

HAYASAKA FUMIO, RONIN COMPOSER:
ANALYSIS AND COMMENTARY OF FIVE FILM SCORES

by

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Hayasaka Fumio, Ronin Composer: Analysis and Commentary of Five Film Scores

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Hayasaka Fumio (1914–55) worked with some of Japan’s most famous film directors during his sixteen year career while winning numerous accolades for both his film and concert music, though his name and work are little known outside of his native country. Self-taught, he brought new ideas to Japanese music and was a key figure in the developments made in the post-war era and a major influence on subsequent composers. Hayasaka’s style blended traditional Asian musical elements—primarily Japanese, though he also studied Indonesian and Chinese music—with the Western orchestra, creating what he called a Pan-Asian style. He also composed some of the earliest film scores to use traditional instruments inside a Western symphony, most notably *Rashomon* (Kurosawa Akira, 1950).

Few scholars have discussed the work of Hayasaka Fumio, and none have considered his work as the sole subject for a study. This dissertation aims to fill that gap in the research on Hayasaka by examining five scores he wrote for directors Kurosawa Akira and Mizoguchi Kenji and then considering Hayasaka’s relationship with both directors. The films are: *Rashomon*, *Drunken Angel* (Kurosawa, 1948), *Seven Samurai* (Kurosawa, 1954), *Ugetsu* (Mizoguchi, 1953), and *Sansho the Bailiff* (Mizoguchi, 1954). Utilizing close analysis of the film and its music, and aided by examination of the extant manuscript scores and sketches for all but one of the films (*Drunken Angel*, for which scores are unavailable), this dissertation provides new insights on this important composer’s life, career, and approach to film scoring.

To Lucas, Lily, and Lincoln

Someday your uncle will show you all the cool movies that he calls “research.”

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None of my research would have been possible without additional grants provided to me by the University of Colorado Boulder Graduate School and College of Music, which paid for my trip to the National Archives, and the Center for Research Libraries, whose Scholar's Access program allowed for the copying and shipping of manuscript scores from Japan. Specifically, I would like to thank: Regina Carlyon from Norlin Library Interlibrary Loan Department, who helped not only in securing the CRL grants but also in obtaining numerous articles penned by Hayasaka; Mary Wilke at the Center for Research Libraries; and Meiko Morimoto and the staff at the Archives of Modern Japanese Music, Meiji Gakuin University Library, Tokyo, Japan. My research of these and other Japanese language materials was assisted by numerous translators whose service to my research cannot be overstated: Ian Ferguson, Bret Oliver, and Kevin and Kumiko McDowell. Also my colleagues and co-workers in the CU Music Library and Special Collections department have been a source of good advice when it comes to library resources, not to mention always asking me how my work was going; subtle but welcome encouragement.

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And where would a scholar be without his family? While mine may be over a thousand miles away, they have truly been my anchor in the real world outside of the halls of Imig Music.

My parents first introduced me to film music via *Star Wars* and *Star Trek* and I haven't looked back since. And my sister Kim and her new family—husband James and children Lucas, Lily, and Lincoln—have bookended my years at CU. My first spring break was spent at her wedding and my last Christmas vacation was spent meeting my new twin niece and nephew, and I will always remember the night my first nephew Lucas was born and the film I was watching for a class, *The Scent of Green Papaya*, when I got the call from my father. I have missed you all terribly over the past six years, and I'm sorry for all the vacations I have spent studying, writing, and researching. I'll try to make it up to all of you now that I'm done!

Lastly, while I have never met them, I would like to thank all the scholars who have come before me in the study of Japanese film. I was greatly saddened when, as I was in the final month of writing this document, I learned of the death of Donald Richie, whose research inhabits these pages like the benevolent specters seen in many Japanese movies. His work on translating Japanese film and culture for Westerners helped open our eyes to a richly symbolic and beautiful cinematic world. It was my greatest hope to one day interview him about his friendship with Hayasaka, and my greatest regret is not having found a way to make it happen before he passed. Along with Richie, I would like to acknowledge the work of Joan Mellen, Keiko I. McDonald, Stuart Galbraith IV, and Satō Tadao, whose studies of Japanese film laid the foundation that I have built my musical analyses upon.

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AUTHOR'S NOTE

I have done my best to maintain the Japanese convention of presenting names as [Last Name First Name] where possible. In the few cases where I was unable to definitively ascertain which name was which, I have made my best guess and used it throughout the text. Likewise, in the bibliography I have presented the names as they appear in the text without separating commas. I have also used the most common romanization of proper names and film titles under the Hepburn system. For this reason, Hayasaka's first name appears in my text as "Fumio" as opposed to "Humiwo," which he himself used, but which has become the less common version. I have encountered this spelling on modern recordings, scores, and in Hayasaka's manuscripts, but have decided to follow the advice of my translator, Ian Ferguson, and use the more common "Fumio." I deviate from the above conventions only in direct quotations and when presenting titles of books, articles, and other materials.

Also, unless otherwise stated, all musical examples from Hayasaka's film scores were engraved from his manuscript scores that I obtained from the Archives of Modern Japanese Music thanks to the Scholar's Access program of the Center for Research Libraries. Likewise, my research on film music during the Allied Occupation was supported by grants from the University of Colorado Boulder Graduate School and the College of Music.

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INTRODUCTION

A RONIN FROM THE NORTH

As a self-taught, “ronin composer” from the far north of Japan, Hayasaka Fumio (1914–55) developed as an outsider to the mainstream of Japanese music.¹ Free of the influence of the Tokyo intelligentsia he allowed his own intuitions and thoughts about music to guide his work while only occasionally soliciting feedback from others, such as Kiyose Yasuji (1900–81) and Russian composer Alexander Tcherepnin (1899–1977). He was a composer who had no allegiance to an academic school of thought except his own, and worked only for those “masters” as he saw fit. By the time Hayasaka moved to Tokyo in the late 1930s to take a job with the young Toho Studios, he had already formulated his own ideas and theories on the direction Japanese music should take and he pursued them in concert and film music despite government agencies with their own agendas and dictatorial film directors both telling him what to write. Even when forced to follow the instructions of others, he remained one of Japan’s “most respected and most original composers, and moreover one of great personal integrity.”² And though he had only one formal student, Satō Masaru (1928–99), he would inspire the next generation to follow his example—blaze their own trail—and led to an unofficial “Hayasaka School” whose legacy is still present in Japan.

¹ I am using the term “ronin” here as it relates to the samurai, especially of the Edo period, who served no master and would travel Japan looking for work anywhere they could find it, as seen in Akira Kurosawa’s *Seven Samurai*. As far as I know, I’m the first to apply such a term to Hayasaka.

² Joseph L. Anderson and Donald Richie, *The Japanese Film: Art and Industry*, Expanded ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982), 342.

As an outsider from Sapporo, Hokkaido, Hayasaka's biography is key to understanding his development as a "ronin composer." By growing up "far removed from the formulaic restraints of academia" with an "unorthodox music education" Hayasaka was able to bring new ideas to Japanese music.³ He was born in Sendai, located on the northern part of the main island of Honshu, on 19 August 1914. When he was almost four, his family moved to Hokkaido, Japan's northernmost island, where he spent all of his childhood and teenage years. He began to write music when he was fifteen years old, after which he became active in the music scene in Sapporo, founding the *Shin Ongaku Renmei* (New Music League) with fellow composer Ifukube Akira (1914-2006) when they were both twenty. This group organized concerts of new works, including some of their own. Hayasaka began to win wider recognition for his compositions in the late 1930s, including winning the Weingartner Prize—an award organized by then Vienna Philharmonic director Felix Weingartner in 1938—for his *Kodai no bukyoku* (Ancient Dance, 1937), which is based on *gagaku* music, the ancient court music of Japan.⁴ His recognition for this and other prizes most likely contributed to his being approached by Toho Film Studios in 1938 about joining their music department, which he did the following year.

During his professional career, Hayasaka wrote scores for approximately 84 feature films and 24 documentary films, along with numerous works for the concert stage, chamber hall, stage, radio plays, and ballet.⁵ He accomplished much despite being diagnosed with tuberculosis (TB) in 1938, and battling the disease throughout his life. He suffered numerous attacks that led him to put his affairs in order as he felt that he would finally succumb to the illness. He died on 15

³ Judith Ann Herd, "The Cultural Politics of Japan's Modern Music: Nostalgia, Nationalism, and Identity in the Interwar Years," in *Locating East Asia in Western Art Music*, ed. Yayoi Uno Everett and Frederick Lau (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2004): 52.

⁴ Luciana Galliano, *Yōgaku: Japanese Music in the Twentieth Century*, trans. Martin Mayes (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2002), 92. Weingartner himself would later flee to Switzerland after the Nazis invaded Austria, and the performances of winning compositions were likewise moved.

⁵ These works are all listed in Appendix A and B. To the best of my knowledge, these are the most complete works listing of Hayasaka's yet compiled.

October 1955, at age 41, from TB, leaving behind a wife, Noriko, and three children, daughters Ume and Itoko and son Fumiichiro. He also left a number of unfinished film scores which were completed by Satō.⁶

In Japan, Hayasaka is “considered one of the most important figures to date. Shaping the current of modern Japanese music and leaving a legacy of compositions that created the foundation of post-war modern music.”⁷ However, reception of his film music has been mixed in the West because, as music theorist David Pacun states, the score for *Rashomon*, including Hayasaka’s rewriting of Ravel’s *Bolero*, is what Hayasaka is “best known for.”⁸ In effect, Hayasaka’s immediately had a reputation to Western critics as a musical copyist. His work in one famous film has colored his reception among film scholars ever since.⁹ His concert music has received better notices, and Judith Ann Herd says that “[Hayasaka] demonstrated that Japan’s modern *culture* and *music* should not be broken down into categories of foreign or traditional, and classical or popular, but recognized for what they are: a complex mixture of something new, dynamic, and adaptable for the modern age.”¹⁰ In other words, at least in Herd’s opinion and when observed comprehensively, Hayasaka’s music finally broke through the barriers that separated Japanese and Western music and showed the way for later composers to follow suit. Hayasaka labeled his music as Pan-Asian because it drew not only from Japanese

⁶ Biographical notes are mainly taken from the “Chronological History of Hayasaka Fumio” found in the Zen-On publication of Hayasaka’s *17 Piano Pieces for Chamber* (Tokyo: Zen-On Music Company, 2002). This timeline was translated by Ian Ferguson.

⁷ Kobayashi Atsushi, *Nihon eiga ongaku kyoseitachi* (Tokyo: Waizu Shuppan, 2001), 1. Unpublished translation by Ian Ferguson.

⁸ David Pacun, “Nationalism and Musical Style in Interwar Yōgaku: A Reappraisal,” *Asian Music* 43, no. 2 (Summer/Fall 2012): 26.

⁹ For more examples of this criticism, see many of Donald Richie’s statements regarding the cue in *The Japanese Film*, 342; and *The Films of Akira Kurosawa*, 3rd ed. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998), 79. Also see: Miriam Sheer, “Western Classical Compositions in Kurosawa’s Films,” *International Journal of Musicology* 7 (1998): 355–373. Sheer lays out the basics for many instances of Kurosawa’s requests in her article, though does not consider the Debussy inspired pieces for *Drunken Angel* (1948) and the Mahlerian pieces written by Tōru Takemitsu for *Ran* (1985).

¹⁰ Herd, “Cultural Politics,” 53.

and Western musics, but also from music all over Asia, including Indonesia and China.¹¹

Beyond simply Asian influences, though, it was Hayasaka's attempt to express Japanese musical idioms via a Western orchestra. Because of his musical breakthroughs, Hayasaka was a key link in a "chain of influence" that bridges the gap between Japanese composers of the pre- and post-war eras.¹²

Italian scholar Luciana Galliano similarly notes Hayasaka's key position among composers of the immediate post-war era, commenting that his ideas "on originality and spirituality and his profound reflections on oriental concepts of time, form, and melodic structure" appealed to the younger generation of composers, which included Akutagawa Yasushi (1925-89), Mayuzumi Toshiro (1929-97), and Takemitsu Tōru (1930-96).¹³ Galliano states that through music Hayasaka researched "formal and structural elements that connected with oriental musical ideas such as irregularity, ostinato, and repeated rhythmic cells and their applications to the uninterrupted flow of a constantly changing melodic line."¹⁴

Herd and Galliano mainly discussed Hayasaka's concert music as part of larger narratives on Japanese classical music and mention Hayasaka's film music only briefly. Herd offers a brief statement stating that Hayasaka's scores for *Rashomon* and *Seven Samurai* (Kurosawa, 1954) "clearly illustrate a gift for vivid characterization," while Galliano provides a unique perspective on Hayasaka's film output:

¹¹ This term is tricky since it was one that the militarist government also used to describe Japan's destiny to rule East Asia during the war years. Hayasaka used it to refer to his looking to not only Japan, but also its Asian neighbors for musical inspiration. He continued to use the term after the war to refer to his compositional style, and was also used by younger composers. This seems to indicate that they conceived of the style and their music as divorced from wartime rhetoric. For more, see Judith Ann Herd, "The Neonationalist Movement: Origins of Japanese Contemporary Music," *Perspectives of New Music* 27, no. 2 (Summer 1989), 133 and fn. 6.

¹² Herd, "Neonationalist Movement," 120.

¹³ Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 133. An interesting side note: Akutagawa Yasushi was the son of author Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, who wrote the original short stories that *Rashomon* was based upon. The younger Akutagawa would go on to have a successful conducting career and even recorded a CD of Hayasaka's orchestral music that included selections from the *Rashomon* score.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 136-7.

Films such as Kurosawa's *Rashomon* and *The Seven Samurai* and many films by Mizoguchi Kenji owe much of their artistic merit to Hayasaka's music. Hayasaka saw music for films as a new form that offered young composers ample scope for the development of interesting new linguistic and expressive materials, and indeed Hayasaka's ideas influenced many of those whose output included music for film, such as Akutagawa, Mayuzumi, and Takemitsu.¹⁵

While Galliano might seem to overstate Hayasaka's importance to the films of Kurosawa and Mizoguchi Kenji (1898-1956), I will argue in this dissertation that Hayasaka's work for both directors matches the high quality of visual and narrative work produced by both men and is among Hayasaka's greatest work. Furthermore, during Hayasaka's lifetime he was recognized numerous times for his film scores, being awarded with the Mainichi Film Award for best score in each of the contest's first four years of existence, beginning in 1947. He was also posthumously recognized by the committee not only for his work on Mizoguchi's *Yōkihi* (Princess Yang Kwei-fei, 1955), but also for his importance to the art of film music in general, underscoring his status in the film music community immediately following the Pacific War.¹⁶

Because scholars have discussed Hayasaka's work in film only in passing, and few studies have focused on exploring Hayasaka's techniques of marrying music to moving images, my dissertation will offer a close analysis of five films to investigate Hayasaka's methods of interpreting film texts.¹⁷ The films I consider are: *Rashomon*, *Yoidore tenshi* (Drunken Angel,

¹⁵ Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 133. To that list we can also add Ifukube Akira who composed scores for many films in the Godzilla franchise, including the original *Gojira* (Honda Ishirō, 1954). Ifukube only moved to Tokyo to seek film work because of Hayasaka's encouragement, and it is likely that Hayasaka was key to Ifukube securing his first commission from Toho.

¹⁶ I am using this term to refer to the period from 1931 to 1945, which saw the rise of the militarist government and the placement of Japan on a war footing. It has also been called the Fifteen-Year War, though it only lasted fourteen, and the Greater East Asia War, the official name given to it by the Japanese Government following the involvement of the Allied Powers. However, the Pacific War is the name commonly used by scholars and encompasses the declaration of war between Japan and China in 1937 through 1945. For the purposes of this dissertation, I will use this name to refer to the entire period, while World War II will specifically refer to the time beginning with the bombing of Pearl Harbor.

¹⁷ Mervyn Cooke, *A History of Film Music* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008); and Kathryn Kalinak, *Film Music: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010) offers some commentary on Hayasaka; and the only article that I have seen on a single Hayasaka score is: David Pacun, "Paths between the Spiritual and the Real: On the Intersection of Musical Style, Symmetry, and Cycle in Kenji Mizoguchi's *Ugetsu*

Kurosawa, 1948), *Shichinin no samurai* (Seven Samurai, Kurosawa, 1954), *Ugetsu monogatari* (Mizoguchi Kenji, 1953), and *Sanshō dayū* (Sansho the Bailiff, Mizoguchi, 1954). I have selected them because they demonstrate Hayasaka's many methods for scoring films, his Pan-Asian style, and because they illuminate the relationship Hayasaka had with his directors. For his collaborations with Kurosawa, discussed in Part I, Hayasaka was forced many times to comply with the director's insistence that he copy western models, whereas with Mizoguchi, discussed in Part II, Hayasaka had more freedom to experiment and innovate, though Mizoguchi's interactions were still rather harsh and gruff when he was displeased with the results. Their intentions can be observed directly in the manuscript scores; Hayasaka's compositions for Mizoguchi were constantly in a state of flux, whereas the scores for Kurosawa's films with very few alterations made on the recording stage, reflect the latter director's more controlling nature over all aspects of his film. The rapport Hayasaka had with each of these directors, and the effect of those interactions on his compositions for their films, will be considered in the final chapters of their respective parts. I will also discuss in these chapters how external factors such as censorship and copyright enforcement during the post-war period might have contributed to such practices as rewriting Western classical works for screen use. In the first chapter, I provide background on Hayasaka's early career along with comments on two films that Hayasaka scored during the Pacific War. Despite the incompleteness of sources currently available to me, I have drawn some tentative but I think reasonable conclusions to provide the backdrop for Hayasaka's later career.¹⁸

(1953)," *Journal of Film Music*, 3, no. 1 (2010): 19–36. Note how Hayasaka is not even mentioned in the article title, though. I should note that my own forthcoming article on *Drunken Angel* also fails to mention Hayasaka in its title.

¹⁸ I hope to extend this research in the future with more archival research and one-on-one interviews conducted in Japan.

Hayasaka's legacy lay not only through his fusion of Japanese and Western musics, but also in his awareness of music's ability to support, strengthen, and enhance the cinema of Japan, both of which would inspire composers such as Takemitsu and Ifukube. As Kurosawa said about their first collaboration, *Drunken Angel*, it created a "turning point" in not only Kurosawa's career, but also in film music, justifying the praise that Hayasaka received from his peers.¹⁹ This legacy created what I have termed the "Hayasaka School," a loose grouping of the composers inspired by Hayasaka in their concert and film music.²⁰ In the pages that follow, I will explore how Hayasaka created this turning point by opening up his scores to close analysis and then providing commentary on the circumstances of their creation. It is my hope that this dissertation will provide scholars of film music with tools that will assist in a new appreciation of Hayasaka and his importance to the development of Japanese film music in the post-war era.

¹⁹ Qtd. in Stuart Galbraith IV, *The Emperor and the Wolf: The Lives and Films of Akira Kurosawa and Toshiro Mifune* (New York: Faber and Faber, 2001), 96.

²⁰ This labeling of a "Hayasaka School" is also my own creation.

CHAPTER I

A COMPOSER IN TIMES OF WAR

Beginning in 1931 and lasting through its capitulation in 1945, Japan was on a constant war footing. While Westerners tend to think of Japan's involvement in World War II as lasting from 7 December 1941 until its surrender on 15 August 1945, the reality for the Japanese people was much different. For them, this fifteen year period saw the rise of a militarist government, the erosion of freedoms—including the suppression of public debate and discourse and the forceful repression of dissent—and the deaths of around three million Japanese citizens. In addition, the military committed numerous war crimes during the course of their occupation of Asian countries, resulting in millions more dead. For many, the period remains a taboo topic and a conversation to be avoided.¹

For Hayasaka, this period spanned his young adulthood. It was the time when he began his professional career, started to work at Toho Studios as a music director, and had his first compositions performed and broadcasted throughout Japan's burgeoning Asian empire. When the war ended just four days shy of his thirty-first birthday, Hayasaka was taking refuge in Kamakura, southwest of Tokyo, while his wife and children had evacuated to the Miyagi Prefecture to the north.²

Hayasaka's activities during the wartime period time are incompletely documented and understood, though we know that he had been barred from military service due to his tuberculosis diagnosis in 1938. Luciana Galliano suggests that during this period, especially

¹ For a great history of the post-war period and reaction by the Japanese people of their government's war, see John Dower's *Embracing Defeat*.

² The capital of Miyagi prefecture is Sendai, where Hayasaka was born in 1914.

from 1937 through 1945, Hayasaka was part of a “circle of intellectuals who had protested in silence against the nationalist regime by refusing to take part in the ostentatious displays of a tyrannical and criminally imperialistic nation.”³ However, his creative and academic work suggests a more complex reality than Galliano describes. For example, Hayasaka completed many scores for what can only be described as propaganda films and also penned numerous articles in support of the imperial agenda. He also composed a concert overture for the 1940 celebrations of the 2,600th anniversary of the ascent of Emperor Jimmu as the first emperor of Japan.⁴ These celebrations were closely tied into wartime rhetoric by the government’s use of the holiday of *Kigensetsu* (11 February) to hold massive tributes and festivals. The commemoration of the anniversary lasted the entire year, during which Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro popularized the phrase *hakkō ichiu* (meaning “eight cords, one roof,” a phrase attributed to Jimmu), a slogan which became short hand for Japan’s imperial destiny to rule Asia.⁵

Increasing shortages of paper and film stock as the war dragged on may have caused a decline in such overt propaganda production by Hayasaka and likeminded individuals, though many intellectuals and even political leaders opposed the expansion of the war to include the United States and did not support the bombing of the American naval base.⁶ The reality for Hayasaka during the years between 1931 and 1945 was more complex than simply protesting “in silence.” In order to be published and performed, he needed to deal with the government and the

³ Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 133.

⁴ It is largely accepted today that there was no Emperor Jimmu, or at least that there is no actual proof of Jimmu being anything more than a myth or legend.

⁵ Kenneth J. Ruoff, *Imperial Japan at its Zenith: The Wartime Celebration of the Empire’s 2,600th Anniversary* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010), 16–17.

⁶ Galliano has been able to read the notebooks kept by Hayasaka between 1937–38 and 1940–49 which may have given her additional insight. It is my hope to eventually have these translated once I can gain access to them. I contacted Galliano to see if she had copies, but she unfortunately was not able to locate any of her materials about Hayasaka.

laws put in place that controlled all aspects of broadcast, publication, and media. And while he could select which compositions to write on his own, once he began working for Toho Studios he was told what films to score. As Hayasaka began to establish a public profile in 1940, he was put into the public eye and thus under close government watch. In this chapter, I will explore the political and social factors placed upon Hayasaka and its effect on his work during the Pacific War. I will first provide some historical and political background to this period and discuss how it would have affected Hayasaka's early career followed by brief analyses of two films he scored in 1940.

The March to War

When Japan invaded Manchuria on 19 September 1931, Hayasaka, aged seventeen, was for all intents and purposes an orphan—his father had abandoned his family the previous year and his mother died on 16 August 1931, just three days before Hayasaka's seventeenth birthday. He graduated from high school in 1932 and took his first music job, playing piano for the Sapporo Children's dance society the same year, while continuing to write his own new music. It was in that same year that he met Ifukube Akira for the first time, and the two began to collaborate on musical activities. It was after meeting Ifukube that Hayasaka decided to become a professional musician.⁷

Meanwhile, Japan underwent a series of political and military crises that resulted in numerous changes in the Japanese cabinet, a cluster of top advisors to the prime minister. Between September 1931 and 17 August 1945, Japan had fourteen prime ministers, with the

⁷ This is culled largely from the "Chronological History of Hayasaka Fumio" found in the Zen-On publication of Hayasaka's *17 Piano Pieces for Chamber* translated for me by Ian Ferguson.

shortest term lasting a mere one-hundred twenty-two days.⁸ The longest serving was Tōjō Hideki, who led Japan during most of its war against the United States and the Allies in World War II.⁹

As the militarist factions gained control in both the Diet and the Cabinet, more laws were passed that restricted the freedom of intellectuals and dissidents.¹⁰ And despite the frequent shifts in power one of the few constants during this period was a belief by the leaders that the nation must remain unified; the easiest way to accomplish this was through censorship.

Historian Richard H. Mitchell summarizes succinctly:

...the government refurbished old programs and created new ones to foster total national support. Concurrently, toleration of dissenters decreased, with leftists and anti-war protesters as early targets and liberals, Christians, Shintoists, and Buddhists coming next. A rising current of nationalism supported a strong upsurge of anti-Westernism and led to condemnation of individualism. Censorship played a key role as the expanding thought-control system gradually colored every aspect of life. Under pressure of the “national emergency,” censorship was employed to force conformity to the family-state orthodoxy and to purge unwanted thought. Furthermore, the government used mass media as a means of propagandizing state orthodoxy and patriotism.¹¹

These programs included numerous restrictions on publications, including recordings, and other laws to shape public opinion. Many local police precincts also kept files on newspapers, magazines, and their staffs, and would seize and destroy entire print runs of issues if something objectionable was published. Many of these actions were carried out under the 1925 Peace

⁸ Hayashi Senjūrō, former army officer who served in both Korea and China, the latter during the invasion of Manchuria in 1931. He served as Prime Minister from 2 February 1937 through 4 June 1937.

⁹ His term in office lasted from 17 October 1941 through 22 July 1944. He was forced to resign from his post following the US victory on the island of Saipan, providing the Allies with an important staging ground for further advancement towards the home islands of Japan.

¹⁰ The Diet is Japan’s bicameral legislature that also selects the prime minister who is then approved of by the Emperor.

¹¹ Richard H. Mitchell, *Censorship in Imperial Japan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983), 255.

Preservation Law, which was passed to stem the rising tide of communism in Japan, seen as a threat to Japan's *kokutai*.¹²

Besides censoring publications, the government also instituted many educational reforms, explained in the 1937 publication by the Ministry of Education of *Kokutai no hongii* (Cardinal Principals of the National Entity of Japan). The book was fundamentally a political tract on national policy and ideology, and “strongly opposed...individualism and liberalism, [and] glorified service to the state.”¹³ Released on 25 March 1937 with a print run of 300,000 copies distributed to schools across Japan, it was much more than a manual on curriculum. The *Kokutai no hongii* was, in the words of John Dower, a “widely disseminated gospel of official thinking about what it meant to be Japanese.”¹⁴ Eventually, the book was sold throughout the Empire and was taken as a manifesto of Japan's belief in its national and ethnic destiny. The volume begins with this statement:

Our country faces a very bright future, blessed with a well-being that is indeed magnificent and with a very lively development abroad...From of old, Oriental culture, which finds its origin in China and India, found its way into our country and was sublimated and fused into our “god-handed” national structure. And since the days of Meiji and Taishō, the various phases of our civilization have made remarkable strides through the introduction of modern European and American civilization.¹⁵

Notice the very careful inclusion of the contributions of Europe and America. During most of the 1930s Japan attempted to maintain peaceful, normal relations with the West. But at the same

¹² This word is loaded and eludes easy comprehension. A simple translation is “sovereign,” but the full definition is wrapped up in concepts of national and ethnic identity, the Emperor system, and the body politic. Beginning with the 1925 law and subsequent revisions, interpretations, and extensions via other censorship and control laws over publications and film, *kokutai* became a topic of much debate amongst intellectuals. Those not viewing the Emperor as a divine leader were actively suppressed as in the case of Minobe Tatsukichi.

¹³ Mitchell, *Imperial Japan*, 282.

¹⁴ John W. Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 221.

¹⁵ John Owen Gauntlett, trans., *Kokutai no hongii: Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan*, ed. Robert King Hall (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949), 51.

time, the authors in the Ministry of Education were quick to point out that it was in Japan where all these ideas of the East and West were fused together. Japan was the center.

As the 1930s progressed, leftists and radicals, especially communists and any who might oppose Japan's expanding war, were often arrested and jailed. On rare occasions, people disappeared never to be seen or heard from again.¹⁶ Hayasaka, still a young man, had just started to work as a teacher and as an organist in a Catholic church and might have seen many of these actions first hand.

As indicated by Mitchell, religion was targeted early on as an aspect of culture that needed close scrutiny and deemed potentially dangerous by the government, although foreign religions were never officially banned by the government. (Freedom of religion was actually protected under the Constitution of the Empire of Japan.¹⁷) As part of the *kokutai*, the government established many religious ceremonies modeled after Shinto rituals and performed at Shinto shrines that reaffirmed the divinity of the Emperor and were meant to encourage national unity and patriotism. Thus Shintoism and nationalism went hand-in-hand and by default other religions were seen as hazardous to the nation's *kokutai*.

The *Kokutai no hongii* described the practice in a chapter entitled "Political, Economic, and Military Affairs." This chapter establishes the basis for what has been called "State Shinto," which was more about Emperor worship and forging national unity than traditional Shinto practices:

In our country religious rites and the administration sprang from the same source, under the august rule of the Emperors who succeed each other in an unbroken line... in the Imperial Palace His Majesty graciously administers the ceremonial rites of the three Sanctuaries with the utmost dignity. We are reverently informed that this is an expression of His Majesty's partaking of the august spirit of the founding of the Empire by the Imperial Ancestor and of the great august mind to rule over his people during his

¹⁶ Mitchell, *Censorship*, 271-273.

¹⁷ In force from 29 November 1890 until 2 May 1947.

reign in the Way handed down by the deities. Truly, reverence for the deities and love for their subjects are the great august Will of the successive Emperors.¹⁸

The practical application of this rhetoric was that the people were required to perform certain rituals at local shrines that paid homage to the Emperors current and past and by extension venerate the state. With the Emperor's divinity enshrined via state Shinto practices, state, people, Emperor, religion, and life were further entwined in the 1930s.

It was during this volatile time that Hayasaka briefly considered becoming a Catholic priest and was baptized into the church in 1935, the same year he began working as an organist. For Japanese Christians such as Hayasaka, the required government rituals directly contradicted their beliefs. In an effort to protect Japan's Christian minority from increasing government scrutiny, Japanese Catholic leaders decreed in 1935 that Christians were allowed to show reverence to the Emperor at state Shinto shrines.¹⁹ Statements from the Japanese Ministry of Education were cited as indicating that such acts were based on patriotism and loyalty to Japan and not on religious grounds.²⁰ Thus the façade of separation of church and state was maintained.

Despite the outward lenience towards Christian denominations shown by the government, they were still viewed as potentially dangerous by the state because of the religion's foreign origins. Such outside influence was seen to encourage ideas contrary to *kokutai* thus inhibiting a unified Japanese people.²¹ As such, Hayasaka might have felt the need to hide his faith, especially as his public profile began to rise in 1938.

¹⁸ Gauntlett, *Kokutai*, 160-61.

¹⁹ According to statistics found in the translation of *Kokutai no hongu*, there were about 315,000 Christians living in Japan in 1937, roughly 96,000 of them Catholic. Gauntlett, *Kokutai*, 160.

²⁰ "An Overview of the History of the Catholic Church in Japan," Catholic Bishops' Conference of Japan, <http://www.cbcj.catholic.jp/eng/ehistory/table01.htm> (accessed 20 November 2012).

²¹ Mitchell, *Imperial Japan*, 148. Here, Mitchell is talking about so-called *kiken shisō*, or dangerous thought, which was linked to the importation of ideas that some viewed as a threat to Japanese solidarity.

