, with whom his father had studied. However, he was disappointed with Casadesus's performance and lost his desire to study with him. He was frustrated and did not know how he should spend his two months in Europe. Rokurō Kurachi, a composer working at the embassy in Geneva, recommended that he go to Paris. He told him, "It is out of the question to play Western music without knowing either coffee or wine."[230] Sonoda had never tasted either alcohol or coffee, brought up as he was in the wartime. He

[228]Sonoda, *Kokusai konkūru* (Travel Note), 235.

[229]Kiyoko Tanaka was also a second generation Japanese musician with parents who were a violinist and a singer, and who had studied with Kazuko Yasukawa and Leonid Kreutzer. She visited France in 1950 at the age of eighteen as the first French government scholarship student after the war and was studying with Lazare Lévy. She was also awarded the fourth prize at the International Long-Thibaud Competition in 1953, continuing her performance activities in Europe and Japan. However, she was diagnosed with a collagen disease at the age of thirty-six and was compelled to withdraw completely from performance. She was expected to perform as the first Japanese woman pianist accepted on the international stage, but she lived an unfortunate life.

[230]Sonoda, *Pianisuto, sono jinsei* (A Pianist, His Life), 51.

changed his schedule to head for Paris in November.

In Paris there were more Japanese students than in Berlin or in Vienna: Kiyoko Tanaka (piano), Kazuyuki Tōyama (music history), Kōji Toyota (violin), Akio Yashiro (composition), Toshiro Mayuzumi (composition). Those who later would lead the Japanese music world were studying there. Among them was a composer, Haruko Nishizawa, who studied abroad at the age of eighteen and who later became Sonoda's wife.

Sonoda still could not give up the idea of studying with Casadesus after arriving in Paris. He thought, "Casadesus does not fit for Brahms and must be judged by his performance of Ravel."[231] But his impression after listening to his recital was:

> Entirely different from the concept of music that I embraced for Bach, Beethoven, and Schuman. His Couperin and Rameau were wonderful; however, his performance of Chopin's Sonata No. 3 was unexpectedly uninteresting.[232]

Sonoda lost his enthusiasm completely to be a disciple of Casadesus. In Paris most of the Japanese students studied with Lazare Lévy. However, Sonoda did not respect him.[233] Knowing his feeling, Tanaka introduced him to the master class by Marguerite Long (1874-1966) held every Tuesday at Hauteille in Boulogne, Paris.[234] Among the students were pianists who later took the European piano world by storm, such as Samson François (1924-70), Aldo Ciccolini (1925-), and Philippe Entremont (1934-).

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[231]Sonoda, *Kokusai konkūru* (Travel Note), 236.
[232]Sonoda, *Pianisuto, sono jinsei* (A Pianist, His Life), 52.
[233]Ibid.
[234]Marguerite Long, French pianist, studied with Henri Fissot at the Paris Conservatoire, where she later taught from 1906 to1940. She premiered Ravel's *La Tombeau de Couperin* and Piano Concerto in G Major.

In her master class, Long clapped her hands whenever she disliked a student's performance to call for "anyone else" and the next applicant played the same piece, which was as hard as if it were a competition. It was so aggressive that applicants contended to be accompanists for concerto lessons. Sonoda, listening to various performances of the same piece by young applicants of his age, was tempted to play himself in the class. At his request Long promised to have him tested at the next class. On the day after the class, not minding other students leaving one after another, he began to play the first movement of Chopin's Sonata No. 3. After he had played two or three lines, Long told her students to stop leaving, saying, "Listen, everybody."[235] She listened without a single word through his performance. On finishing, the students surrounding Sonoda uttered cheers and Long dared not believe that Sonoda received his music education only in Japan. "She seemed to be impressed above all by Japanese delicate and sensitive hands" reflected Sonoda.[236]

At the master classes on Tuesdays every week, Sonoda listened to other students' various interpretations and also played many pieces. For the first time, he became acquainted with real rivals in a good way that did not exist in Japan. Long was pleased with him and kept him sitting near her. Through this experience, the despair embedded in his mind since Geneva was completely erased. Long said to him, "You are not a student to learn piano, but already a decent pianist, which you should keep in mind. If you begin to play, other pianists around you will keep silence."[237] And for the purpose of debuting in the European music world, Long recommended

[235]Sonoda, *Pianisuto, sono jinsei* (A Pianist, His Life), 53.
[236]Sonoda, *Kokusai konkūru* (Travel Note), 237.
[237]Ibid.

that he participate in the Long-Thibaud International Competition, which she co-sponsored herself with violinist Jacque Thibaud (1880-1953). Long even guaranteed, saying; "If you should fail in it, I would do my best for you to be able to play as a soloist with an orchestra."[238] The Long-Thibaud International Competition was to start on June 10, 1953. Sonoda felt the master class lessons were insufficient and began to take private lessons as well. Long taught him the quintessence of French music, such as Fauré and Ravel. He could watch Long's hands closely while she taught. He commented about her French style of touch:

> She made sounds playing as if caressing the keys using the belly of her fingers with an elastic motion. It was not the virtuoso type of performance dropping hands from high position with wide open palms which I learned from Sirota.[239]

It was not hard for Sonoda to accept Long's French-style touch, because he had been shown by Sirota the same phrase played with various ways of using the fingers. Long, even at the age of seventy-eight, still gave recitals and Sonoda had a chance to hear her Ravel Piano Concerto and Chopin Piano Concerto No. 2. He was impressed with her performance:

> Her charm as a pianist was in her liberal and unrestricted performance. The performance with such poésie (poesy) will not be reproduced. With her unique passage treatment, she sometimes played faster than the orchestra or sang out generously, not to say like *bel canto,* which never matched the orchestra. She made it lively for the audiences. Her performance of Chopin's No. 2 was a milestone. It had unique esprit with the sensation from time to time that everybody wanted to listen with pleasure. Such characteristics might be inherited by her beloved disciple Samson François. Or Eric Hideshieck also might have a subtle trace.[240]

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[238]Ibid.

[239]Sonoda, *Pianisuto, sono jinsei* (A Pianist, His Life)*,* 54.

French style playing means basically to extend palms naturally from the root of the fingers, not using crooked fingers. To make each sound clearer, one may play as if scratching by a finger tip, but the degree varies depending upon the individual.

[240]Ibid., 56.

Concerts in Paris

During the daytime Sonoda practiced hard and at night he attended concerts seeking the purest performances. He could listen not only to such pianists as Backhaus, Kempff, Cortot, Haskil, and Gieseking but also to violinists Oistrakh, and Heifetz, the duo of Haskil and Grumiaux as well as cellist Pierre Fournier in their heydays. Listening to the Beethoven cycle by Backhaus at *Salle Gaveau*, he thought that Backhaus's *Appasionata* and later period sonatas after the *Hammerklavier* were awe-inspiring. He felt that the merit of Kempff was in his naivete, which depicted concretely the fantastic aspect of Beethoven. He became full of musical ideas from Kempff's performance of Schumann, such as the Symphonic Etudes and *Kleisleriana*.

But the musicians who gave Sonoda his most unforgettable impression were Walter Gieseking (1895-1956) and conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler (1886-1954). Sonoda had studied about the *Neue Sachlichkeit* (New Objectivity) by reading with great interest *Modernes Klavierspiel* (Modern Piano Playing) written by Gieseking.[241] It was a text to clarify how to avoid the emotionality and sentimentality of late nineteenth-century virtuosic performance style and how to reproduce the composer's music with complete fidelity. Sonoda then adored the New Objectivity of Toscanini and apotheosized Gieseking. Actually, Sonoda had a chance to meet Gieseking in his dressing room after his concert. Sonoda wrote:

> Gieseking told me that I could ask anything. Thus I questioned, "I am interested in the *Neue Sachlichkeit*. Is it possible to play any piece by this philosophy?" Then Gieseking gazed at my face and said only this: "It depends on the piece. Chopin is not impossible but difficult." Gieseking meant that it fits for pieces with a rigid structure but not for pieces with free

[241] A term coined in the 1920's and indicated an art movement which outgrew against extreme expressionism.

> structure such as an impromptu or fantasy. I felt my long-time query was solved instantly. I was moved by Gieseking's sincere attitude to answer the question of a fledgling youth like me.[242]

Sonoda twice attended the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Furtwängler in Paris. As Furtwängler died in 1954, Sonoda was lucky to have heard him. At the first concert, Aurele Nicolet's debut performance, J. S. Bach's Suite No. 2 in B minor, for Flute and Strings, Richard Strauss's *Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche* (Till Eulenspiegel's Merry Pranks, Op. 28), and Ravel's *Valses Nobles et Sentimentales*, Brahms's Symphony No. 1 were played. Wagner's Prelude from *Tristan and Isolde* was performed for an encore. The second concert was an all-Beethoven program consisting of *Leonora* No. 3, and Symphonies No. 7 and No. 8. Following is Sonoda's reflection on the second concert by Furtwängler, whom he never forgot throughout his life.

> At the very beginning of *Leonora* No. 3, I was completely astonished. Starting with the brilliantly loud *tutti* followed by several bars of the introduction, the sun shading gradually with airs chilling down, melody emerging from there. I experienced for the first time something like inspiration. I can recall his performance to the detail, clearly, even today. The impact was so strong. His greatness is that unique sound which is said to be natural phenomena rather than music. Everything occurs as natural phenomena from the feeling of foretaste, silence, quiet sound to thunderous sound. Just like the movement of a fetus or the rumbling of the earth before a volcanic explosion, I feel the sign of spiritual coming. I had never heard until then such Beethoven and Wagner. . .
> I think no musician before and after Furtwängler proved the meaning of music erupting from the bottom of the earth, *Urmusik* [primal music] in German. I was thrilled with his music which ignites my soul powerfully.[243]

[242]Sonoda, *Pianisuto, sono jinsei* (A Pianist, His Life), 60.
[243]Ibid., 65.

The Long-Thibaud International Music Competition

From the end of March, 1953 Sonoda travelled to southern France and Italy for one month visiting the art museums. After returning to Paris, he studied intensively for the competition. He began to notice that his health fluctuated, but he thought it was because of fatigue. But in early June he could not get up and even spat blood. Then his temperature rose up to 38.5 □ C (about 101.3 □ F). He passed the first preliminary round though he had a fever of 37.7 □ C in the morning. The competitors who played the same day were first, a Russian; second, Austrian Alexander Jenner, who had won the second prize in Geneva; third, Sonoda; and last, an Austrian played. The result was that the Russsian and Sonoda remained. It was a surprise to Sonoda, as both Austrians who failed this time received better results in Geneva than Sonoda. When he entered the second preliminary, his fever had not subsided. He finally lost energy and spiritual power due to the obstinately high fever that lasted for a week. He wrote of his despair:

> I returned to my apartment after using all my energy and cried on the bed. I cried with chagrin. I could have played perfectly if I were healthy. As for Ravel's *Scarbo*, all I could do was to avoid making mistakes because I was out of breathe that day.[244]

This competition created scandalous stories. There were groups from the Russian school and the Austrian school besides a majority of premier-prix winners from the Paris Conservatoire. The Russian school was completely neglected, though it was obvious that their standard was higher than average. Graduates of the Paris Conservatoire were awarded one prize after another, at which the audience roared with anger. There were also furious disputes among the judges and Long. Nobody

[244]Sonoda, *Kokusai konkūru* (Travel Note), 239.

was awarded the grand prix (the first prize). The second prize was split between Long's disciple Phillipe Entremont and a Russian, Evgueni Malinine. This was because Long did not want to give the first prize to Malinine and created two second prizes by pulling him down to the second tier.[245] Kiyoko Tanaka from the Lévy School was awarded the fourth prize. This competition exposed the contradictions with international competitions being led by individuals. Alexandrovich, who failed in the second preliminary, and Sonoda, whose names appeared in the newspaper, were given diplomas and rewarded without clear reasons. It was difficult for Sonoda to understand why those who failed were rewarded. Sonoda came to know there were few chances to express a truly fair opinion, because most of the judges were either for Long, Lévy, or the Russians. Sonoda also had a chance to peer into the complexity of the French music world. It was a bitter experience, though the time was different then, when competitions were regarded as important to the careers of young pianists.

Return to Japan

Sonoda was diagnosed with moist pleurisy caused by tubercle bacillus. During the summer he took a respite in Switzerland. Kawakami, who happened to be in Geneva, advised him to receive medical treatment in Japan. In the autumn of 1953, he returned home. On December 15, he married Haruko Nishizawa. Haruko's father did not object although an ordinary parent would have an objection, considering Sonoda's occupation as a musician, that he was without parents, and that he had returned with an illness. Haruko's father was an entrepreneur and loved to play the

[245]Kiyoko Tanaka, "*Tanaka Kiyoko san wa kataru, konkūru no kotonado* (Kiyoko Tanaka talks about the competition)," interveiw by Kōichi Nomura, *Ongaku no tomo* (September 1955): 62-72.

violin. He was so interested in music that he sent his eighteen year old daughter to study at the Paris Conservatoire. He was aware of Sonoda's performing activity. Not having experienced any Japanese music school, but graduating from the Paris Conservatoire, Haruko became Sonoda's best collaborator throughout his life. Also, she had her talents in foreign languages. She was a great good fortune for Sonoda.