Western Music in Japan and Hayasaka's Early Career

By the time Hayasaka began to compose his first pieces in 1933, Japanese composers had been struggling to balance Western and Japanese musical ideas for over sixty years. The opening of the former hermit state took place at the point of American guns in 1853, followed by the fall of the Tokugawa Shogunate, which had ruled Japan since 1600, and the restoration of imperial rule, via a constitutional monarchy, in 1868. The late nineteenth and early twentieth century was a period of rapid industrialization for Japan, which also included overhauling the country's educational system. The nation's wish to catch up with the Western powers was partly inspired by its desire to prevent its colonization by the West, a process it had observed in China and Southeast Asia.²²

The program of modernization in terms of music and education was largely accomplished by importing Western teachers, including Luther Whiting Mason who arrived in 1880 from Boston and stayed for two years. Mason helped to assemble the first book of songs to be taught in Japanese, of most of which include Western tunes with added Japanese texts. This early work ensured that generations of Japanese students attending schools modeled after the Western system learned music with Western notation and harmonies.²³

In the years following these efforts to introduce Western music education in Japan, many Japanese composers traveled abroad to study in European conservatories, while many European composers, especially German ones, continued to work in Japan composing and teaching. The music produced in these early years, especially in the first two decades of the twentieth century, is among the most derided by modern scholars of Japanese music because the pieces are

²² For a brief overview of this period see chapter 11 of: W.G. Beasley, *The Japanese Experience: A Short History of Japan* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000).

²³ Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 30.

generally seen as clumsy experiments trying to shoehorn ersatz Japanese musical tropes into Western harmonic forms. But David Pacun is astute to point out that these works were an important step as many of the musical tropes that were used by later composers in the 1930s and '40s were created during this period.²⁴

Debates regarding the fusion of Japanese and Western musical traditions intensified in the 1930s. Of course, Hayasaka, growing up in Sapporo, was largely unaware of these discussions and influences. In remote Hokkaido, he and Ifukube *were* the modern music scene and the pair founded the *Shin ongaku renmei* (New Music League) in 1934 and organized the International Festival of Contemporary Music in Sapporo in which Hayasaka performed two pieces by Erik Satie, among others. Though largely self-taught, Hayasaka did receive some guidance from Alexander Tcherepnin—who spent many years in the 1930s visiting and teaching in both China and Japan—during the Russian composer’s visit to Hokkaido 1936 to meet with Ifukube, and also from Kiyose Yasuji, to whom Hayasaka had mailed compositions in order to receive feedback. Despite the lack of formal study and training, Hayasaka developed sufficiently on his own to have Tcherepnin publish Hayasaka’s first work, *Nocturne*, in 1937 as part of the *Collection Alexandre Tcherepnine* (Figure 1.1, following page).

By the early 1940s, Hayasaka had established himself in Tokyo, composing scores for Toho Studios and writing academic articles on a regular basis. In 1941, with Japan on the brink of war with the West and the more radical factions in government and the press calling for outright rejection of Western culture, Hayasaka published his first theoretical article on his theories of *yōgaku* music.²⁵ Published in the journal *Gekkan gakufu*, it was a response to fellow composer Tanaka Shōhei’s (1862–1945) *Nihon wasei no kiso* (Foundations of Japanese

²⁴ Pacun, “Nationalism,” 9.

²⁵ Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 115. *Yōgaku* is the Japanese term for foreign music, while Japanese music is called *hōgaku*.

Humiwo HAYASAKA

Nocturne No.1

for Piano

Хумиво ХАЯСАКА

Ноктюрнъ

для фортепiano

早坂文雄
ノクターン
第一

ピアノ
独奏



COLLECTION ALEXANDRE TCHEREPNINE

No. 31

TOKYO
RYUGINSHA
7, TAMACHI, AKASAKA

SHANGHAI, Commercial Press. WIEN, Universal Edition. NEW YORK, G. Schirmer.
PARIS, Edition Pro Musica

Figure 1.1. Title page of Hayasaka's first published composition (from University of Louisville, Dwight Anderson Music Library).

Harmony). This reply to Tanaka's theories was followed in 1942 by the publication of Hayasaka's own treatise *Nihon teki ongaku ron* (Japanese Musical Theories).²⁶ While not completely rejecting Tanaka's ideas, Hayasaka asserted that instead of adding two notes to the standard Japanese pentatonic scales, which was Tanaka's solution to the problem of adapting Japanese ideas of Western harmony, a composer need only add one. Further, he stated that Western triadic harmonies are too thick for Japanese aesthetics—which is noted for its space, a concept known as *ma*—and that composers should instead focus on what he called “line” and less on vertical harmonic organizations; that Japanese compositions should have more of an “organic flow.” These concepts would continue to develop into what Galliano describes as “[Hayasaka's] idea of an endless-form structure that is not organized in a teleological evolutionary design (in which underlying causes drive everything from beginning to predetermined end), but as one complete whole that extends uninterruptedly through time.”²⁷ In other words, Japanese composers should not be limited by Western harmonic language to implied dominant-tonic relationships that dictate formal patterns based on end-oriented forms. Instead, they should strive to bring Japanese aesthetics like *ma* to the Western orchestra.

Hayasaka offered a chart in which he took Tanaka's chordal resolutions and proposed his own corrections. The harmonies and resolutions suggested by Hayasaka demonstrate his deep appreciation of *gagaku* music, and are reminiscent of the cluster chords played by the traditional *shō*.²⁸ His concepts can be heard operating on a germinal level in his 1937 composition *Ancient*

²⁶ It is unfortunate that I have yet to be able to obtain copies of either Hayasaka's response or his book on theory. I am relying on Galliano's descriptions and summaries in *Yōgaku* (pp 69-72) for my analysis.

²⁷ Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 134.

²⁸ This chart can be found in: Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 71.

Dance, which won him a prize established by the then Vienna Philharmonic director Felix Weingartner in 1938 (Audio 1).²⁹

This piece begins with a three measure flute solo which outlines its basic scale: D-E-F#-A-B, the *ryo* scale in Japanese theory (Figure 1.2). But, since the melody centers around E, or

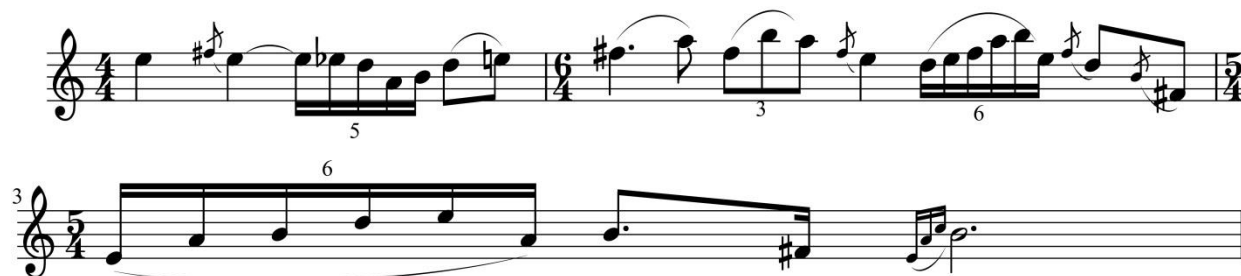


Figure 1.2. The opening flute solo from *Ancient Dance*.

hyōjō, it is actually a *ritsu* scale in the *hyōjō* mode. Initially, Japanese music theory was derived from Chinese practice, but when the Chinese system was adapted for use in Japan “there remained only the twelve basic tones, two basic scales structures [*ryo* and *ritsu*], and six modes.”³⁰ In measure six, Hayasaka builds the harmonic support for the flute solo as the piano and strings enter playing clusters based on the *ritsu* scale (Figure 1.3). What we can observe in *Ancient Dance* is an early attempt by Hayasaka to express a Japanese musical idiom within the Western orchestral tradition in a way that uses Western instruments to play in a Japanese style rather than adapting Japanese music to Western theory.



Figure 1.3 – *Shō*-like cluster chords used in *Ancient Dance*.

Ancient Dance is not purely Japanese in sound, though. The opening flute solo evokes the sound of Debussy and other French composers as well. Ethnomusicologist Judith Ann Herd

²⁹ Galliano, *Yōkgaku*, 92. Weingartner himself would flee to Switzerland after the Nazis invaded Austria, and the performances of the winning compositions, originally to be performed by the Vienna Philharmonic, were likewise moved. It is unclear if the Weingartner Prize was continued after 1938.

³⁰ William P. Malm, *Traditional Japanese Music and Musical Instruments*, New Edition (New York: Kodansha International, 2000), 113-4.

summarizes the effect of *Ancient Dance* and subsequent works as “permeated with the spirit of gagaku, the Eastern exoticism of the Russian nationalists, and the sensuous impressions of Debussy and Ravel.”³¹ It was Hayasaka and colleagues like Ifukube who were among those attempting to find new ways of composing music for Western instruments. But within this interwar music, there existed a tension between the rising tide of nationalism and militarism in Japan and the politically benign search for national identity. Pacun, summarizing this conflict, says:

While certainly not all interwar yōgaku was explicitly or even implicitly nationalistic or imperialistic, most was part of Japan’s search for a national identity built upon the ideal of an essential and common “Japanese Spirit.” As the *Japan Times* warned [in 1936], it was but a small step from cultural nationalism (*minzoku-shugi*) to state or political nationalism (*kokumin-shugi*)—a step that proved easy for many Japanese composers to make.³²

The question is, though, did Hayasaka take that step, or only outwardly appear to support the militarist agenda? Unfortunately, at this point I can only speculate as to the answer. However, Hayasaka’s overall goals was always one of finding a Japanese identity within Western music, an identity separate from the government’s ideas of empire.

In the mid-1930s, the government began to use its new legal powers to control these discussions and also the music itself. Just as Hayasaka and Ifukube had founded their New Music League in Sapporo, numerous other composers had banded together in a multitude of similar, like-minded groups throughout Japan. But by mid-decade, the government disbanded these groups and forced the composers to join the *Nihon bunka renmi* (League for Japanese Culture), created by the government in 1936.³³ With a single state-controlled music organization, the state would be able to keep tabs on the activities of composers and concert

³¹ Herd, “Cultural Politics,” 52.

³² Pacun, “Nationalism,” 8-9.

³³ Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 115.

program, and would control what the public would hear in concerts just as they regulated what was programmed on the radio. The government also restricted the debate in all publications by merging multiple publications to better enforce censorship controls, but done under the guise of restricting the allocation of paper to the publishers as part of war-time rationing.³⁴

One of the more outspoken composers during this period was Moroi Saburō (1903–77), who had lived and studied in Germany from 1932-4. Beginning in 1937 and continuing during the war, Moroi spoke and wrote essays that advocated for a critical examination of European musical and intellectual trends and asked how they might work with or against Japanese aesthetics. To him, most modern European music had moved away from being a spiritual art to one which relied on sensual experiences, which he saw as incompatible with traditional arts in Japan. Speaking at the 1942 symposium on “Overcoming Modernity,” he remarked:

Fundamental in this work [on overcoming modernity] is the recovery of spirit, which requires establishing its predominance while returning the sensual to its original place as means. This is the important work that has been assigned in particular to artists, as we must restore and create everything according to the spiritual order. Western music has already lost this spiritual order and follows the sensual order. However, I am very doubtful as to whether the neoclassical trend essentially opposes the sensual... Spirit must always be the master of form and the sensual, not their slave. In this same sense, we must attend to the fundamental in our pursuit of the Japanese classics.³⁵

Thus for Moroi and others, artists should find the best way to evoke the “Japanese spirit”—an apparent reference to *kokutai*—within an idiom of music which, in the West, had become more sensual—i.e., decadent and laced with liberal ideas. Again, Pacun points out that “[i]t is all the more striking then that the specific nature of the theorizing of the 1930s arose concurrent with

³⁴ Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 121. Also see: E. Taylor Atkins, *Blue Nippon: Authenticating Jazz in Japan* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001) p. 306, fn. 44, and p. 308, fn. 67.

³⁵ Richard F. Calichman, ed. and trans., *Overcoming Modernity: Cultural Identity in Wartime Japan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 75. This symposium was attended by most of the major members of the Kyoto School of philosophy along with other leading intellectuals of the day. The issues of responsibility of wartime rhetoric and propaganda vis-à-vis the Kyoto School will not be debated in these pages. All of the main members of the Kyoto School were trained in Western philosophy and they brought both their Western training and Eastern heritage to bear on their philosophical inquiries. For a detailed discussion of the leading members of this school, see James W. Heisig’s *Philosophers of Nothingness*.

the rise of militant Japanese nationalism: in short, the *question* of ‘Japaneseness in music’ only became an *issue* once the political temperature had sufficiently risen.”³⁶

One of the things that might have turned up the heat on the debates was the *Kokutai no hongii*, which had a section on “National Culture,” which included commentaries on education, scholarship, and the arts. On the history of the arts in Japan, the book states:

Our national Way stands out markedly in the arts that have come down to us from old. Poetry, music, calligraphy, painting, the incense cult, the tea ceremony, flower arrangement, architecture, sculpture, industrial arts, and dramas, all culminate in the Way, and find their source therein. The Way manifests itself on the one hand as the spirit of esteem for tradition and on the other as creative or progressive activities. Thus, our artistic pursuits, ever since the Middle Ages, have been practiced by first keeping to the norms, and by later laying emphasis on cultural methods of getting away from these norms. This means that they taught that artistic pursuits should be materialized along one’s personality only after one has personally found the Way by casting aside one’s untoward desires and by first following the norms in keeping with tradition. This is characteristic of our artistic pursuits and training therein.³⁷

Such statements resonate with the debate about how Japanese composers could best get “away from these norms.”

Hayasaka remained quiet on nationalist issues until after he had moved to Tokyo upon accepting a full time position at Toho Studios in 1939. He published a number of articles in 1940 that show him following the “party line” of promoting the superiority of Japan in relation to its Asian neighbors, supporting the national spirit of Japan.³⁸ In “Eiga ongaku to minzoku teki yōso” (Film Music and Nationalistic Factors) for example, Hayasaka advocates for an “awakening” in film music to Japan’s rich cultural past rather than a reliance on European models:

³⁶ Pacun, “Nationalism,” 28. Emphasis is Pacun’s.

³⁷ Gauntlett, *Kokutai*, 157. The word “Way” here can be read as standing in for *kokutai*.

³⁸ These articles carry titles like: “For the Advancement of Composers in Japan,” “Composers and Their Nationalistic Music,” and “Our New Path,” though I have only been able to get ahold of and have translated the article cited below.

There is still some music that blindly and superficially [follows decadent European music and styles in the world of film music]. We have been frustrated by those composers whose works are operative or culturally [derivative]. It is an important historic event for musical culture that [a new composer's group has formed that writes new music with Asian spirit and has created a new era of Japanese music].³⁹

To Hayasaka, there was no reason for Japanese composers to simply imitate foreign film music ideas and styles:

In simple terms, Japanese film music should never end up as imitations of French or American ones, and we should consider our [special ability of modifying the foreign archetypes.] [Consider that] French film music [is based upon] French music tradition, [and that] German film music cleaves Germanic spirit, and both Italian and American movie music expand their sphere based on [their respective national spirits.] I believe composers should introduce and [follow this feature] and seek [to find] our [ethnic spirit] running in our flesh and blood [as a compositional guide.]⁴⁰

He calls on composers to draw on Japan's cultural history of absorbing foreign cultures and integrating them into Japanese society. The idea of assimilating and integrating elements introduced to Japan by outsiders was not exactly new and has a long history in Japanese culture.⁴¹ Modern Japanese composers had been attempting to do just that since the early twentieth century. However, in the charged atmosphere of 1940, Hayasaka's article, laced with words referring to Japan's ethnic spirit (*kokutai*) and identity, and declaring Japan's unique place in the next phase of world history, sounds ominous:

We won't disregard foreign music without any reason, [but] European music has already [gone] out of bloom and the next generation [of music/composers will fully] bloom with scent in Asia, especially in Japan. Although we should respect [European music], I think it is more important to respect [and cultivate] our great [cultural past and ethnic spirit] for our future.⁴²

³⁹ Hayasaka Fumio, "Eiga ongaku to minzoku teki yōso" [Film Music and Nationalistic Factors], trans. Kumiko and Kevin McDowell, *Eiga to ongaku* (December 1940), 1. Unpublished translation. Please note that the language used in this article is difficult to translate even for native speakers due to changes made in the Japanese kanji post-World War II. The sections in brackets are my attempts at correcting for some of this difficulty.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁴¹ For a brief account of how this practice relates to Japan's traditional music, see the first chapter of Malm's *Traditional Japanese Music and Musical Instruments*.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 5.

Hayasaka's flower metaphor here echoes comments made by Nishida Kitarō, the founder of the Kyoto School of Philosophy, on the issues of importing Western culture in late nineteenth century Japan:

Japan's attitude in adopting European culture was problematic in every respect. The Japanese did not try to transplant the roots of the plant, but simply cut off eye-catching flowers. As a result the people who brought the flowers were respected enormously, but the plants that could have produced such blossoms did not come to grow in our country. Despite this, Japanese scholars and prodigies strutted about displaying their knowledge of Western things noisily and proudly.⁴³

Jingoistic commentary on writing pervaded all phases of Japanese music criticism and scholarship. Consider the musicologist Tanabe Hisao (1883-1984), writing in 1941:

Japan is situated in the centre of Asia. Just like the rivet of a fan, Japan is located on a point where all the marine and land routes converge. Therefore from ancient times to the present, all cultural routes converge on our country, and [the genius of] Japanese originality gathers, accumulates, integrates, digests and synthesizes all cultures. This is how the original Japanese culture was made, and nowadays European and American cultures enter Japan and contribute to the building up of contemporary Japanese cultures. Thus Japanese music is not merely one strain of East Asian music; it is rather the synthesis of East Asian music and the synthesis of world music. Hence, we should consider Japanese music separately from East Asian music.⁴⁴

While such outward expressions of Japanese superiority would disappear after the war, it did not deter Hayasaka from continuing to find a way of blending the East and West into his Pan-Asian style. That he did continue in this experimental vein reflect what I believe were his true aspirations in composition all along: finding a Japanese expression in a Western idiom rather than promoting an "ethnic spirit" with European instruments, as did the music promoted by the militarist government.

With this subtler and less jingoistic idea in mind, I still feel that Hayasaka's article smacks of the nationalist rhetoric forced upon the intellectuals in a climate of fear and

⁴³ Qtd. in H. Gene Blocker and Christopher L. Starling, *Japanese Philosophy* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2001), 124-125.

⁴⁴ Qtd. in Shuhei Hosokawa, "In Search of the Sound of Empire: Tanabe Hisao and the Foundation of Japanese Ethnomusicology," *Japanese Studies* 18, no. 1 (1998), 15-6.

ensorship.⁴⁵ Yet once one strips away the charged language of “decadent European music” and Japanese hegemony over Asia, the aims espoused by Hayasaka fall in line with the musical aesthetics he had been wrestling with throughout his career.

As for the government’s nationalist music, Galliano describes these compositions as works “that took the glamorous, bombastic aspects of the European orchestra spiced up with a touch of Japanese folk music. But in this there was absolutely no serious reference to Japanese music.”⁴⁶ To this genre Hayasaka did contribute some works, of which the *Overture in D* (1940) is perhaps most representative.

This piece was offered as part of the Japanese government’s celebrations for the 2,600th anniversary of the ascent of Emperor Jimmu, an occasion marked by numerous festivals, concerts, and other demonstration and for which the government even solicited compositions from numerous European composers.⁴⁷ Hayasaka’s *Overture in D* was chosen to be part of an NHK radio broadcast marking the occasion, and his *Five Movements for Piano* were also part of a May concert commemoration.⁴⁸

The *Overture in D* fully delivers on the “bombast” that the government was looking for, especially for a celebratory piece that was part of an anniversary that promoted Japan’s superiority and place in the Pacific world.⁴⁹ It features a martial snare drum and brass fanfares and uses inflections from traditional folk music in its melodies. In this way, it fits among Hayasaka’s most propagandistic concert works, written to please the government and their

⁴⁵ Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 119-121.

⁴⁶ Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 116.

⁴⁷ Composers commissioned included Richard Strauss (*Festmusik zur Feier des 2600jährigen Bestehens des Kaiserreichs Japan*), Jacques Ibert (*Ouverture de fête*), and Benjamin Britten, whose *Sinfonia da Requiem* was rejected by the Japanese government due to its references to Roman Catholic liturgy.

⁴⁸ *Nihon hōsō kyōkai*: Japan’s public broadcasting network, roughly analogous to Britain’s BBC.

⁴⁹ Today, the 1940 celebrations are controversial for their jingoistic programs, though the date of February 11 is still celebrated as National Foundation Day. Following World War II, the holiday was abolished and then reestablished in 1966, though lacking overt references to Emperor Jimmu and the founding of Imperial Japan.

cultural program ministers rather than fulfill any personal compositional goals. Had Hayasaka simply been an intellectual who “protested in silence,” as Galliano suggests, it is doubtful that he would have ever taken on such a commission or entered any work intended for such celebrations. I believe that, in light of the government’s active program of suppressing dissidents and passing laws making work difficult for those who did not fall in line, Hayasaka, as a high profile composer, was pressured to conform even if he disagreed with the militarist government’s overall program.

The Flaming Sky and Travelling Actors: Hayasaka’s Early Film Work at Toho Studios

As far back as 1933 discussions in government were taking place about creating a comprehensive law including enforcement provisions to govern film production in Japan. First came the creation of the Film Control Committee in 1934, followed by the Great Japan Film Association in 1935, and then the Cabinet Information Committee in 1936. These three agencies were all in agreement and pushed for a wide reaching legal apparatus to censor and monitor the output of film in Japan. Their efforts bore fruit with the Film Law of 1939.

With the intensification of the war effort and the passing of the Film Law coming in 1939, it hardly seems coincidental that Hayasaka began working for Toho Studios in the same year. Hayasaka’s initial conversations with the head of the studio took place in October of 1938, as the regulations were being discussed in the Diet, and he began working at Toho in September of 1939. Provisions in the law concerning government licenses made it difficult for the studio’s existing musicians, mostly jazz composers and instrumentalists whose music was considered dangerous by many, to continue working in the industry. These regulations, enumerated in

articles 5, 6 and 7 of the law, stated that all employees of the studios, from the president, directors, and actors, all the way down to engineers, technicians, and theatre projectionists had to be licensed by the government. Studios found to be in violation could have their work suspended or their license to produce and distribute film revoked entirely. Those working without licenses faced up to six months in jail or a fine as high as 2,000 yen.

Prior to 1939, most film music fell along two separate types: jazz or other forms of Western style popular music; or romantic western style orchestra music, new or reconstituted from existing works.⁵⁰ The former type, the government felt, promoted values contrary to Japanese ideals, while the latter was overtly European and decadent.⁵¹ While many of the musicians employed previously by the studios undoubtedly obtained licenses, it's likely that some found a difficult time passing the government's checks and exams because they were also active jazz musicians.

The government viewed jazz as dangerous and worked to suppress the genre in the 1930s because it was alleged to promote sex and delinquency along with more liberal ideas dangerous to the state. One of most overt forms of censorship undertaken by the government was the closure of dance halls, ordered shuttered nationwide on 1 November 1940.⁵² Rather than banning jazz outright, however, the government tried to remake it into a nationalistic "light music" to go along with the "bombastic" Western style orchestral music discussed above. By removing jazz from the sexualized dancing that took place in the jazz clubs and dance halls, the government sought to control how the music was heard and viewed by the public.

⁵⁰ For an example of the former, see Mizoguchi's *Osaka Elegy* (1936), and for the later see Shimizu Hiroshi's *Mr. Thank You* (1936). The above characterization of 1930s music in early talkie films is drawn largely for Atkins' *Blue Nippon* and Anderson and Richie's *The Japanese Film*.

⁵¹ Atkins, *Blue Nippon*, 141-3.

⁵² For more about jazz in wartime Japan, see chapters 3 and 4 of Atkins' *Blue Nippon*.

Given the association of jazz musicians with dangerous thought in the eyes of the government, an up-and-coming classical composer writing music in a nationalist style was the perfect solution for a film studio facing staff musicians unable to pass licensing exams under the new Film Law. To obtain a license, each employee was required to pass a test that went beyond questions of simple technical competency.⁵³ Some of the questions asked when obtaining a license were, “What is the purpose of the Imperial Rule Assistance Movement? Why was it necessary to launch the ‘New Order’ movement?” and “Our country has an exalted national policy unmatched throughout the world. Why?”⁵⁴

These questions had nothing to do with how well an employee would perform their job, and were instead aimed at determining how loyal one was to Japan’s *kokutai*, and, it seems, check on political awareness. The licensing process was a way to root out subversives, radicals, and those who opposed the militarist stance of the country—or those who were too ignorant of the fact that such rhetoric was important. Such questions were supplemented by police checks and oversight by censoring bodies which made sure that the studios complied with the new regulations. Furthermore, in light of such governmental oversight, and with his very livelihood at stake, it is little wonder that Hayasaka, seeking to protect his job and young family, would also begin to publish articles filled with politically acceptable rhetoric shortly after assuming his position as a music director at Toho Studios. He was immediately set to work on a number of film projects, many that fell under the banner of wartime propaganda films. Some were focused on war stories of the home front such as *Shidō monogatari* (Leadership Story, dir. Kumagai Hisatora, 1941), others were documentary films like *Nihon no jyūkōgyō* (Japan’s Heavy

⁵³ Mitchell, *Imperial Japan*, 302.

⁵⁴ Qtd. in Gregory J. Kasza, *The State and Mass Media in Japan, 1918-1945* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993), 235-6.

Industries, dir. Ise Chonosuke, 1941), and others were movies about the war itself, including *Moyuru ōzora* (The Flaming Sky, dir. Abe Yutaka, 1940).⁵⁵

The Flaming Sky presents an interesting musical paradox and was obviously a war time propaganda film, yet the score shows very little of the nationalist style of composition. It is a film that, as Peter High describes, was “the first film actually to be conceived as a Hollywood-style ‘spectacular’ and to bill itself as such” even while the spectacle was meant to further the wartime agenda.⁵⁶ The story revolves around a group of Japanese fighter pilots who fly missions against the Chinese air force and was intended to showcase Japan’s fight in Asia as it built spirit among homeland viewers. It depicts young pilots—first immature and carefree—chastised for being wasteful with their money but eventually grow up to die heroically for their country. High describes this new dramatic formula for Pacific War films that *Flaming Sky* helped usher in as showing “the progress of a young man from spiritual weakness and confusion toward his ultimate fulfillment as a modern incarnation of the *bushi* warrior.”⁵⁷ The aim was to fill the audience with the Japanese spirit.

In this light, its musical contents are surprising. Many of the diegetic songs are filled with Western hymnody or are reminiscent of British Isles folk song, and one training scene features a Sousa style march that the men practice drills to. It is likely that the director and government censors were trying to reorient the Western music already within Japanese culture, including their military, towards nationalist ends, much like they had done with jazz. The fact

⁵⁵ Of course, Hayasaka was not unique as many filmmakers were put in such a position by the need for wartime propaganda. In the US, directors like Frank Capra did much to assist in the spreading of anti-Axis sentiment and demonizing of the enemy. The *Why We Fight* series by Capra featured uncredited music by a number of leading Hollywood composers such as Dimitri Tiomkin, Max Steiner, Alfred Newman, and David Raksin among others. Likewise, in Russia composers like Dimitri Shostakovich and Sergei Prokofiev wrote scores for Russian wartime films.

⁵⁶ Peter B. High, *The Imperial Screen: Japanese Film Culture in the Fifteen Years’ War, 1931-1945* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), 259.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 264.

that *Flaming Sky* also strove to be a Hollywood style spectacle probably furthered the incentive to use such music in the minds the director and studio heads.

Hayasaka's efforts to compose his score were not helped by the rushed production schedule routinely present in Japanese film studios. The film was released on 25 September and the earliest sketches for the score are dated 8 September. This exceptionally shortened music production schedule corroborates what Anderson and Richie discuss in their book, that composers were expected to start writing without ever seeing a final print of the film, sometimes never even having seen the dailies and possibly only having scenes described for them by the director or his assistants. Once the film was finally edited and locked (i.e., assembled in its final form) a composer usually had only three days to finalize the cues and record them.⁵⁸

Any expectation of Japanese musical modalities is swept away in the grandiose opening title as the viewer is greeted with a brass fanfare in a heptatonic B minor (often omitting c sharp). The title music contains many variations on this opening fanfare motive as it modulates into G major. Its arrival in G marks the beginning of a three-quarter time march section and its tonal center is clearly indicated at the top of one of the sketch pages for the theme.⁵⁹ Clearly, even though Hayasaka had been writing and thinking about moving away from such concepts as adherence to Western harmony, he still felt compelled here write with keys in mind.

Accentuating the Western sensibility is Hayasaka's borrowing of a germinal melodic idea from Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov's (1844-1908) suite *Scheherazade* (1888).⁶⁰ The main melodic figure of *Flaming Sky*'s title is a dotted-eight sixteenth note rhythm followed by a triplet, and

⁵⁸ Anderson and Richie, *Japanese Film*, 341-2.

⁵⁹ Though a march in three-quarter time is not common, it is not unheard of.

⁶⁰ Granted this is a borrowing from a European work that is based on faux-exoticism of the Middle East, not unlike the questions arising from Hayasaka's borrowing of Debussy in *Drunken Angel* given the Frenchman's influence from Asian music.

sometimes features descending and ascending skips of a fourth followed by a chromatic descent (Figure 1.4 & Audio 2). This figure is likely derived from the melodic kernel which the



Figure 1.4 – Two versions of the main theme from the Opening Credits of *The Flaming Sky*.

majority of the second movement of *Scheherazade* is based (Figure 1.5). In the earlier work it

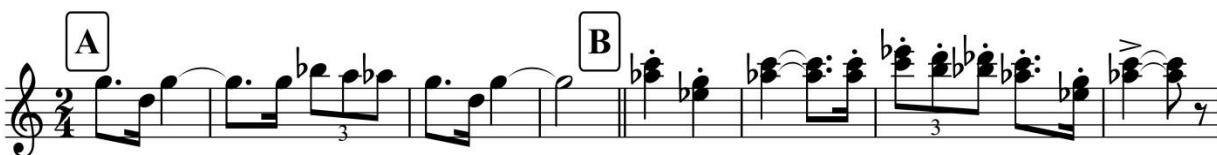


Figure 1.5 – Two versions of the main theme from the second movement of *Scheherazade*.

first appears in the fifth bar of rehearsal D where the trombone and trumpet plays it as a series of cadenza-like calls. From there, the idea is developed until it becomes a march (in A flat major) at rehearsal I. Within the larger context of Rimsky-Korsakov's work, this theme is a variation of the Sultan's motif, though it appears that this second movement iteration was the immediate inspiration for Hayasaka's main title.

It is unlikely that the director specifically called for Hayasaka to write something based on *Scheherazade*.⁶¹ Rather, it is plausible to suspect Hayasaka, writing with a short schedule, borrowed the idea to serve as a starting point, something that Hollywood composers do on a routine basis.⁶² Faced with an impossible deadline, Hayasaka relied on a time-tested cliché

⁶¹ Unlike Kurosawa, the musical tastes of director Abe Yutaka are not well documented.

⁶² One could point to numerous variations of Antonín Dvořák or Prokofiev in the music of John Williams, James Horner's appropriation of music from Prokofiev's music for the Battle on the Ice in *Alexander Nevsky*, or many other such comparisons that have been made by fans of film music over the years.

familiar to audiences and directors who were not yet preoccupied by the ideology of musical style.

Locating and viewing films from this period is difficult, even in Japan. Many of them were destroyed during Allied bombing campaigns, and many more were confiscated and destroyed during the Occupation.⁶³ And even if prints have survived, most of these films are not likely to be released on home viewing media. One additional early film scored by Hayasaka that I have been able to view provides a contrast to the type of music heard in *Moyuru ōzora*. Released in the same year as the dogfight movie, Naruse Mikio's (1905–69) *Tabi yakusha* (Travelling Actors) is a period comedy about an itinerate troupe of kabuki actors. The comedy of the film comes from its focus on the two actors who play the part of the horse, with the serious, experienced actor as the front and the young apprentice in the rear. These men, who take entirely too much pride in their ability to act like a horse, have their jobs threatened when a real horse is hired to replace them after a true comedy of errors leads to the destruction of the horse costume's head.

Hayasaka's score for the film, much like the score for *Flaming Sky*, is very limited in terms of quantity. But unlike the score for the propaganda film, the music for *Tabi yakusha* is in line with his aesthetic goals as heard in his previous concert works and even his article cited above. The charming main title for the film features a Western orchestra playing music that is based on traditional Japanese music, paying homage to the theatre traditions depicted in the film (Audio 3). The title features pentatonic melodies, ostinato accompaniment patterns that one might hear within context of Japanese theatre. However, as with many of his other scores, it features exclusively Western instruments used to imitate traditional ones.

⁶³ While these films were confiscated, banned, and destroyed per SCAP order, some copies were left, and at least one copy of each was sent to the US for study. All other copies were ordered destroyed, though those held in private collections would sometimes survive. In recent years, these films have been repatriated to Japan.

The Flaming Sky and *Travelling Actors* provide a look at the forces at play in film and music during the Pacific War. Western marches are utilized in *Flaming Sky* as the music was already used by the Japanese military and the government was also attempting to reorient Western music to nationalist ends. A similar circumstance occurs in Kurosawa's 1944 film *Ichiban utsukushiku* (The Most Beautiful, music by Suzuki Seiichi) about war production on the home front when a Sousa march is played to help motivate factory workers. The score for *Travelling Actors*, however, provided Hayasaka with an opportunity to compose in his Pan-Asian style. The comedy afforded an accommodating backdrop for Hayasaka's musical experimentations and innovations, and in time, such scores would become more common even in non-period films, but, to this day, traditional sounding music remains semiotic shorthand for pre-modern Japan in the cinema.

There is still much research to be done on Hayasaka's early career during the war. Even the few sources written about him in Japan tend to skim over these years and go straight to the beginning of his collaborations with Kurosawa. Given the limited resources available on this period my conclusions here are largely speculative. Only by digging through archives in Japan and reviewing Hayasaka's own notebooks can the whole story can begin to be told.

As with all research into individuals who were not part of the leadership in times of war, one must balance the public persona against the private. A private citizen such as Hayasaka was subject to the whims of government leaders, studio heads, directors, censors, and other functionaries, each of whom would have had different agendas and concerns towards the political climate in Japan. Publicly Hayasaka supported the establishment, wrote articles full of nationalist rhetoric, scored propaganda films, and composed concert music for government

festivals. When possible, though, Hayasaka also sought to pursue a personal agenda, to write pieces that satisfied his compositional goals, furthering his creation of the Pan-Asian style.

Seeing how he worked to advance these ideas following the war, it becomes clear that Hayasaka's thoughts about combining Western and Japanese styles in music had less to do with government rhetoric about Japanese culture, and more to do with his own personal views on how best to express a modern Japanese cultural identity in sound. He would continue to experiment and explore both Western forms and Japanese idioms in order to shape the music he wrote during his remaining years after the Pacific War.

CHAPTER II

RASHOMON: A MATTER OF PERSPECTIVE

There has been more ink spilled in the discussion on *Rashomon* than any other film ever made in Japan, with the possible exception of *Seven Samurai*. Its place as the film that introduced European and American audiences to Japanese cinema is helped by the fact that it was also made by the man who would become one of Japan's most famous directors, Kurosawa Akira. But, if that was all *Rashomon* was—a good film made by a good director—then it never would have inspired critics over sixty years later to continue discussing its plot, production, and ultimate meaning.

No, *Rashomon* is still with us because it challenges us, forces us to consider the nature of memory, the bedrock of human identity, and how we interact with the world. It does this by subjecting a horrific tale of rape and murder (or suicide?) to a series of contradictory accounts all told to an invisible court official. All of the central players—a Bandit, a Woman, and the murdered Man (testifying via a Medium)—lay claim to having killed the Man, to the shock of the other witnesses. But while the first testimony by a Woodcutter, is directly contradicted by his own second revised statement, the viewer is finally left with doubts as to where any truth may lie. We are led to question the veracity of all the testimony because the film presents us with two layers of flashback, first to the courthouse and then to recounted events. We are always told of the events second hand via Woodcutter and Priest. This distancing approach to presenting

narrative—the unreliable narrator—while enjoying a long history in literature, was relatively new to cinema.

Kurosawa’s innovative film narrative technique and the consistency of his approach are not above criticism, though. Many have cited the “sunny” ending in which a young baby is rescued by the Woodcutter—who just moments before had been condemned as a liar and thief—as being at odds with the dark, nihilistic tone of the film. Criticism of this jarring ending is many times a secondary critique to the disparagements leveled against Hayasaka’s music. An examination of the entire score, however, will show how Hayasaka uses his music to reflect the film’s main theme of distorted memories and deception.

In this chapter, I will discuss three aspects of the film’s musical score. First, I will consider the presence of the bolero and why I believe it enhances the score of the film rather than detracts from it. Second, I will examine the score’s limited usage of repeated musical ideas and their function within the film narrative. And last, I will discuss the instances of traditional instruments in the film, a highly innovative element of the score that has rarely been discussed in detail. Taken separately, these elements seem disparate, but I will show how all of them help to underscore the film’s theme of how we can manipulate our memories and use them to deceive ourselves.

The Many Sides of a Bolero

Before I offer my reappraisal of the much maligned bolero cue, I should acknowledge that the “problem” presented by the bolero is fundamentally a semiotic one. That is, there appears to be a wide divergence of opinion as to what the cue stands for both in its parts and in

toto. Theorist David Neumeyer offers a nuanced view that analyzes the music within the context of the rest of the score, and concludes that the bolero, with its “repetitious rhythmic and melodic patterns” and “the long crescendo-decrescendo dynamic arch,” undercuts the woman’s “emotion-laden” story, thus signifying it as untrue.¹ Neumeyer is also careful to differentiate the bolero of the woman’s story (Video 2.1) from similar music that accompanies an earlier version of events in the film, which he calls a “false bolero,” which many scholars have unfortunately conflated, compounding an error first made by Donald Richie, which has led some to view the entire score as a theme and variations on the bolero, first asserted by Miriam Sheer.²

But I view the bolero as representative of the way in which Hayasaka shows the characters’ deceptiveness in their personal accounts. In the *Rashomon* score, he avoids theme-based scoring when possible and instead features a different, *self-contained* music cue for each of the individual stories recounted by the characters.³ This is important because similarities between accounts would undermine the differences between the testimonies: recurring musical themes would serve to remind viewers of commonalities and weaken the film’s structure of conflicting accounts. Because I feel that the music actually strengthens rather than weakens the structure, I reject the assertions made by Sheer and others that the score is a set of variations on Hayasaka’s bolero imitation.⁴ While these scholars are correct that the film itself is based on the

¹ David Neumeyer, “Hayasaka’s Music for *Rashomon*,” in *ICLA’91 TOKYO: THE FORCE OF VISION 6 - Inter-Asian Comparative Literature; Proceedings of the XIIIth Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association*, ed. by Kawamoto Koji, Heh-Hsiang Yuan, and Ohsawa Yoshihiro (Tokyo: ICLA, 1996): 481-2.

² In “Western Classical Compositions in Kurosawa’s Films.” Richie, in his introduction to an edited collection on *Rashomon*, when indicating that Hayasaka wrote the bolero at Kurosawa’s insistence, said: “The composer complied and the results...do detract [from the film] – particularly from the opening scenes.” In Donald Richie, ed., *Rashomon* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1987), 19. This quote is what seems to have given Sheer her opening to analyze the score as a set of theme and variations.

³ What I mean by theme based is the typical practice of each character, institution, or location having its own musical theme and for that theme to recur every time that character appears on screen or is referenced.

⁴ It is worth stating that while there are similarities between the music for the first Woodcutter’s story and the Woman’s story, enough to make a theme-and-variation theory plausible, I still feel that there are not enough connections with the rest of the music to make it a viable analytical model. However, it is possible that closer

notion of seeing the same event from the perspectives of multiple witnesses, which would mirror the technique of musical theme and variation that is found within *Bolero*, such an approach presupposes the existence of an original “theme” to vary upon, or, in case of the film plot, a defined “true” version of events. However, the film’s ending steadfastly opposes the idea that we ever actually see the whole truth, even while the lack of music in the final account would lead us to believing it to be the true version. This musical absence, which was planned out in advance by Hayasaka and Kurosawa—there was no music written for the scene that could be cut at a later stage—was a final fraud by the filmmakers in a movie filled with falsehoods. Kurosawa and Hayasaka are essentially saying that “you cannot even trust *us* to give you the truth.”⁵

In other words, had the score consisted of variations on Hayasaka’s bolero, this would imply that the Woman’s Story, being the closest to Ravel’s work, was the original “theme” and thus the true version of events. Since this is not the case, we can reject the bolero theme-and-variation hypothesis of the score and focus solely on the music of the Woman’s Story as the only bolero in the film score. The reason for Kurosawa’s request of bolero-like music is described in the director’s autobiography:

As I was writing the script, I heard the rhythms of a bolero in my head over the episode of the woman’s side of the story. I asked Hayasaka to write a bolero kind of music for the scene.⁶

He then describes the first time that he and Hayasaka watched the rough cut of the scene with music:

analysis could yield support for the theory. Sheer, however, basis her reading solely on the Woodcutter-Woman musical connections.

⁵ This is the one aspect of the film that subsequent remakes and adaptations of the form have consistently failed to copy. They have almost always used the final version of the story to give the viewers a true account. For some examples, see: *The Outrage* (Martin Ritt, 1964), *Courage Under Fire* (Edward Zwick, 1996), the *CSI* episode “Rashomama” (CBS, 27 April 2006), or the *Star Trek: The Next Generation* episode “A Matter of Perspective” (Paramount Studios, 12 February 1990).

⁶ Kurosawa Akira, *Something Like an Autobiography*, trans. Audie E. Bock (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), 186.

The screen lit up with the beginning of the scene, and the strains of the bolero music softly counted out the rhythm. As the scene progressed, the music rose, but the image and the sound failed to coincide and seemed to be at odds with each other... We kept going. The bolero music rose yet again, and suddenly picture and sound fell into perfect unison. The mood created was positively eerie. I felt an icy chill run down my spine, and unwittingly I turned to Hayasaka. He was looking at me. His face was pale, and I saw that he was shuddering with the same eerie emotion I felt.⁷

For a Western audience, whose associations with Ravel's original might differ from a Japanese audience's, it might be jarring to hear such music coming from a Japanese film. But I feel Kurosawa's instincts about the style of music's appropriateness for the scene were correct.

The scene depicts the Woman's perspective on the death of her husband, namely how the Man refused to speak to her after she yields to the bandit's sexual advances and she murders him. As the scene progresses the "bolero" builds tension in a manner similar to Ravel's, thickening the orchestrations and increasing the dynamic level. We can read the main melodic materials as having direct correlations in the scene, the unceasing drum beat ostinato intensifying the Man's unyielding stare, while the fluid camera movements match the sustained melodic lines. The most innovative way in which Hayasaka ratchets up the tension of the scene via music, however, is through the manipulation of the defining element of the bolero itself: the percussion rhythm, which has not been discussed in the literature on the film score.⁸ The standard rhythm found in Ravel's *Bolero* is based around a core eighth-note, triplet-sixteenth rhythm (Figure 2.1), but what is found in the majority of Hayasaka's cue is a pattern of eighth-note, straight-sixteenth pattern (Figure 2.2). While the rhythms are similar, it is not technically a bolero in the strictest sense of

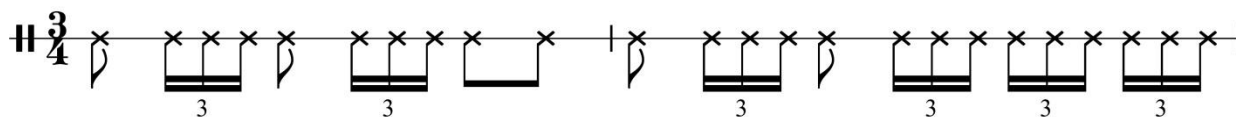


Figure 2.1. The snare drum rhythm from Ravel's *Bolero*.

⁷ Kurosawa, *Something Like*, 186.

⁸ Of course, the bolero dance form itself long predates Ravel's piece, originating in Spain more than a century before the orchestral work was written.

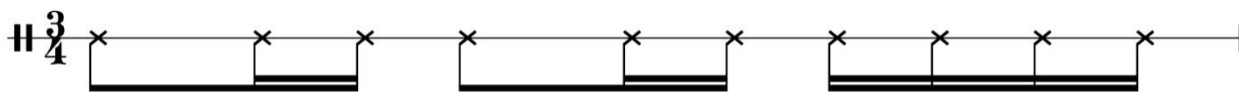


Figure 2.2. The snare drum rhythm from *Rashomon*'s "Woman's Story" bolero.

the dance genre since it does not feature the triplet pattern.⁹ But Hayasaka does imitates the Ravel piece via the same bass line (Figure 2.3), though Hayasaka's initial orchestration is much thicker.¹⁰



Figure 2.3. Ravel and Hayasaka's bass line.

When Hayasaka wants to ratchet up the tension of the scene he switches over to the actual bolero rhythm. This occurs when the Woman finally breaks down after pleading with her husband to speak with her, for him to say anything. It is the moment when she decides to take her dagger and kill him instead. I believe this to be the moment that Kurosawa writes about that gave him an "eerie" feeling when he saw the initial cut of the film with music. At this point, the man's stares and silence toward the Woman have intensified to the point, represented by the more powerful rhythmic figure, where she takes drastic action.

We can see now that the appeal of Ravel's music to Kurosawa lay in the rhythm itself, which served as a musical sign for how the Woman views her husband's reaction to her rape by the Bandit. She feels that he now sees her as damaged, undesirable, and without honor. So in

⁹ This fact has seemingly escaped notice since the film's release. For example, when Charles Gerhardt recorded an arrangement of the cue on his CD *Hollywood Screen Classics* in the 1970s, it used the triplet rhythm throughout.

¹⁰ Ravel only uses viola and cello initially whereas Hayasaka uses the entire string section and piano, essentially "cutting to the chase."

her account of the story, she views his reaction as maddening—the unceasing rhythmic *ostinato*—to the point where she takes action and kills him.¹¹ It was in Hayasaka’s skillful hands that the rhythm is transformed into a device to build the tension of the scene, and he does so in a manner that has escaped notice by scholars since the film’s release in 1950.

Hayasaka manipulates the scene’s emotional arc in a manner similar to Ravel: by gradually building up the orchestration and dynamics. But where Ravel’s piece ends at the climax of these devices, and of course without visual or narrative function, Hayasaka’s builds them to the point where the Woman is about to stab the Man, and then releases the tension when Kurosawa cuts away—even as the music continues—and returns us to the courtyard where the woman describes her Ophelia-like suicide attempt. Hayasaka releases the tension by slowly decreasing the music’s volume and thinning the texture until it is drowned out by the rain that cascades down upon the ruined Rashomon gate as the Woodcutter and Priest continue to recount their strange tale of a trial where everyone claims to have committed the murder.

Another feature of the bolero that has also gone unnoticed by preceding scholars bears mention. Whereas a Western listener might hear Ravel’s work merely as an exercise in orchestration, dynamic control, or an attempt to portray the exotic Iberian peninsula through a single characteristic idiom, a Japanese listener knowledgeable in the aesthetics of *gagaku* might hear qualities reminiscent of *jo-ha-kyū*. A *gagaku* piece usually begins softly as the instrumental groups enter one at a time, playing the basic patterns that are repeated and built upon. Many *gagaku* works, like *Bolero*, also have two basic melodies that are repeated many times as the tempo gradually increases, just as in Ravel’s piece.¹² *Bolero*, rather than speeding up like a *gagaku* work, however, gradually becomes louder as the two main melodic sections are repeated

¹¹ While we don’t see this on-screen, she confesses to it in her testimony.

¹² Malm, *Traditional Japanese Music*, 117.

by different soloists and instrumental combinations. *Jo-ha-kyū* is a basic idea and form well attuned to Japanese aesthetics, making it a perfect fit for a film such as *Rashomon*, which is steeped in the aesthetics and structure of *noh* theatre, which is also built upon the ideas of *jo-ha-kyū*. Kurosawa has said many times that *noh* is “the real heart, the core of all Japanese drama.”¹³

Motifs Lost in the Woods

There are fourteen numbered cues in *Rashomon*, with R No 2 being divided into 2 and 2a and all of R No 5 not being used, though sections are excerpted into two brief cues of around ten seconds each.¹⁴ Half of the fourteen cues are used for the Bandit’s Story alone which sets his version of events apart from the other stories told in the film. Where the other stories feature a single cue underscoring the testimony to the off-camera court official, the Bandit’s story features not only the bulk of the music written for the film, but also makes use of the few repeated motifs heard in the score and first presented in the initial story, that of the Woodcutter.

The music that accompanies the first Woodcutter’s Story (Video 2.2) is many times mistaken by critics for a bolero and is identified as such first by Donald Richie, Miriam Sheer, and David Pacun, the latter two using it as proof of the theme-and-variation hypothesis. Sheer observes similar rhythmic gestures between the melodies of the Woodcutter and Woman and the main *Bolero* theme, but it is Neumeyer who argues more precisely that the Woodcutter’s music is at best a “false” bolero. The melody of the Woodcutter itself is closer to an exotic cliché, something from Saint-Saëns *Samson and Delilah* perhaps, with its imitation Middle Eastern

¹³ Qtd. in Richie, *Films of Akira Kurosawa*, 117

¹⁴ For a complete breakdown of cues, see Appendix C.

character and its characteristic interval, the augmented second (Figure 2.4). Ravel's chromaticism does not obsess on augmented seconds. So while the Woodcutter's Theme does



Figure 2.4. The Woodcutter's Theme by Hayasaka.

contain a similar rhythm to Ravel's melody, the modal character is different. Furthermore, the main signifier of a bolero, the rhythmic ostinato that Hayasaka manipulates in the Woman's Story, is completely missing from the Woodcutter's Story. The rhythm Hayasaka uses for the Woodcutter is quite similar to the one he would later use to represent the bandits in *Seven Samurai* (see Chapter IV), however, but they are in completely different meters (Figure 2.5).¹⁵ If



Figure 2.5. The Woodcutter's Theme rhythm (I have used the two note positions to indicate a high and low drum).

Hayasaka was thinking of Saint-Saëns for the Woodcutter's music, this theme would still be a Japanese composer imitating a French composer imitating someone else.

Regardless of its tonal origin, what the Woodcutter's music would seem to track is the film's journey into deception. Of those testimonies given to the court, his is the one we know for certain is a willful fraud on the court, as he later recants his story to the Priest and Commoner, rather than a memory intended to also deceive the speaker him- or herself, as is this case with the Woman, Man and possibly even the Bandit's statements. The Woodcutter's music later recurs during the Bandit's Story as he lures the Man away from his wife and moves more deeply into

¹⁵ The meter of the *Seven Samurai* theme alternates between quarter time and two-four time. A similar rhythm also makes an appearance during the music used as the Medium performs her ritual to make contact with the Man's spirit, and is accompanied by chanting. But as I have no musical score for this music, it could actually be traditional music. I will discuss this a bit more below.

the woods (Video 2.3). Its use here is deliberate on the part of Hayasaka because earlier in the story he has established a sort of walking motif for the Bandit that could have fit in with this scene. Instead, he purposefully chose this music to represent not only the deceitful nature of the Bandit's testimony, but also how the Bandit lured the man into the woods under the false pretense of selling him some swords and shields he had recently discovered and buried. In the film, the journey into the deep forest represents the losing of oneself in a forest of lies, half-truths, and deceptive memories.

Two others motifs that appear in the Woodcutter's cue also reappear during the Bandit's story. One is a figure that is used when the Woodcutter, and later the Bandit, notice key objects, or in some cases people. It appears in the Woodcutter's Story when he finds the Woman's hat, then the Man's hat, and the rope that bound the Man (Figure 2.6). A similar figure appears in the



Figure 2.6. The "Seeing" Motif, usually played by the low winds, brass, and strings.

Bandit's Story when the Man and Bandit see each other for the first time and look each other over (Video 2.4). A variation upon the motif also is played when the Bandit shows the Man an example of the swords he wants to sell to him. The use of the motifs demonstrate the film's theme: seeing is not necessarily believing, our "seeing" of things is tied into our lies. First impressions of a person lead us to present ourselves a certain way to people, we draw conclusions based on how we observe people and things in the world, and from both of these we build our memories upon which we make later choices in our lives. But if our memories are untrustworthy and partial at best, then how can we exist in the world? This is exactly what the Priest says throughout the movie: that his faith in man has been shaken to its very core.

The other musical device that appears across multiple stories is one that seems to represent the men's varied perception of the Woman. The Bandit sees her as a lofty "goddess" on a pedestal, riding high upon a horse being led by the Man on foot, while others see something much simpler or even sinister in the scene. This motif is characterized by quick runs in the high registers of the harp, celeste, piano, strings, or a combination of these instruments. It first occurs when the Woodcutter finds the woman's hat and he assumes from its mesh to cover/protect her face, that the woman must be of high rank. This instance is made only of simple celeste runs, demonstrating the limited knowledge that the Woodcutter constructs from just the hat. The second and third time it is heard is when the Bandit describes seeing the Woman to the court. It occurs again after the Man and Bandit size each other up when, as described by the Bandit, the wind blows the mesh away to reveal the Woman's face to him. These examples all have fuller orchestrations, including strings, harp, celeste, and piano, underscoring that the Bandit sees the woman's face, which stirs feelings of lust inside of him.

The device is next heard when the Bandit tells how he comes to fight the Man in what he claims is "honorable" combat. The Woman pleads with the Bandit to kill her husband as she cannot stand having two men know how she was raped. When the Bandit makes his decision to take up the challenge, the simple celeste figures reappear. The Bandit's perception of the Woman has changed, he will still fight the man but the woman is no longer the goddess he once saw, she is on her hands and knees pleading with him as he stands tall and proud.

The last, brief, utterance of the motif is during the Man's Story as he contemplates his situation, sobbing and realizing his wife's betrayal of their marriage. These are brief celeste runs accompanying a mournful English horn solo and appear right before he makes the decision to take his own life. He can no longer allow himself to live after such dishonor at the hands of not

only his wife, but also the Bandit. And the weapon he uses to kill himself? The Woman's dagger.

As I stated earlier, Hayasaka largely avoids the usage of theme—or motif—based scoring because using similar materials to accompany contrasting accounts would weaken the film structure based on testimonial differences. But as I have shown, the spare use of three separate motifs does assist the score in bringing out the film's main theme of perception and memory because all three of the devices are based upon and bring out this subject in one way or another. And the sparseness with which Hayasaka does reuse these ideas helps to also shed light on the more through-composed nature of the score, which contrasts with a score like *Seven Samurai*, which is based on traditional thematic compositional styles.¹⁶

Echoes of the Past

Those who criticize *Rashomon*'s score usually miss an important feature in the music. Hayasaka's use of *shō* and *koto* in the opening and closing titles of the film in conjunction with Western instruments was something almost completely unheard in Japanese music to this point (Audio 4 and 5). There had been some limited combining of Japanese and Western instruments in some silent film ensembles though it is still unclear how widespread this practice was in Japan.¹⁷ In composing a Japanese-Western hybrid *gagaku* music, Hayasaka's most remarkable feat was not only becoming one of the first composers to fuse Japanese and European instruments, but also making it sound so natural that some Western scholars and critics, even

¹⁶ I am using this term in a way that is not typical, but the nature of a through-composed work, one that does not rely on repeated music, seems to be what fits best in this context.

¹⁷ See Imada Kentarō, "Musei eiga no oto" [The Sound of Silent Film], *Toyo Ongaku Kenkyu* [Journal of the Society for Research in Asiatic Music] 65 (1999): 33–53.

today, think that the *shō* and *koto* are being imitated by Western instruments. Either way, many overlook the innovative nature of the music, and most point to Hayasaka's later *Ugetsu* score (discussed in Chapter VI) as the first time he experimented with such practices.¹⁸

From fairly early on in his career, it was apparent that Hayasaka's main compositional aspirations lay in exploring ways to combine traditional Japanese music with Western European art music. Hayasaka had studied *gagaku* music since the 1930s and it was his primary vehicle in studying traditional Japanese music, something he demonstrated in *Ancient Dance*. In the opening and closing titles for *Rashomon* Hayasaka took the next step and created a true *gagaku* hybrid.

Rashomon was the first historical period film, known as *jidai-geki* in Japan, which Hayasaka had the chance to work on following the end of war. The Allied censors had effectively banned period films during the Occupation, believing that the genre, thanks to the use of sword-fights, reinforced Japan's feudal past and culture. It was only after the Americans turned over control of film censorship to the Japanese board EIRIN in 1949 that restrictions on *jidai-geki* began to relax.¹⁹ The Heian period (794-1185) in Japanese history, when *Rashomon* is set, was the time that *gagaku* music truly developed and flourished. It was the time that the aesthetics of *jo-ha-kyū* were codified by the court music traditions and would assist in the development of *noh* theatre over three hundred years later. Hayasaka's decision to avoid writing pure *gagaku* music, and instead use two of its most distinctive features—the cluster chords of the *shō* and the graceful arpeggios of the *koto*—and combine them with a Western ensemble—

¹⁸ Kalinak at least mentions that *Rashomon* included some traditional instruments, but the nature of *Film Music: A Very Short Introduction* precludes any in-depth discussion of the topic. Further, she spends more time discussing his Mizoguchi work and also lamenting his being forced into rewriting Ravel and mentions the traditional instruments as an apology.

¹⁹ This is not to say that period films were never made during the Occupation, but they faced close scrutiny by the censors and were harder to gain approval for. One notable exception was Mizoguchi's 1946 film *Utamaro and His Five Women*.

emphasizing the timbres of double reed instruments and matching the Western double reed sounds to the traditional *hichiriki* found in *gagaku*—Hayasaka effectively “harmonized” the sounds of the *gagaku* ensemble to contemporary Japan. Through music Hayasaka paralleled the period setting with that of contemporary Japan and made explicit Kurosawa’s use of the Japanese dramatic tradition of matching a period setting to a contemporary situation to provide commentary on modern events.

During the Tokugawa period (1603–1868), the only way that *kubuki* plays could circumvent Shogunate restrictions on contemporary political subjects was through a similar sort of historical slight of hand.²⁰ For Hayasaka, the use of strictly traditional *gagaku* music would have deepened the focus on the period setting—not required in *Rashomon*—whereas a simple Western imitation, along the lines heard in his *Ancient Dance* would have been redundant. Instead he chose to chart a third path. He took the limited creative opportunity available to him when working with Kurosawa and composed an experiment in Pan-Asian compositional techniques while also cueing the audience into the dual period/modern story that they would be seeing. In effect, he subtly informed viewers how they should *perceive* the events of the film as having a modern relevance, deepening the connection between the film and its music.²¹

The orchestration of the opening credits is an eclectic mix of instruments, especially in the woodwinds: piccolo, flute, oboe, English horn, bass oboe, clarinet, bass clarinet, bassoon, and contrabassoon. To this are added pairs of horns, trumpets, and trombones, along with celli and bassi in the strings, a piano, and the percussion section features timpani and gong. It is noteworthy that Hayasaka actually writes “gong” in the score because this indicates that he is talking about a typical gong found in the Western orchestra and not a specific type of Japanese

²⁰S.A. Thornton, *The Japanese Period Film: A Critical Analysis* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2008), 30–1.

²¹ Just what this relevance could be is open to interpretation. For some possibilities, see Richie’s edited volume *Rashomon*. I believe it to be commentary on Japan’s reaction to their actions before and during the war.

gong. When Hayasaka writes for Japanese instruments, he always writes the name of that instrument using kanji in his scores, whereas Western instruments, along with tempi and dynamic markings, are written using the standard Italian spellings and abbreviations. In his scores for *Rashomon*, when he writes for “gong,” it is always written using the Western alphabet.

To these Western instruments, Hayasaka writes out parts for a pair of *shō* along with *koto*. The *shō* play overlapping clusters of B-D-E-A-B-F# and E-A-B-D-E, to which the *koto* adds matching arpeggiated chords at the ends of phrases (Figures 2.7 and 2.8). The opening

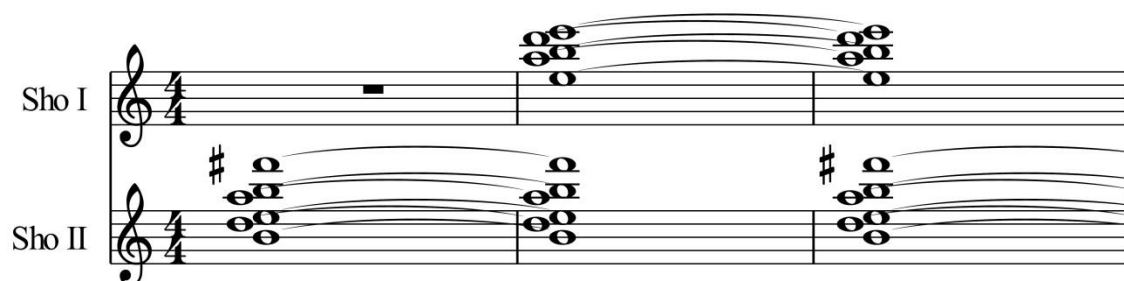


Figure 2.7. *Shō* cluster chords from the *Rashomon* Main Title.



Figure 2.8. *Koto* arpeggios from the *Rashomon* Main Title.

credits proceed through with the main melody, first played by the expanded oboe section, followed by derivative material played and passed around the other sections of the orchestra. Overall, the cue emphasizes the lower timbres of the orchestra, with the flute, piccolo, and trumpets never playing full melodic material, but rather used for accenting ornamentation. Doing so Hayasaka explores the darkness that is to come in the film itself, matching the rain drenched glimpses of the ruined gate that plays under the opening titles.

For the closing credits, Hayasaka needed to change this dark orchestration to reflect the more optimistic and “sunny” disposition in line with Kurosawa’s addition of a redemptive ending. He leaves out the bass oboe and contrabassoon and pads the string section with viola and violins. He also pairs the strings with the winds this time so that both play melodic material over the same *shō* clusters heard in the opening, thus moving that material into the higher registers of the orchestra. He also leaves out the low, ominous drum hits of the opening—which were doubled in the celli and bassi—and the halting, ornamentations by the piccolo and trumpets. Instead, for the closing Hayasaka focuses on writing longer melodic lines which flow into one another. Similarly, since there are no real phrase endings, the melodies elide into each other, that can be filled in by the *koto*, it does not play until the very end of the cue where the same material found in the opening recurs. The end result is a brighter sounding *gagaku* music, though one that a Westerner might still hear as dark because of the scales used.

But the use of Japanese instruments is not limited to the opening and closing titles, though those are the places where it is most evident. In both the first version of the Woodcutter’s story and the Priest’s testimony, Hayasaka writes parts for Japanese percussion instruments, matching the martial pattern accompanying the Woodcutter’s walk through the forest, while the Priest’s music features what could be the *binzasara*, a traditional idiophone that is used in religious music. However the score is unclear as Hayasaka writes “abacus” above the kanji, possibly indicating his knowledge of the instrument’s use by monks to count the desires that might tempt them away from the religious path and thus satisfy them, but this is crossed out and “T.B.” is written above.²²

²² I am unsure what “T.B.” might stand for. It is possible that the traditional instrument was substituted with a Western one for some reason, but I cannot figure out what “T.B.” might be a reference to and the music mix in the movie is not of sufficient quality for me to make a clear determination what the instrument might be otherwise. It is of note that the abacus, as an instrument, also served a similar function in counting desires.

Not notated in the scores, however, are the chanting and drums found at the beginning of the Man's Story as the Medium performs the ritual needed to make the connection to the world beyond. This could indicate that this music is fully traditional and did not require original composition or notations from Hayasaka, though the music could also have been obtained via a recording and dubbed onto the audiotrack, a distinct possibility given the somewhat abrupt transition into the scored material following the cut from the Courthouse to the Forest.