Sonoda held his invitational recital at the Tokyo Yamaha Hall in March 1954. In April, four world-renowned virtuosos appeared in Tokyo all at once: Ferruccio Tagliavini, Herbert von Karajan, Wilhelm Backhaus, and Jascha Heifetz. NHK (Japan Broadcasting Association) asked Sonoda to play with Karajan as a soloist for Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 4. Sonoda was impressed by the talent Karajan showed at the rehearsal, where two pianos were placed side by side, one for Karajan to play the orchestra part. The two concerts held on April 7 and 8 were great successes. Hibiya Hall was filled beyond capacity. Performing piano under the baton of Karajan gave Sonoda a feeling of a modern streamlined machine moving beside him. Karajan said just one thing to Sonoda after the concert "You should come to Europe!"[246] Karajan meant to encourage Sonoda to work in Europe and not be confined in Japan. The July 1954 edition of *Ongaku no tomo* music magazine, "News of Music World," reported that Karajan was interested in young Japanese composers and tried to introduce their works to European countries. He had taken a tape back to Europe, which was a recording of Sonoda's performance with Karajan conducting.[247]

Sonoda held concerts with different programs on May 25 and 26 and was

[246]Sonoda, *Pianisuto, sono jinsei* (A Pianist, His Life), 71.

[247]"*Gakkai nyūsu* (News of the Music World)," *Ongaku no tomo* (July 1954): 217.

awarded the Mainichi Music Prize for these performances in November. However, he was suffering from an allergic reaction caused by a drug given after his return to Japan, and he had to move to Karuizawa to recuperate. Fortunately, he recovered with the change of air, but it was a frustration for Sonoda to have returned home ill. He had to refrain from playing piano for more than half a year during his stay in Karuizawa.

Sonoda's first performance after his recovery was a cycle of Beethoven's cello sonatas with German cellist Ludwig Helsher. Sonoda had never played the renowned Beethoven late cello sonatas, op.102. After the performance with Helsher he felt a strong motivation to go to Germany. He wrote a letter to Karajan, who promised to write a letter of recommendation for him. Within ten days or so, he received a letter of recommendation by airmail:

> Vienna, January 25, 1957
> I am acquainted with Takahiro Sonoda, co-performer at one of my concerts in Japan, who is a very sincere and first class pianist. I have been so impressed by his performance that I can always recommend him to you with supreme confidence.
> Herbert von Karajan[248]

Armed with Karajan's letter Sonoda resolved to return to Europe.

[248]Translated in English by the author. The Karajan's letter in the original German dated on January 25, 1957, maintained by Haruko Sonoda.

> Wien, am 25.1.1957.
> Ich kenne den japanischen Pianisten Takahiro Sonoda, der bei einem meiner Konzerte in Japan gespielt hat, als ernsten und erstklassigen Künstler. Ich war von seinem Spiel sehr beeindruckt und kann ihn jederzeit bestens und mit gutem Gewissen empfehlen.
> Herbert von Karajan

CHAPTER VIII

SONODA: EUROPEAN CONCERT TOUR (1957)

Berlin

On July 19, 1957, Sonoda and his wife departed from Japan's Haneda airport by Scandinavian Airline via the northern route. It was a journey of twelve hours to Anchorage, where they stopped for one hour, before continuing for eighteen hours to Copenhagen, Denmark. Their departure was mixed with anxiety and hope for Sonoda. His future was entirely uncertain, because he was an unknown Asian pianist going to compete with the finest European pianists of the same generation. It took tremendous self-confidence and was a bold challenge to him. There is no assurance in life for a concert pianist.

Sonoda wrote a detailed diary for 142 days from July 19, 1957, to January 24, 1958, which was published in January, 1960, as "*Ongaku no tabi: Yōroppa ensou-ki* (Music Tour: Diary of a European Tour)."[249] It depicts vividly the days of building the basis of a touring career as a concert pianist, getting established with a manager in Berlin, emotional scenes at the Bayreuth Festival, his reunion with Karajan, his debut in Paris, the concert tour in Italy, and various other events of the tour. It is thrilling to read about Sonoda's moment-to-moment changing circumstances and his inner turmoil as he faced difficult situations. Publishing his own diary took enormous courage for him, but he had the bravery to tell the truth about the European music world to the following generation by exposing his own worries and troubles.

[249]Takahiro Sonoda, *Ongaku no tabi* (Music Tour) (Tokyo: Misuzu shobou, 1960).

Sonoda was planning to stay for one year in Berlin and thought it necessary to give a recital as soon as possible. On July 25, he was introduced to the maneger Freidrich Pasche by Michiko Tanaka at her mansion in Berlin.[250] Pasche, who once had been the manager of Furtwängler, said clearly to Sonoda:

> The best timing for your recital in Berlin is preferably after a co-performance with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra. If you are successful with the Berlin Phil, recitals after that in Berlin will not be difficult. Otherwise, for an unknown player, your career will not last long, and, eventually, your effort will be in vain, incurring only enormous expenses.[251]

Tanaka told Sonoda, who was ignorant of Berlin, that the regular season program of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra was already fixed until the following May. She recommended that he participate in the off-season concerts in the early summer. She made a recommendation to the committee chairman of the Philharmonic, who said it might be very possible and, if it could be realized, Sonoda might then surely have a chance to play with the Philharmonic in the autumn of 1958. Additionally, Pasche said to Sonoda:

> I can communicate with Italian managers for concertizing there and you must know first the primary importance of Italy as a debuting gate in present-day Europe. If you succeed in Italy (meaning you must acquire excellent reviews from the famous music critics), Europe will follow. For this purpose, you need to hold the first concert by your own account in Milan. After that, if you succeed in Rome, Paris, Vienna, and Berlin, your success in Europe is assured by the success in those five cities. Critics in London do not have much value now.[252]

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[250]Michiko Tanaka (1909-88) was an opera singer and movie actress. She graduated from the Tokyo Music School and studied in Vienna. In 1930, she married Julius Mein II (1869-1943), a millionaire called the "King of Coffee," but in 1941 divorced to merry Victor de Kowa (1904-73), a popular actor in the German theatre world. During the Second World War her grand mansion in Berlin was considered a private Japanese consulate where she took care of the Japanese visiting Europe. After the war she continued to help Japanese musicians. Seiji Ozawa was one of them.

[251]Sonoda, *Ongaku no tabi* (Music Tour), 9.

[252]Ibid.

Pasche showed Sonoda a list of necessary items for his opening concert. He did not forget to stress the importance of prudently prepared programs. Sonoda was also taught by Pasche that it was necessary to perform in small German cities before Milan to familiarize himself with the atmosphere of European audiences. Realizing that a one-year stay would not be long enough to cover even the schedule of performances in Berlin, Sonoda convinced Pasche that he could extend it as far as the job would continue. Sonoda wrote in his diary on that day:

> My mind is fully occupied. Returning to the apartment on foot with Haruko at night from Tanaka's mansion, I wonder what will happen from now on. Do I want to do this? It should be. But where from comes this anxiety? Only the matter of my program weighs heavily on my mind. In just two hours, two strangers to each other could speak instantly about such critical matters. Did I ever in my life talk about such subjects that would embrace a star of destiny? I keep silence, full of hope and anxiety.[253]

In early September, at Tanaka's mansion, Pasche introduced Sonoda to Professor Helmut Roloff (1912-2001) as a piano adviser.[254] After listening to his Chopin (the first movement of Sonata No. 3, op. 58) and Beethoven (Sonata op. 109), Roloff told Sonoda that he had nothing to teach to him, but invited him to talk with him about music at his residence. It was clear that Roloff and Pasche were impressed by the level of Sonda's playing. At this point, Pasche had already scheduled Sonoda's debut recital in Paris for October 31 under the management of Mme. Bouchonet. Pasche also told Sonoda there might be a possibility of giving a concert in Berlin in November, sponsored by Deutshe Gramophone. Besides, Sonoda was informed of the

[253]Ibid., 10.

[254]Helmut Roloff was a German pianist and teacher. He studied at the Hochshule für Musik in Berlin. His teachers were Richard Rüssler and Vladimir Borkowski. In 1945, he became a professor at the Universität der Künste Berlin, where he was a director from 1970 until his retirement in 1978.

possibility of concerts in Milan, Torino, and also with an orchestra in Genoa. Further, Pasche was preparing small concerts for him in Germany.

Sonoda's first chance to play was at a reception held by the Japanese consulate in Berlin on September 5. He played Chopin's Sonata No. 3 and Ravel's *Le Tombeau de Couperin*. He was not told who would be invited to this reception, but important critics, musicians, and managers of Berlin were there. To his surprise, they all spoke with emotion about the supremacy of his Chopin. They adored not only his touch, but also his European way of interpretation. Among them was Gerhardt von Westermann, general manager of the Berlin Philharmonic. Tanaka told Sonoda that Westermann's face changed color when he started to play and that he listened to him without moving an inch. Westermann promised Sonoda that instant to give him a chance to perform next season on a subscription concert. Luckily enough, three other jobs were decided on the spot. There were invitations to perform on radio, to make recordings managed under Mrs. Adler, and to perform with a Norwegian conductor. Besides, an interview by a newspaper writer was requested of Sonoda. He wrote about that day in his diary, "Such a day never occurred in my life before then." Everything went better than Sonoda had expected.

From the middle of September, Sonoda started to select pieces for his Paris debut recital. His proposition was to play the Bach-Busoni Chaconne and Beethoven's op. 111 for the first half and Chopin's Barcarolle, Nocturne, op. 48, No. 1, and Ballade No. 1, Poulenc's Theme and Variations *(Théme varé)*, and Prokofiev's Sonata No. 7 for the latter half. But manager Mme. Bouchonet in Paris requested that he change it to finish with Chopin and Liszt. An unconfident Pasche asked Roloff's opinion, and Roloff said that there was no room to change, as

Sonoda's program was so wonderful. Nevertheless, Roloff advised that only the third movement was effective in Prokofiev's Sonata No. 7, which was otherwise too long to be the last piece. Finally Prokofiev's Sonata No. 7 was changed to No. 3 and Bach's Choral Prelude in G minor was chosen for the encore.

On October 8, when Sonoda was practicing for his Paris recital, he was asked to play either Liszt's No. 1 or Mozart's E-flat major concerto on October 16.[255] He accepted this offer, despite a sudden request with a mere five day's notice, saying it would be possible if he could play the Liszt. Though it was an unbelievably hasty request were it in Japan, he could not let the opportunity slip away, as it was promoted by Pflugmacher in Hannover, who was Pasche's collaborator. However, this unexpected concert became his first substantial public appearance in Europe. It brought him only 600 DM (Deutsche marks) as the 25 percent foreigner's tax was levied on the 800 DM revenue. But as a result of the concert, he was offered recitals the next year in Kassel and Göttingen.

Roloff met Sonoda every day until his departure for Paris to consult with him about the pieces for his recital. Sonoda wrote about Roloff:

> Roloff, as a pianist, might not be known very well in Japan. I had listened to him several times, but he is not bad. Though his technique was not always excellent, his way of thinking and his interpretation were very instructive for me. Especially his Beethoven *Eroica Variations* were magnificent, which I heard at his recital and by his recording with Deutche Gramophon. This piece has been recorded by various performers, but the recording of maestro Roloff came closest to the essence of Beethoven's music, I think. I was taught by Roloff about "the form to be" which exists at the depth of connected sounds.[256]

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[255]Sonoda, *Ongaku no tabi* (Music Tour), 75. Sonoda did not specify which Mozart E-flat Major Concerto (K. 271, K. 449 or K. 482) was asked to be performed.

[256]Sonoda, *Pianisuto, sono jinsei* (A Pianist, His Life), 77.

Paris Dedut

On the evening of October 28, Sonoda arrived in Paris in a car driven by his wife from Berlin via Belgium. However, his physical condition was diminished because of his continuously hard schedule. Besides, he was told by Mme. Long, who came to see him on the 30th, that the day of the recital was the worst day for a debut recital. October 31 falls on the day before *Toussant* (All Saints Day) and she said all Parisians disappear for *vacances*.[257] Mme. Long regretted that Sonoda did not consult her about his recital, because she would not have chosen this day. The date was due to Pasche's unwary management with Mme. Bouchonet.

Late at night on the 30th, after an evening reception at the Japanese Ambassador's official residence, Sonoda was to play. But it was a cold reception compared to that held at the consulate general's official residence in Berlin. There was a custom in Paris of not inviting journalists or critics where formal dress was required; therefore, Mme. Bouchonet's request to invite them was refused by the Japanese Embassy. Besides, almost no music-related people were expected, as the day fell on the first day of the opening of the opera. Sonoda was compelled to wait until the reception ended, and then he played past midnight for the invited ambassadors of various countries. He did not return to his hotel untill 1:45am. He slept but a few hours before he went for rehearsal to the *Salle Gaveau* where the debut recital was to be held.[258] He had never experienced such hard conditions on the day of a recital.

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[257] *Toussant* is not a public holiday in France but one of the Western Christian holidays, which falls on November 1.

[258] *Salle Gaveau* is a famous concert hall in Paris, which seats 1000. It was built in 1905 for Gaveau of Paris, one of the three largest piano makers in France (after Erard and Pleyel). Gaveau was taken over by Schimmel in 1971.