Rashomon is a film that presents many sides to an audience and leaves them to take from it what they will. One can easily assert that the truth of the film is revealed in the Woodcutter's revised story and that any inconsistencies can be explained away as human failings (i.e. lying to protect oneself). But *Rashomon* is also a film that rewards multiple viewings and the more one views the many sides of it, the more one begins to doubt that any truth is actually revealed except maybe that "everybody lies." Similarly, Hayasaka's score for the film presents the listener with many facets. On the surface, the argument for a theme and variation on the bolero theme is possibly sound, but listen closer and a much more complicated musical world presents itself. In fact, *Rashomon* might be one of Hayasaka's most complex scores, and further study of it is warranted and necessarily before a thorough understanding of it can be approached.

Despite its complexity, *Rashomon* with its bolero is the work that has dogged Hayasaka reception since its release in 1950 because of the one cue that mimics a famous Western work—habitually disparaged as formulaic, simple minded, and merely didactic. But as I have shown, the score is intricate—as intricate as the film as a whole—and proved to be a harbinger of things to come. The Japanese/Western hybrid music was only an opening act to Hayasaka's more

comprehensive integration in his Mizoguchi scores, and the character specific scoring methods and careful matching of score to plot are defining elements of his score for *Seven Samurai*.

CHAPTER III

DRUNKEN ANGEL: LORDS OF THE SLUM

“Die Moritat von Mackie Messer” is better known in the United States as “Mack the Knife” and was made famous by musicians like Louis Armstrong, Ella Fitzgerald, and Bobby Darin. But in 1947, the song had yet to become a jazz standard and was known only by those familiar with its origins in Kurt Weill and Bertolt Brecht’s *Die Dreigroschenoper* (The Threepenny Opera). It was this song, along with other parts of the Brecht and Weill musical score, that Kurosawa had in mind when he began meeting with his new composer Hayasaka Fumio about the score for his seventh feature film, *Yoidore tenshi* (Drunken Angel, 1948).

According to many scholars, and Kurosawa himself, this film marked an important step forward in the career of the young director. In an interview with Donald Richie, Kurosawa said: “In this picture I finally discovered myself. It was *my* picture: I was doing it and no one else.”¹ Stephen Prince claims that it is the film in which Kurosawa “came into his own as a director,” and Donald Richie, echoing many other critics, says that it “marks the major ‘breakthrough’ of a major directorial talent who has finally ‘realized’ himself.”² Lars-Martin Sorensen, however, looks at the film through the lens of the many revisions inflicted upon it by Allied occupation censors, and concludes that, “the film is not the work of Kurosawa alone. An adequate description of the existing film must reckon with the influence of Kurosawa as well as a number

¹ Bert Cardullo, ed., *Akira Kurosawa Interviews* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2008), 8.

² Stephen Prince, *The Warrior’s Camera: The Cinema of Akira Kurosawa* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), 78; Donald Richie, *The Films of Akira Kurosawa*, 3rd ed. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998), 47.

of co-authors... *Drunken Angel* can be more aptly described as a tug-of-war between several parties than as the work of Kurosawa ‘and no one else’.”³ I will examine the work through the lens of one of those co-authors: Hayasaka.

At the time, though, in 1947, this film was seen neither as a classic nor as a creative breakthrough. As the script was being reviewed by censors for the Occupation, words like “gruesome” and questions about the title character’s alcoholism were common. In retrospect, the censors were correct to be concerned. The finished film was a tacit indictment against the underworld that Occupation forces allowed to exist which resulted in over a million annual arrests of people caught participating in black market transactions, including 1.36 million in the year Kurosawa began working on *Yoidore tenshi*. And this was in addition to the rise in abuse of cheap alcohol, much like the drunken angel of the film’s title.⁴ At the geographic and allegorical center of *Drunken Angel* is an open sump pit where the inhabitants of a bombed out slum of post-war Tokyo dispose of their trash. It seethes and bubbles with the cast-off remnants and broken memories of the poor barely scraping by. The slum is controlled not by the government or police, but rather gangsters who also run the black markets that provide such staples as food at a greatly inflated rate. In this world, two forces compete for control of the hearts of its citizens: an alcoholic doctor named Sanada, who treats the poor and specializes in TB cases, and a well-dressed gangster named Matsunaga, who is the local yakuza leader.

Musically the film initiated Kurosawa’s important relationship with Hayasaka. With the exception of *The Quiet Duel* (1949), the two would continue to work together on all of Kurosawa’s subsequent films until Hayasaka’s death in 1955. To Kurosawa, working with

³ Lars-Martin Sorensen, *Censorship of Japanese Films During the U.S. Occupation of Japan: The Case of Yasujiro Ozu and Akira Kurosawa* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2009), 236.

⁴ John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999), 100 and 107.

Hayasaka was a “turning point” in his handling of music for his films, saying that previously he had been “too casual” about how he used music.⁵ While Kurosawa’s first six films had demonstrated a musical and aural awareness, it was with Hayasaka that he would craft an aural soundscape more complex than any of Kurosawa’s previous features. The Tokyo slum of *Drunken Angel* bursts with jazz blaring from loudspeakers and music spills into the trash-littered streets from the No. 1 Cabaret Club and other assorted bars. The aural density of the score was something that had rarely been heard before, and anticipates the complexity of *Rashomon*’s score in many ways.

In my analysis of the music in *Drunken Angel*, I group it into three broad categories: diegetic music sung with or played by guitar, diegetic jazz music both performed on screen and played via on/off-screen records (mostly coming from the jazz clubs in the slum), and orchestral underscoring. How and where each of these three musical types is found in the film is intimately tied to the story of the film itself: the Guitarist–Sanada complex is used to mark important events and narrative shifts in the film, and the use of jazz and orchestral underscoring parallels the plot of the film, indicating which character is in control of the slum. An examination of this music will allow us to see how Hayasaka, as the film’s music director, and therefore charged with organizing all music in the film, uses the aural space to suggest the power struggle tearing at the underbelly of one post-war Tokyo slum.

Songs Beside an Open Sump

The film’s opening scene gives the viewer a sense of the decrepit conditions that exist in the slum. Japanese prostitutes that cater to American G.I.s, called pan-pan girls, try to grab a

⁵ Qtd. in Stuart Galbraith IV, *The Emperor and the Wolf* (New York: Faber and Faber, 2001), 96.

quick rest before heading back out to find more work as gangsters look on. Drifting in the hot night air are the sounds of guitar poorly played, indifferent to it all. Inside a clinic, Dr. Sanada treats Matsunaga for a gunshot wound to his hand. The physician opens a window in an effort to combat the stifling heat and humidity and hears the guitar melody as it floats into the clinic. Lost in the music, he sings his own song along with it (Video 3.1).

Keiko I. McDonald identifies the guitarist's and Sanada's songs as two different musical pieces: "Ame no burūsu" (Rainy Blues) and "Anata to futari de kita oka" (The hill I visited with you) respectively.⁶ While the two songs are different in melodic character, they are diegetically linked together in the opening scene described above. Because of this linkage I will consider them as a single musical utterance. As described by McDonald, these songs have very different lyric content, though both help to put the sump at the center of the film into stark relief. For the "Rainy Blues" of the guitarist, McDonald says that "[t]he lyric describes rain falling quietly in a street as evening comes on. A pedestrian feels the rain touching him to the heart."⁷ The guitarist is not a major character in the plot so we can take him to stand for an everyman of the slum, one who is despondent, listless, but possibly hoping for the rain to wash away the slime, corruption, and decay that surrounds him. The tune sung and hummed by Dr. Sanada describes "young lovers who climb a hill that commands a fine view of a harbor and ships. Cherry blossom time is coming to an end. Falling petals scatter, some of them coming to rest on this happy pair."⁸ This idyllic scene is meant to put Sanada's life as an alcoholic slum doctor into sharp contrast with his immediate surroundings, a contrast enhanced when he meets with one of his old classmates later

⁶ Keiko I. McDonald, *Reading a Japanese Film: Cinema in Context* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 42–4.

⁷ McDonald, *Reading*, 44.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 42.

Anthem,” and Miyo, when she hears it, informs the doctor that it was Okada’s favorite song and that it means that he has returned to the slum (Video 3.2). It was at this point in the movie that Kurosawa had originally wanted to use “The Ballad of Mack the Knife” as the “killer song,” but found it too expensive to secure the rights.

The GSC reappears at key points in the film narrative and emulates another aspect of *The Threepenny Opera*: the Street Singer who performs “Die Moritat.” We know from Kurosawa’s autobiography that he was familiar with G.W. Pabst’s 1931 film version of *Die Dreigroschenoper*, and I will use that as my point of reference here.⁹ In Pabst’s film the Street Singer is first seen in the opening sequence singing the “Moritat von Mackie Messer” and later breaks the fourth wall, directly addresses the audience and provides narration to facilitate act changes. He also sings another song, “Lied von der Unzulänglichkeit menschlichen Strebens” (“Song of the Insufficiency of Human Striving”), which is linked musically to the earlier “Moritat” in that the first two intervals of “Mackie Messer” are the same intervals of the “Song...Human Striving” in retrograde inversion. Additionally, in both the stage and film version of *Dreigroschenoper*, the “Moritat” shows up elsewhere in underscore and acts as a recurrent musical motif. In this way, the street singer both marks important narrative shifts while also commenting upon them.

The GSC functions in much the same way for *Drunken Angel*: to mark the important narrative points and also provide musical commentary and foreshadowing. Most interesting is when Okada finally steps into the film, roughly half-way through, and takes literal control of the guitar and its music and makes the song his own effectively silencing the GSC until the end of the film. And just as Sanada’s song comes back in the end of *Drunken Angel*, so does the film version of *Dreigroschenoper* close with “Mackie Messer” (Video 3.3).

⁹ Kurosawa, *Something Like*, 82.

Sorensen provides limited analysis of the song and the ending of *Drunken Angel* that fails to consider the complete Guitarist–Sanada Complex. He asserts that in having Dr. Sanada repeat his song in the closing sequence, Kurosawa links the “shrill optimism represented by the schoolgirl” whose TB has been cured by Sanada, and contrasts it with the image of the sump.¹⁰ In doing so, Sorensen seems to believe that Kurosawa is articulating his “ambivalent personal stance toward the forced optimism initially flaunted by [Matsunaga], which is underscored by the schoolgirl’s character, and the [ending].”¹¹ To reach this conclusion he first connects the lyrics of the Sanada’s song (The hilltop we climbed together / Had a view of the harbor) with one of the experiences that Kurosawa claimed to have inspired the film’s central image of the sump:

From our room we could look out over the bay, and there I saw a strange-looking freighter sunk offshore. It was a ship made of concrete, the product of Japanese war industries approaching defeat... children used the concrete prow that jutted out of the water as a diving board from which they plunged into the glittering sea. Watching their play, it seemed to me this bay with the sunken concrete ship was a kind of parody of defeated Japan. This depressing image that we gazed at every day while writing the script developed into the sump in [*Drunken Angel*].¹²

But Sorensen considers only the three times in which the song is sung by Sanada and misses the other occurrences when the parallel song is played by the guitarist. This, I believe, leads him to a misunderstanding of the fundamental use of these songs and how their recurrence at the end of the film is meant to be understood.

Sorensen links the second time the song is *sung* by Sanada with the first appearance of the schoolgirl in Sanada’s clinic, thus viewing it as a symbol of optimism:

The second time [the song is heard] is when the schoolgirl—symbolically the incarnated hope of a brighter future where the ‘willpower will cure all human ailments’—is introduced at Sanada’s clinic.¹³

¹⁰ Sorensen, *Censorship*, 248.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Kurosawa, *Something Like*, 155–6.

¹³ Sorensen, *Censorship*, 248.

He is correct in that the song occurs during the same scene as the schoolgirl, but by the time Sanada begins to sing, she has already left the clinic. The song only occurs when he begins to drink a circumstance prolonged and underlined by the camera's capture of the "100% pure alcohol label" (needed in his practice) which he dilutes and finally ingests (Video 3.4). For me, this indicates that instead of the song being linked with optimism, it is linked, in this scene, with Sanada's inner demons, just as it is linked with the sump by the guitarist sitting beside it as he plays. The song's use throughout the first major scene inside the clinic—where Sanada sings as the guitarist plays outside—helps to strengthen the song's connection with the sump and everything that is wrong with the slum.

In my interpretation of this aspect of the film's musical features, then, Sanada's singing the song at the end is not a subtle protest against the film's forced happy ending, but rather just that—a happy ending. Sanada is recapturing what was stolen by Okada and recontextualizing it from its original negative association to an optimistic one. He sings it as he walks away from the sump, distancing it from its earlier symbolism and giving the audience the hope that the harbor viewed at the top of the hill is no longer a filthy hole but rather a pristine bay. Such an interpretation is underlined by the contrast of the opening and closing shots of the film: the film opens with a close-up of the bubbling, ugly sump and it closes with a crane shot of Sanada and the girl as they walk into a crowded market on a bright, sunny day.

Jazzing in the Tokyo Slum

The moment in the film of Okada's return, and theft of the guitar, also marks an important turning point in the use of music in the film. By claiming the guitar for himself,

Okada silences the diegetic guitar, and it is heard only once more, played by Okada in his new girlfriend's apartment. The original song from the opening is not heard again until the end, and Okada's seizure of the guitar effects a shift of the film's music from almost exclusively diegetic to almost exclusively non-diegetic.¹⁴

From the table in Appendix D, one can see that after the main title theme, there is only one other non-diegetic cue prior to Okada's return to the slum. These two non-diegetic cues are the main orchestral themes that will be heard in the remainder of the film. First is the brass heavy, dark music associated with Okada and his gangsters which first appears during the opening titles and the lyrical, melancholy string theme associated with Matsunaga's struggle and Dr. Sanada's quest to help him, which is heard about thirty minutes into the film.

This string theme has been cited by others as an example of Kurosawa's wanting specific Western models for his music cues. Knowing that he could not use an original composition by Claude Debussy (1862-1918) for the film, Donald Richie states Kurosawa wanted *something like* the Frenchman's "Clair de lune."¹⁵ While not so obviously derived from Debussy's iconic work as with the later *Rashomon* bolero, the piece that Hayasaka wrote to represent Matsunaga and Sanada's struggles certainly captures Debussy's general style. Matthew Brown, in *Debussy Redux*, compares this theme to *Prélude à 'L'Après-midi d'un faune*, saying that while the opening few notes are similar to "Clair de lune," on the whole Hayasaka's melody is closer to the orchestral prelude.¹⁶ Of course, Debussy himself was famously inspired by the music of Asia, specifically in his piano piece *Pagodes* from his collection *Estampes* (L. 100). As was typical,

¹⁴ See Appendix D for chart of music in the film.

¹⁵ Richie, *Films of Akira Kurosawa*, 53.

¹⁶ Matthew Brown, *Debussy Redux: The Impact of His Music on Popular Culture* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2012), 149. Timothy Koozin also considers this theme in relation to Debussy in: "Expressive Meaning and Historical Ground in the Film Music of Fumio Hayasaka and Toru Takemitsu," *Journal of Film Music*, 3, no. 1 (2010): 7-8. Thanks to Jane Harrison for pointing me to this book.

Hayasaka took Kurosawa's instructions to heart and wrote a piece reminiscent of Debussy while also remaining true to his own style of blending Western and Eastern musical idioms.

The jazz music heard in the film culminates shortly after Okada's return with the performance of "Jungle Boogie" in the No. 1 Cabaret club, music by Ryōichi Hattori (1907–93) and lyrics by Kurosawa himself. This raucous performance, punctuated by Tarzan like calls, is a musical parallel to Matsunaga's outward behavior (Video 3.5). After leaving Sanada's clinic and vowing to get healthy and swear off alcohol, he encounters the returned Okada who convinces him to go out on the town, which destroys Matsunaga's ability to recover from his TB, though in the gangster's mind he hopes to instead to save his yakuza life. It is during this song that we see Matsunaga's power begin to slip as Nanae, supposedly his girlfriend, dances with Okada while the drunken Matsunaga is forced to dance with another girl to keep up appearances. The song's lyrics, about a "she-panther," can easily be read as referencing Nanae as she begins to switch allegiances over to Okada. At one point, the lyrics are: "I was so wild with love in the jungle / I left my panther skin on a rubber tree." Nanae is obviously "wild" and not tied down with her love. She dances with other men at the club, and the next day, for the first dance of the night, she chooses to dance with Okada over Matsunaga, metaphorically signaling the shift of power in the slum. This dance, to a jazz version of music from Bizet's opera *Carmen*, is the last major occurrence of diegetic jazz music in the film. Afterwards, Matsunaga attempts to assert control one last time, via a game of chance. He loses all his money and then collapses on the mat. It is the crucial moment of Matsunaga's fall from grace and Okada's triumph.

We can conclude from the use of diegetic jazz music that it is largely associated with Matsunaga's highly Westernized yakuza lifestyle, which is why, as Sorensen asserts, it should have run afoul of the Allied censors because of its direct link with Western dress, music, and

gangsterism.¹⁷ Okada, on the other hand, comes from a previous generation, and while he slowly adopts the Western dress of the gangster, he shows little interest in the jazz music of this new breed of yakuza. The only diegetic music associated with Okada is his own “Killer’s Anthem.” Put simply, as Matsunaga’s control of the slum fades, so does the use of diegetic jazz music, and, conversely, the use of non-diegetic orchestral underscoring increases.

Of Musical Boxes and Cuckooed Waltzes

The bulk of the diegetic music in *Drunken Angel* is either jazz music or the Guitarist-Sanada Complex, but there are two pieces that appear in the on-screen space that are not jazz. The first example appears while Matsunaga is recovering after his collapse during the dice game. In two scenes taking place in Nanae’s apartment, an on-screen music box is played. The melody of the box is from a piano piece by Hayasaka entitled *Mūjikaru bokkusu* (Musical Box), written in 1945. In both scenes, the music is linked with shadow puppets in the apartment as a sort of accompaniment to the entertainment of childhood, a reminiscence of a time of being cared for while sick as a child. Where during Sanada’s visit he actually uses the puppets, reflecting his caring for Matsunaga, Nanae ignores; she only wishes to get away from Matsunaga and his illness as quickly as possible. Kurosawa is careful, however, during Nanae’s scene to not only have the music box playing in the background, but also make sure that the puppets are visible in almost every shot of Nanae.

¹⁷ Sorensen, *Censorship*, 237–8.

The other non-jazz diegetic piece specified by Kurosawa for Hayasaka's use was "Cuckoo Waltz" by J.E. Jonasson.¹⁸ The work is heard playing over a loudspeaker as Matsunaga walks through the slum after realizing that he is "out" of the gang (Video 3.6). Kurosawa describes in his autobiography how it came to be used in the film:

The day I received the news of my father's death I went out to Shinjuku alone. I tried drinking, but it only made me feel more depressed. Frustrated, I wandered out into the crowds of people in the streets of Shinjuku. I had no objective in mind. As I walked, I suddenly heard the strains of "The Cuckoo Waltz" blaring over a loudspeaker system somewhere. The cheerful brightness of the song threw my black mood into high relief, intensifying my sorrow to an intolerable degree. I hurried my steps to escape this awful music.¹⁹

In discussing with Hayasaka what music to use in this scene, Kurosawa told him this story and Hayasaka responded, "Ah, counterpoint."²⁰ Kurosawa went on to use this technique in many subsequent films, notable the final scene of *Seven Samurai* (see Chapter IV). Another example would be *The Lower Depths* (1957, music by Satō) in which festival songs are performed by the characters who throw their squalid living conditions into stark relief, none more so than at the end of the film when the song is interrupted by the news that their roommate has killed himself. And a final instance of Kurosawa's "counterpoint"—though by no means the last—would be in *High and Low* (1963, music by Satō) where the street setting from *Drunken Angel* is almost exactly repeated. Our first glimpse of the film's kidnapper occurs when the camera follows him walking from a phone booth, through the city streets, and back to his apartment, accompanied by the strains of Franz Schubert's "Trout" Piano Quintet.

¹⁸ Jonasson was a Swedish composer so minor that he does not even merit an entry in the *Grove Encyclopedia*, *Oxford Music Online*, or *Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians*.

¹⁹ Kurosawa, *Something Like*, 162–3.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 163. I should note that this, in its strictest sense, is not counterpoint as the term is used in musical theory, which describes two or more musical lines playing with and against each other and is most closely linked to the work of J.S. Bach. What is being described is actually closer to Michel Chion's term of "anempathetic effect" in which an emotion is intensified by adding music that invokes the opposite mood of the scene.

From my close analysis, we can appreciate how *Drunken Angel* marked a new era of sophistication in Kurosawa's handling of music in his films, assisted by his new collaborator Hayasaka. In this film the music is clearly used not only as character themes or integrated into the story as a plot point, but is utilized in a structural sense to assist the plot in the guise of the guitar player, who reappears throughout the first half of the film and whose song comes back at the close of the film, not unlike the street singer of Pabst's *Die Dreigroschenoper*. While it is hard to attribute this completely to Hayasaka's influence since Kurosawa had demonstrated some basic awareness in earlier films—such as *Waga seishun ni kuinashi* (No Regrets for Our Youth, 1946) and *Subarashiki nichiyōbi* (One Wonderful Sunday, 1947), both scored by Tadashi Hattori (1908–2008) who Kurosawa had also worked with on *Tora no o wo fumu otokotachi* (The Men Who Tread on the Tiger's Tale, 1945)—interviews with the director and his own writings make it clear that the two men were consciously trying to craft a film that used music in a sophisticated and creative manner that went beyond simple rehashes of Western classics. And while Kurosawa would continue to use Western music references as a basis for many of his instructions to composers throughout his career, Hayasaka helped to heighten the director's understanding of the importance of the aural space in the film medium.

CHAPTER IV

SEVEN SAMURAI: THE THUNDER OF APPROACHING HOOVES

An oft-told story about the origins of the central theme in *Seven Samurai* was related the director himself to Oshima Nagisa (1932–2013) in an interview taped in 1993 for the Director’s Guild of Japan:

When [Hayasaka] told me he’d written some possible themes for the samurai, it was a stack this high. [Kurosawa gestures with his hand to indicate a large stack of paper.] He played them one by one, and I said no to every one of them. He hung his head like this. [Kurosawa looks down dejectedly.] Then he said he had one more. It was in a wastebasket. It had been torn up, so he taped it together and played it. [Kurosawa sings opening phrase of theme, Oshima joins in.] “That’s it!” I said. The scrapped piece was the good one.¹

And so was one of Hayasaka’s most well-known themes picked from the tattered pieces of a refuse bin.

Of course, how much of the story is true and how much is owed to Kurosawa’s fondness for a good anecdote is unsure, but Hayasaka is known to have composed numerous themes for the film, and also sketched out different possible versions of themes along with collecting numerous folk songs to be used as music for the villagers of the film that hire the samurai. In all, Hayasaka spent around a year working on the score of *Shichinin no samurai* beginning in March 1953, during which time he also accepted and completed other scores, including *Sanshō dayū*—which actually opened before *Samurai*. For Kurosawa, the process had been even longer; he had started working on the script with his co-writers in October of 1952.

¹ *My Life in Cinema*, 1993 interview by Oshima Nagisa, included on the 2006 Criterion Collection edition of *Seven Samurai*.

It was during this period, in May 1953, that Hayasaka became seriously ill again and began preparations for his eventual death. He was, however, able to continue composing thanks to the aid of his assistants Takemitsu and Satō, working on scores for seven feature films while also beginning work on his final orchestral work, *Yūkara*. Even more remarkable was that *Seven Samurai* became one of Hayasaka's most thematically complex scores. It has five distinct original musical themes, one of which has three distinct rhythmic variations, along with choral and folk songs, the latter acquired with the assistance of a folk music expert. In all, Hayasaka wrote over fifty different cues for the film, some of which were not even used, along with a five-minute intermezzo featuring many of the film's musical themes.

The scale of the film, its plot and scope, earned it the label “epic” and placed it among the most famous films of all time, whose central plot device of putting together a team for a specific task has been copied by many subsequent works. From gritty films like *The Magnificent Seven* (John Sturges, 1960) and *The Dirty Dozen* (Robert Aldrich, 1967) to lighter fare such as *Ocean's Eleven* (Steven Soderbergh, 2001, based on an earlier 1960 film) and the Roger Corman produced *Battle Beyond the Stars* (Jimmy T. Murakami, 1980), *Seven Samurai* left an indelible mark on film history.

Despite the epic scale of Kurosawa's *jidai-geki* production set in Japan's civil war period prior to the establishment of the Tokugawa Shogunate, Hayasaka's score is mostly devoid of explicit references to traditional Japanese music. The few appearances of Japanese instruments, outside of the isolated use of the *shinobue* in one scene, occur during on-screen performances, including a blind priest playing *biwa* and the concluding rice-planting scene in which the villagers play instruments and sing. Instead, Hayasaka used his Pan-Asian style to construct themes that are reminiscent of Japanese music, while also expanding his orchestral palette to

include saxophones, congas, and guitar, straddling the historical setting of the film and the contemporary sounds of 1950s Japan.

Hayasaka's score lacks the expansive sounds of the many Hollywood westerns modeled on *Seven Samurai*, but a "smaller" score is appropriate for the much more claustrophobic setting of Japan, which lacks the wide vistas of the American west, one of the key differences between Japanese *jidai-geki* and the Western film.² Instead, Hayasaka writes a number of character-based themes that capture the spirit of their on-screen counterparts and then transforms the tunes as the film progresses. From the wild mambos for Mifune Toshiro's Kikuchiyo character, to the three versions of the "Samurai Theme," which reflect everything from stoic pride to resignation, to the simple drum ostinato to represent the "thunder of approaching hooves" of the bandits' horses that threaten the village, Hayasaka's score helps to reinforce that this *is* a character film, despite its 207 minute runtime, which was meant to renovate the genre of *jidai-geki* from its simpler sword fighting roots to something more significant. The director set out to not only revive the exciting sword fights of pre-war films, but also reimagine them into something more realistic and then combine this "radically different type of sword fight with a strong allegorical narrative and serious thematic motifs."³ In other words, he wanted to take a genre that was largely known for its empty spectacle and sword fight set pieces and infuse it with his patented humanist storytelling in order to create a parable for the post-war era.

One of the most remarkable features of Hayasaka's score is how it illuminates Kurosawa's humanist ideals, showing how Japan should transcend its feudal past by assigning *individual* themes only to those characters that cross class boundaries. In exploring this and other features, I will first discuss how the film's musical themes represent the three classes of

² Yoshimoto Mitsuhiro, *Kurosawa: Film Studies and Japanese Cinema* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 233.

³ *Ibid.*, 238.

characters in the film—samurai, villager, and bandit—before discussing the individual themes. I will then end with a detailed discussion of the film’s final scene to demonstrate some of these themes at work.

Feudal Identities

The film begins with the opening credits accompanied by a simple drum ostinato pattern punctuated with percussive piano chords and low string pizzicato (Video 4.1). This is the Bandits’ Theme, and after the opening credits it disappears from the film completely until after the intermission when the Bandits’ return to scout out the village not knowing that the samurai are now there and have prepared a defense (Figure 4.1). It is an odd choice to begin a film with

The musical score for the Bandits' Theme consists of four staves: Timpani I, Timpani II, Congas, and Double Bass. The score is divided into two measures. The first measure is in 4/4 time, and the second measure is in 2/4 time. The notation is as follows:

- Timpani I:** Bass clef, 4/4 time. Notes: G2, A2, B2, C3, D3, E3, F3, G3. In 2/4 time: G3, A3, B3, C4.
- Timpani II:** Bass clef, 4/4 time. Notes: G2, A2, B2, C3, D3, E3, F3, G3. In 2/4 time: G3, A3, B3, C4.
- Congas:** Treble clef, 4/4 time. Notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, D5, E5, F5, G5. In 2/4 time: G5, A5, B5, C6.
- Double Bass:** Bass clef, 4/4 time. Notes: G2, A2, B2, C3, D3, E3, F3, G3. In 2/4 time: G3, A3, B3, C4.

The number 8 is written below the Double Bass staff at the beginning of the first measure.

Figure 4.1. The basic elements of the Bandits’ Theme.

such a static musical motif, which lasts for over three minutes, and to our modern sensibilities it might seem excessively long and tedious. It does not give us any sense of the film’s plot or main characters, but it does capture the ominous nature of the bandits, and the opening text of the

film—which appears after the credits—informs us of not only the time period but also the nature of the bandits and that their theme is representative of “the thunder of approaching hooves.”⁴

Their theme, though, also captures the bandits’ two-dimensional nature. In the leading samurai and villager characters, Kurosawa provides us with expressive, developed personalities, which the bandits always remain nameless, even faceless, antagonists. Even the leader of the bandits is only identified by his role as “Bandit Leader” in the film credits. The bandits are present as part of the scenery, as it were, representative of the time and place of the film and fated to die in glorious battle on-screen, dark reminders of a feudal time. Imparting this sense of foreboding is what Hayasaka captures in giving them a simple drum ostinato. There is no melodic shape just as the bandits collectively have no character arc. They are a force to set events in motion and to eventually be wiped out.

Of the three main types of music, the Bandits’ Theme is the least heard. It will not recur until more than two hours into the film, when it is heard again as Katsushirō—a young samurai who becomes the student Kambei, the unofficial leader of the band—and Shino—a village girl who begins an affair with Katsushirō—discover the horses of bandit scouts. Here it enters after the two lover’s rendezvous is interrupted by the sound of the horses’ neighs and the camera pans down to reveal three horses. It is heard again not long after when three of the samurai go to kill the scouts before they can report back to the rest of the bandits.

The Bandits’ Theme is heard one last time when three of the samurai and a guide from the village travel to the bandits’ fort to mount a preemptive strike to hopefully even the odds. Unbeknownst to the samurai, though, the bandits have kidnapped a number of women from the villages they attack, forcing them into servitude. Among the women at the fort is the wife of their guide. When she appears on screen, we hear the only instance of traditional instruments in

⁴ For a complete list of cues see Appendix E.

the non-diegetic score, a *shinobue*. The flute floats over the drums, which use Western instruments mimicking traditional percussion, as she slowly moves around the hideout. One of the samurai sets fire to the lair and the bandits and their slave women run outside. During the chaos the Bandits' Theme leaves the score for good, despite the fact that there is still an hour of film left. Their power has been broken by the samurai and even though many samurai will die in the process, the battle, and inevitable victory of the villagers and samurai, has begun.

The *shinobue* appears a second time, now playing solo, in the same scene as the villager's wife emerges from the burning hideout. She sees her husband and then flees back inside to die in the fire, ashamed at the fate that befell her at the hands of the bandits. The usage underscores how the villagers are marked by the instances of folk music in the film's audiotrack. These include a number of folk songs sung by the villagers, men and children alike, and even the *biwa* performance by a blind priest at the flophouse the villagers stay at in the city while searching for samurai. Even though this priest is not one of the villagers, he performs a traditional song as those villagers mull over their utter failure to convince even one warrior to join their cause. We find the other major instance of diegetic folk music during the film's final scene where the villagers perform a planting song.

But the villagers are not represented by traditional music alone. Cues such as the harvesting music at the beginning of the film's second half combine traditional percussions with oboes and flutes and are based on folk music styles. A recurring motif of male choral music appears throughout the film. This music tends to be very melancholy in nature and occurs at times of collective dejection in the village, for example during the villagers walk to visit the elder once they have learned of the bandits' impending attack, or when they have failed in their search for samurai. It is associated not with a single villager, but instead the whole community;

it is literally the village chorus. The music appears in both a cappella settings and mixed with orchestral instruments, though due to poor recording and dubbing in Japanese studios at the time, the chorus parts do not always synchronize with the beats in the orchestra. Even when a composer of Hayasaka's stature was working on a film with directors like Kurosawa and Mizoguchi, he still had to fight poor technology and short schedules, and his musical vision was not always fully realized.⁵ An example of the choral music and poor recording technology is in the scene where Kambei finally agrees to join with the villagers to fend off the bandit (Video 4.2). The scene begins with him telling them that there is no way he can go into battle again; he is tired and has seen far too many battles. The choral parts have no actual texts, though in this cue and others, Hayasaka does indicate what vocal syllables he wishes the chorus to sing on (Figure 4.2). As the chorus sings Kambei is informed by other men staying at their in how the



Figure 4.2. The chorus part from cue R No 7, with Hayasaka's indications for syllables (Archives of Modern Japanese Music, Meiji Gakuin University Library, Tokyo, Japan).

villagers have been eating millet while saving the rice to give to the samurai they hire, starving themselves in order to pay for the warriors with the only thing they have to trade and the very thing the bandits intend to steal. Hearing this, Kambei accepts the rice and declares, "I won't let this rice go to waste." Accepting the villager's offer, the Samurai Theme is played by a brass fanfare over the continuing chorus; they have found their first warrior.

⁵ For more, see: Anderson and Richie, *Japanese Film*, 341–2.

The Samurai Theme heard in this cue is one of three versions that occur in the film. The differences between these three variations are mainly rhythmic; tempo and mode change to give each occurrence a different character. The first variation is most often heard as a quick march as the samurai are walking back to the village, the second is used as a triumphant fanfare, and the third is used in more somber and reflective scenes (Figures 4.3A–4.3C). As the film progresses through its nearly three and a half hour running time, the third variation becomes



Figure 4.3A. Variation I of the Samurai Theme.



Figure 4.3B. Variation II of the Samurai Theme.



Figure 4.3C. Variation III of the Samurai Theme.

dominant, underscoring the attrition to the samurai’s ranks. The scene described above, when Kambei joins with the villagers, features the first appearance of the second variation of the Samurai Theme, one of only two times that that particular variation is heard.

By far, it is the third variation of the theme that is heard most often, appearing in ten separate cues, as opposed to four for the first version and two for the second. It first appears after Kambei joins along with Katsushirō, who has been following the elder samurai around hoping that Kambei will become his sensei. Even though it is usually heard in a minor mode, it is not necessarily a “sad” theme. Early on it is used to represent the struggle to find enough samurai to protect the village, but as the film progresses it begins to accompany the samurai’s

reflection on their lives and the slow passing of their livelihood as Japan's many daimyos have fallen in the civil wars and the samurais find it hard to gain employment from other lords. It begins to express the quality known in Japanese aesthetics as *mono no aware*, which translates as "the pathos of things." In Japan, this concept refers to upon the impermanence of life and how all things must end.⁶ This very idea lies at the heart of the story of *Seven Samurai*: the way of life of the samurai is on the wane and so beginning to be viewed sentimentally.

Once Japan was unified under Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1600, barely a decade after the time of the film, the samurai became bureaucrats, functionaries who helped maintain the political power of the shogunate. They might still be called upon to quash the occasional rebellion, keep locals in line, maintain the peace, but most of the time they were no longer warriors, though they would continue to carry their two traditional swords. And that was only the lucky few who could find work; most ended up as ronin as are all the samurai in the film.

Hayasaka accomplishes this ephemeral affect not by using Japanese instruments but rather through the Western orchestra. The theme, by using the Western minor modes to express sadness, failure, and the bittersweet in various scenes, builds up these associations and is then used in the final scene to express not a literal passing of a person but rather the passing of the samurai lifestyle, expressed in Kambei's statement that "This victory belongs to those peasants. Not to us."

Two examples of this theme during the second half of the film will demonstrate this change. This first occurs not long after the film's intermission break when one of the samurai sits beside a fire at night talking to a villager. This is the same villager whose wife was kidnapped by the bandits, though at this point we only know that he react strongly when

⁶ This idea is famously reflected in the Japanese love for cherry blossoms, which are not any more or less beautiful than other blossoms, but had the distinction of usually falling to the ground a week or so after blooming.

questioned about his marital status. Seeing how upset this villager has become, one of the samurai talks to him, urging him to open up and discuss what it is that is troubling him. This fireside chat is accompanied by a solo bassoon playing the third variation of the samurai melody, a plaintive expression of the theme. The samurai encourages the peasant to move on, to accept the impermanence of life by talking openly about his troubles.

Later on, this same samurai, named Heihachi, is shot and killed during the raid on the bandits' fort while saving the same villager, named Rikichi, after his wife kills herself, the scene described above (Video 4.3). We hear the third variation again during Heihachi's funeral as the gathered samurai and villagers pay their respects. Rikichi wails in grief, feeling responsible, as Kambei comments that Heihachi was their comic relief when times got hard. He had not have been the best swordsmen, but his attitude and levity helped them through, and now he is gone. The score here adds to the solo bassoon heard earlier with horns, clarinets, bass clarinet, along with celli and bassi. By retaining the low range heard in the solo version, Hayasaka is drawing a line between the earlier conversation and this scene. The message is clear that Rikichi must learn to accept the impermanence of life, reinforcing the theme's association with the transitory nature of existence.

Our first aural glimpse of the Samurai Theme comes as Kambei is walking from one town to another. He is followed by not only the villagers who, after witnessing his selfless act of saving a child think he might help them, but also two samurai. Katsushirō hopes to become a student of Kambei's, and Kikuchiyo is a wild-eyed wannabe who wants to prove himself to Kambei for his own reasons (Video 4.4). This first appearance of the Samurai Theme is presented as quick-paced walking music. Kambei is sure-footed and wants nothing to do with any of those following him. He is done with fighting and wars, and only looks to the path that he

sees before him. The theme here is accompanied by a low string and harp ostinato pattern while the theme is played in alto and tenor saxophones, trumpets, and trombones. The theme does not have any of the heroic qualities of the second variation and is lacking in the melancholy that the third variation generally retains. But in two of the four appearance of variation one it is missing the walking, almost jovial quality. In fact, it takes on the quality of both of the other versions. It is as if the first variation of the Samurai Theme is Kambei himself and reflects his own mood. Variation one appears in its melancholy form when Kambei tells Katsushirō that he will not teach him and that he cannot join them, but that instead he should go on his own to find battle and glory. But more importantly, Kambei is reflecting on his own life and failure to achieve such glory. “But as you dream those dreams, before you know it, your hair will turn as gray as mine. By that time you’ve lost your parents and you’re all alone.” Kurosawa then switches to a wide shot of all of the assembled samurai sitting around a modest fire, Kambei’s back to the camera. It is a solemn moment.

While we can hear the first version of the Samurai Theme as belonging to Kambei—he is their leader and a synecdoche for the group—it is only Kikuchiyo and the love theme for Katsushirō and Shino that have their own musical identities. The reason for this, I believe, is that they are the only characters who transcend the rigid class boundaries of feudal Japan. To put it in a modern post-war context, their characters are the only ones that promote the idea of individualism within a democratic society that the recently ended Occupation sought to instill in Japan and that Kurosawa also believed in. It seems also not accidental that both of these character themes are stylistically the furthest from Japanese traditional music in the entire score. Kikuchiyo is not a samurai by birth, but rather the son of farmers not unlike the villagers of the film. He has always had dreams of being a samurai and finally finds acceptance and a warrior’s

death defending the village. Likewise Katsushirō and Shino break an even greater social taboo with the fraternization between the social classes. While it is true that there was nothing strictly prohibiting their relationship—it was, in fact, the only way for a woman to improve her social status—it was looked down upon, especially by Shino’s father.

Where the traditional roots of the villagers’ music is clear, and the Bandits’ Theme is imitating some characteristics of Japanese percussion, and we can still hear inflections of Hayasaka’s Pan-Asian style in the Samurai Theme, Kikuchiyo’s Theme and the Katsushirō-Shino Love Theme for are both composed from elements of Latin music, namely the mambo and bolero respectively. However, the “bolero” of the Love Theme, like the false bolero found in *Rashomon*, is not even a real bolero, but does feature a distinctive rhythmic ostinato in some places. The only accompaniment rhythm close to an actual bolero figure found in the cue immediately prior to Katsushirō and Shino discovery of the bandit scout’s horses, the rest of the time it is more akin to the pattern that accompanies the Woodcutter’s music in *Rashomon*. These same drum patterns, which are in four-quarter instead of the three-quarter time of a bolero, are similar to the *Seven Samurai* Bandits’ Theme and I believe might have some basis in traditional Japanese music, given a similar pattern used for the chanting portion of the Man’s story in *Rashomon*.

Just as Hayasaka subjects the Samurai theme to a number of different versions and settings, he likewise subjects the actual melodic theme for Katsushirō and Shino (Figure 4.4) to



Figure 4.4. The Katsushirō-Shino Love Theme.

different accompaniments and tempi, including an eleven second long version for soprano sax, harp, and piano, with no percussion at all, which is used when Katsushirō is running back to the village after first meeting Shino. The most striking setting encompasses the theme's final appearances in the film where Hayasaka combines it with the choral setting associated with the villagers' music. This setting appears twice towards the end of the film, first when Shino's father sees the lovers leaving a hut (having discovered their illicit affair) and shortly thereafter when Kambei and another samurai try to calm Manzō down he beats his daughter in front of the entire village (Video 4.5). Kurosawa and Hayasaka state that the villagers, Manzō especially—who has spent the entire film in fear of his daughter being seduced by a samurai—must try and move away from class-based ideas towards seeing the pair as simply two people instead of samurai and village girl. This idea is musically stated through the attempt to bring together the chorus setting and Love Theme. The villager Rikichi sums this up when he says to Manzō: “What's wrong with two people in love?” Unfortunately, such sentiments go unheeded in the end as Katsushirō and Shino part ways, presumably never to meet again.

The farmer-turned-samurai Kikuchiyo is played with a manic energy that only Mifune Toshiro could deliver. He stalks around the village, menacing the peasants while also making them laugh and telling jokes with the children. As the son of a farmer, Kikuchiyo forms a sort of bridge between the two groups, though he also knows what the villagers are really like, that they have hoarded food and *sake* and stockpiled weapons. He also resents the villagers more and does not feel the cause the samurai have taken up to be a completely noble one because of the duplicity of the villagers—they are more practical than the samurai and less pure in their motives than they appear to be. As a result, Kikuchiyo's Theme is among the most distinctive of the film, a raucous mambo filled with congas and a baritone sax melody (Figure 4.5). Unlike the

“In the end, we lost this battle too.”

The battle is over, the bandits are defeated, and the villagers are busy planting their next crop, set to the music of drums, flutes, and Rikichi’s singing, so why do the samurai look so dour? Because Kambei knows that the samurai way of life is coming to an end. He is a ronin, like all of the samurai who were recruited, who wants nothing more than to leave the life behind. But it is also all he knows. In this four minute sequence, most of the information is told not through dialogue, but through visual and aural cues. The only spoken dialogue is Kambei’s final words: “In the end, we lost this battle too.... This victory belongs to those peasants. Not to us.” All that we the audience need to know is told through the juxtaposition of the farmer’s joyous planting and the three surviving samurai’s quiet walk out of the village. Not a single word is exchanged between the warriors who saved the village and those celebrating the renewal of the cycle of nature. Truly, the villagers are the victors because not only did they help in the battle, but also their village and way of life is now safe from the bandits, while the samurai’s world is dying. The only option before them is to join up with one of the few remaining armies fighting for the handful of warlords and daimyo left, eke out a meager existence doing odd chores for—like Heihachi was doing before being recruited—or become bandits like the ones they have just defeated.

This final sequence also resolves the Katsushirō-Shino story as she rejects him in order to rejoin her village. As the samurai are leaving, Shino runs past the group carrying rice plants, the two exchange a look, but she continues on. Once she has joined her fellow villagers she begins to plant and add her voice to the village song. By joining in musically, she has metaphorically

rejoined the collective group, rejecting the promise of class advancement. But what Kurosawa also says in this scene is that even though the samurai are of the highest social rank, their lives are no better than those of the farmers in the village; if anything they are worse. With the *mono no aware* quality discussed earlier. Kambei tries to explain his feelings to Shichirōji, who doesn't seem to fully understand his words. The samurai have lost because they cannot survive in the world that is coming while the importance of the farmers' work will never not be essential. All must eat and contribute to the collective to live in a peaceful world.

To accentuate this point, the only time the samurai and the villagers are on screen at the same time during this sequence is when the samurai, backs to the camera, view the villagers from afar. They are physically separated from the villagers and the music being played by them also gets softer. The samurai cannot join in the celebrations and instead they leave the village, making sure to pass by and gaze upon the graves of the fallen samurai and villagers—they will all be together eventually, but for now, that can only happen in death. The manipulation of the music in the mix is key for the scene; as the volume rises and falls as the scene alternates between the samurai and the villagers, it drives the point home that even though just the day before they were all fighting together, living and dying side by side, they are still separated by social and cultural mores.

After Kambei speaks his final lines, he turns away from the camera and looks up at the graves, buried on a hill with four large mounds on top, one for each of the dead samurai, their swords pierced into the top of each hillock. The camera pans up as the third variation of the Samurai Theme plays for a final time. It begins with a solemn dirge by French horns before it is joined by the rest of the brass section in the second phrase. The rest of the orchestra enters with full, brassy chords, and is ostensibly a triumphant fanfare in terms of orchestration and a tempo

rubato. The triumph is undercut, however, by the E minor chord that it ends on, which starts as a subito piano before it crescendoes to a thunderous climax and stinger chord. Thus film ends on a very pessimistic note, which is not common for Kurosawa, especially in his earlier work (Video 4.6).⁹

This final audiovisual sequence demonstrates the principle that Kurosawa and Hayasaka called “counterpoint” in film, discussed in Chapter III. Previously they had used music played over diegetic loudspeakers, as in *Drunken Angel* and in *One Wonderful Sunday*, however such a technique was not an option here. But with the villagers planting song by the villagers, the bittersweet quality that is the essence of *mono no aware* is heightened to a level not seen in earlier Kurosawa films. Truly, the reign of the samurai as warriors is impermanent and is, before Kambei’s very eyes, being resigned to history.

Seven Samurai was Hayasaka’s last completed score for Kurosawa—he would die while working on *Ikimono no kiroku* (Record of a Living Being, 1955) and leave behind material that Satō Masaru had to complete. *Samurai* represents one of Hayasaka’s denser scores in terms of thematic material, reflecting the large cast of characters in Kurosawa’s epic. While musically it might not be as diverse as the scores he did for Mizoguchi in the same period, two of which are discussed in the following chapters, it is still a major achievement of film scoring. In *Seven Samurai*, Hayasaka demonstrates how the subtle manipulations of themes, varying orchestration and rhythmic character, can vastly change the tone of a film. What begins as a romp through feudal Japan, filled with wailing villagers and jovial samurai, laughing and working alongside

⁹ Later films like *Dersu Uzala* (1975), *Kagemusha* (1980), and *Ran* (1985) all end with conflicted or nihilistic sentiments, though one can sense a trend away from the forced happy endings that we observed in *Drunken Angel* and *Rashomon* beginning with *Ikiru*. Despite this turn, Kurosawa’s heroes would remain stoic humanists, even if they meet unfortunate ends.

sometimes comical peasants, ends as a pessimistic statement on Japan's feudal past and why the country must not look backwards as it rebuilds after the end of the Pacific War and Allied Occupation. Hayasaka captures this sea change in attitude through his variations of the main Samurai Theme, and also illuminates the film's emphasis on the individual and the need to go beyond feudal ideas of class by scoring only those characters with capture those ideals with their own themes, and painting the large *social* classes with group themes/musical style—samurai, bandits, and villagers.

This social commentary and philosophical perspective suggested by *mono no aware* is something that is usually missing in many remakes and adaptations of *Seven Samurai*'s storyline. *The Magnificent Seven* attempts this type of ending, hinting at the disappearing West of late 19th century America, by rewriting Kambei's words, but it falls short because it is presented as a conversation between the village elder—who doesn't die as in Kurosawa's film—and one of the remaining gunslingers. The physical and aural separation of the end of *Seven Samurai* is not recreated. Furthermore, the idea that there isn't any place for the gunslingers in a new West, the entire point of Kurosawa's ending and the film itself, is undercut when the Katsushirō stand-in, Chico, remains behind to stay with the village girl he fell in love with.¹⁰ He is going to settle down in the village and become a farmer. In fact, the village elder invites the gunslingers to stay with them! Elmer Bernstein's score, a classic among Hollywood music, is reflective of the more upbeat American ending. It has some pathos in the nostalgic string and oboe music as Yul Brynner's Chris, the Kambei character, reflect on their time in the village, but it ends with the score's classic brass fanfare as Brynner and Steve McQueen ride off into the West and more adventures. The gunslingers might "always lose," but we can expect them to return

¹⁰ Truly a Hollywood ending.

eventually...in the sequel.¹¹ For the samurai of Kurosawa's film, there were no sequels, just endless remakes and adaptations, most of which lack the deeper social commentary or aesthetics of *mono no aware* found in the original. Likewise, many lack the complex score construction of Hayasaka's work.

Kurosawa was quite fond of Hayasaka's Samurai Theme, the one rescued from the rubbish bin of history because the director didn't like any of the other options. It was reworked into a popular song with lyrics by Hayasaka that Kurosawa was known to sing around the set in the years following his friend's death. The lyrics for the second verse capture the feeling that is at the heart of the film:

Like the wind, the samurai
Blows across the earth.
Cho ryo furyo hyo furyo
Hiyaruro arayo hyo furyo
He who was seen yesterday is no more today.
He who is seen today will be gone tomorrow
Unaware that tomorrow is his last,
How sad he is today.¹²

In some ways, it was as if Hayasaka was writing the lyrics about his own life. He knew he was doomed by his TB—though he never knew when it would claim him—but he also saw Japan change rapidly after the war, and not always for better. But in the end it was Kurosawa who survived only to see his prestige fade as he failed to adapt to the new world, while Hayasaka died at the height of his compositional abilities before he could come to be seen as old fashioned by those very composers he helped shepherd along.

¹¹ Of which there were three direct film sequels and the also a TV series inspired by the original film that aired between 1998 and 2000.

¹² Qtd. in Teruyo Nogami, *Waiting on the Weather: Making Movies with Akira Kurosawa*, trans. Juliet Winters Carpenter (Berkeley, CA: Stone Bridge Press, 1999), 193.

CHAPTER V

WORKING FOR THE EMPEROR DURING THE OCCUPATION

Hayasaka completed just two film scores in 1945, both made and released prior to the end of the war. By the time the second of these was released on 5 August—just one day before the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima—Hayasaka was already taking refuge in Kamakura, having fled the besieged capital.¹ After the surrender, it would take a number of years for Japan's film industry to reach the level of production it enjoyed prior to both war time rationing of film stock and the destruction of facilities by Allied bombing campaigns as the war crept closer to the home islands.

Post-war Japan was a country of people whose lives had been shattered by every aspect of the war. The economy was in shambles, food shortages were common for years afterwards, and in response to these conditions, black markets sprung up all around the country selling scarce goods at exorbitant prices. And even though it was illegal for people to buy or sell goods on the black market, millions of Japanese were forced to do so in order meet basic needs in those early post-war years.² These black markets were also many times used by gangs, sometimes referred to as *yakuza*, to sell illegal goods alongside their normal activities such as robbery, extortion, and other rackets.³ This was the world depicted in Hayasaka and Kurosawa's first collaboration, *Drunken Angel*.

¹ All told, over half of Tokyo's residents fled the city during the final six months of the war, especially following the firebombing in March of 1945.

² Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 100.

³ *Ibid.*, 108-9.

As part of the Allies' attempt to mold Japan into an ally in an increasingly communist region, they, like the previous militarist government, wanted to control the message being received by the masses. As such, they instituted a comprehensive censorship program that monitored mail and phone communications, newspapers, theatre, books, radio and film for any signs of militarist values or sympathies. While Hayasaka as a composer did not have to deal with the same type of content censorship that Kurosawa was subject to as a director and screenwriter, there were sections of the Allied leviathan to which he had to answer to as a music director. As part of their normal duties, Allied censors were tasked with the enforcement of musical copyright laws. They would review concert programs (both live and on radio), recordings, and films to ensure that any instances of foreign music were cleared and royalties paid via a foreign composer's respective embassy. Other organizations within the Occupation apparatus also had the duty to promote American music among the general populace. All of these actions were seen as part of the effort to build a democratic Japan that would be America's staunch ally in the coming Cold War.

The unintended consequence of this censorship program, though, was to encourage the composition of new, though often derivative, music to avoid the danger of copyright infringement on Western classical works, something that Hayasaka did many times while working with Kurosawa. But while Kurosawa may have required Hayasaka and his other composers to rework pieces by Ravel, Mahler, Debussy, Haydn, and others, as I have shown it was Hayasaka who helped to move Kurosawa towards a more sophisticated usage of music in film. Even within the draconian censorship system in place under the aegis of General Douglas MacArthur's General Headquarters, a film such as *Drunken Angel* was still able to yield a watershed moment for the young Kurosawa and also a turning point in the scoring of Japanese

films. However, it was still difficult for Hayasaka to navigate between the many cooks in the kitchen messing with his musical recipes.

The two most prominent voices in how Hayasaka approached his work for Kurosawa were of course the director and, as I will show in this chapter, the Occupation's censorship apparatus which pushed Hayasaka into rewriting Ravel and Debussy in his films for Kurosawa. I will first consider the Allied censors before turning my attention to Kurosawa's relationship with Hayasaka.

Alpha-Bits

Japan's official surrender to the Allied Powers did not come until 2 September 1945, on the decks of the battleship USS *Missouri*, the name bearer of the home state of then president Harry S. Truman. It was a scene that bookended a period that began with the sailing of Commodore Perry's fleet into Tokyo Bay in 1853, forcing open Japan's ports at gun point. Now Perry had returned in a way, as his old flag was one of those displayed on the deck of the *Missouri* along with the ship's massive 16" guns. General MacArthur oversaw the ceremony and was the newly appointed Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) and the man charged with the administration of Allied interests in Japan.

Occupation directives were routinely handed down by the complex bureaucratic entity known as General Headquarters (GHQ) which was headed by MacArthur's SCAP office and employed hundreds, if not thousands, of Allied military and civilian personnel. Through the various departments, regulations were created to guide Japan towards a democratic path that had never really existed in the nation up to this point. It oversaw the creation of a new Japanese

constitution, which passed the Diet with very few alterations and amendments, dealt with the role of the Emperor of Japan (which included his abdication of godhood and role as the head of the Shinto religion), and attended to all matters great and small for the Japanese people.

Two specific agencies within the American administration oversaw the censorship and production of Japanese film, though they were sometimes at odds with each other: the Motion Picture Unit of the Motion Picture and Theatrical Branch (MPU/MPTB) of the Civil Information & Education Section (CI&E) and the Press, Pictorial & Broadcasting Division (PPB) of the Civil Censorship Detachment (CCD), which was a division of Army Intelligence.⁴ From this alphabet soup of acronyms came the codes that would be used to make sure that films produced during the Occupation reflected the values of a modern, Westernized society.

The CI&E released a statement on 19 November 1945 that listed thirteen criteria under which a film would be banned or censored:

1. Infused with militarism
2. Showing revenge as a legitimate motive
3. Nationalistic
4. Chauvinistic or anti-foreign
5. Distorting historical facts
6. Favoring racial or religious discrimination
7. Portraying feudal loyalty or contempt of life as desirable and honorable
8. Approving suicide either directly or indirectly
9. Dealing with or approving the subjugation or degradation of women
10. Depicting brutality, violence or evil as triumphant
11. Anti-democratic
12. Condoning the exploitation of children
13. At variance with the spirit or letter of the Potsdam Declaration or any SCAP directive⁵

These declarations reiterated the reasons why all prints of many Japanese films made before and during the war were ordered confiscated only three days earlier by another SCAP directive:

⁴ Sorensen, *Censorship*, 86.

⁵ Qtd. in Kyoko Hirano, *Mr. Smith Goes to Tokyo: Japanese Cinema under the American Occupation, 1945-1952* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), 44–5.

In the past, Japanese motion pictures have been utilized to propagate nationalistic, militaristic and feudalistic concepts; i.e., conformity to a feudal code, contempt for life, creation of the “Warrior Spirit”, the uniqueness and superiority of the “Yamato” (Japanese race), the “special role of Japan in Asia”, etc. Many such motion pictures are still being distributed and exhibited.⁶

Following these instructions was an eight page list of films that were to be banned and prints sent to SCAP. Many of these copies were later destroyed by the Occupation censors.

The CI&E, though, was interested in more than just telling the Japanese studios what they could not depict in their films. As part of the democratization and Westernization of Japanese society they encouraged filmmakers to depict those things on film that they hoped would assist the Occupation’s goals. Film scholar Kyoko Hirano quotes ten subjects that SCAP believed would help this process:

1. Showing Japanese in all walks of life cooperating to build a peaceful nation.
2. Dealing with the resettlement of Japanese soldiers into civilian life.
3. Showing Japanese prisoners of war formerly in our hands being restored to favor in the community.
4. Demonstrating individual initiative and enterprise solving the post-war problems of Japan in industry, agriculture, and all phases of the national life.
5. Encouraging the peaceful and constructive organization of labor unions.
6. Developing political consciousness and responsibility among the people.
7. Approval of free discussion of political issues.
8. Encouraging respect for the rights of men as individuals.
9. Promoting tolerance and respect among all races and classes.
10. Dramatizing figures in Japanese history who stood for freedom and representative government.⁷

How this actually played out in films was a completely different matter, however. One of the more recognized ways in which Western freedoms were manifested was the sudden appearance of kissing and sexual expression in film; hitherto “the slightest amorous expressions had been condemned as a symbol of Western decadence.”⁸ Another was the increase in scenes

⁶ SCAPIN 287, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, *SCAP Directives to the Imperial Japanese Government* (Tokyo: GHQ, SCAP, 1945–1952). (Hereafter referred to only by the SCAPIN number.)

⁷ Qtd. in Hirano, *Mr. Smith*, 38.

⁸ Hirano, *Mr. Smith*, 154.

involving baseball. Before the war, baseball had been popular in Japan, and after the war ended the sport regained its status.⁹ Depictions of team sports were encouraged because baseball, as an especially American sport, was seen to promote Western democratic values of fair play, teamwork, and the advancement of individual accomplishment.

The CI&E and CCD, though both ostensibly trying to achieve the same goal, were frequently at odds, partially because the two agencies had two different primary functions: one positive and one negative.¹⁰ The CI&E wanted to promote Allied policies and agendas and encourage filmmakers, usually during the script phase, to add in content along these lines. The CCD, on the other hand, normally reviewed both scripts and finished films and would order cuts made before they could be released.¹¹ Lars-Martin Sorensen details the often contentious relationship between the two agencies in his book on censorship, and summarizes that “if some of the films of the occupation era at times appear slightly muddled and contradictory, it is no coincidence.”¹² He hypothesizes that the conflict between agencies allowed Kurosawa and other directors a chance to slip in content that might otherwise be banned by one agency but not the other.¹³ This censorship of content was not limited to dialogue and plot details, though, but extended to music as well. This censorship, however, manifested itself in the somewhat peculiar manner of copyright enforcement.

* * * *

⁹ Hirano, *Mr. Smith*, 175.

¹⁰ This is not to say, though, that the CI&E did not occasionally request cuts or the CCD recommend additions. The fact that the agencies would perform similar actions was a source of frequent frustrations between the two groups.

¹¹ From CCD memo qtd. in Sorensen, *Censorship*, 86.

¹² Sorensen, *Censorship*, 101-2.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 96.

IP Law, Tokyo Style

Around 1947, the Occupation censors began a crackdown on the usage of copyrighted music in films that had not obtained clearances. For most of the Occupation, this enforcement was handled by the Music Officer of the CI&E, a man named Clarence Davies. Davies' Music Unit was a subsection of the CI&E's Motion Picture and Theatrical Branch, and directors and studio executives were referred to him routinely by the Motion Picture Unit following script and screening conferences.

In a memo dated 11 January 1949, in relation to a revised synopsis for the film *Onna Yo Tsuyoku Are* (Woman Be Strong), among the many objections and suggested changes listed by the censor is the note, "Use of foreign music in the film must be cleared with the Music Officer, CIE."¹⁴ Similar comments can be found in numerous other memos in the SCAP files, and the practice of requiring copyright clearances extended into newsreels, stage plays, and live performances (Figure 5.1, following page). Given this close supervision, it is reasonable to assume that to avoid paying costly royalties the Japanese producers preferred to use the musicians and composers already on staff at the studios and record new music in the style of whatever piece the director originally wanted to use.

This problem is directly addressed in a memo from 28 September 1948 regarding a film called *The Ghost Dies at Dawn* (Japanese title not given) made by Cinema Artists Corporation.

¹⁴ "Advice on Revised Synopsis Woman be Strong (Onna Yo Tsuyoku Are)," 11 Jan 1949, Records of the General Headquarters Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Record Group 331, Box 5305, Folder 3, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

DECLASSIFIED Authority <u>775017</u> By <u>af</u> NARA Date <u>5/13/11</u>
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16, 21 and 23 Jul 48 Mr. Slott

Room 404, Radio
Tokyo Building and GIE Screening Room, Kanesaka
Building.

Mr. Slott, MPO, Mr. Ishikawa, Interpreter-Assistant, MFU, MPFB. Mr. Tokumitsu, Nippon Motion Picture Co., Mr. Kurokawa, Shinsekai Motion Picture Co., and Mr. Shimizu, Riken Motion Picture Co.

Use of Copyrighted Music in Newsreels

During the screening of weekly newsreels on 16 July 48, members of MFU noticed the unauthorized use of copyrighted music "Blue Heaven" by the Nippon Motion Picture Co.

MFU has noticed similar violations of copyright in music recordings of various newsreels. It has been a policy of MFU to reprimand the newsreel company involved for such violation and to recommend deletion of copyrighted music. All newsreel companies have been at one time or other instructed not to utilize copyrighted music.

MFU asked the representative of Nippon Motion Picture Co. whether the company is authorized to use copyrighted music or not. Mr. Tokumitsu replied that the company has a contract with the Japan Musical Copyright Association which handles the copyright problems.

MFU requested information from Mr. Davies, Music Officer, whether this Company, Japan Musical Copyright Association, is a legitimate organization to handle problems of copyright of foreign music. Mr. Davies informed this Unit that no Japanese organization is authorized to handle foreign copyright royalties on music.

On 21 July MFU called representatives of three newsreel companies and requested that they discontinue use of American music in newsreels unless they have permission of copyright owners through GIE-Music Unit. This subject will be referred to the Music Officer in the future.

Figure 5.1. Memo regarding copyrighted music in newsreels (Records of the General Headquarters Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Record Group 331, Box 5308, Folder 8, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD).

In the original film the piece *Andante Cantabile* by Peter Tchaikovsky was used and the CI&E raised the legal question.¹⁵ The second bullet point on the memo notes:

Mr. Nakagawa [a representative of Cinema Artists] explained that this music was used at the suggestion of the musical director and that they had no direct hand in the selection of the music. Regardless, the Motion Picture Unit felt that copyrighted music at all times must be cleared through the CIE or other legal channels. Because of the time involved in obtaining clearance, this unit suggested that the Tchaikowsky must be replaced.¹⁶

In other words, it was easier to compose and record original music than to go through the process to obtain clearances for prerecorded music. And if the director wanted a certain piece of music for a scene, as Kurosawa customarily demanded, it was easier for the composer to simply rewrite that work than to go through the process to request clearances.