Sonoda could not take a nap because of his excitement and went to the *Salle Gaveau* at 8:30 pm where he found nobody except for the staff of the hall in the obscure darkness. There was no audience but several staff at the entrance even at five minutes before nine o'clock, the starting time. He wrote:

> I thought, "This is a perfect failure," in a perplexed feeling with half anger and half crying, when Mme. Long came back stage speaking loudly with a staff. "Here I am. You chose an entirely unlucky day for recital. Nobody in Paris the day before *Toussant.*" It's a repetition. But she told me to do my best. I thanked her for coming despite her short breath from her recent illness of her heart with her age of 83 or more, I forgot.[259]

Sonoda was horrified when he went out on stage. He could recognize no one in the hall, as if the hall were "a warehouse with a light."[260] But he learned there were around one hundred people in the audience, guessing from the cheering arising from the seats. He got nervous at first with the Bach, but many cheers rose from the hall. He soon felt satisfied with Beethoven, encouraged by the positive mood of the hall. In the latter half, Chopin's Barcallore and Nocturne were magnificent, being applauded so long it was time to start the next piece. He continued to Chopin's Ballade and Poulenc, without error, leading all the way to the finish with Prokofiev. Overwhelming applause came from the hall, and he played Bach's Choral Prelude and Ravel's *Jeux d'eau* for encores.

The aged teacher, Mme. Long, stood up alone and cheered enthusiastically. Mme. Samson François paid Sonoda great compliments. His manager, Mme. Bouchonet, became more polite. The Japanese ambassador and his wife apologized to him for their lack of support for his recital. After the recital was over, Sonoda felt that

[259]Sonoda, *Ongaku no tabi* (Music Tour), 120.
[260]Ibid.

his recital was helpless, as if he had been shouting alone in an open field.[261] Though he could not expect responses from the critics, he waited for the results in Paris.

On the evening of November 4, Mme. Bouchonet received a phone call from Gent, Belgium, while Sonoda was at her office dealing with remaining works for the recital. It was a sudden request for a substitute for Alexis Weissenberg, who was unable to play due to a sudden illness.[262] Mme. Bouchonet, reminded of Sonoda's repertoire, which included Rachmaninoff's Piano concerto No. 3, asked him if he could play it the next day. Sonoda was astonished, but judged instantly that there should be no pianist in Paris tomorrow capable of playing No. 3 when Bouchonet asked his availability. He replied decisively he could play No. 2 tomorrow instead of No. 3, which was impossibly difficult to prepare in one day. From Gent, the acceptance with conditions was sent back. The program was Rachmaninoff's No. 2, rehearsing at two o'clock tomorrow with a performance at eight o'clock and a fee of 8000 Belgian Francs. Sonoda found just one hour to practice one of the most difficult parts, only one time through, renting his friend's apartment where practice was permitted merely until nine o'clock at night.

He departed the next morning from Paris to Gent. His wife drove the 350 kilometers (about 219 miles), but lost her direction near the border, and he arrived in Gent missing the two o'clock rehearsal. When he finally arrived at the hall, he played all the movements of the Piano Concerto No. 2 with the orchestra. The conductor as well as orchestra members were so surprised by the completely unknown Asian

[261]Ibid., 121.

[262]Alexis Weissenberg (1929-) is a Bulgarian-born French Jewish pianist. He studied with Olga Samaroff at the Juilliard School in1947 and consulted Artur Schnabel and Wanda Landowska.

substitute, who arrived late and played all the movements with the orchestra, that they applauded standing and shouting “Bravo! Bravo!” The concert was a great success.

Sonoda’s Piano Concerto Repertoire

Sonoda was unexpectedly offered chances to play two piano concertos during the eighteen days from October 16 to November 5. He undertook such substitutions in concertos from time to time after these experiences, which trained him to be a professional pianist passable in Europe and made his name gradually known widely as a pianist capable of any piece. Following is Sonoda’s concerto repertoire written on his pamphlet provided by Pasche’s music bureau. The list was created at the request of Pringsheim around 1962.

Table 8. Sonoda's Piano Concerto Repertoire Provided by Konzertbüro Friedrich Pasche[263]

KONZERTE MIT ORCHSTERBEGLEITUNG (Concertos with Orchestra)

J. S. Bach	D minor, BWV 1052.
Bartok	No. 1, No. 3.
Beethoven	No, 1, No. 2, No. 3, No. 4, No. 5.
Brahms	No. 1, No. 2.
Chopin	No. 1, No. 2.
Franck	Symphonic Variations.
Glazunov	Op. 92, F minor.
Liszt	No. 1. No. 2. *Totentanz.*
Mendelssohn	No. 1, G minor.
Mozart	K. 466, D minor. K. 467, C major. K. 488, A major. K. 491, C minor. K. 595, B-flat major.
Prokofiev	No. 2, G minor. No. 3, C major.
Rachmaninoff	No. 1, F-sharp minor. No. 2, C minor. No. 3, D minor. *Rhapsody on a Theme of Paganini for piano, Op. 43.*
Ravel	G major. D major *(for the left hand).*
Roussel	C major, op. 36.
Saint-Saens	No. 2, G minor. No. 3, C minor.
Schumann	A minor, op. 54.
Strauss	*Burleske.*
Stravinsky	Capriccio for piano.
Tchaikovsky	No. 1, B minor.
Weber	*Konzertstück, op. 79.*
Wada	No. 1.

Sonoda also played Saburō Moroi's Piano Concerto with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra in 1972. He could play these forty-one works within several days or sometimes without any practice. Actually, he had unbelievably difficult

[263]The list is taken from the original pamphlet (prospect) in the custody of Haruko Sonoda.

situations time after time. Once his manager told him a wrong piece, Brahms's Piano Concert No. 2 in B-flat major instead of Piano Concerto No. 1 in D minor. Sonoda did not notice the manager's mistake until the orchestra started the lengthy introduction at the first rehearsal. However, he played it through with the orchestra from the beginning to the end.[264] It is amazing that he could maintain such a huge piano concerto repertoire throughout his life.

Concert Tour to Italy

The first recital tour that Pasche planned was in Italy from December 9 to 16. Six recitals were held during the eight days in a variety of halls in northern Italy. Among the towns were Torino and Milan, where the largest music associations in northern Italy existed, where most of the world-renowned musicians held their concerts during the season, and where criticism was also most severe. Sonoda could understand they were important musical places where Rubinstein, Serkin, Kempff, Casadesus, Brailowsky, Michelangeli, Weissenberg, and winners of competitions played. It cannot be known whether or not success in Torino and Milan determined Sonoda's future, but he clearly felt the tension of Pasche, who knew more than anyone else about it.

The concert in Torino on December 10 was held under the auspices of the Torino Philharmonic Society, called *Amici dela Musica*, in the magnificent hall of the Conservatoir du Verdi with the capacity of 1300. The piano was a Steinway with a very beautiful, colorful, and profound sound, which overjoyed Sonoda. For this

[264]Interview with Haruko Sonoda, conducted by Mari Iida on May 15, 2006. Interview with Jun Ozawa, conducted with Mari Iida on June 23, 2006.

Italian tour, the latter half of the program for the Paris recital was changed from pieces by Chopin and Poulenc to Schumann's *Carnaval*. Owing partly to the good piano he could create sound contrasts as he wanted and he was applauded enthusiastically from the beginning piece by Bach. He felt for the first time he was truly playing in recital. He came to realize from the atmosphere in the hall that it was a complete triumph. Pasche was so pleased with the success that he said with tearful eyes to Sonoda, "Congratulations! You will surely be able to make your debut in the world."[265] Pasche told Sonoda that newspaper writers and critics from all over Milan would come to the recital on December 13, as they had promptly confirmed this success in Torino over the phone.

Though the modern hall in Milan, the Hall of Leone XIII was good, with the capacity of 1500, the piano was not as good as in Torino. It took time for Sonoda to relax himself, as critics and newspaper writers were occupying the three front rows. But during an intermission, a renowned Italian manager, Moltraggio, who had not shown much interest in Sonoda at first, timidly entered his dressing room calling Sonoda "Maestro."[266] After he finished playing Schumann and Prokofiev, many encores were called for with applause and cheers. Afterward his dressing room was full of people. The scene after the recital was written in his diary:

> The first was Pasche, in breathless haste with reddish face, nearly crying. He hugged me, shouting loudly that I had succeeded in making my debut in the world with such a marvelous performance. He told me that a world-reknowned critic, Confalonieri, listened to my performance intensively from the beginning to the end, uttered "Bravissimo" and promised to talk about me on the radio and in other media. Moreover, Pasche said enthusiastically that concerts are possible in the next season with the

[265]Sonoda, *Ongaku no tabi* (Music Tour), 211.
[266]Ibid., 221.

orchestra of La Scala. Plenty of people–greetings after greetings.[267]

This great critic was Maestro Giulio Confalonieri, who made the following comment on Radio Milano on December 17, 1957.

> From now on we will frequently see and listen to a pianist introduced at the regular recital of the "Grand Maestro Series." His name is Takahiro Sonoda, who is endowed with every talent and promise for his future career. In fact he is equipped with a clean, brilliant, and precise technique which is generally lacked. He possesses intelligence and poetic concentration with occasionally explosive and dynamic shifts, where joyful fantasy is displayed. It was obvious that Sonoda was applauded enthusiastically by the audience for his performance of Bach-Buzoni's Chaconne, Beethoven's Sonata op. 111, Schumann's *Carnaval*, and Prokofiev's Sonata No. 3.[268]

Corrier D'informazione of Milan wrote:

> TAKAHIRO SONODA has been one of the most interesting revelations of the present season: He is a mature artist of incredible assurance, intelligent, and sensitivity to the last degree. (14 December, 1957)

In May, 1958 after finishing recitals in Roanne, France, Sonoda returned temporarily to Japan and concertized with three programs (totaling twenty pieces), touring ten major cities. In the summer he performed in Germany with the Hannover Symphonic Orchestra Mozart's No. 20 and Tchaikovsky's No. 1.

Success in Berlin

The culmination of Sonoda's European debut was his performance with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra on January 13 and 14, 1959. These subscription concerts were held in the Berlin Hochschulesaal, the best hall at that time in Berlin, and the conductor was Berhard Conz. Though tremendous courage was needed to

[267]Ibid., 222.

[268]The comment is from the pamphlet of the introduction of Sonoda printed in 1958.

make a debut in Germany with Beethoven's *Emperor*, Sonoda triumphed. Following is the article in *Der Tagesspiegel* in Berlin on January 16, 1959.

> TAKAHIRO SONODA was the central figure of a concert of the Philharmonic Orchestra. It will most probably strike us as a wonder to see this young artist from Asia, who has attained mental and human maturity, with a personality obviously well-grounded in all the aesthetic domains of Occidental tradition. SONODA had already won the audience when he successfully played the opening cadenza of Beethoven's Piano Concerto in E-flat Major in an extremely brilliant and truly heroic way. The Adagio, carried on wide, lyrical stress [*sic*], fully testified to SONODA's musical endowments.

Sonoda performed with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra regularly thereafter. In that same month of January, he also made a debut with a recital in the same hall. The program consisted of Bach-Busoni's Chaconne, Beethoven's Sonata op. 111, Stravinsky's Four Etudes, op. 7, Schoenberg's Six Small Pieces, op. 19, Hindemith's *Ragtime* and Schumann's *Carnaval.*

Reunion with Sirota in America

In February 1959, Sonoda made his American debut at Town Hall in New York City. The following comments appeared in the *American Journal* and the *New York Tribune* on February 24.

> SONODA TAKAHIRO's recital in Town Hall last night had exceptional merit pianistically. His technical command was impressive, his musical intelligence cosmopolitan, and his tonal gamut attractive. He has much to recommend him highly.[269]

> In Schumann's "Carnaval" Mr. SONODA realized most of the moods of its various sections, and there was considerable bravura in its more outspoken episodes.[270]

[269] *American Journal,* 24 February 1959.
[270] *New York Herald Tribune*, 24 February 1959.

Sirota's daughter came to this recital in New York, where she lived. She asked Sonoda to see Sirota in St. Louis. He took a night flight to meet Sirota. He later wrote about his reunion with Sirota:

> Joy filled my heart when I saw him after such a long time. I played for him all the pieces of my recital in New York. He praised me as magnificent. He took out his recording of *Petrouchka,* played it for me, saying that he had kept it as the most precious treasure during his stay in Japan. According to him, it was a performance at the age of thirty which we listened to together and he was proud of committing no mistakes. Surely it was magnificent to be able to play "*Petroushka*" without mistakes. He might have wanted to say, "Hey, listen to this, my fellow." That was the last time I saw him.[271]

In March and April, 1959, Sonoda played Brahms's Concerto No. 1 with the NHK Symphonic Orchestra under the baton of Wilhelm Schuchter and Bartok's Concerto No. 3 with Akio Watanabe in Japan. In June, he gave a recital in Prague and in September he played with Bela Horai in Göttingen. His concert itinerary in the 1959-60 season covered Germany, Austria, Italy, Poland (Chopin Festival), Yugoslavia, France, Belgium, and Hungary. His base as a pianist was gradually enhanced in Europe. In January, 1960, he gave his second recital in Berlin, where he played almost every year thereafter.[272] In February, he made his Vienna debut with the Vienna Symphony Orchestra under the baton of André Cluytens (1905-67) playing Beethoven's *Emperor*. He achieved another great triumph at the most

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[271]Sonoda, *Pianisuto, sono jinsei* (A Pianist, His Life), 18.

In 1963, Sirota's disciples in Japan invited him to Japan. Sirota held his recitals, co-performance with his former students and performance for TV in Tokyo and Osaka. At first, entrepreneurs showed no interest, regarding Sirota as a past being, but his concerts were always full of people because of his disciples' endeavor. The audience had never forgotten him. Sirota was overjoyed saying "In my long life until today, there was nothing so happy as this. I have no words to add now." Shigeko Kaneko, "*Kangekitekina reo sirota sensei tono saikai* (Emotional Reunion with teacher Leo Sirota)," *Ongaku no tomo* (January 1964): 104-5.