This, however, raises the question of how the censors treated works within the public domain. The answer to this was two-fold. First, if the piece itself was no longer under copyright, then the studio was allowed to use it, provided they could also obtain a clearance for the actual recording, known as mechanical rights. Two memos help to illustrate this point. The first from 15 April 1949 involves representatives from the Shin Toho studio inquiring about using Franz von Suppe's *Light Cavalry Overture* in their picture *Shinija no Kokuhaka* (Confessions at Midnight). The Motion Picture Unit discussed the issue with the Music Officer, Clarence Davies, and was told that the piece was no longer under copyright and could be used.¹⁷

A memo in relation to a picture entitled *Clown Messenger* (Japanese title not given), speaks to the recording aspect of the practice. In this memo dated 4 October 1948, the Allied officers were informed that the unnamed music used as background in the picture was taken

¹⁵ This piece was originally the second movement of Tchaikovsky's first string quartet, but has since become quite famous in an arrangement for cello and string orchestra.

¹⁶ "Unauthorized Use of Copyrighted Foreign Music in Japanese Film," 28 Sept 1948, Records of the General Headquarters Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Record Group 331, Box 5305, Folder 9, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

¹⁷ "Clearance on Foreign Music Copyright," 15 April 1949, Records of the General Headquarters Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Record Group 331, Box 5305, Folder 3, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

from a recording published by the Japanese arm of Victor and Columbia records. The producers of the film were then instructed to obtain a letter of clearance from these companies for their respective recordings before the film could be recommended for release. Failure to obtain those letters would have meant that the music had to be replaced.¹⁸ In short, a director could use foreign music provided it was not under copyright and he also had the rights to the recordings. Another means to avoid the mechanical rights issues was to record the piece with the in-studio orchestra.

Prior to 1948 there were no memos on this subject in the SCAP records, probably due to scanty record keeping by an overburdened clerical staff. But the fact that Kurosawa's first two films made under the Occupation—*No Regrets for Our Youth* and *One Wonderful Sunday*—feature numerous instances of the use of foreign music could also indicate that it took a few years for the censors to become sensitive to such legal issues.

Kurosawa Tennō

Working with Kurosawa was never an easy task. The director is equally as famous for his late night drinking sessions with his cast and crew as he is for being a tyrant on set. Even though he valued the input of his collaborations, such as Hayasaka and the many co-scriptwriters he worked with over the years, there was never any doubt as to whose word was final at the end of the day. And with such power, he drove those who worked for him quite hard. Stuart Galbraith recounts some of the harsh shooting conditions on *Seven Samurai*:

¹⁸ "Inquiry pertaining to Copyrighted Foreign Music pirated by Sakura Motion Picture Co.," 4 Oct 1948, Records of the General Headquarters Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Record Group 331, Box 5305, Folder 9, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

The cast and crew risked frostbite shooting in the freezing, artificial rain, and Kurosawa was a veritable slave driver, yelling at everyone indiscriminately. “I’m sure that my crew doesn’t like me ordering them about,” Kurosawa said later...Almost miraculously, the cast and crew members had remained committed and passionate until the bitter end. For one grueling year, they had all but given their lives to Kurosawa.¹⁹

Such was the power that Kurosawa Tennō—or Emperor Kurosawa in English—held over those that worked for him. Even though Kurosawa first rejected the nickname, he eventually warmed up to it. Tsuchiya Yoshio, who played Rikichi in *Seven Samurai*, tells a story of how once, when riding with Kurosawa entering the gates of Toho Studios, the workers bowed to the car. “I waved to the people just like a member of the Imperial Family,” [Tsuchiya] recounted. Kurosawa told him, “Don’t be arrogant. They’re bowing at me, not you...I am the emperor.”²⁰

When it came to his meetings with Hayasaka about the music for his films, Kurosawa would frequently come with pieces already picked out. Longtime script supervisor Nogami Teruyo describes Kurosawa’s approach to these conferences:

[Kurosawa] was always listening to recordings, even in the middle of a shoot—not to enjoy the music, but to search for something that would go with the movie he was making...When Kurosawa met with Hayasaka to discuss music, he came with an armload of records.²¹

Had Kurosawa tried to use such music without first securing clearances, he would have had the same problems described earlier, where the producers were instructed to either seek clearances or change the music. It was for this reason that Hayasaka would be forced to rewrite pieces like Ravel’s *Bolero*. Even rerecording a work like *Bolero* was not an option because it premiered only twenty-two years earlier in 1928 and to use a new recording in the film would still have required paying expensive royalties to the copyright holders for the mechanical rights.

¹⁹ Galbraith, *Emperor and the Wolf*, 189.

²⁰ Qtd. in Galbraith, *Emperor and the Wolf*, 183.

²¹ Nogami, *Weather*, 188–9.

Rewriting Ravel was not the only contentious part of the Hayasaka-Kurosawa relationship, though. As happens many times to film composers, directors change their minds about music after everything has been written, recorded, and dubbed. Famously, in *Ikiru* (1952), Kurosawa removed all the music for the film's third act. After a late night screening session, just before the film's release, Kurosawa turned to his crew and Hayasaka and said, "I miscalculated. It's completely my fault...but it was a mistake to put music in that wake scene, during the flashbacks...I'm sorry. But the music overwhelms the scene."²² Hayasaka would later write to fellow composer Saito Ichiro that "[f]or two or three days I was depressed and stayed cooped up at home, but Kurosawa came over to comfort me, and finally I recovered my spirits. Working on *Ikiru*, I was happy, I experimented, [but] I lapsed into mediocrity and then had to pull myself out of it."²³

But it wasn't just Hayasaka who had to respond to Kurosawa's demands to write fuax-classical works; Hayasaka's student Satō Masaru who took over after his teacher's death, and even Takemitsu Toru were similarly tested. Satō famously withdrew from of Kurosawa's 1980 film *Kagemusha*, which would have been their first collaboration since *Red Beard* (1965), because he could no longer take Kurosawa's instructions to imitate famous Western works. He would later write:

You might say that I dropped out of the Kurosawa School. There was too great a gap between Kurosawa's goals and what I was thinking.... To come up with something that not just resembled an impossibly famous piece, but surpassed it, was beyond me.²⁴

Takemitsu would make it all the way to the scoring stage after being told to reinvent Mahler for *Ran* (1985). While recording the score, the director would have his comments delivered via a crew member to avoid speaking to Japan's greatest living composer directly. One morning while

²² Qtd. in Nogami, *Weather*, 190.

²³ Qtd. in *Ibid.*, 191.

²⁴ Qtd. in *Ibid.*, 198.

recording the score in Sapporo, Takemitsu surprised Kurosawa over breakfast and asked, “Kurosawa-san. What have I done wrong? If something is wrong, come out and say so in plain language. Otherwise, I want out of this job.”²⁵ Takemitsu caught Kurosawa off-guard and forced the director to reply that he never said that anything was actually wrong, but the clash did not stop there.

Matters between the two artistic geniuses finally blew up during the mixing sessions when Kurosawa wanted the timpani in a scene to be louder, timpani that Takemitsu had reluctantly included only at Kurosawa’s request. After numerous manipulations to the sound, which included slowing down the track to lower the pitch, Takemitsu erupted. He yelled, “Kurosawa-san! You can cut and paste my music. You can use it as you please. But I want my name off the credits. That’s all. I quit. I’m leaving!”²⁶ He then walked out of the studio. The rift was eventually mended and the score completed, but Takemitsu never worked with Kurosawa again.²⁷ In fact, in the three remaining films Kurosawa made between 1990 and his death in 1998 he would use progressively less and less original music and increasingly rely on recordings of preexisting music.²⁸ In the final stage of his career, Kurosawa was able to use the original recordings of Western classical music he had wanted to since he began directing films.

Auteur directors such as Kurosawa are among those most notorious for the use of preexisting music. Stanley Kubrick in *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968) famously rejected a score by Alex North to use music by Richard Strauss, Johann Strauss, and György Ligeti which he had

²⁵ Qtd. in *Ibid.*, 203.

²⁶ Qtd. in Nogami, *Weather*, 205.

²⁷ The entire Takemitsu story is recounted in Nogami, *Weather*, 201–9.

²⁸ These films—*Dreams*, 1990; *Rhapsody in August*, 1991; and *Madadayo*, 1993—all list Ikebe Shin’ichirō (b. 1943) as their composer, but by the time of *Madadayo* there was almost no original scoring and Kurosawa was using pre-existing music almost exclusively. Ichiro was also the composer brought on to replace Satō after he dropped out of working on *Kagemusha*.

included on the film's temp track. More recently, Quentin Tarentino in *Inglorious Basterds* (2009) and *Django Unchained* (2012) has used scores largely compiled from earlier film music, mostly by Ennio Morricone, which fit his films that were inspired by "spaghetti westerns."²⁹ Such an option was never a possibility for Kurosawa when working with Hayasaka in the post-war years because of the Occupation's stance on copyright royalties, and for this reason, when Kurosawa first talked to Hayasaka about the Woman's Story section of *Rashomon*, there was never any question of using the original *Bolero*. Rather, like the Debussy-esque strains in *Drunken Angel* when Kurosawa indicated what he wanted the music to be in an Impressionist style, Hayasaka was left with little room into which to offer his own thoughts, though still with the ability to be creative within the constraints of Kurosawa's instructions.

²⁹ Though the scores did include some new music by Morricone himself.

CHAPTER VI

UGETSU: “I AM NO LONGER AMONG THE LIVING”

Ghost stories have a long history in Japanese theatre, which began with *noh* plays and continues to this day. These would sometimes take the form of benevolent spirits that tell the history of a place to a passing traveler, while other specters haunt the living because something keeps them tethered to our world, unable to move on to the next. The latter is the case of the ghosts found in Kenji Mizoguchi’s 1953 film *Ugetsu monogatari*. Based upon a collection of ghost stories by Edo period author Ueda Akinari (1734-1809), *Ugetsu* is set in the final years of the Warring States period as Japan was slowly brought under the rule of Tokugawa Ieyasu.¹ The chaos caused by these wars, and the effect it had on the common people of Japan, is the backdrop for the tales in *Ugetsu*.²

Hayasaka’s score for *Ugetsu* is usually pointed to as one of his best and most influential because of its extensive use of traditional instruments. Japanese film scholar Satō Tadao writes that “[m]ore than just a masterpiece of film music, it broke new ground through [the integration of instruments]. The composer, Takemitsu Toru...later used this method to write a number of brilliant musical compositions.”³ And David Pacun echoes this assessment in his article on the *Ugetsu* score when he says “stylistic pluralism would become a central feature of Japanese film

¹ Specifically for this film, Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi were the final major warlords before the emergence of Tokugawa Ieyasu who defeated the forces of Hideyoshi, Oda’s successor. These final years of war are also called the Azuchi-Momoyama Period and lasted from 1568–1600.

² The literal translation of the title is *Tales of Moonlight and Rain*, but the film is commonly called *Ugetsu* in English.

³ Satō Tadao, *Kenji Mizoguchi and the Art of Japanese Cinema*, ed. Aruna Vasudev and Latika Padgaonkar, trans. Brij Tankha (New York: Berg, 2008), 114.

scores.”⁴ In doing so, I believe that they, and other scholars, are putting too much emphasis on *Ugetsu* as the beginning point of combining Japanese and Western instruments. As I discussed with *Rashomon*, such experiments began in the silent film era and Hayasaka would first fuse Western with Japanese instruments in the earlier film. Furthermore, he also used traditional instruments in his 1951 score for Mizoguchi’s *Oyū-sama* (Miss Oyu), a film set in the Meiji period. And while *Ugetsu* was Hayasaka’s most extensive use of traditional instruments up until that point and represents a significant step forward in terms of scope, there is still a great deal of separation between the two groups and his next score for Mizoguchi, *Sanshō dayū*, was a more cohesive fusion of instruments that I will discuss in the next chapter.

What Hayasaka did accomplish in *Ugetsu* was to blur the boundaries between the diegetic and non-diegetic music within the film. His music slips between the on- and off-screen world, leaving the audience to wonder if the music is meant as underscore or if it belongs in the film world. Hayasaka’s manipulation of musical worlds mirrors the on-screen narrative of a ghost story which by its nature forces us to consider the boundary between our reality and the hereafter. Where the traditional and Western instruments in *Sansho* set up a dichotomy between traditional and Western values which is at the heart of the later film’s narrative, in *Ugetsu* there is no narrative association between the two styles, and rarely do the two groups play together except for a handful of scenes that anticipate some of the music in *Sanshō*.

I will probe these issues more deeply in this chapter, exploring how Hayasaka uses his music to give *Ugetsu* its ghostly feel. First I will consider how the music slips between the diegetic and non-diegetic spaces, specifically the instances of songs performed on-screen by characters and along a recurrent chime that is heard in the house of Lady Wasaka, the ghostly temptress who tries to lure Genjuro to join her in marriage in the afterlife. I will then explore in

⁴ Pacun, “Paths Between the Spiritual and the Real,” 34.

detail the key scene in which Genjuro escapes the lure of Lady Wasaka, in effect exorcising her ghost from our earthly plain of existence.⁵

“Let’s turn back. This is a bad omen.”

When Genjuro, Tobei, and their families travel across Lake Biwa they encounter another boat, piloted by a nearly dead man who warns them to be watchful for pirates who will steal their cargo and their lives. He quickly dies and leaves the travelers to consider turning back and returning to their village and normal lives. This omen is preceded by a song performed by Ohama, Tobei’s wife, as she rows and steers the boat across the foggy lake. She is accompanied by a low *taiko* beat, which actually began in the prior scene as the group hurriedly loaded their boat, with the echo of gunshots in the distance as the warring armies continued to battle for the future of Japan. The *taiko* pulse matches that of Ohama’s song, though it has no on-screen source, almost as if the drum comes from the next world and beckons the boat inhabitant’s to join its ghostly player there. And by the end of the film, one of those in the boat will be no longer among the living (Video 6.1).

This sequence, the dense fog on the lake, the specter of war chasing them into the boat, and the ghostly drum, creates a feeling of dread and foreboding for the small group, one matched by Ohama’s song, which features long, plaintive melodies and lyrics about a little boat that floats along with all its passengers asleep and no one at the rudder. Indeed, this image is exactly what happens later in the scene when they encounter the other boat on the lake. Right before she spies this dark omen, Ohama sings: “This world is a temporary abode / Where we weep until the dawn comes / Pitched by the waves.” This specific song was not in the original script and was

⁵ For a complete list of cues, see Appendix F.

prepared by either Hayasaka or one of his assistants. The song is written in the sketches for the film score which indicates that it was either copied from a book of traditional songs or was written specifically for the film, like the case of the elegy heard in *Sanshō dayū* and discussed in the next chapter.

A similar effect is achieved when Lady Wasaka performs a song accompanied on *biwa* by her servant. This is all clearly done as diegetic performance, but during it we began to hear *kotsuzumi* and *ōtsuzumi* drums, along with drum calls, a *nohkan* flute, and *utai* chanting.⁶ This music begins as Lady Wasaka is performing and at first the viewer is unsure as to its source, though slowly Lady Wasaka begins to react to the discordant sounds. The light dims as the camera slowly pans over to the armor of the former lord of the castle, Lady Wasaka's father. He is pleased by his daughter's performance and impending marriage to Genjuro—despite the fact that Genjuro is already married in the earthy world. Unlike the previous song, this music is diegetic in that it is heard on screen, but it also has no actual source in the film world since it is coming from the supernatural world. Lady Wasaka's father is the most outward sign of the ghostly world, his song emanates from his armor, and his chants resembles those found in *noh* theatre plays that routinely feature ghosts stories. This is part of the reason why one of the few musical sounds that Mizoguchi insisted on was the *nohkan* flute, an aural reminder of these stories (Video 6.2).

The song performed by Lady Wasaka is heard once again as a final call from the world beyond. As Genjuro, free of the influence of Lady Wasaka, walks around the charred ruins of her estate, finally seeing it for what it was the entire time, her song echoes through the scorched landscape as he begins the journey back to his real life. It is a final reminder of the delusion he experienced for days, if not weeks, and mementoes of his time there, such as the fine silk and

⁶ The exact text is not specified in the published script and the chanting is not translated in the film's subtitles.

cloth he bought as gifts, are also among the ruins, which tells him that it wasn't just a dream or another illusion, but a very real experience, one that will haunt him for the rest of his life—especially when he arrives at home to encounter one final ghost: his wife. (She died while taking their child back home after he left her to sell his pottery at the market where he first encountered Lady Wasaka.) It remains unclear if this second performance of the song is heard by Genjuro or is meant solely as underscore. The fluid boundary between the diegetic and non-diegetic space in *Ugetsu* makes it difficult to assign a specific source, and the ghostly echo of the song suggests that it could belong to either space, or even both at the same time.

Earlier in the film, as Genjuro is led to Lady Wasaka's home for the first time, a chime begins to resonate in the audiotrack. It begins when he arrives at the front door of the estate and continues as he is led through the house. Other music is present at the same time, but the chimes do not fall on any defined beats in that music, although one at first might assume it is part of the underscore. As the Western instruments drop out and give way to the *nohkan* as Lady Wasaka enters, the chimes continue to play, but now suggesting that they are there to provide continuity between the two music cues. While the rest of the music dies away the chime again continues and persists throughout the scene between Lady Wasaka and Genjuro. Where is this chime coming from? Is it a bell struck by a house servant to mark the time? It is not quick enough to suggest such a function, and has been struck too many times for it to be merely a temporal symbol. The chime is only stopped when Lady Wasaka's performance begins but returns in subsequent scenes at the house and again causes us to puzzle over its source.

What are we to make of these chimes, which occur constantly for some seven minutes when they first appear? Are they somehow diegetic? Non-diegetic? Or like many of the other musical sounds in the film do they exist in an aural third-space, issuing from the supernatural

world? These are the *kin* chimes found on Buddhist ritual alters that are used to call the spirits of the departed, among other ceremonial uses. Thus the chimes stand for Lady Wasaka's true nature, and to a Japanese/Buddhist audience, they would be immediately recognized. They have no musical function, yet they are also not mere sound effects. While Genjuro does not *seem* to hear them, maybe he is just ignoring them. They are like the ghostly drum that accompanies Ohama's song as she guides the boat across Lake Biwa, a sound that exists between worlds, just like the ghosts that inhabit *Ugetsu*.

"The shadow of death is upon your face."

One finds notably less fusion of traditional and Western instruments in this score than Hayasaka's score for *Sanshō dayū* in the following year, 1954. However, there are still many instances where the two overlap, and the pivotal scene in which Genjuro frees himself of the influence of Lady Wasaka's ghost provides an excellent example of Hayasaka's approach to blended scoring. This moment is the climax of Mizoguchi's film, the point when Genjuro truly understands who and what Lady Wasaka has been the entire time, namely. She is literally a ghost of war, a spirit that has lingered in our world and trying to prevent Genjuro from returning home. His reluctance to confront, realize, and flee from the evil of the ghost are part of Mizoguchi's critique of Japan's conduct not only in the Pacific War, but also in everything that led up to it. Japan must free itself from its own ghosts of war and the feudal systems which had ruled Japan previously.

Immediately before the exorcist scene Genjuro had encountered a priest who sensed the spirit of death on him, saying that "The shadow of death is upon your face." Genjuro refused to

leave Lady Wasaka even after the priest told him that she and her entire clan were wiped out during the war years ago. But the priest compromises with Genjuro and instead writes numerous prayers on his body that will protect him. It is only after Lady Wasaka's ghost is repelled by the protecting wards on his body that music begins in the scene at hand.

The cue starts with a harp arpeggio flourish as Lady Wasaka tries to convince Genjuro to come with her, but then settles into a low register ostinato pattern of plodding quarter notes. These are played by a mixture of celli, bassi, and bass clarinet. When the writing on Genjuro's body is revealed, the *hichiriki* enters in, creating a wide tonal space in the score. The *hichiriki* rarely moves together with the low strings and winds; the instruments instead inhabit their own musical space. These two groups are musical ciphers for the opposing forces in this scene, with the *hichiriki*, higher pitched, representing the real world and the low instruments playing the part of the underworld.⁷ The low instruments continue to present an unrelenting pull against the *hichiriki*, which wails, almost in pain, above it. How the instruments enter illustrates this: the low strings begin once the truth of Lady Wasaka's ghostly nature is laid bare and she begins to tempt Genjuro to her "native land;" the *hichiriki* enters once the prayers are revealed and fight against her powers.

Genjuro, however, does not immediately begin to fight against Lady Wakasa, instead he lays prostrate on the tatami mats, almost in a fetal position, as he is caught in between the two spiritual forces. Eventually he discovers his own strength, stumbles away, and finds a sword to fight with. At this point the *nohkan* enters on the side of the high instruments to represent Genjuro's desire to break free. The cue builds in intensity as he stumbles away from Lady

⁷ Such techniques are common in both Western art music and Japanese traditional music, though we must be careful not to read a heaven/hell dialectic into it as Christianity has never been a dominant religion in Japan. Though Hayasaka's own Catholic background might allow such an interpretation.

Wakasa and finally leaves the manor as a gong strike marks his escape as the cue and scene draw to a close (Video 6.3).

This cue resembles the case of the chant at the beginning of the Man's story in *Rashomon* because there is little music to be found in the extant scores for it, even the percussion ostinato part. There is what appears to be a draft of the ostinato in the sketches, but no notation for the *hichiriki* or *nohkan*. I believe the case to be that either these parts were notated separately using the traditional system, and were somehow separated from the rest of the scores over the years, or that these parts were never notated and were played by musicians who based them upon traditional works. However, in the cue sheets prepared by Sato that are a part of the archived sketches, it is indicated that the cue would use both traditional and Western instruments. And, just as is case in *Rashomon*, these cue sheets indicate Western instruments in standard Italian abbreviations and the Japanese instruments in kanji.

Mizoguchi's film ends not quite as darkly as he had hoped for. Under pressure from the studio, he changed the ending to make it sweeter. In the original script, the character of Tobei, who had run away to become a samurai and left his wife to fall into prostitution, continues to go "his own way" instead of reconciling with his wife.⁸ In spite of this, *Ugetsu* lacks any of the redemption found in the ending of many Kurosawa films, a key difference between the two filmmakers. The lives of the families in *Ugetsu* can never be the same after being brought to various states of ruin by the wars of faraway daimyo and shoguns. Granted, the reconciliation between Tobei and Ohama, along with Miyagi's voiceover at the end that absolves Genjuro of

⁸ Anonymous, "Mizoguchi on Mizoguchi," reprinted in *The Masters of Japanese Film*, translated by Leonard Schrader, Nakamura Haruji, and Saito Chieko, 26. Unpublished manuscript held at the University of California, Berkeley Art Museum & Pacific Film Archive. Further citations of articles from this work will carry the short title of *MoJF*.

his sins, backs the film away from the edge of despair. But Miyagi's sadness at being "no longer among the living" and unable to share in Genjuro's maturation, is tinged with guilt, anger, and resignation that "such is the way of the world." Indeed, this resignation is a very Buddhist sentiment, and Miyagi's recognition of her condition, her decent into nihilism, is the only way to overcome such despair. It is likely that this is the reason why Genjuro is not haunted by his wife. Unlike Lady Wasaka, Miyagi has let go of her anger and peacefully moved on after seeing her husband one final time.

Similar themes are explored in *Sanshō dayū* and the music builds upon the innovations that Hayasaka furthered in *Ugetsu*. The limited blending of Western and Japanese instruments that began in *Rashmon* and continued in *Miss Oyu* and *Ugetsu* is taken to its highest levels in *Sanshō*. And even though I do not discuss them here, Hayasaka would continue to innovate and experiment with such instrumental combinations in the scores he wrote for Mizoguchi in his last years.

CHAPTER VII

SANSHO THE BAILIFF: A TALE RETOLD FOR CENTURIES

The legend of *Sanshō dayū* runs deep in Japanese history. It is not only a story set in Japan's past, but can trace its lineage back to Japan's medieval era. As such, Mizoguchi would have instructed Hayasaka to compose a score utilizing materials similar to that of *Ugetsu*. Indeed, there are many similarities between the two scores, and many of the same musicians worked on both films. However, where *Ugetsu* had a limited combination of Western with traditional instruments, *Sanshō dayū* includes multiple scenes that feature the fusion of instrumental forces, though there are also cues with a clear separation between the two. Through a close analysis of the score, we can begin to see how the separation and combination of instruments supports the story of the film and Mizoguchi's commentary on the choices that post-war Japan faced after the end of the Allied occupation between a return to traditional values or the embrace of Western ideals.

The immediate source for the film's plot is Mori Ōgai's (1862–1922) 1915 short story of the same name. Many of the elements found within Mori's version made their way into Mizoguchi's script. But these two twentieth-century interpretations of the classic tale—written versions can be traced back to the 17th century and the oral traditions can be dated as early as the Heian period (11th and 12th century)—differ greatly in their educational goals. Where Mori intended his version to promote a return to a feudal and militaristic society, Mizoguchi's is a

complex allegory that shows the effect that such a return had on Japanese society in the years between their two versions (1915 and 1954 respectively).

The opening text of the film informs us in unambiguous terms what Mizoguchi's feelings are about the civilization of feudal Japan:

This tale is set during the late Heian period, an era when mankind had not yet awakened as human beings. It has been retold by the people for centuries and it is treasured today as one of the world's great folk tales, full of grief...¹

The text is set above the scene of what appears to be ruined stonework, emphasizing the ancient origins of the tale, while in the score an oboe plays a melody that is "full of grief."

The nihilistic program of the film is evident from its outset, and the theme of humanity having "not awakened" is a recurrent topic in the film. Indeed, the film takes every opportunity to show how inhumane people can be within a militarized feudal system controlled by a warrior class. On the other side, the film explores how the values of a democratic society have their own inherent problems. The ending fully embraces the bitter ends that both forms of society have brought upon the family, encapsulating the philosophy of Nishitani Kenji that states that our nihilism can be overcome only when we submit ourselves fully to it.²

Within the aural space of *Sansho*, there are three musical devices that can be heard as important. The first of these devices is the musical theme associated with Zushiō's father and his instructions to him. The second is the use of traditional instruments, specifically the *komabue* flute, in a manner that is less melodic than expressive. The final device is the usage of the diegetic song and voice of the mother Tamaki, which echoes throughout the movie, and ties the temporal

¹ This text is taken from the 2007 Criterion Collection DVD. According to Dudley Andrew, a literal translation would begin: "The origin of this legend of 'Sanshō the Bailiff' goes back to the Heian Period..." From: Dudley Andrew and Carole Cavanaugh, *Sanshō dayū* (London: BFI Publishing, 2000), 43.

² James W. Heisig, *Philosophers of Nothingness: An Essay on the Kyoto School* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 220–1; and Nishitani Keiji, *The Self-Overcoming of Nihilism*, trans. by Graham Parkes with Setsuko Aihara (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1990), 180.

and physical spaces of the film together. The traditional instruments are used to depict the pain and suffering of the family as it is torn apart by the feudal political ideals of those in power, while the Western instruments depict the results of not only the feudal politics, but also the father and son's attempt to introduce liberal politics to the era. In the end, neither side is heard as being victorious, triumphant, or even particularly happy. The score remains somber and "full of grief" as it embraces the suffering of the remaining family members, even as the music reaches its climax.

My analysis of the film score will fall into three large sections: first I will present an overview of the three major musical themes of the film and expand on their use and creation, after which I will offer an in-depth discussion how these themes appear in the film. After this I will discuss the ending scene of the film and how it relates to Mizoguchi's philosophy. These sections will lay out how Hayasaka utilized his instrumental forces to support Mizoguchi's plot and its commentary on Japan in the post-war era.

Sounds of a Feudal Era

The film begins with the journey of a family to find their father who was exiled for disobeying military leaders. Through flashbacks, we see the father sent away, but not before he imparts his wisdom on how to live to his young son. The father tells him that, "A man is not a human being without mercy. Even if you are hard on yourself, be merciful to others." The music associated with this charge is the most common orchestral theme in the film, but is by no means the only one (Figure 7.1). That an orchestral theme is most associated with the idea of being merciful clearly places this principle among the values of freedom and liberty that were



Figure 7.1. The Father's Theme, which could also be called the Mercy Theme.

part of the Occupation rhetoric, and sets it in opposition to the uses of traditional instruments, such as when *gagaku* is heard during the two ceremonial scenes in the film.

As the father takes his leave, he is accompanied by the sounds of the *komabue* flute. This instrument continues to be heard at times of great stress for the characters, especially when the family is separated by forces beyond their control. There are other instances of traditional instruments—*biwa*, the aforementioned *gagaku*, plus a few other instances of traditional wind and percussion instruments—which all serve to reinforce the perception that they represent the political/philosophical system that has caused the family's grief, but I will largely leave these aside in the current study and focus on the *komabue*. The reappearance of the traditional flute towards the end of the film, with an almost toneless breath attack, is a reminder of its previous usage, but is now a ghostly echo of its earlier appearances. Its appearance at the end foreshadows the reappearance of the mother, now a shell of her former self.

One of the most memorable aspects of the film's aural design is found in the mother's Elogy. This song is first heard by the daughter Anju when a fellow slave sings it and is the first clue the children, at this point teenagers, have as to their mother's fate. The song appears throughout the second half of the film and slides between the diegetic and non-diegetic space. The mother's calls of "Zushiō-oooooooo! Anju-uuuuuuu!" which beckon the children back from gathering wood, anticipate the mother's song while drawing attention to the importance of the

her voice, which guarantees that her presence is felt even when she is largely absent during the second half of the film (Figure 7.2).



Figure 7.2. The Elegy of Tamaki (transcribed from the sketches and film and set in C minor by author)

The elegy seems to have given Hayasaka no small amount of frustration, as the sketches show that he went through multiple ideas before he settled on a final version.³ But the fact that the Elegy was written by Hayasaka and that it is found in his sketches is important because it means that, despite his health, he was still able to meet with Mizoguchi a few times, write the Elegy, and get the music to the actors on set to perform during production.

These three elements will be discussed in more detail below as each musical cue is traced through the film, but we can begin to see how they work together in the plot constructed by Mizoguchi. Hayasaka constructs an aural battle between the traditional and Western instruments, which frequently play together or elide into one another. The result is a musical dissonance, both rhythmic and tonal, as the two musical systems clash. The cumulative effect is unsettling and the dissonances never resolves as the musical finale reflects Mizoguchi's nihilistic ending.

As was the case with *Ugetsu*, there are some questions about how the score itself was written because the extant scores contain almost exclusively notations for Western instruments. Likewise, the credits for the film contain more names than Hayasaka for music. Hayasaka is

³ When I transcribed this version, I still had to follow directional arrows in the music and also transpose the two fragments on the page—in two separate keys—to the key of C minor.

credited with just music, while Mizoguchi Kisaku is listed as Music Director and Kodera Kinschichi and Mochizuki Tamezō are listed under Traditional Music. As in the case with *Ugetsu* it appears that most of this traditional music was either written in traditional notation specifically for the musicians or simply played from memory by the musicians without any recourse to notations. In fact, there are some similar *biwa* pieces that are used in both films.

The credit of Mizoguchi Kisaku as Music Director, however, is very perplexing as it was Hayasaka's traditional position. Interviews with Mizoguchi's assistant director Tanaka Tokuzō (1925–2007) and screenwriter Yoda Yoshikata (1909–91) confirm that Mizoguchi entrusted Hayasaka with *all* aspects of the music for the films. They also state that because of Hayasaka's health prevented him from travelling to Kyoto, where filming was taking place, to confer with Mizoguchi on a regular basis, certain aspects of music production fell to both Tanaka and Satō Masaru.⁴ It is likely that Satō served in some capacity as an assistant to help mediate in between Hayasaka, Mizoguchi, and other participants in the production, and Hayasaka increasingly relied on assistants as his health declined through 1954 into 1955.⁵ Regardless, when the comments of others along with the cue sheets, sketches, and his handwritten scores are considered, the weight of evidence points to Hayasaka as the main force behind the creation of the score for *Sanshō dayū* and as such he will be treated as its chief architect.