[272]Sonoda's program included Haydn's Sonata E-flat major, Schumann's Fantasy, C major, Debussy's *Images* (Book 1), and Chopin's 24 Preludes.

important music capital in Europe.

Sergiu Celibidache

In Milan, in the autumn of 1960, Sonoda met conductor Sergiu Celibidache (1912-96), who was to have the greatest influence on his performances thereafter. Celibidache had been the principal conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic from 1945 to1952, when Furtwängler fled to Switzerland to escape possible retribution as a Nazi sympathizer. Celibidache was the most likely successor to Furtwängler after the latter's return to Berlin from 1952 to 1954. However, because of his demand for extensive rehearsal time with the orchestra and a conflict with its veteran members, he was defeated by Karajan in the race for successor. Nevertheless, the reputation of Celibidache was extremely high in Berlin as he rebuilt the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra out of the rubble where little music was heard after the Second World War. Roloff was on familiar terms with Celibidache, and Pasche did not like Karajan but held Celibidache in high regard. Also Sonoda had been strongly impressed when he heard Beethoven's Symphony No. 7 by Celibidache on October 7, 1957, in Berlin. Sonoda's impression of Celibidache's performance was found in his diary:

> I realized because of the overwhelming endless applause that he [Celibidache] had a high popularity among the Berliners. Celibidache's concert was definitely the most impressive one since I had been in Berlin. This No. 7 could be said to be sensational since I listened to Furtwängler's No. 7 four years ago in Paris. He might be the only conductor to succeed the great spiritual heritage of Furtwängler. Celidabiche drilled into me that 'music' was not dependent on self-advertisement.[273]

On September 28 at La Scala, Sonoda played Beethoven's Concerto No. 4 with the

[273]Sonoda, *Ongaku no tabi* (Music Tour), 73-4.

NHK Symphonic Orchestra, which was touring for the first time in Europe with conductor Hiroyuki Iwaki (1932-2006). Sonoda did not know that Celibidache attended this concert. At the first meeting, Celibidache asked the highly anxious Sonoda what repertoire he had. As Sonoda explained, he said, "Understood."[274] He pierced Sonoda with shrewd burning eyes for a while. Then he said only, "I listened to your No. 4. Let's do it together."[275] He made, however, no comments on Sonoda's performance.

The first concert with Celibidache was held in October, 1961, also at La Scala with Brahms's Concerto No. 2 with the Radiotelevisione Italiana Orchestra (RAI). At first Sonoda was told that Celibidache required four days of rehearsal, which was abnormally long. However, Celidabiche demanded an additional two days for meeting with Sonoda. Sonoda wrote:

> Sitting beside the piano at the rehearsal room, Celidabiche said "Play!" Then confirmed one bar after another saying "Wait! What do you mean there?" I proceeded from the first movement to the second movement thinking 'This situation might be a blood-curdling experience' then onto the third movement, where I was stopped by his word "That's enough," and was told "Let's do it with the orchestra tomorrow." It might be a signal that I was admitted, but anyway I felt relief.[276]

Celibidache had a sharp tongue and a passionate nature, but he cherished Sonoda. There is an episode which depicts how well he liked Sonoda. One summer, he invited Sonoda to attend his lectures for conductors at Siena, Italy. But Sonoda refrained because of his tight purse, but then immediately Celibidache sent Sonoda 1500 DM, saying, "Come, as I am ready to pay whatever you need, as money is a

[274]Sonoda, *Pianisuto, sono jinsei* (A Pianist, His Life), 87.
[275]Ibid.
[276]Ibid., 88.

great traveler in the world."[277] Sonoda listened to his lectures all day long from his front row seat.

Celibidache also taught Sonoda the joy of eating, as he invited him to lunch every day. Celibidache intended to teach Sonoda the pleasures of life necessary to make his performance abundant. Thereafter until 1966, Sonoda performed four times with Celibidache: Werner Thärichen's Concerto No. 1, Beethoven's No. 4, and Frank's Symphonic Variations in Torino, Milan, Venice, and Stockholm respectively. Sonoda was lucky because he could play with Celibidache in his golden age.

Settlement in Baden-Baden

In December 1961 the Berlin Wall was built and Sonoda moved from East Berlin to Baden-Baden, Germany, near the border with France. Baden-Baden was a long established hot-spring resort, located north of the Black Forest; it is also near the university town of Heidelberg, Karlsruhe, and Stuttgart. Based there, Sonoda increased his repertoire, advancing one season after another. There were disputes among the pianists, his managers, and his sponsors over the programs he would play. Sonoda wanted to play without letting opportunities pass, so he increased his repertoire rapidly and memorized it physically through many performing experiences. There were many more chances to perform in Germany than in Japan.

It became known in 2001 that a considerable number of tapes of Sonoda's performances in the 1960s still existed, which were recorded and broadcast by German radio stations. Twenty-five titles were preserved in Berlin alone.[278] Sonoda

[277]Ibid., 89.

[278]In Japan broadcast recordings are abolished completely after several years. Therefore, none of Sonoda's numerous broadcast recordings of the 1950s were

was able to issue four CDs under the title of "Takahiro Sonoda in Seiner Jugend." In these CDs, we find challenging pieces which were not often performed even in Europe then, such as Stravinsky's Four Etudes op. 7, Glazunov's Sonata op. 74, Saint-Saëns's Six Etudes op. 6 and Concerto No. 4, and Max Reger's Variations and Fuges on a Theme of Johann Sebastian Bach, op. 81. The recordings for broadcast with orchestra were done after only one rehearsal, which caused tremendous stress for Sonoda. They reveal his fresh and sharpened sensibility, which he gained in his thirties, and a noble sound that was commanding and imperious. It is a precious performance record of the first Japanese pianist betting on the European music world.

Sonoda spent ten years from 1957 until around 1968 as a concert pianist in Germany. 24,000 DM were necessary annually for an average family of four in Germany then. A pianist needed to perform twice a month to live, for a recognized newcomer pianist could earn 1000 DM (90,000 yen) for each performance. It took five years from 1957 for Sonoda to be able to get ten to fifteen performance requests per year.

Though Sonoda played in Japan in 1963, 1966, and 1967, he was based in Europe, which struck the Japanese as a completely new way of pianistic life, one that had never happened for Japanese pianist. Every time he returned to Japan all the magazines and newspapers wrote about his supreme international sense and the results of his performances trained in the motherland of musical Europe. While the increasing numbers of visiting Western musicians and orchestras to Tokyo pleased the audience, it narrowed the opportunities for Japanese performers. To live purely as a

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preserved. This is an example of the high cultural level of Germany with regard to performance.

concert pianist without taking students was difficult in Japan. Active pianists before the war in their forties and fifties started to focus on teaching activities. Under such a situation in Japan, Sonoda began to be treated specially in his home country as a concert pianist of virtuosic character when he was only in his thirties. This comes from the posture of the Japanese mass media, which are convinced not by results inside Japan, but only by international appreciation. Given its history of importing Western music and Japan's distance from the Western world, it seems inevitable for the Japanese to seek a standard of evaluation and judgment from overseas. However, the same thing could be said of Japanese performers. While Sonoda had confidence in his technique and performance, he could not completely convince the Japanese mass media. His stumbling at the international music competition in Geneva embodied his agony in gaining recognition. He gained conviction as a concert pianist for the first time by the applause of the "foreigners," namely, Westerners. Kiyohide sowed the seed of a pianist in Sonoda, Sirota nurtured it, and Europe made Sonoda blossom.

CHAPTER IX

SONODA: ACTIVITIES IN JAPAN (1968-1993)

Sonoda's life shows some similarity with Sirota's. Both received training to be a pianist until around the age of twenty. Both failed in competitions in Europe and spent their middle twenties in self doubt. However, Sirota came into flower under Busoni, and Sonoda was recognized at the performance with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, the best in Europe. Both eventually became well established and self-confident. Then after about ten years of professional concertizing, Sirota returned to Japan at the age of forty-three to begin teaching as well as performing. Likewise, Sonoda became a professor at the Kyoto City Music College at the age of forty. For both, the return to Japan marked the decisive turning point in their lives, after which their stories diverge. Sirota sought a calm life as a pianist and professor, whereas Sonoda was greatly involved in performance and the Japanese music world to the end of his life. Sonoda's life was, as Jun Ozawa says, ". . . magnificent by questing for the quintessence of music to the very end, as if it were maturing gradually to a fragrant vintage wine."[279]

Professor for the Kyoto City University of Arts (1968-1982)

In 1968, Sonoda accepted a visiting professorship at the request of the violinist Ryūtaro Iwabuchi (1928-), who was in charge of the Kyoto City Music

[279]Interview with Jun Ozawa, conducted by author on June 23, 2006. Jun Ozawa graduated from the Tokyo University of Fine Arts and Music and studied at the Paris Schola Cantorum. He is a professor at the Bunkyo Gakuin University and chief director of the Association for Music Performance Expression.

College. Iwabuchi told him that he wanted Kyoto City Music College to become a four-year city art university; therefore, Sonoda's collaboration was needed.[280] Iwabuchi, along with Takeshi Umehara (1925-) of the Department of Art, was enthusiastically igniting the dream to make Kyoto City Music College the western Japanese music educational center, equivalent to the Tokyo University of Fine Arts and Music, by elevating it to a national university. This was a period when the over-concentration of music education and concerts in Tokyo was increasingly criticized.

Sonoda chose a peripatetic lifestyle by setting the base of his life in Baden-Baden, Germany. He spent half of each year performing in Europe and the remainder of the year teaching and performing in Japan.[281] He thought that teaching would contribute to his own performance ability.

> Teaching requires me to communicate in words to others what I do by intuition: to think objectively, gather my ideas, and develop a concrete methodology.[282]

Sonoda created an unprecedented, innovative, and systematic curriculum that the students had to master during their four years. The number of pieces in his curriculum reached one hundred, counting as one piano cycles (*Carnaval, Miroirs, Gaspard de la nuit*, etc.) and the sets of etudes (Chopin, Liszt, Saint-Saëns, Debussy, Skriabin and etc.). He was concerned that Japanese teachers and students were not

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[280]Sonoda, *Pianisuto, sono jinsei* (A Pianist, His Life), 102.

[281]According to the Sonoda's performance record of 1968, he held a recital in Berlin in February, performed in Tokyo the whole of Beethoven's piano sonatas for seven nights from April 22 to May 18, while commuting from Tokyo to Kyoto for teaching. Then in October, he played Rachmaninoff's *Rhapsody on a Theme of Paganini* with the Dormunt Stadt-Orchestra, under the baton of Heinrich Chies.

[282]Sonoda, *Pianisuto, sono jinsei* (A Pianist, His Life), 103.

developing a solid repertoire. He based his curriculum on Sirota's notes, which categorized pieces by grade. Sonoda's curriculum was noticed by other music schools. Thus he had a great influence on Japanese music education, which at that time tended to be overly focused on only a few pieces. Following is a list of Sonoda's selected pieces for freshman students at Kyoto City University of Arts.[283] He also made it mandatory for students to learn one piano concerto a year.

[283]The list is taken from the original text in the custody of Yukiko Higami, Sonoda's student at Kyoto City University of Arts, 1970 to 1974. The original text is written in German.

Table 9. Sonoda's Selected Piano Pieces for Freshman Students at the Kyoto City University of Arts, Department of Music

Solo	Concerto
Bach: Partita No. 5 Toccata D major BWV912 Beethoven: Sonatas Op. 2-3, Op. 7 Op. 27-1 Op. 31-1, 2, 3 Op. 57, Op. 81a, Op. 90, Op. 109 Chopin: Rondo, Op. 16 Sonata, Op. 35 Polonaise, Op. 44 Scherzo, No. 1, 4 Ballade, No. 1, 4 Allegro de Concert Debussy: *L'isle joyeuse* Préludes *Estampes* Fauré: Nocturne Barcarolle Impromptu Grieg: Ballade No. 3 Händel: Suite No. 3 Haydn: Sonatas C major, E-flat major Liszt: Three Concert Etudes Paganini Etude No. 6 Tarantella Hungarian Rhapsody No. 11 Polonaise No. 2 Prokofieff: Sonata No. 3 Ravel: Sonatine Weber: Sonatas C major, A-flat major Schumann: *Faschingsschwank aus Wien Op. 26* *Carnava*l Sonata No. 2, Allegro Op. 8 Scriabin: Sonata No. 2 (Sonata-fantasy)	Bach: D minor Mozart: K. 271, 450, 453, 482 Beethoven: No. 1, 2, 3 Weber: *Konzertstück Op. 79* Chopin: F minor Schumann: A minor Mendelssohn: No. 1, 2 Liszt: No. 1, 2 Hungarian Fantasy Franck: Symphonic Variations Fauré: Ballade Op. 19 Saint-Saëns: No. 2

From the entire four-year curriculum, one can recognize the order in which Sirota and Sonoda learned the pieces of each composer. Beethoven's sonatas, Op. 90, Op. 101, Op. 110, Op. 111, and *Eroica-Variations* were added in the junior year, while Op. 106 and *Diabelli-Variation* were part of the senior year's curriculum. Schumann's Symphonic Etudes were introduced in the sophomore year, and *Carnaval, Davidsbündlertänze,* Sonata Op. 11*, Kreisleriana,* and Fantasy were junior pieces and the Humoreske was a senior piece. Thus Sonoda indicated in what order the pieces of each composer should be learned and which pieces were to be required more often. Students chose several pieces each semester from Sonoda's list; however, other pieces were assigned for exams under designated themes. There could be at one time two etudes of Chopin or Debussy. The assignments were not announced until four weeks before the exam, according to Sonoda's policy. The assingments contained Classic and Romantic period pieces, as well as Messiaen, Berg, Schonberg, and Webern. The music for these modern pieces was hard to find in Japan. Therefore, Sasaya, a music store in Osaka, always paid attention to the pieces for jury at Kyoto City University of Arts and prepared as much music as possible for the students.