Father's theme, traditional flute, and Tamaki's Elegy: with these three musical elements in place, we can examine them more in-depth to see how Mizoguchi and Hayasaka worked together to craft the world of *Sanshō dayū* aurally and visually. This will allow us to see how the

⁴ This information is culled from interviews on the Criterion editions of *Sanshō* and *Ugetsu*, including a documentary on Mizoguchi included on the second disc of *Ugetsu* entitled *Kenji Mizoguchi: Life of a Film Director* (Shindō Kaneto, 1975).

⁵ See Appendix A for notes as to when Sato was listed as a full co-composer on these late films.

film illuminates the metanarrative of Japan's struggle to find its identity after the cultural rupture of the Pacific War.

“Without mercy, man is like a beast.”⁶

Zushiō's father only appears in the flashbacks featured in the first act of the film, but his presence is felt throughout as a powerful force in Zushiō's life. The father's theme, which could easily be called the “Mercy Theme” or “Instruction Theme,” first appears during the initial flashback sequence in which the father, before his departure into exile, commands Zushiō to take heed and remember the lessons he has learned. This is one of the key scenes and music cues of the film, and interestingly the father is giving his instructions despite the fact that these values are what has led to his exile and the family's ruin. It is also in this scene that the father gives his son a statue of Kwannon, the goddess of mercy, which serves as a visual reminder of the father just as the musical theme provides an aural cue.

This scene begins with the father being chastised by his uncle, presumably a higher ranking official in the clan, for not only bringing this fate upon himself, but also upon his entire family. The father tries to explain how he was looking out for his subjects, but that only enrages the uncle further, underlining the Neo-Confucian belief that it is more important to maintain the hierarchy than to look out for those below you. The fact that the chastisement comes from an elder family member who is also of higher rank, emphasizes the depth of the father's rebellion against the Neo-Confucian system. The scene then shifts to the father sitting

⁶ Note: For the following sections, when possible, I will be using the individual cue titles indicated in the scores and on the cue sheet. These same titles are used in the chart found in Appendix G. However, I have created some of my own designations when none were clear.

with his son and wife, he instructs her to take the children away to her family's home (it is from there that they will begin their trek years later to find the father). He then turns to his son to teach him about mercy, juxtaposing the father's beliefs against those of his uncle, who represents the established familial power base. The cue R No 4 enters just before he begins his speech to underscore their importance:

Without mercy, man is like a beast. Even if you are hard on yourself, be merciful to others. Men are created equal. Everyone is entitled to their happiness.

This speech smacks of post-Occupation democratic values, going so far as to borrow from that most liberal of documents: the Declaration of Independence. To hear these words coming from a man living in Heian era Japan is quite unexpected. But again, this feeds into Mizoguchi's actual plan in this film: to interrogate and compare those Neo-Confucian values promoted in Ōgai's telling of the story, values that would plunge Japan into a devastating war, with those promoted by MacArthur's occupation propaganda, which run counter to Japan's historical culture.

To attempt a full recounting of Neo-Confucianism and its role in Japanese political culture is a dissertation unto itself, but I will offer a few words about the system because the values it espouses are at the heart of the *Sanshō dayū*. The basic concept at work, which is still a major pillar of Japanese, and indeed much of Asian, culture, is filial piety—showing respect and deference to your parents, ancestors, and those considered to be of a higher social status. Neo-Confucianism, first developed by the Chinese scholar Chu Hsi (1130-1200) and brought to Japan in the late 16th century during a failed Japanese invasion of Korea, extended the basic concept of filial piety found in Confucian thought into the political sphere in order to better harmonize society with, as Chu Hsi saw it, an orderly universe. And since the universe was hierarchical, so too should be society, and of the five basic relationships between humans, four were unequal,

reflecting this hierarchical nature. Those four unequal relationships are: ruler–subject, husband–wife, parent–child, and elder–younger.⁷

After the father delivers his wisdom to his son, he then presents him with the statue of Kwannon, as a reminder of him and his teaching, saying, “Think of this as my principle. Keep it in remembrance of me.”⁸ He then makes the young Zushiō repeat what he has just told him.

Underlying the fact that the father’s words come from a Western philosophical orientation is the fact that the cue is played by purely Western instruments: strings, harp, and two bassoons (Video 7.1).

I describe this sequence in such detail because I want to emphasize the ritual quality of it. The father is passing on his teachings and possession of an important family artifact to his son, essentially making Zushiō, as one might say, “the man of the house.” The music underscores the solemnity of the occasion, being serious while also full of sorrow. The father wants to pass on his beliefs and teachings to the next generation even while these are the very thing that has brought his family to such a precarious position.

The theme’s next appearance is during the children’s first night alone within the estate run by the slave master Sanshō. Taro, the son of the slave master and estate bailiff, has taken the children aside to inquire about their past. Taro finally convinces the children to reveal their secret, and Zushiō tells him about his father’s wisdom as the Father’s Theme plays once again. Taro, who has seen how the slaves suffer at the hands of *his* father, tells the children that while they must not give up thoughts of escape and home, they must endure for a while, until they are old enough to escape and undertake the trip to Sado to find their mother. To hide their identities

⁷ W.G. Beasley, *The Japanese Experience: A Short History of Japan* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999), 172-3. The fifth, and only relationship placing the two parties on equal footing, is that between friends.

⁸ It is unfortunate that I cannot tell if these quotations from the Declaration of Independence and now the Bible are from the actual script, or interpolated via the subtitle translator.

until they are ready to attempt their new journey, Taro gives the children new names. Zushiō becomes Mutsu-Waka, after the place of his birth, and Anju becomes Shinobu, which means “to endure through anything.”⁹ The children agree, and while it will be difficult, they find strength in the Father’s words and amulet that Zushiō continues to carry with him.

The purpose of this cue, R No 14, is to strengthen the connection between the father’s words, the amulet, and to show a sympathetic soul in Taro, who, much like the children’s father, will rebel against his elders in pursuit of liberal idea of mercy and equality. After Taro leaves the children he sees, for one last time, the evil and greed of his father and the current system. Disgusted, he walks out the gates to join a monastery and begin a new life as a Buddhist monk. It is a rebuke of everything Sanshō has done.

The film then skips forward ten years, but Zushiō forgets his father and his words and becomes a cruel man. Sanshō became an almost surrogate father to Zushiō, and the now teenaged Mutsu-Waka takes on many of his captor’s behaviors. As such, the father’s theme is absent for almost an hour of screen time, and it is not until he receives the news of his father’s death while in exile that the theme finally reappears.

The Cries of a Family Torn Asunder

The main type of traditional Japanese music heard in *Sanshō dayū* is the use of the *komabue* flute—sometimes solo other times combined with traditional and Western instruments—as an emblem of family’s separation. This flute is used in *gagaku* court music but has a brighter tone than the *ryuteki*. With such a sound, it not only represents the power structure

⁹ While Shinobu and *komabue* are very similar when transliterated, there is no connection between the two words, though it is an intriguing coincidence.

of Japan because of its association with the court music, but its sound matches the cries of those oppressed by such power. The traditional flute enters into the film's score in a blended cue labeled R No 5. Played during the final flashback sequence of the father being sent into exile, the cue also features string and bassoon pizzicati. The *komabue* actually began during the previous cue, plays over R No 5, and continues long after the Western instruments drop out, continuing into the next cue, R No 6/7. This flashback sequence depicts the father's actual exile. He says his final goodbyes to the family, and then departs with his retinue. The *komabue* slowly builds throughout the cue, reaching a fever pitch as the father's caravan is mobbed by his subjects pleading with him not to leave.

This occurrence of the *komabue* establishes its function as a symbol of parting, the family unit being torn asunder by the forces created through the Neo-Confucian political system that emphasizes obedience over independent thought and liberal ideals. When the strings eventually drop out part-way through the scene, it's hard to even hear that they have stopped playing because of the commotion in both the aural and video tracks. This leaves only the *komabue*, calmer but still quite strident in its upper registers, to accompany the father's final appearance on screen. His back is to the camera as he and his retainers travel away from the viewer as the scene dissolves to Tamaki gazing into the distance, presumably at her husband miles and miles away.

The *komabue* again enters as the film is torn apart by slave traders, codifying its usage as a musical emblem of the socio-political forces that separate the family from one another. In the first traditional instruments only cue in the film, which I have labeled Traditional Music #1, the music begins with percussion sounds as a priestess approaches the travelers at their camp and

offers them shelter for the night, ostensibly an act of mercy and compassion, however the traditional instruments alert us that something more might be going on.

The percussion instruments demonstrate a typical *jo-ha-kyū* rhythm; they start slowly then accelerate before they pause to begin the pattern. This percussion is heard as the priestess convinces the mother to accept her offer, but the music gives the proposal a sense of foreboding. The *komabue* enters softly above the percussion as the scene shifts to the priestess' house playing a four-note motif that repeats which gains in intensity as the scene progresses and the percussion reenters. Following the *jo-ha-kyū* pattern, the music accelerates as it also begins to shorten until the scene shifts again to the next morning. The family prepares to leave and heads to the boats arranged for by the priestess to ferry them closer to their destination, and when the scene shifts the music changes character, resetting to a calmer affect. It begins with low held note on *komabue*, but soon moves into the flute's higher register, immediately causing a feeling of distress. But the *komabue* returns to the lower octave as they approach the snickering boatmen. We are not yet sure of the boatmen's intentions, but we, the viewer, should be very, very leery.

It is important to note that this entire sequence is accompanied by traditional instruments, yet on the surface the priestesses' actions appear to be out of kindness: a religious figure that takes pity on the dislocated family who have found "no room at the inn" because of local laws. They cannot find shelter *because* of the political system, but an individual shows them mercy. We are cued into the fact that it is all a ruse because of hearing only traditional instruments, especially the presence of the *komabue*, whose strident sounds are, for this film, the equivalent of the "bad music" in horror films that tell us that someone is about to get slashed. And if a viewer had not pick up on the association by this point, the next musical cue lays this out quite clearly.

In Traditional Music #2 the mother senses there is something wrong and the *komabue* immediately enters in its highest register. Tamaki is separated from her children, being told that they all can't fit in one boat and the music echoes its earlier appearance when the father was sent into exile as the peasants begged him not to leave. The melody here is different but is no less evocative of distress. The music continues as Tamaki protests and children scream for their mother, just as the peasants did for their governor. The emphasis here, as it is for all instances of the *komabue*, is the act of being separated by these external forces that are allowed to exist by those in power. So while the flute might evoke the panicked cries of those being ripped apart, the fact of its association with the traditions that kept the Neo-Confucian system in power is no less valid, even if it is a musical voice for the cries of those oppressed by it. The music fades as the scene ends with the children still screaming on shore as the mother calls after the family's servant Ubatake, who was knocked overboard and drowns. It is a key moment in the film, the moment when things go absolutely wrong. The family has been irrevocably fractured and both scenes were accompanied by the sounds of the *komabue*, though it is by far not the last instance of the traditional flute in such a capacity (Video 7.2).

The final appearance of the *komabue* is when Zushiō travels to Sado in order to find his mother.¹⁰ Anju has died, their father has died, and Zushiō was momentarily a powerful official but gave it up in order to follow his father's teachings of mercy. As he wanders about the seaside town, he is accompanied by the sound of the *komabue* (Traditional Music #5 & 6), but with a different character. Where previous flute cues were either strident and high pitched or confident and in a lower range, these final traditional flute cues are tentative and hesitant. The sound is almost like that of an amateur struggling to simply make a sound and the result is more

¹⁰ I have skipped over many other instances of traditional music in the film at this point.

air than actual tone most of the time. These cues are analogous to the *biwa* parts that were heard underneath the cues at the beginning of the film: hesitant, unsure, and scared of being heard.

The flute has lost its earlier power, Zushiō has almost found his mother, and the end of the family's parting that begun so long ago is in sight. Yet, the pain remains. Zushiō has lost both his father and sister and is unsure about his mother, but has faith that she is on Sado. The *komabue*, and the political system, no longer holds any power over Zushiō. He has escaped slavery, regained his faith in mercy taught to him by his father, and no longer cares about political power; he achieved it and gave it up after it served his purposes and is now free of the constraints of that system that destroyed his family. Though he is still not happy as mercy has also caused him trouble; when he showed it he was forced to forgo the power that is his familial right. The two sides, Neo-Confucian and Western Liberalism, cannot co-exist. Zushiō is a man caught between worlds; he is post-war Japan, unsure of where to turn.

“Isn't life torture?”

Where the Father's Theme is clearly representative of Western ideals of mercy, equality, and democratic rule, and the traditional instruments are emblematic of the Neo-Confucian political system that ruled Japan until the fall of the Tokugawa Shogunate, the Elegy of Tamaki represents a middle ground. It represents the family unit that is lost and longs to be reunited, and by film's end it is also indicative of the nihilistic depths to which that same family now sunk. It begins as a symbol of hope for the children and then is sung again moments before the bittersweet reunion of mother and son.

The elegy first appears after the children have endured ten years of slavery under Sanshō, and is the first sign that their mother is alive. While enslaved, Anju grew more compassionate while Zushiō turned cold and brutal. This is displayed in the first scene after the jump of ten years in the film's narrative as we see Zushiō, alias Mutsu-Waka, commit the horrible act of branding a slave who tried to escape. He did not hesitate, he did not protest, he calmly went about his work. Afterwards, a new slave is delivered to Sanshō's compound that comes from the island of Sado, where Tamaki had been sold years before. After Anju, alias Shinobu, teaches her how to spin thread, the new slave to sings the Elegy, unaware that the two people named in it, Zushiō and Anju, are slaves of Sanshō. She believes it to just be a folk song. The lyrics are:

Zushiō, how I long for you!
 Isn't life torture?
 Anju, how I long for you!
 Isn't life torture?
 So miserable as I am sold away,
 Boatman, quietly row away.

Anju inquires about the song's origins and is told that it was first sung some years ago on Sado by a courtesan named Nakagimi, where it became popular. Anju then asks the new slave to continue with her song, at which point Mizoguchi moves it to the non-diegetic space and shifts the scene to the island of Sado where we see Tamaki on-screen for the first time since she was kidnapped.

In the second verse of the song, as the film jumps in the physical space, the slave's voice takes on an unearthly echo—representative of the many miles the song travelled to reach the children—and the *komabue* and the *shō* enter as accompaniment. The *komabue* once again plays high pitches as Tamaki frantically screams and tries to escape her captors. She offers two boatmen all her money to take her away and yells at them to leave now. She is caught, though, and taken before the man who bought her and is punished severely, having the tendons in her

lower legs cut to prevent her from running away again. Even though Tamaki is already separated from her children, the entrance of the traditional instruments here underlies the forces at play that tore them apart and still prevents their reunion. The addition of the cluster chords of the *shō* inserts a supplemental clashing element and furthers the disorder heard in the audio mix.

The Elegy is heard three times in quick succession in the film. The first is when the new slave first sings it and Anju overhears her. The second is when Anju asks her to sing it again and the film moves to Sado where we see Tamaki. The third occurs after Tamaki's tendons are cut and she can no longer walk without assistance. This third version of the Elegy actually enters just as she is punished and begins with a familiar sound, the *biwa* plucking along with very little rhythm or melody, which was heard in the one of the first cues in the film.

This third iteration of the Elegy is actually without the sung part until the very end, but does feature a string arrangement of the melody. In this version, with just strings and *biwa*, it resembles R No 2/3/4B, the music used to accompany the family's journey to find their father at the beginning of the film. Indeed, the *biwa* part is actually the same one heard during the second version of the cue played while the family was beside a stream. This links these two scenes both aurally and visually, as during the third Elegy, Tamaki is standing on a cliff overlooking the sea that separates Sado from the main Japanese islands.

This third iteration of the Elegy is linked with the mother's earlier calls of "Zushiō-oooooooooooo!! Anju-uuuuuuuuuu!!" Originally these were to call the children back to her as they gathered wood and reed for shelter, but now she calls weakly to her children across the sea, even as she knows that her call will never be heard. The mother's call and the Elegy are one and the same, both utterances of a mother telling her children not to wander away and to return to the safety of her embrace. Now, though, she is powerless to leave and find her children and has only

a vain hope that her cries will be heard. The scene dissolves back to the children at Sanshō's estate and Anju is now singing her mother's song in the hut she shares with Zushiō. This completes the film's journal through time and space, as the Elegy links through song what is separated by hundreds of miles (Video 7.3).

While Anju takes the Elegy as a sign of hope, Zushiō feels it to represent a fool's hope that one day they can reclaim their titles. The children have no proof of their family, no money with which to travel, and no way to escape. They have seen slaves attempt to escape and what happens to them when they fail. With Zushiō now an administrator of the punishment for escape, he would get what would be coming to him. Anju, on the other hand, still believes in her father's words which were taught to her by Zushiō and their mother. She was just a baby when her father was forced in exile and yet retains that which Zushiō has lost and what the Elegy represents. All of these elements are found within a single song first sung by a courtesan and connect a family ruptured in both time and space.

The Elegy is heard again in one of Mizoguchi's most powerful sequences: Anju's suicide. A longshot establishes a lakeside as Anju slowly approaches it, a cut moves us closer and we see Anju slowly walk into the lake, followed by a cut back to the gate which Anju and fled through. Here we see a fellow slave who told Anju to run and allowed herself to be tied up by Anju in order to send the guards in the wrong direction. All the while both women knew what Anju has to do. Mizoguchi finally cuts back to the lake where we only see ripples in the water to indicate that Anju is already under, drowning. Mizoguchi holds the shot as the ripples slowly fade away before he cuts to the temple which Zushiō has escaped to.

Unlike so many of Mizoguchi's scenes which follow his "one scene, one shot" technique, here he is careful to keep the camera stationary and allow the cuts to evoke the story

accompanied by a haunting rendition of Tamaki's Elegy that sounds as if it was from a distant memory. The song is accompanied by simple harp arpeggios, which are not in the extant scores, but are found in the sketches for the score in a cue labeled R No 25 which has harp arpeggios written out that match those found in this scene. It would appear that this music was a late addition and constructed on the stage with Hayasaka or Satō giving instructions to the harpist on what to play based on the harp arpeggios from this discarded sketch.

For such a key scene, it seems strange to have a cue that was assembled on the recording stage. Consider, though, the implications of having the mother's Elegy at this moment in the film, which was not in the original music Hayasaka wrote to accompany this scene. The song is a lament for her lost children, one of whom she can now never see again. It is an ultimate separation, so one might expect to hear the *komabue* at this moment, and it might fit and echo the scene on the cliff when Tamaki weakly called out to her lost children across the sea. But if the traditional instruments were to enter here, it would take away the nobility of Anju's sacrifice by assigning it to external forces, i.e. she *had* to kill herself to ensure Zushiō's escape. While that is essentially true, it would take away Anju's power in this moment. She has *chosen* this for herself in order to protect her brother (Video 7.4).

This is how the scene plays out in all the versions of the story, but what made Mizoguchi's version difficult to Japanese society is that it features a younger sibling's sacrifice for the elder which is not the normal order of things.¹¹ In order to make this acceptable to an audience, they wrote in the part about Zushiō's rescue of a dying slave woman. Only the strong, elder brother could successfully carry this woman away. Anju's sacrifice is then one to save not

¹¹ The reason for the switch in the children's birth order was due to casting choices made by both Mizoguchi and the studio which resulted in the actor for Zushiō being older than that of Anju. In traditional Neo-Confucianism, an older sibling would sacrifice themselves before allowing a younger to, but because Zushiō was the only one capable of saving a dying fellow slave, the sacrifice is made acceptable.

only her brother, but also the woman who had been a sister and surrogate mother to her while a slave of Sanshō, thus her suicide becomes acceptable. Anju's sacrifice is ultimately a very maternal act on her part. Just as a mother would sacrifice everything for her child, Anju is also laying down her life to save Zushiō, whom she had to scold and prod like a mother to remember the words of their father. So while Anju might have been the youngest sibling, in the end she took on the role of the elder and in doing so the maternal role. As such, Anju is sent to her final rest accompanied by the mother's elegy.

The Elegy appears one final time in *Sanshō dayū*, during the reunion of Zushiō and Tamaki. The son, now in self-imposed exile, has arrived at a beach on Sado where one person said that his mother died in a tsunami years ago. Zushiō hears a weak voice in the distance, strained and rough, but he can barely make out the words and melody of the Elegy. For one final time, the song calls to Zushiō and he follows it until he finds a broken, old woman that chases away birds. She is a shadow of the strong woman Zushiō knew and lost so many years ago, but she is still recognizable as his mother.

Here the link between the Elegy and the mother's voice is made explicit as finally, the song is a literal call. It is directly heard by Zushiō and draws him to her, just as her call of, "Zushiō-oooooooooooo!! Anju-uuuuuuuuuu!!" did when he and his sister collected branches and thatch the night before the family was torn apart. The song has also drawn him from further away as it did reach him at Sanshō's and was the start of his rediscovery of mercy. But it is not a happy ending for them as the family has been irrevocably separated as Anju sacrificed herself to save Zushiō, the father died in exile, and Tamaki is a ghost of her former self. Mother and son might have been brought back together, but at what cost?

R No 34—The Finale

The final cue of a movie should be one that helps the viewer to know how to feel about the film's ending. In the musical scheme of *Sanshō dayū*, if we are to accept that Western democracy is good for Japan, it should feature Western orchestral music, and if the filmmaker's want to show that traditional values should be embraced, then Japanese instruments would dominate. However, the film takes a third path, blending the two in a musical version of embracing the negative of both, the nihilism that both systems lead to in the end. In a sense, the music embraces them in order to overcome them.

The final cue begins slowly as Zushiō has to inform his mother of the fates of Anju and the father. A solo violin plays the Father's theme, with additional violins joining after the first two phrases of it. With each successive phrase, more instruments are added, first traditional flutes followed by winds and brass. The *komabue* actually enters just as Zushiō informs Tamaki that they are all that is left of the family, that Anju has "gone to join father," spelling out one last time the link between the traditional instruments and the forces that laid this once proud family low. Zushiō also tells his mother that he could have come to her as a governor, but gave up his title in order to follow his father's words. Adding to the misery is his mother's comments that she, "doesn't know what you have done, but I know that you followed your father's teachings. And that is why we have been able to meet again." Zushiō thus neglects to inform her about his actions while a slave of Sanshō.

The music continues to build as Mizoguchi switches to a long shot of the mother and child reunion, and then slowly pans left, back over the beach huts and a man gathering seaweed. The music reaches an orchestral climax as the *komabue* reaches even higher, continuing to clash

against the Western orchestra. Seemingly, nothing has been resolved, neither system is shown to be any better than the other, both bring misery upon the just and the evil alike. You can be merciful and poor or rich and corrupt as each system has their dark side, their fall into nihilism and despair. However, rather than an ending, Mizoguchi has given us another beginning, the foundation to overcome the issues that plague Japan, but it can begin only when they first accept what has led them there. In other words, for post-war Japan, traditional values are what led the country down the path to war and ruin, while the cultural shock of the rapid importation of Western values caused great turmoil for tradition rich Japan which had no cultural basis for such philosophical ideas (Video 7.5).

If Mizoguchi and Hayasaka had wanted a definitive ending to the film, a statement of which side of the ideological divide is correct, the music and scene would be quite different. Imagine a Hollywood ending for the film: first, Anju would have found a way to survive her apparent suicide; Tamaki, while still a slave and prostitute, would not have been so physically scarred; and the entire family would find themselves on the beach in joyous reunion. Of course, this would all be accompanied by syrupy strings and glorious French horn melodies. But that is not Mizoguchi and Hayasaka's ending.

Their world is a sometimes cruel and always complex place. There are no simple answers to the important questions we must ask ourselves every day, on both the micro and macro level. The teachings of the father apply not only to the large political questions that face all nations (both in 1954 and today), but also to our one-on-one interactions with the people around us. It is only if we accept the nihilism in the world, knowing that we cannot change everything, but also avoid the despair that can rule us, that we can overcome the crisis of our modern society. Thus, both musical instrument classes continue to play and clash in the final

cue, but they also somehow find a dissonant harmony, co-existing within in each other's musical language. The melodies of the *komabue* start to move with those of the orchestra, and their notes, while still high and strident, do not grind against the orchestra as much. As the cue reaches its final climax, both seem to reach some sort of peace with each other. We must not avoid the nihilism, but instead pass through it as Zushiō and Tamaki do. In so many ways, this quest to find harmony within differences mirrors the history of Japanese culture. Throughout its history it has imported many aspects of music, arts, politics, and philosophy from external sources and then molded them into something distinctly Japanese, and Mizoguchi posits in *Sanshō* that Japan must do again in the 20th century.

Sanshō dayū, like so many of Mizoguchi's great films, is simple upon first pass. The narrative is straight forward and avoids convoluted sub-plots that entangle the characters in an intricate web of relationships. But upon closer inspection, we can see the complex allegorical narrative created by Mizoguchi and his co-creators, a story about the trials facing post-war Japan delivered via one of the most beloved stories in its history. Hayasaka contributed to the metanarrative by constructing a score which also functioned on multiple levels. He presents an aural conflict between those instrumental forces that would Westernize and Democratize Japan in line with the goals of the recently ended Occupation, and the traditional instruments that might seek to put Japan back on a path to the old ideals that would lead the country back towards totalitarianism. It was a score that paralleled Mizoguchi's narrative goals of the film, and one also overlooked in the year of 1954 when Hayasaka's score for *Shichinin no samurai* was busy storming through cinemas across Japan not even one month after the release of Mizoguchi's parable.

CHAPTER VIII

MIZOGUCHI'S HISTORICAL AUTHENTICITY

Hayasaka did not begin to work with Mizoguchi until 1950 when the esteemed director, whose career began in 1922, was already in his fifties and was shifting towards what Iwasaki Akira called the director's Classical Period. Many of the works from this time were based on stories from Japanese history and classical literature, such as *Shin heike monogatari* (Taira Clan Saga, 1955), and the aforementioned *Ugetsu monogatari* and *Sanshō dayū*. Iwasaki says that Mizoguchi's films from "this period [have] the characteristics common to all great artists: stable maturity in harmony with stylistic control."¹ In his films from the time, especially his historical films made between 1952 and 1954, film scholar Satō Tadao writes that Mizoguchi "needed to grapple with the old in order to discover the new, and this engagement with the old world made him really love it, so much so that he sometimes dismantled the original stories, sometimes changed them completely."² The engagement of the old to discover the new could be what drew Mizoguchi to work with Hayasaka as it was not until after the release of *Rashomon* that the director hired Hayasaka.³

Mizoguchi's relationship with those he worked with was complicated and often difficult, but not for the same reasons found when working with Kurosawa. Though Mizoguchi was no less a taskmaster famous for yelling at his actors and crew, his critiques were usually aimed to

¹ Iwasaki Akira, "Mizoguchi and Realism," *MoJF*, 105–6.

² Satō, *Kenji Mizoguchi and the Art*, 101.

³ Though it was not until their second film together, *Oyu sama* (Miss Oyu, 1951), that they worked on a period drama.

draw out the best from them as collaborators rather than force them into realizing his vision, as was Kurosawa's technique. By the time Mizoguchi paired with Hayasaka, the director had already set himself the task of creating historically authentic films, with a "rigorously uncompromising passion."⁴

When filming his version of the classic *Chushingura* tale of the loyal forty-seven retainers—*Genroku Chūshingura* (1941–2)—Mizoguchi insisted on the construction of an exact replica of the "Pine Corridor" where the initial attack that began the affair occurred. Shinoda Masahiro observes that Mizoguchi's attention to historical detail "resulted in the development of a viewpoint which was authentic, realistic, detached and objective."⁵ And Mizoguchi's explorations of an authentic viewpoint began long before he made films on historical subjects, in fact it began with his two breakthrough films of 1936, *Naniwa hika* (Osaka Elegy) and *Gion no kyōdai* (Sisters of the Gion), which focused on the lives of contemporary women.⁶ Mizoguchi's work in the 1950s on historical subjects, however, was also part of a larger trend of historical films once the Occupation turned control of film censorship over to the Japanese. While many studios proceeded to turn out cookie cutter *chanbara*, or sword fighting films, there was also a movement to make more realistic *jidai geki*, of which Mizoguchi's films, along with Kurosawa's *Seven Samurai*, were at the forefront.⁷

But there were two sides to Mizoguchi's working method when he talked to his actors and crew. The first side was to give intentionally vague and sometimes misleading instructions to them, from which he hoped to derive their best and most natural work. Then there was the rigorous side where he insisted on the most authentic results from all aspects of the production,

⁴ Shinoda Masahiro, "Far From Mizoguchi," *MoJF*, 114.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 115.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Satō, *Mizoguchi and the Art*, 122.

from the tea cup that can barely be seen on camera, to the hairstyle of the actors, to the music being played under it all. I will explore these two sides briefly in this chapter.

“That’s not right.”

As a younger director, Mizoguchi was notorious for his temper and anger on the set. Shortly after his marriage in 1927 it is said he turned even harsher, becoming “an all-day screaming and yelling dictatorial monster who vented his fury on actors and staff, regardless of sex, persistently and implacably until he achieved precisely what he wanted.”⁸ Famously in 1933, he actually started to shoot *Taki no Shiraito* (White Threads of the Cascade) before the script was finished because he was unsatisfied with the work done by the writers. He would make frequent changes to the material on set even as the script was rewritten by two new scriptwriters.⁹

But as time moved on, Mizoguchi became less outwardly tyrannical and began to give vague and contradictory comments, letting those around him guess at what he wanted.

Mizoguchi’s longtime scriptwriter Yoda Yoshikata (1909–91), in an essay published shortly after the director’s death in 1956, said:

After the war he often said my scripts were too plain and flat. He told me to write more solidly, to put one scene over another the way a painter piles colors over colors....All of his producers and associates...all of us were doomed to eventually get involved in this. Some of [his producers and associates] say Mizoguchi was a malicious egomaniac, but they should realize that they were enabled to do their best work while working for him. [Mizoguchi], in this sense, could manage people well. Never persisting in his own opinions, he made the most of all his various staff members’ talents—in a script or on a set.¹⁰

⁸ Keiko I. McDonald, *Mizoguchi* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1984), 22.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹⁰ Yoda Yoshikata, “The Mizoguchi Method,” *MoJF*, 76-7.

But one of his favorite comments to make was simply that something was “not right,” though he never actually told the actor or scriptwriter or composer what was right.¹¹ What Mizoguchi did do on the set was rely on improvisation. He would arrive at the set not having “bothered to work out the contents of a given scene in detail beforehand, but followed his bent as the spirit moved him.”¹² In this way, even if Mizoguchi was a harsh “malicious egomaniac,” he allowed those he worked with to discover and create with him and let the actor or writer or composer help to find the best way to interpret the material. Iwasaki states that that “[this] method of working is highly unique and individualistic among Japanese directors. Mizoguchi used it to squeeze the very best out of all his associates...and hungrily squeezed out every last drop.”¹³

How this affected Hayasaka is not completely clear because what evidence there is about Mizoguchi’s working methods only briefly mentions the composer. Their collaboration was short lived, even though it occurred in Mizoguchi’s most celebrated period. From the extant scores that I’ve analyzed for *Ugetsu* and *Sanshō* it is clear that Hayasaka’s music was always in a state of flux and would change rapidly from finished score to film. He inserted repeats and vamps, and adjusted cues as the film changed between the editing room and recording stage. In the climactic suicide scene of *Sanshō dayū*, as I described in Chapter VII, Hayasaka had written a cue that covered the entire sequence of the children’s escape from the clutches of Sansho, a total of almost fifteen minutes of film. But during the recording of the score, much of the music was jettisoned or changed, and Anju’s suicide received a new cue written from discarded sketches and the Elogy. Mizoguchi was correct to push for changes, and the final music in the film is a powerful statement of Anju’s assumption of a maternal, protective role of her elder brother.

¹¹ Iwasaki, “Mizoguchi and Realism,” 103.

¹² McDonald, *Mizoguchi*, 103.

¹³ Iwasaki, “Mizoguchi and Realism,” 104.