In Baden-Baden, where Sonoda resided, there were the Süd-West Runfunk Symphony-Orchestra (South-West German Radio Symphony-Orchestra) and the Kurhaus Orchestra, both of which were famous for modern music performance. Sonoda had heard the works of Karlheinz Stockhausen (1928-2007), Luigi Nono (1924-90), Bruno Maderna (1920-73), Luciano Berio (1925-2003), and Pierre Boulez (1925-), among others. He raised the point in Japan that Japanese musicians were not aware that the Western music world performed the works of the middle of the twentieth century. He tried to improve the music educators in Japan, where the

education remained traditional. Japan was not developing performers who were equipped with new methods of performance. Modern pieces for jury were performed at Sonoda's recital in Kyoto and the students and teachers went to listen to them. For the students it was truly a practical audio-visual educational experience. Yukiko Higami, a pianist, lecturer, and adjudicator who had studied under Sonoda, stated:

> Sonoda's lesson contained no redundancy but always contained very precise advice. First, the fundamental structure was taught. What exists behind the piece such as the propensity of the composer, background of the piece, and the cultural characteristic of his country were clarified. Then the interpretation began in parts, then the detailed confirmation of expression and volume followed. What was regarded as a special teaching method was that the lesson embodied all that the teacher, Sonoda, had experienced, learned, absorbed, felt, and pondered in Europe.[284]

About piano technique, she added,

> Sonoda said that any playing method would do if the music sounded right. But he made remarks about the flexible ways of using the arms and wrists at the beautiful cantabile, the natural form of the fingers at the various changes of touch and swift passages, etc. Nevertheless, he insisted that music always prevails and the necessary expression and playing method should be selected from there.[285]

Sonoda was an active pianist who helped students understand by performing himself. He demanded that his students delve deeply into the structure and process of the pieces, and he required them to compare various editions. He also recommended that they listen to a great number of performances for comparison. Sonoda's student, Shuji Tanaka, a pianist and a professor of Kobe Women's College, was told to seek always for what would be the real individuality.

> Sonoda said that teachers nowadays say that students must appreciate individuality. It is not real individuality to allow whatever the students like. What remains after being restrained (the technical restriction incurred to express exactly the composer's intention written in music) is the real

[284]Interview with Yukiko Higami conducted by author on June 5, 2006.
[285]Ibid.

individuality; otherwise, it is a mere performer's selfishness.[286]

Sonoda made it mandatory for each student's teacher to play an orchestra reduction at the in-school recital and piano concerto examination. The teachers were usually remote from performance activities, so they had to practice a great deal to prepare for their orchestra reduction. Sonoda himself had little difficulty in mastering high levels of technique, so he did not dwell on teaching technique to students. Presumably middle-level students had to expend a tremendous effort to acquire the necessary technique. Sonoda's students were over-burdened with work during his time at the Kyoto City University of Arts. However, he raised the level of the piano classes through his strong will. He also demanded that Japanese teachers develop an ever progressing attitude, inspiring them to greater heights. He challenged the university music education in the Japan of his day.

Sonoda the Musician

Sonoda's performance activities in Japan increased from around 1968, when he started teaching in Kyoto. But his programs in Japan were different from his programs in Europe. His performances in Japan were so spectacular and challenging that other Japanese pianists could not compare to him. His performances revealed the depth of his study and his attitude as a musician.

One of his greatest legacies are the recordings of the entire Beethoven piano sonatas he made in 1968, 1983, and 1996. He wrote about Beethoven's music:

> Beethoven's music is hard to play for pianists because his music allows no compromise. . . . You can hardly put your hands on the keyboard without

[286]Interview with Shuji Tanaka, conducted by the author on May 25, 2006.

> understanding the idea or spirituality hidden behind the sounds. It took plenty of time before I realized that it was hard to play Beethoven. The first such experience of which I was painfully aware was at the performance by Furtwängler I heard in Paris. I remember well that even the simple harmony was sounded through my backbone.[287]

Sonoda strongly felt his lack of understanding of the European culture; he accumulated his cultural basics as a musician during his stay in Germany. He studied extensively about European culture, literature, art, and drama, trying to compete with European musicians who possessed a broad knowledge. His own performance changed along with his gradual understanding of German culture. He came to understand that the German language—accent, sound, sentence, structur, etc.—relate to the color of sound and phrase, which made his insight into music deeper. He wrote:

> For example "sanft" in German means "soft," but, you may foresee how to express it as sound only when understanding how this word sounds and how it is used.[288]

For Sonoda, the performance of the whole of Beethoven's sonatas became a challenge, a romantic adventure, and a touchstone. He performed them in seven recitals. The program was "The Commemoration Serial Concert of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of Beethoven's Birth" at the Tokyo Cultural Center Hall from April 22 to May 18, 1968.[289] In 1970, Nippon Columbia released his performances of the complete sonatas. It was a project to commemorate the sixtieth anniversary of the foundation of Nippon Columbia. This recording was an epoch-making project in that it was a recording of Western classical piano music played by a Japanese pianist. But Sonoda's activities extended even to the publication of the *Ōhukushokan: Bētōben no*

[287]Sonoda, *Pianisuto, sono jinsei* (A Pianist, His Life), 112.
[288]Ibid., 85.
[289]The Tokyo Cultural Center was built in 1961 by the Tokyo metropolitan government at Ueno in Tokyo as an authentic music hall for the performance of concerts, opera, and ballet. It has two halls (2303seats and 649seats).

piano sonata: Bunseki to ensou (Correspondence: Beethoven's Piano Sonatas: Analysis and Performance) co-authored with composer Makoto Moroi (1930-) in 1971.[290] This was a reprint of a series of articles previously published in the music magazine *Ongaku Geijutu* in the form an epistolary exchange between Moroi and Sonoda over all of Beethoven's sonatas, based on Sonoda's study in Germany.

Sonoda held a second series of recitals of Beethoven's sonatas in 1983 for seven nights in Tokyo and Osaka. It was recorded live and released under the Evica label, a label he established with his wife, Haruko. After more study, he recorded for the third time, from 1996 through 1997, the whole cycle again. This time, he included the rest of Beethoven's piano pieces on the CD, which was co-produced by Takashi Sakurai, a recording engineer and a qualified "tone master" trained in Europe. In the same year, he held a "Commemoration Recital of the Recording of the Entire Beethoven Piano Works," including the *Diabelli Variations.* Sonoda reflected about these recordings:

> I think the excellent artistic recording is what reproduces the idea of the performer; therefore, to say extremely, it is a secondary matter whether or not the sound is well recorded. On the other hand, it is the engineer's talent to scoop up and adjust the depth and color of sound as the function of the recording devices, starting from microphones.[291]

Sonoda twice recorded the whole of Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier*, in 1973 (Nippon Columbia) and in 1992 (EVICA). In 1985, for four nights he held the

[290]Makoto Moroi was the son of Saburō Moroi (1903-77). Saburō Moroi was a composer and published the *Bētōben piano sonata; Sakkyokugaku-teki kenkyū* (Beethoven's Piano Sonatas; Compositional Study) in 1965. Makoto Moroi was enthusiastic about avant-garde music, especially that of Schoenberg's dodecaphonic and Stockhausen's electronic music. His piano work, *α and β,* won the 1955 International Society of Contemporary Music composer competition in Baden-Baden. In 1971 Sonoda premiered Moroi's Piano Concerto at a regular concert of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra. Sonoda and Moroi were close friends.

[291]Sonoda, *Pianisuto, sono jinsei* (A Pianist, His Life), 109.

"Commemoration Recital for Three-Hundredth Anniversary of Bach's Birth." The program on the first night was the six Partitas; the second night the *Well-Tempered Clavier,* vol. 1; the third night the *Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue*, two Fantasies and Fugues (BWV904, BWV944), and three toccatas (BWV911, BWV912, BWV914); and on the fourth night the *Goldberg Variations*. The Japanese audience generally considered Sonoda as "Beethoven's Sonoda" or the "Specialist of German music" for his tackling of the Old Testament of the music world, Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier*, and the New Testament, Beethoven's piano sonatas.

In 1984 Sonoda published, with Moroi, the *Ōhukushokan: Romon-ha no piano- kyoku: Bunseki to ensou* (Correspondence: Piano Works of the Romantic Era: Analysis and Performance), in which compositions by Schumann (Fantasy, Op. 17), Chopin (Sonata No. 3), Liszt (Sonata), and Brahms (Four Piano Pieces, Op. 119) are discussed. Sonoda wrote on the historical, biographical, and geographic background, as well as the style and character of each composer. His information and his analyses of composers opened up new horizons for the Japanese. His evaluations of each piano piece among the composers' entire works convinced readers that Sonoda had played all the piano works of the four composers. He quoted other works such as symphonies, operas, songs, ensembles, and other instrumental works of the Romantic era. It was obvious to his readers that he was a man of great learning.[292] In the same year of this publication, Sonoda held two recitals that were all-Schumann programs; then in 1986, he performed an all-Liszt program.

[292]Sonoda wrote most of the explanations on pieces in his recital programs and CD covers.

Other distinctive recitals were given during the 1990s. In 1995 he played under the title of "B's Track; from Bach to Berio" pieces of Beethoven, Brahms, Berg, Bartok, Boulez and Berio. In 1996, he started the series "Transition of Piano Music," arranged chronologically commencing with Lully and Couperin. Almost no pieces were unknown to Sonoda, who had two hundred solo works in his repertoire. He was always strongly interested in new pieces. Ozawa once brought to a lesson a modern piece unknown to Sonoda. Nevertheless, Sonoda played it fairly well by sight. Moreover, he played the piece publically at his next recital. For him it was unbearable to see any new piece that was unknown. New pieces excited and challenged him as long as he lived. As pianist Ikuko Endo said, Sonoda never was a "mere" teacher.[293]

Sonoda the Judge

Sonoda was very active also as a judge in various international competitions, including the Tchaikovsky, Chopin, and Queen Elisabeth, which are the three greatest piano competitions in the world. The following list shows the international competitions where Sonoda worked as a judge.

[293]Interview with Ikuko Endo, conducted by author on May 24, 2006. Ikuko Endo (1944-) received the Special Silver Award from the Poland Critic Association (SPAM) at the seventh International Chopin Piano Competition in 1965. She was invited to give a recital at the eleventh Chopin Competition and was a judge for the fourteenth. Sonoda previously critiqued her performance before she gave her recitals.

Table 10. Sonoda's Record as Judge for International Piano Competitions

Name of the International Competition	Years	Place
Rubinstein International Piano Competition	1983, 1984, 1986	Tel Aviv, Israel.
International Chopin Piano Competition	1985	Warsaw, Poland.
Bach International Music Competition	1985	Toronto, Canada.
Van Cliburn International Piano Competition	1989, 1993	Fort Worth, U.S.A.
Long-Thiabaud International Piano Competition	1989	Paris, France.
International Tchaikovsky Competition	1990	Moscow, Russia.
Queen Elizabeth International Competition	1991, 1995, 1999, 2003	Brussels, Belgium.
Munich International Music Competition	1991, 1993	Munich, Germany.
Busoni International Piano Competition	1996, 1999	Bolzano, Italy.
International Beethoven Piano Competition	1997	Vienna, Austria.
Schubert International Piano Competition	1997, 1999	Dortmund, Germany.
Messiaen International Contemporary Piano Competition	2001	Paris, France.

This list demonstrates that requests for the internationally noted Sonoda to be a judge increased steeply in the 1980s. There was also a rapid increase in the Japanese pianist population. Large numbers of young Japanese piano students were not satisfied with the scarce piano competitions in Japan, and they began to participate in competitions abroad. Four points are considered as the social reasons why the number of piano students increased so rapidly:

1) Music education, which had focused on 'singing' before the war, was expanded to include performance, appreciation, creation, and theory after the war.
2) The purchase of pianos accelerated during the economic reconstruction after the war, which led to the popularization of the piano. Three million

households owned pianos by 1974.[294]

3) The steady increase of Japanese pianists being awarded high ranks in international competitions since 1955 gave hope to many students.
4) The liberation of foreign currency exchange in 1970 brought a boom in studying and travelling abroad and made it easier for Japanese students to participate in international competitions.

After the war, instrumental study was introduced into public education. The schools were equipped with pianos all over Japan, while students were assigned to learn also xylophone, harmonica, recorder, or other simple instruments. As a result of the instruction in reading music as a school subject, the population showed an increasing interest in instrumental performance. With the amazing economic restoration starting in the early 1960s, a piano, which had been but a dream of parents who spent their youth during the war, became easier to purchase. Assisted by the people's interest in the cultivation of aesthetic sentiments, Yamaha opened 'Yamaha music classes' attached to kindergartens, and sales accelerated in music stores throughout Japan. By 1965, 250,000 children were learning at Yamaha music classes, and more than 5,000 classes were opened. In Tokyo in the 1960s, the 'Music class for the children,' established in 1948 by Motonari Iguchi and other musicians, teaching piano technique along with systematic solfège training from early ages, started to produce winners in international competitions.[295] Japanese award winners increased

[294]Yamaha produced 392,545 pianos in 1980, which is a record in piano production in Japan.

[295]The "Music class for the children" was a trial based upon the bitter experience by performers before the war who felt strongly the necessity of early education. The class led to the establishment of the Toho Music School, which sent out various award winners in international competitions. Among the early graduates are Seiji Ozawa (conductor, the first prize in the Besançon Conductor's Competition in 1959) and Hiroko Nakamura (pianist, the fourth prize in the international Chopin Piano Competition in 1965).

further after Toyoaki Matsuura's first prize in the Long-Thibaud Competition in 1959. Many Japanese won awards in first-class competitions below the three major international competitions, such as the Munich Competition and the Maria Kanaris Competition. This caused an increase in entrances to music schools in Japan, which futher boosted the level of Japanese piano technique. It was natural that piano students, feeling insufficiency in Japan but seeing and hearing of the success of their seniors in Europe, would rush to participate in European competitions. Pianist Hiroko Nakamura wrote:

> When I participated in the Chopin competition in 1965, only two, including me, were from Japan. . . . Barely five years later, owing to a kind of boom of packaged foreign tours caused by freed foreign exchange in 1970, Warsaw was crowded with Japanese. Then in the 1980s, the Chopin Competition had to limit the number of participants from Japan. Nevertheless, there appeared more than twenty Japanese who were on the stage of the first preliminary competition. Not only the pianists. Japanese "appreciation groups" came to push shoulder to shoulder, causing a hike in admission fee, which aroused the ire of the local people. In the middle-class competitions in Europe, especially in Italy and Austria, almost half of the participants were Japanese. In the Beethoven Competition held in Vienna in 1985, thirty-two out of seventy-two were Japanese; therefore, a preliminary round was held separately for the Japanese participants. And in the competition held in Monza, Italy in 1982, six finalists out of nine were Japanese, and Japanese were awarded two second and one third prize, with no first being awarded; the top three were monopolized by Japanese.[296]

Japan sent massive numbers of participants to Western competitions without sufficient preparation or technique. The career of the competition winners also caused a tragedy for some musicians in that it often led their careers in the wrong direction. Sonoda wrote about the trend of Japanese cherishing an over-extended hope in competitions, and the agitation it could cause.

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[296]Hiroko Nakamura, *Kokusai komkūru no hikari to kage* (Light and Shadow of the International Competition) (Tokyo: Nihonhōsō shuppan kyōkai, 2003), 79-80.

> It is beneficial for Japanese to positively apprehend the competition as a process of study or a kind of training expanding the repertoire. With this attitude, it may be a great asset for the future, even though the competitor fails to win a medal. Western participants increase their repertoire every time they challenge a competition. It seems Japanese stay with fixed repertoires and fall into a situation reaching a certain age where they can play only a limited number of pieces. Western participants build their repertoire and accumulate real experience through their pilgrimage to competitions.[297]

Sonoda insisted that a winner was merely qualified to join the starting line, from whence the true hard training begins. He worried a great deal about the future of the young Japanese winners with their poor repertoires. His experience as a judge in international competitions became the motivation for the establishment of his own competition.

The Takahiro Sonoda Piano Competition

In 1985, Sonoda was asked by Morihiko Hiramatsu, governor of Ōita prefecture, where Sonoda's father was born, to begin a music competition for the development of the art. Sonoda made up his mind to create a world-class piano competition to reflect the situation of the music world in Japanese music education. At first, he restricted the participants to the Kyūshū area, but he expanded gradually to all Japan, then eventually to surrounding countries. He intended to give the participation in his competition the same value as that in Western international competitions. Accordingly, he raised the level of the mandatory pieces. He set seven pieces for the first preliminary to be completed in 25 minutes, lest a shorter time should eliminate the excellent participants who might be the slow starters, as in most competitions where the customary time limit was 10 minutes. At the fifteenth competition in 2000, the following pieces were mandatory in the preliminary round:

[297]Sonoda, *Pianisuto, sono jinsei* (A Pianist, His Life), 116.

one piece from Bach's *Well- Tempered Clavier* (Vol. 1 or Vol. 2), two from Chopin's Etudes (Op. 10 and Op. 25) and one of each from the etudes of Liszt (*Transcendental Etudes*), Debussy (twelve Etudes), and Rachmaninoff (*Etudes-tableaux, Op. 33* and *Op. 39*). For the second preliminary (40 minutes), a Beethoven sonata and a modern piece from 1900 to 1950 were required. For the third, a 60 minute recital was required. The recital included a Classical, a Romantic, and a modern piece after 1950. And for the final, a piano concerto was required. A participant might choose one concerto from among Mozart (K. 467or K. 595), Beethoven (No. 3 or No. 4), Schumann (A minor), Liszt (No. 2), Rachmaninoff (No. 2 or *Rhapsody on the theme by Paganini*), Prokovief (No. 3), and Bartok (No. 3). As a result, those who won prizes in Sonoda's competition were also awarded good marks in other international competitions. Nami Ejiri, winner at the tenth Sonoda competition (1994), won the Vienna de Motta International Competition; and Hironao Suzuki (1978-), winner at the fourteenth, was awarded the 'Special Prize' at the Tchaikovsky Competition in 2002. Hibiki Tamura (1986-), winner of the eighteenth at the age of fifteen, won the Long-Thibaud Competition in 2007.

Sonoda's challenge was to cast a stone at the status quo of Japanese music education, which had refused to change, while the rest of the world's music education was changing rapidly. Unfortunately, Sonoda's competition ended with the eighteenth in 2002. Ōita prefecture stopped its financial subsidy along with the replacement of the governor. This shows the shallow understanding of the importance of music by the local government, which could not comprehend or continue to support Sonoda's ideal.

CHAPTER X

SONODA: LAST YEARS

In the 1980s, Sonoda gradually started to move his base from Baden-Baden to Tokyo. One of the primary reasons was that he felt the responsibility of conveying to the Japanese music world what it lacked.[298] After retiring from Kyoto City University of Arts in 1984 he taught as a piano professor at the Showa Music University, located in the suburbs of Tokyo. He retired again in 1993 at the age of sixty five. Teaching at the university did not effect the change in music education that he intended. Prior to his retirement, his time was taken up by faculty meetings and examinations. He wanted to focus on his own music and study. He thought performing would be the best way for him to convey his vision to as many people as possible.

His last ten years show the same strong will he had exhibited throughout his life. Two of his greatest achievements were attained in his last years. The first is the publication of the revised editions of all of Beethoven's piano sonatas and Bach's Inventions, Symphonies, and the whole forty-eight preludes and fugues of *Well-Tempered Clavier.* The second is his energetic performance activity as the foremost pianist in Japan until the end of his life. It was a magnificent showing, consistent with his excellence throughout his life as a concert pianist.

[298]The house in Baden-Baden was maintained as Sonoda's European base. Sonoda used to stay there during the summer.

Publication of the Revised Edition

In the autumn of 1998, the publishing company Shunjūsha approached Sonoda about publising his music theory. However, his priority was the publication of the revised versions of Beethoven's thirty-two piano sonatas, which he had been studying incessantly in preparation for his own performance of them. He wanted to leave the summary of his surveys of the scores to the younger generation. Shunjūsha accepted Sonoda's resolution.

The thirty-two scores of Beethoven's piano sonatas were published piece by piece from September 2000 to October 2003. The revised edition relied mainly on Breitkofp & Härtel's Urtext (revised by Krebs in 1898). Not only Beethoven's own hand-written manuscripts, but also the Henle Urtext (revised by Wallner) and the Wiener Urtext (Universal Edition, Vienna) editions were consulted. Other sources included editions of Liszt (Holle), Bülow-Lebert (Cotta), d'Albert (Forberg), Schnabel (Ullstein), Cassela (Ricordi), Arrau (Peters), and others. Sonoda wrote in the preface:

> The recent boom in the pursuit of "original texts" is simply an appalling phenomenon. As if all the other time-honored revised editions which had been published in the past were replete with errors and misinterpretations, they were almost totally ignored or pushed aside into the corner while various kinds of so-called "original texts" are rampant all over the world. In reality, this fad not only creates grievous problems in music education but also would bring about an adverse and critical effect on our music world.[299]

Then Sonoda pointed out the danger of the present-day emphasis on the original texts by depicting the gradual change in score writing, along with the improvement of piano functions during the ages from Bach to the Romantic period:

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[299]Beethoven, Ludwig van. Piano Sonatas, prepared from the autographs and earlier printed sources by Takahiro Sonoda, rev. ed. (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 2001), i-ii.

> At present, we play the works of Beethoven using a solid and powerful instrument called the piano, which has been manufactured since the Romantic period. It is naturally understandable that numerous annotations and interpretations were implemented in the past for the purpose of performing such works on a modernized piano. Performers, as a result, transmitted great numbers of expressions and interpretations, eventually developing the "traditions of performance." The fact that the meaning of "original texts" are now being brought to attention more than ever is indeed significant in itself. It is also true that in the past far too many annotations and interpretations were implied in revisions of the original, and the intrinsic form of music often came to be lost somewhere. In order to pursue the essence of music, however, it is important first to know and understand all the revised editions with annotations and explanations, which are in the aggregate a legacy of the great performers of the past. There is no way to reach a solution if one solely dependeds on an "original edition."[300]

What Sonoda intended was not to trace the original texts, but to persistently propose a 'performance edition' on how to perform works on the piano.

> It is my intention to point in a direction, in order to perform Beethoven's music on an advanced modern day piano, on how to read and understand the original texts, and, on the very basis of the original texts, how to recognize the detailed instructions which are basic and necessary for players, and how to accept the minimum annotations required for reading the scores.[301]

Detailed phrasing, articulation, dynamics, pedaling, fingering, and explanation of how to play the ornaments were meticulously designated in each score. At the end of each score Sonoda wrote not only on the composer's life and historical background, but also compositional descriptions from the performer's point of view. All explanations were written in three languages: English, German, and Japanese. Sonoda's revisions of Beethoven's sonatas were contributed to the Library of the Beethoven Archive attached to the Beethovenhaus (Museum), in Bonn, Germany.

[300]Ibid.
[301]Ibid.

Concert Pianist

Sonoda's performance records, with the programs, were kept by Mrs. Sonoda from 1948 to September 16, 2004. The records demonstrate that his performance activities further increased after 1985. In 1988, at the age of sixty, he played eighteen concerts, counting only major recitals. On one night, he played both Brahms piano concertos. Western pianists such as Arthur Rubinstein (1886-1982), Claudio Arrau (1903-91), Vladimir Horowitz (1903-89), and Shura Cherkassky (1911-95), performed after reaching an advanced age; however, in Japan, pianists usually retire from performing before sixty to find a position as a professor. Sonoda was exceptional in that sense, as nobody had ever continued as an active concert pianist in Japan after the age of sixty.

On September 23, 1998, Sonoda held a recital at the Suntory Hall in Tokyo commemorating his seventieth birthday.[302] The program included Bach's Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue in D minor, Schumann's Symphonic Etudes op. 13, Berg's Piano Sonata op. 1, Chopin's Polonaise No. 7, op. 61 *"Polonaise Fantasie"* and Liszt's *Après une lecture de Dante.* Sonoda dared to exclude Beethoven pieces and composed the program based upon 'Fantasy.' Then in October, he gave a recital series on the development of piano music from the Baroque to the modern; however, he fell in November while on tour and was hospitalized immediately. The diagnosis was an aortic dissection. He recovered after a three-month convalesce and returned to the

[302]The Suntory Hall (2006 seats) was built by Suntory, a whiskey company, commemorating the sixtieth anniversary of its foundation. It opened in October 1986 and is located in a fashionable Akasaka district in Tokyo. The main hall is a "vineyard configuration hall," which was recommended by Herbert von Karajan, who became closely associated with the construction of the hall from the late 1970s. One of the largest concert organs in the world is located in the rear center of the hall.

stage on March 12, 13, and 14, 1999, playing Beethoven's Piano Concerto, No. 1. He performed seventeen times toward the end of the year, nineteen times in 2000, and twenty-three times in 2001. These concerts were held in parallel with revising scores, judging international competitions, and recording Chopin's Etudes (Op. 10 and Op. 25) and all five Beethoven piano concertos. He kept telling Astuko Jinzai, his colleague, that as he grew old his fingers were getting elastic.[303] He was a pianist with almost superhuman strength.

On October 31, 2003, Sonoda's "Seventy-fifth Anniversary Piano Recital" was held at the Tokyo Suntory Hall. The program consisted of his most memorable pieces. The first piece, the Bach-Busoni Toccata, Adagio and Fugue in C major (BWV564), was chosen to pay homage to his teacher Sirota and Sirota's teacher Busoni. The second piece was Beethoven's *Appassionata*, which Sonoda considered a monument of not only Beethoven's works but of piano works of all time. *Reflet dans l'eau* (from Debussy's *Images I*) was in memory of Mme. Long's lessons in Paris. Takemitsu's *Uninterrupted Rest* and Yuasa's *Cosmos Haptic* reminded Sonoda of his young days with the Japanese avant-garde composers' group, *Jikken-kōbō.* The last piece, Prokofiev's Piano Sonata No. 7, was memorable because Sonoda played it in 1949 when he graduated from the Tokyo Music School research course. For the thunderous and prolonged applause he played three encores: Prokofiev's *Navazhdeniye (Suggestion Diabolique)*, op. 4 and *Mimoletnosti (Vision fugitives)*,

[303]Interview with Atsuko Jinzai, conducted by the author on May 25, 2006. Atsuko Jinzai, pianist, lecturer, and adjudicator, graduated from the Tokyo University of Fine Arts and Music and the Berliner Hochschule für Musik. She studied with Helmut Roloff in Berlin. She taught at the Musashino Music Academy and Kyoto City University of Arts. Sonoda frequently invited her to the Sonoda Competition as a judge.

op. 22, No. 1, Poulanc's Perpetuum mobile, and Chopin's Nocturne op. 15, No. 2. Pianist Atsuko Jinzai spoke about this performance:

> His performance was without overstatement or technical fatigue; rather it attained the state of his very supple inner world. It was greatly touching.[304]

Jirō Hamada, music critic, reported:

> Sonoda's performance style could be described as "realizing passion and resolution while maintaining strict discipline." The maestro knew marvelously well how to infuse the subtleties of human nature in the manner of disciplined performance, excluding vanity.[305]

Through his performance Sonoda conveyed a state of selflessness which could not be attained without lifelong, time-consuming endeavor and experience. It was as if he had released his soul eloquently, youthfully, and freely. The experience of the audience cannot be explained well by mere words. The audience was awed with an admiration that bordered on rapture. They felt privileged to be in the presence of a truly great maestro, a maestro who embodied the sensitivities of Japan and the romance of the West.

Entering 2004, Sonoda continued his performance activities at the same pace and the revision of Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier* became his daily routine. In July, he submitted his last revision to his publisher. In August, he visited the Beethovenhaus in Bonn to meet Dr. Ledenburger, the director, and look at the Sonoda revisions in the Library of the Beethoven Archive. After returning to Japan on September 6, he played Rachmaninoff's Concerto No. 2 with the Kansai Philharmonic Orchestra. On October 1, he delivered a lecture at the Yamaha concert

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[304]Interview with Atsuko Jinzai, conducted by the author on May 25, 2006.
[305]Jirō Hamada, "*Tuitō, Sonoda Takahiro* (Mourning: Takahiro Sonoda)," *Rekōdo Geijutu* (December 2004): 87.

salon commemorating the publication of his edition of Bach's Inventions and Symphonies. His activities never slowed, and he had a very heavy concert schedule for the next six months.

At 5:20 p.m. on October 7, 2004, Sonoda's life ended suddenly. According to his wife, he died without any awareness. During the six years since the aortic dissection in 1998, he had dealt with mountains of work with an amazing vigor, but he must have felt in his sub-conscious that another attack could recur at any time.[306]

On April 29, Sonoda had lectured on "Progress of the Performance Style of Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 5" at the Association for Music Performance Expression. At the end of the lecture, he said:

> I have lived a life as if I were an outsider. I was always concentrating on something, condensing it and trying to approach it again. If I were asked wherefrom such energy comes, I may reply it is from Beethoven. To live is to undertake the obligation of achievement.[307]

Truly his life was a constant advance toward "the core of music."[308] He was the pianist that the Japanese had dreamed for 150 years. Sonoda was the first Japanese pianist who had solidly inherited the tradition of Western music. It was the tradition of Beethoven, Czerny, Liszt, d'Albert, Fischer, and Roloff. It was the tradition of Busoni, Sirota, and Sonoda.[309]

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[306]From the address written by Haruko Sonoda for Sonoda's funeral.

[307]Emi Hayashida, "Record on Sonoda's Lecture; Progress of the Performance Style of Beethoven's Piano Concert No. 5, *Emperor*," *Ensou hyōgen gakkai nenpou* (Journal of the Association for Music Performance Expression) 7 (2004): 11.

[308]The expression, "the core of music," was uttered by Sonoda in the television program entitled "*Kakusin he* (Toward the Core)," which reported Sonoda's attitude toward his music. It was broadcast on September 1, 1999.

[309]Sonoda, *Pianisuto, sono jinsei* (A Pianist, His Life), 82.

CHAPTER XI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The dual purpose of this document is to reveal how the Japanese people, who had no Western music tradition, reached high levels of appreciation and performance, and to focus especially on the career of Takahiro Sonoda, the first internationally recognized Japanese pianist. This document consists of two parts, as the title indicates. Part One presents the early development of Western music in Japan from 1853 to 1928. Part Two discusses the interesting and challenging life of Takahiro Sonoda until his death in 2004. The two-part structure of the document allows for a shift in emphasis from the introduction of Western music into Japan to the particularities of Sonoda as one of Japan's and the world's great pianists.

The Summary of the Document

Chapter I describes traditional Japanese music and cultures from 1549 to the opening of the country to the world in 1853. Christian hymnody introduced in Japan along with the Christian religion (1549) did not take hold in Japan, as it was eliminated by the same act that outlawed Christianity (1614). Over 200 years of seclusion under the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603-1867) produced a unique Japanese culture of high standard; however, the traditional Japanese music was but an accompaniment to the performing arts.

Beginning around 1840, Western warships frequently appeared in Japanese waters. These technologically advanced and awe-inspiring warships provided the impetus for a group of young samurai to topple the Tokugawa Shogunate. These

young samurais became the core of the movement to establish the new Meiji government, modeled on England.

Chapter II documents how the Meiji government (1868-1912) introduced music into the schools. The Meiji Restoration created a modern nation, whose motto was “Enrich the country; strengthen the army.” To strengthen the army, the government learned the military systems of England and France. The acceptance of Western music started with the training of military bands. In 1869, British military band leader John William Fenton was invited to teach Japanese drum and fife bands. In 1871, the Meiji government sent a large-scale mission to America and Europe. Along with high government officials, five young girls were sent to acquire an American education. Especially important to Japanese piano music history was the fact that they received piano lessons once a week during their stay in America, and Shigeko Nagai received a diploma in music from Vassar College.

In July, 1872, the Meiji government introduced a new educational system according to Western guidelines. However, there were no musical educational materials or music teachers in Japan. The government sent Shuji Isawa to Bridgewater Normal School in Boston, Massachusetts to learn how to teach music in the schools. By chance, Isawa met Luther Whiting Mason, who was a Boston school official and who had an interest in teaching music in Japan. In 1879, according to Isawa’s plan, the government established the Ongaku Torishirabe Gakari (Music Investigation Center) to educate music teachers. The government invited Mason to Japan in 1880. He prepared the substance of the Music Investigation Center and firmly planted the basis of Western music in the virgin land of Japan.

Chapter III features the forerunners who started piano manufacturing. Keyboard instruments were by far the most complex when compared with other instruments. The Yamaba Organ Factory was established in 1889, which later became known as the Yamaha Piano Company.

Chapter IV covers 1882 to the 1920s and discusses three Japanese piano teachers and the foreign teachers at the Music Investigation Center. The response of the society toward Western music is demonstrated by the gradual development of audiences and music lovers.

The Meiji government hired many Western specialists to industrialize and modernize Japanese technology, education, and various other governmental systems. Their influence at the time of tremendous change in the early Meiji period was phenomenal. The Music Investigation Center, which became the Tokyo Music School, hired Western musicians one after another.

In 1882, Nagai started teaching at the Music Training Center. She was the first Japanese woman piano teacher. She taught mainly the pieces she had learned at Vassar College. Nobu Kōda was the next distinctive Japanese musician and teacher.

In 1883, the Meiji government opened a foreign guest house called Rokumeikan, to show foreigners that Japan was indeed a civilized country. Western music was necessary for the social parties there and the military bands, students, and teachers from the Music Training Center were asked to perform. The vanity of the Rokumeikan was harshly criticized, but the Rokumeikan enhanced the level of musical performance and also attracted the interest of many people. Isawa felt the inadequacy of the Music Training Center's curriculum as the performance level increased. Rudolf Dittrich recommended to Isawa that he send abroad an excellent

Japanese student for further training. Koda was chosen as the first Japanese music student abroad. In 1889, she studied at the New England Conservatory of Music in Boston and stayed in Vienna from 1890 to 1895 to become the first Japanese graduate of the Vienna Conservatory. Koda's talents were outstanding and she became known as the "Queen at the Ueno."

Isawa introduced a four-year undergraduate course and a two-year graduate course and sorted the students into either the performance course or the educator course, depending upon their performance ability at the end of a one-year preparation course. He also started an optional course that did not offer credit or carry an age limit. The optional course came to comprise sixty-two percent of the students at the Tokyo Music School in 1903. This indicates the popularity of Western musical ability among the general public.

Hisako Kuno, a student of Kōda, later became another professor at the Tokyo Music School. She gained popularity as a pianist in those days, but her life was tragic and short. She committed suicide in 1925 during an unsuccessful European tour. Her sad story illustrates the musical gap between Japan and the West and between expectation and performance ability.

In the 1920s, the original Imperial Theater was opened, and world class European and American musicians visited Japan. Also, the number of Japanese students studying abroad privately was increased. The accumulated musical prowess of the first 75 years of Japanese Western music appreciation and performance expanded slowly but steadily.

Part Two of this document begins with Chapter V, which established the familial and musical background of Takahiro Sonoda. Sonoda's father, Kiyohide,

went to Paris after graduating from the Tokyo Music School. He was shocked to see European children playing pieces that were taught to Japanese college students, and amateur musicians who were equipped with absolute pitch. He then realized the importance of early acoustic education, and he believed even the Japanese could be world class pianists if they were taught systematically from the earliest age. The first student under Kiyohide's method was his son Takahiro. Kiyohide died early of cancer, but he asked Leo Sirota, a Jewish Russian pianist, to take over his son's education.

> At the age of six, Takahiro Sonoda became Sirota's disciple. Sirota noticed Sonoda's genius and demanded of him the same hard practice that had been demanded of him. Eleven years of lessons with Sirota instilled in Sonoda a solid performance technique as a concert pianist. The encounter of Sirota and Sonoda was a miraculously fortunate event for the Japanese music world.

Chapter VI chronicles the development of Japanese musicians and Japanese audiences from the latter half of the1920s to August 15, 1945. Despite the growing militarization in Japan and its accelerated isolation from the rest of the world, this was an era of globalization for the Japanese music world. The development and proliferation of radios and phonograph recordings enhanced the availability of Western music and expanded its audience. Also, the immigration of Jewish musicians to Japan caused by the political pressures in Europe, accelerated the globalization of music. European conductors heightened the level of Japanese orchestras, increasing their repertoire and frequency of concerts. In 1930, the Tokyo Music School appointed Sirota to succeed Leonid Kochanski, who had been recommended by Leonid Kreutzer. Kreutzer himself moved to Japan in 1937. These European musicians inspired Japanese students, musicians, and audiences.

During the Second World War, concerts were held regularly in Japan, but the government began to control the music world. In October 1943, the activities of foreign performers were banned except for those who were German or Italian. In 1944 the Tokyo Music School ousted its Jewish teachers. Sonoda entered the Tokyo Music School after Sirota resigned, but the school was hardly functioning. Concerts became all the more important as materials and food became scarce.

Chapter VII describes the restructuring of the Tokyo Music School and Sonoda's concert debut after his graduation in 1948. Along with new music organizations born of the people's demand, musicians' performance chances were extended nationwide, and music critics became active. The audience was astonished at Sonoda's ability. Gen-ichi Kawakami of Yamaha suggested that Sonoda visit Europe in 1952. He departed under the pretext of attending the eighth Geneva International Music Competition in Switzerland. The competition ended in failure for him, and he lost confidence. In visiting Paris, he entered Marguerite Long's master class where he enjoyed studying with young European pianists. Long affirmed Sonoda's ability and told him to participate in the Long-Thibaud International Competition. Ultimately Sonoda could not proceed to the final round because of a wet pleurisy caused by tubercle bacillus, and he returned to Japan in despair. In April 1954, he played Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 4 under the baton of Hebert von Karajan, who was visiting Japan for the first time. Karajan esteemed Sonoda's talent and suggested that he perform in Europe. Sonoda went to Europe in 1957 for the purpose of giving concerts.

Chapter VIII traces the process of Sonada's establishment as a concert pianist in Europe. The information has been gathered from Sonoda's diary, his music

manager's materials, and reviews in European newspapers and magazines. His diary describes his recital in Paris with small audience and his rising success. His success in Italy and with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra gave him a feeling of acceptance at last. Moving his base from Berlin to Baden-Baden, he continued not only to perform but also study broadly the European culture.

Chapter IX follows Sonoda's educational and performance activities in Japan. From 1968, he started teaching at the Kyoto City University of Arts and performing in Japan while basing his life in Baden-Baden. The reform he carried out at the Kyoto City University of Arts was aimed at building the repertoire of students in the same way that he learned from Sirota.

Among Sonoda's performance activities, what impressed people most was his recording of the whole of Beethoven's piano sonatas, which he did three times: in 1968, 1983, and 1996. He recorded also the whole of Bach's Inventions, Partitas, and *Well-Tempered Clavier*. His performance frequency never decreased throughout his life. In the 1980s he gradually moved his base to Tokyo. From around that period, requests for him to judge international competition increased. This was partly because of the abnormally high number of Japanese participants in competitions abroad. Sonoda created his own competition in Japan to be on the level of European international competitions.

Chapter X covers the final ten years of Sonoda's life. He retired from his professorship in 1993 to completely focus on his performance activities. In 1998 right after the recital commemorating his seventieth birthday, Sonoda fell with an aortic dissection. He recovered and began to edit Beethoven's piano sonatas, which he kept researching for his performances. In 2003, he held a recital in commemoration of his

seventy-fifth birthday. The program included Beethoven's *Appassionata* and Prokofiev's Sonata No. 7. It was the culmination of enormous study and years of experience. What Sonoda wanted to convey was the great European tradition and the legacy of performance he had inherited from his European teachers.

Conclusion

The government-led openness of Western civilization during the period of the Meiji, Taisho, and early Showa eras (1853-1928) of Japan included the introduction of Western music. The development of teachers of music and the instruction of singing songs in the schools gradually took place. Originally, the interest was focused on the acquisition of playing techniques rather than on the understanding of the performance. The acquisition of technical skills was the necessary first step for Japanese musicians. The proliferation of musical performance was centered in the major cities; however, the interest of lay people spread quietly through books and articles. On the whole, the introduction of Western music into Japan was appropriately accomplished by dealing with the occasional demands, first of the government and then of the people.

The second phase (1928-2004), that of actual acceptance of Western music and popularity, shows a more complicated process because of the Second World War. From 1928 to 1940, the performance technique of Japanese musicians progressed rapidly due to the rise of musical media and the immigration of European musicians, especially Jewish musicians. Japanese audiences steadily increased. The diversification of school music programs made it mandatory for all children in all grades to learn the reading of music and the playing of instruments as a general ability.

College-level music schools grew in number and enrollment. Studying in Europe and participating in competitions became a common experience for ambitious young Japanese musicians.

Takahiro Sonoda was an exceptional musician and an exemplar of this phenomenon. He was educated by the early-childhood educational method developed by his father and by the thorough instruction of the concert pianist, Leo Sirota. He built his technique and his repertoire because he studied with Sirota. He learned the fundamentals of a concert pianist before entering theTokyo Music School. His life, compared with earlier Japanese musicians, showed that music-school education was too late to become a concert pianist. Sonoda spent his childhood in a musical environment, as if he had grown up in Europe. Despite this great advantage, it took him a lifetime of study to understand the meaning of the cultural background behind the masterpieces of Western music. Sonoda wanted to know how Western music breathes in the people. Once he felt that he truly understood classical music within the larger context of the Western cultural tradition, it became his goal to imbue future generations of Japanese musicians with the same appreciation and sympathy.

Sonoda's successful career as a concert pianist and master teacher was the natural outcome of the 150 year trajectory that began with the Meiji restoration and the opening of Japan to the West. Had he come on the scene earlier or later, his impact on the development of Western classical music in Japan would not have been as great. His influence will be felt by music students and concert pianists for generations to come.

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Saint-Saëns, Camille.; Tchaikovsky, Pyor.; Ravel, Maurice.; Fauré, Gabriel.; Granados, Enrique.; Rimsky-Korsakov, Nikolay.; and Schumann, Robert.:
Gasper Cassadó Plays Encores:
Le Cygne (Saint-Saëns); Valse sentimentale, op. 51(Tchaikovsky); Piece en forme d'habanera (Ravel); Après un rêve (Fauré); Intermezzo-Goyescas (Granados); The flight of bumble bee (Rimsky-Korsakov); Danza Andaluza (Granados); Täumerei (Schumann); Élégie (Fauré). With Chieko Hara (Piano). DENON COCO-80744. 1962.

Chieko Hara (1914-2001)

Chopin, Fryderyk.; and Debussy, Claude. *Legendary Pianist*:
Piano Concerto No.1 in E minor [1962]; The Chhildren's Corner, Suite (Debussy); Scherzo No.2 in B-flat minor, op.31 [1937]. DENON COCQ-83614.

APPENDIX A

AUTHOR'S LETTER TO FORMER SONODA STUDENTS

(English Version)

2932 East 31st Street
Tulsa, Oklahoma
U. S. A. 74105

Student's name
Street
City, Prefecture, Japan 00000
Dear _____,

My name is Mari Iida, and I am a doctoral student in the School of Music at the University of Oklahoma. I am writing regarding the study of my doctoral thesis: *The Acceptance of Western Piano Music in Japan and the Career of Takahiro Sonoda*. One of the important purposes of the study is to reveal Mr. Sonoda's challenges and accomplishments as a concert pianist and pedagogue. With the approval of Mrs. Sonoda, I will examine the life, playing, and teaching of Mr. Sonoda. I would deeply appreciate your willingness to share some of what you experienced during the course of your study with Mr. Sonoda.

The questionnaire, copies of which are being sent to Mr. Sonoda's former students, is designed to solicit your opinions and impressions about your study with him. Your response will form valuable and crucial components to the portrait of Mr. Sonoda.

Please convey any information or comments on Mr. Sonoda you might have, and write in any style that is comfortable for you. If you had a memorable lesson or moment with Mr.Sonoda, it will obviously enhance his profile. I would be delighted if you include comments on the following questions:

1. When and how long did you study with Mr. Sonoda? Where did you take his lesson - at College, in his master classes, or privately? How are you involved with music presently?
2. What personal qualities did Mr. Sonoda possess and how did it affect your piano playing as well as your own life?
3. What kind of technical practices did Mr. Sonoda suggest to you?
4. How would you describe Mr. Sonoda's lesson compared with other teachers? Did he have unique pedagogical technique?
5. How would you evaluate Mr. Sonoda's position among other twentieth-century Japanese concert pianists and piano teachers you have known?

6. If I may use your name in connection with your information or comments, please sign here:

_____

I look forward to hearing from you at your earliest convenience. Since I am faced with fast-approaching deadlines, I ask that you return your response in the enclosed envelope by _____.

Please feel free to call me if you have any questions. My telephone and fax number is 918/712-8493, and my e-mail address is Mari.Iida-1@ou.edu.

Thank you in advance for your any assistance you might offer.

Sincerely Yours,
Mari Iida

APPENDIX B

Letter and Questionnaire to Former Sonoda Students

(Japanese Version)

2932 East 31stst Street
Tulsa, Oklahoma
U. S. A.　74105

生徒名
住所
郵便番号

_____様

前略

突然、お手紙をさせて頂く失礼をお許しくださいませ。現在、私はアメリカ、オクラホマ州　ノーマン市（Norman,　Oklahoma,　U.S.A.）にあるオクラホマ大学音楽学部（ピアノ演奏専攻）博士課程の学生です。卒業論文として「日本に於ける西洋ピアノ音楽受容と園田高弘の生涯」と題する論文の準備中です。園田高弘氏がコンサート・ピアニスト及び教育者として成し遂げられた偉業はこの論文で重要な部分になります。園田夫人の了解を得て、私は園田氏の人生、演奏、教育活動などを調べています。貴方様が園田氏とご勉学に励まれていた頃の経験をお聞かせくだされればとお願いの手紙を出させていただきます。
この質問依頼状は園田氏の以前の生徒様方に送付され、園田氏との勉学中のご意見や印象を描いて頂きたく構成されています。貴方様のご返答は園田氏のプロフィールを描き出す貴重な情報になります。
どうぞ、どのようなご意見、情報でも貴方様が感じられたように、どのようなスタイルで書かれても結構ですからお書きくだされればと思います。もし貴方様が園田氏との忘れられない思い出とか、レッスンがあれば、必ずそれは園田氏の印象を高めるものとなりますので、お書きくだされば有難く存じます。下記の質問内容が含まれていましたら、とても嬉しく存じます。

1）　レッスンを受けた時期と期間。レッスン場所（大学、公開レッスン、個人レッスン）現在、音楽関係のお仕事にとどのように携わっておられますか？
2）　どのような個人的特質を園田氏は持たれていたのでしょうか?　又、それは貴方様の後の人生に何か影響をもたらしたでしょうか?
3）　園田氏はどのようなテクニックの練習を薦められましたか？
4）　他の先生と比較して、園田氏のレッスンを貴方様はどうご覧になりますか？園田氏は特別な指導法を用いられましたか？

5） 貴方様は園田氏をコンサート・ピアニスト、教育者として他の２０世紀の日本人ピアニスト、教育者の中でいかに評価なさいますか？

6） もし、貴方様のお名前を論文の中で、貴方様のコメントと共に使うことを許可されますなら、どうか下記にご署名ください。

_____

貴方様のより速いご返答を心待ちにしております。論文提出の期限がありますので、同封の封筒にて_____までにお送りくだされば感謝いたします。
どうぞ、ご質問がございましたらこの E-メール宛直接お送りください。
Mari.Iida-1@ou.edu

ご協力ありがとうございました。

草々

飯田真理

APPENDIX C

AUTHOR'S LETTER TO COLLEAGUES

(English Version)

2932 East 31st Street
Tulsa, Oklahoma
U. S. A. 74105

Colleague's name
Street
City, Prefecture, Japan 00000
Dear _____,

My name is Mari Iida, and I am a doctoral student in the School of Music at the University of Oklahoma. I am writing regarding the study of my doctoral thesis: *The Acceptance of the Western Piano Music in Japan and the Career of Takahiro Sonoda*. One of the important purposes of the study is to reveal Mr. Sonoda's challenges and accomplishments as a concert pianist and pedagogue. With the approval of Mrs. Sonoda, I have decided to examine the life, playing, and teaching of Mr. Sonoda. I would deeply appreciate your willingness to share some of what you experienced during the course of your teaching and performing activities with Mr. Sonoda.

The questionnaire hereunder, copies of which have been sent to Mr. Sonoda's friends and colleagues, is designed to solicit your opinions and impressions about his teaching and performing activities. Your response will form valuable and crucial components in compiling a portrait of Mr. Sonoda.

Please convey any information and comments on Mr. Sonoda you might have and write in any style that is comfortable for you. If you had a memorable moment with Mr. Sonoda, it will obviously enhance his profile. I would be delighted if you include comments on the following questions:

1. When and how long did you associate with Mr. Sonoda? How are you involved with music presently?
2. What personal qualities did Mr. Sonoda possess and how did it affect your piano teaching and playing as well as your own life?
3. How would you describe Mr. Sonoda's lesson compared with other teachers? Did he have unique pedagogical techniques?
4. How would you evaluate Mr. Sonoda's position among other twentieth-century Japanese concert pianists and piano teachers you have known?
5. Please add any additional opinions you may have.

6. If I may use your name in connection with your information or comments, please sign here:

_____

I look forward to hearing from you at your earliest convenience. Since I am faced with fast-approaching deadlines, I ask that you return your response in the enclosed envelope by _____.

Please feel free to call me if you have any questions. My telephone and fax number is 918/712-8493, and my e-mail address is Mari.Iida-1@ou.edu.

Thank you in advance for your any assistance you might offer.

Sincerely Yours,
Mari Iida

APPENDIX D

Letter and Questionnaire to Sonoda's Colleagues

(Japanese Version)

2932 East 31stst Street
Tulsa, Oklahoma
U. S. A.　74105

同僚名
住所
郵便番号

_____様

前略

突然、お手紙をさせて頂く失礼をお許しくださいませ。現在、私はアメリカ、オクラホマ州　ノーマン市（Norman,　Oklahoma,　U.S.A.）にあるオクラホマ大学音楽学部（ピアノ演奏専攻）博士課程の学生です。卒業論文として「日本に於ける西洋ピアノ音楽受容と園田高弘の生涯」と題する論文の準備中です。園田高弘氏がコンサート・ピアニスト及び教育者として成し遂げられた偉業はこの論文で重要な部分になります。園田夫人の了解を得て、私は園田氏の人生、演奏、教育活動などを調べています。貴方様が園田氏と活動を共にされた頃の御感想や経験をお聞かせくだされればとお願いの手紙を出させていただきます。
この質問依頼状は園田氏の友人、同僚　或は、演奏家として園田氏と交友を深めていらした方に送付され、園田氏との勉学中のご意見や印象を描いて頂きたく構成されています。貴方様のご返答は園田氏のプロフィールを描き出す貴重な情報になります。
どうぞ、どのようなご意見、情報でも貴方様が感じられたように、どのようなスタイルで書かれても結構ですからお書きくだされればと思います。もし貴方様が園田氏との忘れられない思い出とか、共演がありましたら、必ずそれは園田氏の印象を高めるものとなりますので、お書きくだされば有難く存じます。下記の質問内容が含まれていましたら、とても嬉しく存じます。

１．園田氏といつ頃、どのようにお知り合いになられましたか?　現在、音楽関係のお仕事にとどのように携わっておられますか？
２．どのような個人的特質を園田氏は持たれていたのでしょうか?　又、それは貴方様の後の演奏、教授法、人生などに何か影響をもたらしたでしょうか?
３．他の先生と比較して、園田氏のレッスンを貴方様はどうご覧になりますか？園田氏は特別な指導法を用いられましたか？
４．貴方様は園田氏をコンサート・ピアニスト、教育者として他の２０世紀の日本人ピ

アニスト、教育者の中でいかに評価なさいますか？

５．園田氏に関するそのほかのコメントがございましたらお願いします。

６．もし、貴方様のお名前を論文の中で、貴方様のコメントと共に使うことを許可されますなら、どうか下記にご署名ください。

_____

貴方様のより速いご返答を心待ちにしております。論文提出の期限がありますので、同封の封筒にて_____までにお送りくだされば感謝いたします。
どうぞ、ご質問がございましたらこの E-メール宛直接お送りください。
Mari.Iida-1@ou.edu.

ご協力ありがとうございました。

草々

飯田真理