With Kurosawa, Hayasaka's music seems to have been more stable when it went to the recording stage. There might have been some slight alterations that would have to be made, and some cues were discarded—such as in the third act of *Ikiru* or the battle scene music in *Seven Samurai*—but nothing on the level of changes and revisions that I observed in the two Mizoguchi scores. What is unclear at this stage of my research, though, is how these changes were made, especially in 1954 and 1955, since Mizoguchi worked in Kyoto and Hayasaka, in increasingly ill health, rarely left Tokyo, relying on the assistance of Satō to keep up with his projects. It is hard to believe that Hayasaka was not consulted on changes made to his score, and it is possible that the actual score recording happened in Tokyo where he could be on hand to oversee it.

“Undeniable authenticity”

Mizoguchi's *Zangiku monogatari* (The Story of Late Chrysanthemums, 1939) is considered one of his masterworks from the time of the Pacific War, and was part of a genre called *geidomono*—films that depicted the traditional arts. For Mizoguchi, in the depiction of these arts he insisted that everything be authentic on screen. *The Story of Late Chrysanthemums* shows the life of a *kabuki* actor in the Meiji period after Japan's opening to the West, and for the soundtrack of the film Mizoguchi opted to use entirely traditional musicians and music based on the style of *kabuki* theatre, a similar technique used in Mizoguchi's 1952 film *Saikaku ichidai onna* (The Life of Oharu).

When the costume and sets designs for *Oharu*—set in Japan's Edo period—were prepared, Mizoguchi borrowed authentic costumes from collectors and had them replicated by

his costumers. He also had his art director Mizutani Hiroshi examine artifacts from earlier periods to have them authentically replicated on screen.¹⁴ He also demanded this kind of in-depth research from his actors, and interviews with them include stories of the director ordering them to read numerous books to get to know the historical period and occupations that they would depict on-screen.

His purpose for this was clear. Mizoguchi despised the fakery and artificiality that was common in period films of the time. To him “a lack of exacting research makes the story itself begin to feel fake,” and for Mizoguchi realism was paramount.¹⁵ There is even a story, which Mizoguchi confirmed, that he spent an entire day in pursuit of a single authentic lamp for a film set in the Meiji period.¹⁶ But even the director conceded that it was impossible to replicate a period completely authentically. “[A film] can show artifacts from the past but can’t convey the changing general atmosphere of the different periods....This is a fundamental difficulty of visual art, a difficulty not found in literature.”¹⁷

So it was that Hayasaka deepened his explorations and innovations begun with *Rashomon* while working for Mizoguchi. Their first period film together was *Oyu-sama* (Miss Oyu, 1951) which was set during the Meiji era and featured a score of both traditional and Western instruments. And for the score to *Ugetsu*, Mizoguchi was “adamant that [Hayasaka]...must use the *noh* flute.” Going beyond that instruction, Hayasaka felt free enough to use correct period music, including traditional instruments in the style of *noh* theatre, *biwa* accompanied song, and Buddhist chanting. Hayasaka was assisted by Satō Masaru, who helped prepare the orchestra and final cue sheets, and Saito Ichiro, who had previously worked with Mizoguchi on *The Life of*

¹⁴ Kishi Matsuo, “A Talk With Mizoguchi,” *MoJF*, 30–2.

¹⁵ Takizawa Hajime, “Before Filming,” *MoJF*, 49.

¹⁶ Hazumi Tsuneo, “Self-Assessment: An Unsatisfied Filmmaker,” *MoJF*, 54. Unfortunately, both the interviewer and Mizoguchi do not mention which film it was.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 56.

Oharu. It is likely that almost all traditional performers were organized by Saito, given his previous experience, and performed by musicians in the traditional manner, whether or not they used any notation at all.¹⁸ As such, Hayasaka's extant scores are largely devoid of notations of traditional instruments beyond some simple drum patterns. However, there are sketches for at least two of the songs performed by characters on screen which suggests that some of the traditional music was new and written by Hayasaka.

In total, Hayasaka scored eight films for Mizoguchi, the same number he worked on for Kurosawa, and for all of those set in earlier historical periods, Hayasaka worked to combine traditional and Western instruments. For *Yokichi* (Princess Yang Kwei-fei, 1955), which is set in China, he studied and incorporated Chinese music and instruments. For the two films they worked on that were not *jidai geki*—*Yuki fujin ezu* (Portrait of Madame Yuki, 1950) and *Musashino fujin* (The Lady of Musashino, 1951)—his scores utilize the Pan-Asian aesthetic heard in his concert music. And in scores like *Ugetsu* and *Sanshō dayū* Hayasaka blends his Pan-Asian style with traditional instruments to create a new type of orchestral music that would inspire the next generation. But Hayasaka's innovations in those films might not have occurred had he not first experimented with such orchestral sounds in *Rashomon*.

It is of note that examples like *Story of Late Chrysanthemums* and *Life of Oharu*, which both feature non-Hayasaka scores of exclusively traditional instruments, show that Mizoguchi would occasionally insist that Western instruments be omitted in his scores. Yet Hayasaka was able to express his thoughts on how to score the films and include orchestral music. Mizoguchi clearly trusted his composer's input and Hayasaka was able to compose his blended score. Satō Tadao states that Mizoguchi “made Hayasaka Fumio integrate Japanese and Western music more fully” by forcing him to use the *nohkan*, but I believe that Hayasaka might have included such

¹⁸ The musicians are listed as Mochizuki Tamekichi and his Ensemble and a *biwa* player named Umehara.

instruments regardless given his previous usage of traditional instruments.¹⁹ I believe that *nohkan* and traditional theatre music was simply the sound that Mizoguchi wanted Hayasaka to build from because of the *noh* traditions and associations with ghost stories within the film's plot and aesthetics.

Mizoguchi Kenji was often just as hard on his collaborators as Kurosawa. He would yelled at them, gave them frustrating and cryptic instructions, but the end result would many times be some of their best work. His apparently dictatorial tone, however, allowed those same people a great deal of autonomy, pointed them in the right direction and trusted them to find their way. And at the same time, Mizoguchi held himself to even higher standards. Screenwriter Narusawa Masaghi wrote six years after the director's death:

[Mizoguchi] constantly tortured and whipped himself as well—constantly refining his work towards absolute purity. Late one night we were working alone when, suddenly, he bolted to his feet: “It’s no use. Mizoguchi can’t hack it anymore. When failing on a film, you just scratch your head. But Mizoguchi can’t do that. One year for him is like ten for you.”²⁰

And this might be the biggest difference between the two directors. Where Mizoguchi allowed himself to show his weakness in front of his crew, berate himself and his limitations, the Kurosawa-Takemitsu feud was only resolved after a day of negotiations with neither of the two egos forced to humble himself before the other in public.²¹ Kurosawa's word was always final, whereas Mizoguchi was willing to listen, work, adjust, and when necessary yell at his crew to draw out their best work, even if those ideas might not have been exactly what he had in mind when work began.

¹⁹ Satō, *Mizoguchi and the Art*, 114.

²⁰ Narusawa Masaghi, “No Fakes Allowed,” *MoJF*, 79. Mizoguchi would routinely refer to himself in the third person when yelling at himself.

²¹ Nogami, *Weather*, 208.

CONCLUSION

THE HAYASAKA SCHOOL

Nineteen fifty-four saw the release of two of Hayasaka's greatest scores, *Shichinin no samurai* and *Sanshō dayū*, within a month of each other. It was also a major year for the cinema of Japan as both films also took home coveted Silver Lion awards at the Venice Film Festival.¹ It was the fourth straight year that a film from Japan had won an award at the festival, and it is proper that Kurosawa and Mizoguchi won this award for what are two of their most critically lauded films. These same two directors were also responsible for all of Japan's previous awards at the prestigious festival. Kurosawa's *Rashomon* took home a Golden Lion for Best Film in 1951, Mizoguchi's *The Life of Oharu* won a special International Award in 1952, and *Ugetsu monogatari* won one of the inaugural Silver Lions in 1953.

What is even more remarkable about this collection of films, besides the fact that they are considered amongst Japan's finest films not only of the 1950s, but also of all time, is that four of the five were scored by Hayasaka. Along with other notable films of this period by the same directors, such as Kurosawa's *Ikiru* and Mizoguchi's *Chikamatsu monogatari*, Hayasaka scored many of the Japanese films seen by international audiences during this period. With so many Hayasaka scores being heard in the West, it is curious that so much of his reputation until now has rested on one cue from one film, even if it was the film that introduced the West to Japanese cinema.

¹ The Silver Lion is now given out as an award for Best Director, but from 1953-1957, it was awarded as a second prize to films nominated for the Golden Lion (Best Film of the festival) that the jury felt were also worthy of recognition.

If 1954 was a high point for Japanese film, it was equally a low point for Hayasaka. By 1954, it was clear to him that his lengthy battle with tuberculosis was nearing its end. The disease had fully manifested in 1942—he was forced to remain in the hospital for the entire year and completed no compositions—and he would have multiple relapses into serious illness following, notably in 1944, 1948, and 1951. But a severe attack in May of 1953 caused him to put his affairs in order, sensing that he was nearing the end. He set up his will, informed the New Composers League and the Japan Modern Music Society to plan on succession of his posts, and put his book collection up for sale. Despite this he continued to compose and accept new film commissions until his death, and as a testament to his tireless work despite his illness, new films with Hayasaka scores were released into early 1956.

And Hayasaka's legacy lasts to this day, despite only one formal student in Satō Masaru, Hayasaka helped to inspire an entire generation of composer who emerged following the war. They followed his example and maintained active careers both in film and on the concert stage and were also largely self-taught and continued to explore ways to fuse Japanese and Western idioms. Unofficially, you could say they belong to the Hayasaka School as composers like Sato, Ifukube, Takemitsu, Mayuzumi, and others all owe something to the elder composer in terms of compositional inspiration, and Hayasaka also helped many of them to find their first jobs in the film industry. For Hayasaka, there was no difference between the concert stage and the scoring stage. He “saw music for films as a new form that offered young composers ample scope for the development of interesting new linguistic and expressive materials” and Hayasaka took full advantage of this in his scores, pushing Japanese music into new realms of musical possibility.²

Hayasaka's music would even occasionally crossover between the two realms. As I discussed previously, the diegetic music box piece in *Drunken Angel* was first a piano work

² Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 133.

written two years before Hayasaka began to work on the film. Another example is the opening credit music for *Sanshō dayū* which is taken from Hayasaka's 1953 orchestral work *Movement in Metamorphosis for Orchestra*. In the concert work, Hayasaka subjects a main melody to a series of music transformations before finally returning to its original version at the end. For the opening credits of *Sansho*, Hayasaka selected a variation of the main theme that appears almost half-way through the thirty minute piece. The film theme begins with a fully orchestrated version of the melody, and in the second repetition the orchestration is reduced to only celesta and flute for the first phrase before the strings reenter for the second half of the statement.

As it was with many Mizoguchi collaborations, this change appears to be made on the recording stage by Hayasaka out of necessity to make the cue longer. The repeat is written into the score with a quick notation for the celesta to play the string part. There are additionally five bars which are crossed out which would have followed the repeat. It appears that the credits needed an additional ten bars of music and the easiest solution was for a full restatement of the theme. The five bars removed was the original transition into the oboe solo discussed in the chapter on *Sanshō dayū* and were also taken from *Movement*, where they build the piece into a frenzy of sound before suddenly falling into silence. Instead, the repetition of the theme goes immediately into a bar which pivots the piece to the oboe solo, the melody that was full of sorrow to match the era depicted in the film.

Even though Hayasaka's illness had been manifest for many years, his death still came as a shock and deeply affected those around him. He died while *Record of a Living Being* was still in production, and Kurosawa said that "[the crew was] in a crazed state as we shot that film, especially the fire scene. We shot it after Hayasaka's funeral, and my crew was very shaken,

because they all loved him too. I guess our state of mind infused that scene with a sort of eerie energy.”³ The funeral was a large affair, and was more along the lines of that for a celebrity than a composer of film music, but such was Hayasaka’s reputation in Japan.⁴ He collaborated with two of the most powerful directors in the country, both of who were at their creative peak, and Hayasaka even succeeded in expressing his own ideas despite the many layers of oversight and restrictions placed upon him. He was respected by those in the industry and was an inspiration for those who came after.

Among the many tributes paid to Hayasaka was the dedication of Takemitsu’s *Requiem for Strings* (1957) to his friend and mentor. And in a twist of fate, this was the piece that Igor Stravinsky happened to hear on a trip to Japan which then launched Takemitsu’s international career, a reputation that was furthered by his scores for many films that won acclaim in the West. Similarly, the career of Mayuzumi straddles film and concert work, and one of his most famous concert works, the *Nirvana Symphony* (1958), was possibly inspired by Hayasaka’s last orchestral work, left unfinished at the time of his death, also titled *Nirvana*. Hayasaka was also the reason Ifukube Akira moved to Tokyo from Hokkaido and Hayasaka possibly also convinced Toho Studios to give Ifukube his first job in film scoring. Like Hayasaka, Ifukube also saw in film music a lab in which to experiment, as was the case also with Takemitsu and Mayuzumi, whose subsequent scores pushed Japanese music in new avant-garde directions.⁵ Given these circumstances, it is not a stretch to say that Hayasaka and his music was the zero point for the emergence of post-war Japanese music, classical, avant-garde, film, and otherwise. Yet his

³ *My Life in Cinema*, 1993 interview by Oshima Nagisa, included on the 2006 Criterion Collection edition of *Seven Samurai*.

⁴ Galbraith, *Emperor and the Wolf*, 319–20.

⁵ For more on Ifukube and his *Gojira* score see Brooke McCorkle, “Nature, technology and sound design in *Gojira* (1954),” *Horror Studies* 3, no. 1 (2012): 21–37. For some examples of avant-garde film scores, see also: *Crazed Fruit*, which features a score co-composed by Takemitsu and Satō; Takemitsu’s score for Teshigahara Hiroshi’s *Suna no onna* (The Woman in the Dunes, 1964) and *Tanin no kao* (The Face of Another, 1966); and Mayuzumi’s score for Mizoguchi’s final film *Akassen chitai* (Street of Shame, 1956).

contributions are vastly overshadowed by those he inspired in the eyes of Western critics. But Hayasaka remained an innovator throughout his career, and even when forced to compromise with directors like Kurosawa or restrained by fear due to a repressive government, he remained stubborn and would argue with people, including Kurosawa.⁶ His background made Hayasaka self-reliant from an early age, his father abandoned the family in 1930, and turned Hayasaka into a fiercely independent young man.⁷ He had no master except those that he chose to serve. He would always remain a ronin composer, beholden to no aesthetic ideas except his own.

After Hayasaka's death, Kurosawa was devastated by the loss of his close friend and Satō was charged with the completion of the score for *Record of a Living Being*, alongside numerous other projects Hayasaka left incomplete. Satō would go on to score Kurosawa's next eight films including such classics as *Kumonosu-jō* (*The Throne of Blood*, 1957) and *Yojimbo* (1961), but it is his score for *Donzoko* (*The Lower Depths*, 1957) which has always struck me as odd. It was Kurosawa's second film after Hayasaka's death and was made quickly after *The Throne of Blood*, and the score is remarkable for its almost total absence of music.⁸ There is an opening title which consists of five gong strikes spread over ninety seconds, and an end titles cue that is a crack of the *hyōshigi*, an instrument which consists of two wood blocks struck together which often signals the beginning or end of a traditional theatre performances in Japan. In between these two cues, there are is not a single note of non-diegetic music, though the film has a rich sound design and two diegetic songs. While *The Lower Depths* may not have been Kurosawa's first film after Hayasaka's death, its lack of music has always led me to hear it as the

⁶ According to Kurosawa, Toho Studios was initially reluctant to pair the two because of their willful personalities. *My Life in Cinema*, 1993 interview by Oshima Nagisa.

⁷ See Appendix H for more on Hayasaka's early life and career.

⁸ *Throne of Blood*, on the other hand, features a score inspired by Hayasaka's innovations of blending traditional with modern, a fitting tribute to his teacher and also a stark contrast to Satō typical jazz style.

director's silent tribute to his departed friend, signaling the loss of music in not only Kurosawa's world, but all of Japanese film.

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APPENDIX A: HAYASAKA FUMIO FILMOGRAPHY¹

Feature Films				
Date ²	Japanese Title	English Title ³	Director	Studio
10 Nov 39	Ribon wo musubu fujin	The Lady Ties a Ribbon	Yamamoto Satsuo	Toho
22 May 40	Kagun bakugekitai ⁴	The Naval Bombing Unit	Kimura Soji	Toho
25 Sep 40	Moyuru ōzora	The Flaming Sky	Abe Yutaka	Toho
18 Dec 40	Tabi yakusha	Travelling Actors	Naruse Mikio	Toho
1 May 41	Shirasagi	White Egret	Shimazu Yasujiro	Toho
18 Jun 41	Gubijino	Poppy	Nakagawa Nobuo	Toho
4 Oct 41	Shidō monogatari	Leadership Story	Kumagai Hisatora	Toho
20 May 42	Wakai sensei	Young Teacher	Sato Takeshi	Toho
1 Apr 42	Midori no daichi	The Large Green Land	Shimazu Yasujiro	Toho
21 May 42	Nankai no hantaba	Bouquet in the Southern Seas	Abe Yutaka	Toho
13 Aug 42	Koharu kyōgen	Koharu's Play	Aoyagi Nobuo	Toho
10 Feb 44	Ano hatō a ute ⁵	Fire on That Flag!	Abe Yutaka	Toho
17 May 45	Nihon kengosen	Legend of the Japanese Swordplay Master	Takizawa Eisuke	Toho
5 Aug 45	Kita no sannin	Three People of the North	Saeki Kiyoshi	Toho
25 Apr 46	Minshū no teki	An Enemy of the People	Imai Tadashi	Toho
1 Aug 46	Inochi aru kagiri	As Long as We Live	Tsukuda Kiyoshi	Toho
11 Mar 47	Yotsu no koi no monogatari	Four Love Stories	Yamamoto Kajiro, Yamazaki Kenta, Kinugasa Teinosuke, Naruse Mikio, and Toyoda Shiro	Toho
29 Apr 47	Chikagai nijyū jikan	24 Hours of a Secret Life	Imai Tadashi, Tsukuda Kiyoshi, and Sekigawa Hideo	Toho
15 Jul 47	Kakedashi jidai	The Age of Beginnings	Saeki Kiyoshi	Shintohto
30 Sep 47	Ai yo hoshi to tomoni	In Love With the Stars	Abe Yutaka	Shintohto
2 Dec 47	Koisuru tsuma	A Wife Has Fallen in Love	Hagiwara Ryo	Shintohto
9 Dec 47	Joyū	Actress	Kinugasa	Toho

¹ This list was compiled from six different sources: the *International Dictionary of Film and Filmmakers*, the *Internet Movie Database*, Stuart Galbraith IV's *Toho Studios Story*, the *Japanese Movie Database*, *Nihon eiga ongaku no kyoseitachi*, and the "Chronological History of Hayasaka Fumio" found in Zen-On publication of Hayasaka's *17 Piano Pieces for Chamber*.

² This is the most common release date of the film cited in my sources.

³ This is not always an exact translation, for this list I have chosen the most common English title given for the film.

⁴ Galbraith's *Toho Studio Story* lists Kitagawa Keiji as the composer, but every other source I've consulted lists Hayasaka.

⁵ Three sources list the composer as Kasuga Kunio, but the "Chronological History of Hayasaka Fumio" notes that Hayasaka scored the "revised, international edition."

			Teinosuke	
13 Apr 48	Hana hiraku	A Flower Blooms	Ichikawa Kon	Shintohto
27 Apr 48	Yoidore tenshi	Drunken Angel	Kurosawa Akira	Toho
25 May 48	Waga ai wa yama no kanata ni	My Love on the Other Side of the Mountain	Toyoda Shiro	Toho
29 Jun 48	Fuji sanchō	The Top of Mt. Fuji	Saeki Kiyoshi	Shintohto
3 Aug 48	Ten no yūgao	Moonflower of Heaven	Abe Yutaka	Shintohto
26 Oct 48	Ikiteiru gazō	Living Portrait	Chiba Yasuki	Shintohto
16 Nov 48	Niji wo itaku shojo	A Virgin Holds the Rainbow	Saeki Kiyoshi	Shintohto
12 Apr 49	Haru no tawamure	Spring Flirtation	Yamamoto Kajiro	Shintohto
18 Apr 49	Nozomi nakini arazu	Hope is Not Dead Yet	Saeki Kiyoshi	Shintohto
20 Sep 49	Enoken no Tobisuke bōken ryokō	Enoken Tobisuke's Adventure-Filled Journey	Nakagawa Nobuo	Shintohto
17 Oct 49	Nora inu	Stray Dog	Kurosawa Akira	Shintohto
??? 49	Savieru no kaisō ⁶	Xavier's Recollections	???	???
8 Jan 50	Aktsuki no daso	Escape at Dawn	Taniguchi Senkichi	Shintohto
7 Mar 50	Hakuchū no kettō	Duel in the Sun	Saeki Kiyoshi	Shintohto
7 Mar 50	Mado kara tobidase	Fly Out of the Window	Shima Koji	Shintohto
14 Mar 50	Jyosei tai dansei	Women Versus Men	Saburi Shin	Geiken puro and Taisen
2 Apr 50	Tsuma to onna kasha	Wife and Woman Reporter	Chiba Yasuki	Shintohto
30 Apr 50	Shubun	Scandal	Kurosawa Akira	Shochiku
3 Jun 50	Itsu no hi kimi kaeru ⁷	Someday You Will Return	Saeki Kiyoshi	Shintohto
25 Jul 50	Shikkō yūyo	Reprieve	Saburi Shin	Geiken puro and Taisen
26 Aug 50	Rashomon	Rashomon	Kuroswa Akira	Daiei
14 Oct 50	Yuki fujin ezu	Portrait of Madam Yuki	Mizoguchi Kenji	Shintohto
8 Dec 50	Yoru no hibotan	[None]	Chiba Yasuki	Shintohto
29 Dec 50	Aizomeko	[None]	Abe Yutaka	Shintohto
24 May 51	Nesho no baykuran	White Orchid on the Hot Sand	Kimura Keigo	Toho
11 May 51	Sono hito no na wa ienai	I Cannot Say That Person's Name	Sugie Toshio	Shintohto
23 May 51	Hakuchi	The Idiot	Kurosawa Akira	Shochiku
22 Jun 51	Oyū-sama	Miss Oyu	Mizoguchi Kenji	Daiei
21 Aug 51	Tsuki yori no hara	Mother from the Moon	Abe Yutaka	Shintohto
14 Sep 51	Musashino fujin	The Lady of Musashino	Mizoguchi Kenji	Toho
28 Sep 51	Shi no dangai	Death on the Precipitous Cliff	Taniguchi Senkichi	Toho
23 Nov 51	Meshi	A Married Life	Naruse Mikio	Toho
7 Dec 51	Bakuro ichidai	The Life of a Horsetrader	Kimura Keigo	Daiei

⁶ This film appears in only one source, "Chronological History," with no other information listed.

⁷ This film appears in only one source, "Chronological History," though the JMDB does list the movie; albeit with no composer.

23 Mar 52	Nagasaki no uta wa wasureji	Never Forget the Song of Nagasaki	Tasaka Tomotaka	Daiei
12 Jun 52	Taki no shiraito	The White Thread of the Waterfall	Nobuchi Akira	Daiei
9 Sep 52	Dōkoku	Wail	Saburi Shin	Shinto
23 Sep 52	Bijyo to tōzoku	The Beautiful Maiden and the Thief	Kimura Keigo	Daiei
9 Oct 52	Ikiru	Living	Kurosawa Akira	Toho
30 Oct 52	Itsu Itsu made mo	Indefinitely	Paul H. Sloan	Daiei
6 Nov 52	Jinsei gekijyō dai ichibu	Theatre of Life – First Act	Saburi Shin	Toei
???? 52	Santa to chiyo no yama ⁸	The Mountain of Santa and Chiyo	Oda Motoyoshi	????
12 Feb 53	Santa ganbare! ⁹	Good Luck Santa!	Inoue Umetsuga	Shinto
19 Feb 53	Jinsei gekij jyō dai in bu	Theatre of Life – Second Act	Saburi Shin	Toei
26 Mar 53	Ugetsu monogatari	Ugetsu	Mizoguchi Kenji	Daiei
7 Jul 53	Sakai	Reunion	Kimura Keigo	Daiei
15 Sep 53	Hiroba no kodoku	Loneliness of Open Space	Saburi Shin	Shinto
3 Jan 54	Hanran: Ni-ni-roku jiken	Rebellion	Abe Yutaka and Saburi Shin	Shinto
31 Mar 54	Sanshō dayū	Sansho the Bailiff	Mizoguchi Kenji	Daiei
26 Apr 54	Shichinin no Samurai	Seven Samurai	Kurosawa Akira	Toho
31 Aug 54	Kimi shini tamou koto nakare	You Will Not Die	Maruyama Seiji	Toho
20 Oct 54	Sen-hime ¹⁰	The Princess Sen	Kimura Keigo	Daiei
23 Oct 54	Chikamatsu monogatari	The Crucified Lovers	Mizoguchi Kenji	Daiei
30 Oct 54	Mitsuyu sen	Smuggling Ship	Sugie Toshio	Toho
3 May 55	Yōkihi	Princess Yang Kwei-fei	Mizoguchi Kenji	Daiei
21 Sep 55	Shin heike monogatari ¹¹	Taira Clan Saga	Mizoguchi Kenji	Daiei
5 Oct 55	Asunaro monogatari	Growing Up	Inoue Yasushi	Toho
22 Nov 55	Ikimono no kiroku ¹²	Record of a Living Being	Kurosawa Akira	Toho
29 Jan 56	Daichi no samurai	Samurai of the Land	Saeki Kiyoshi	Toei
5 Feb 56	Kōfuku ha ano hoshi no shita ni ¹³	Beyond the Stars	Sugie Toshio	Toho

⁸ This film appears in only one source, “Chronological History,” with no other information listed.

⁹ With Sato Masaru.

¹⁰ With Sato Masaru.

¹¹ With Sato Masaru.

¹² Completed by Sato Masaru.

¹³ Completed by Sato Masaru.

Documentary Films				
Date	Japanese Title	English Title	Director ¹⁴	Studio/Producer
16 Jun 40	Nyan-nyan-myan Hoi	Festival of Nyan-nyan-myan	N/A	Akuta Kozo / Mantetsu
9 Sep 40	Ina Bushi	The Ina Song	Kamei Fumio	Toho
23 Sep 40	Kikansha C-57	Steam Locomotive C-57	Koizumi Zenshu	Arts and Film Company
25 Nov 40	Sangoku mura	Sangoku Village	Shitamura Kaneto	Toho
22 Feb 41	Kyōdō no kiroku	A Collaborative Record	N/A	Toho
15 Apr 41	Shūdan kenshin	Group Examination	N/A	Toho
28 Jul 41	Nihon no jyūkōgyō	Japan's Heavy Industries	Ise Chonosuke	Toho
25 Oct 41	Orochon	[None]	Yoshida Hideo	Mantetsu
12 Nov 41	Jyokyoshi no kiiroku ¹⁵	Record of Female Teachers	Sato Takeshi	Toho
19 Nov 41	Kita no dōhō	Our Northern Countrymen	Yamane Tazuko	Riken kagaku
29 Nov 41	Kōgyō nihon	Industrial Japan	N/A	International Culture Promotion Society
15 Jan 42	Nihon no shōgakkō	Japan's Elementary Schools	N/A	International Culture Promotion Society
7 Feb 42	Kikansha hashiha	Engine Hashiha	N/A	Mantetsu
22 Mar 42	Tekōgyō	Manual Industry	N/A	International Culture Promotion Society
Aug 42	Takumashiki shuppatsu	Strong Departure	Ise Chonosuke	Toho
1 Sep 44	Denpa tanchiki	Radar	N/A	Department of the Navy
25 May 46	Muku no ki no hanashi	A Story of the Muku Tree	Maruyama Shoji	Toho Kyoiku Eiga
???? 50	Oyuki yama	Snowy Mountain	Yoshida Hideo	????
Feb 51	Mi no dendō	Beauty's Place	Shitamura Kenji	Shin riken puro
29 Nov 51	Jōdai chōkuku	Ancient Woodcarving	Mizuki Soya	Mitsui geijutsu puro
???? 54	Nihon tojiki no bi	The Beauty of Japan's Ceramic Wares	????	????
???? 54	Kamakura bijutsu ¹⁶	Kamakura Art	????	????
Sep 55	Nihon no tekko	Japan's Iron and Steel	N/A	Iwanami

¹⁴ Accurate information could not be found for all directors on these films.

¹⁵ This film appears in only one source, *Nihon Eiga Ongaku*.

¹⁶ This previous two films appear in only one source, "Chronological History," with no other information listed.

APPENDIX B: HAYASAKA FUMIO NON-FILM COMPOSITIONS

Orchestral

Title	Year Composed
Prelude for Two Hymns	1935
Ancient Dance	1937
Invention from Yezu Festival	1937
Yūkara	1937
Principal Music for Short Orchestral Works ¹	1938
Symphonic Dance “To the Land of Snow”	1939
Youth of the Sea	1939
Music for Orchestra #1	1940
Overture in D	1940
Classical Dance of the Left and Right	1941
Watashi no ie (My Home)	1941
Music for Celebration	1942
An Eastern Suite (5 movements)	1942
Fable about a [Nettle] Tree	1946
Piano Concerto #1	1948
Movement in Metamorphosis for Orchestra	1953
Yūkara (Symphonic Suite)	1955

Stage Works, Ballets, Incidental Music

Title	Year Composed
Itadorimaru (Opera/Cantata?)	1938
Machikado nite (for poetry)	1939
Banshū hifū (for poetry)	1939
Yuki nit suite (for poetry)	1939
Monkufuon (play)	1941
Hanabishi tan (dance piece)	1945
Kawa (play)	1946
Hayami jojuku (play)	1949
Waga kokoro kogen ni (play)	1949
Seirei no kekkon (ballet)	1951
Nyonin Katsushirogo (broadcast play)	1951
Inaka michi (broadcast play)	1951
Baaya (broadcast play)	1951
Ugetsu monogatari (broadcast play)	1953
On no shiki – genjitsuon to ongaku ni yoru kōkyōshi (broadcast play)	1955

¹ This is the third and final revision to a work that was first called *Three Short Suites*, then revised as *Short Concerto for Horns*. All of these were written in 1938.

Solo Piano

Title	Year Composed
A Wise Man's Hermitage	1934
A Vehement Short Piece	1934
Evocations I & II	1935
Nocturne No. 1	1936
Nocturne No. 3	1936
Gazing at Mt. Fuji	1936
Saiten (Festival)	1936
Two Dances	1937
Five Movement for Pianoforte	1940
First Collection for Children's Piano	1940
Piano Album on Pentatonic Scale (15 Movements)	1940
Piano Pieces for Drawing Room (17 Movements)	1941
Shukufuku (Blessing) (organ solo)	1942
Prelude to an Autumn Festival	1944
Musical Box	1945
September Waltz	1945
July Waltz	1946
Romance for Pianoforte (4 Movements)	1946
Poetic Song	1947
Elegy	1947
In the Evening	1947
Three Elegies	1948
Barcarole	1948
Autumn	1948
Farewell	1948
Rain	1948
Lonely	1948
Kimi ga kokoro wa (Dear, your heart...)	1949
A Song to Bury My Mother	1949
Four Preludes	? (Before 1949)

Vocal and Choral Music

Title	Genre/Ensemble	Year
Jyoshi	Choral	1941
Sapporo Marching Song	Military Song	1941
Third Division Song	Military Song	1941
Sho tsubame (The First	Choral	1942

Swallow)		
Four Unaccompanied Songs to Poems by Haruo Sato for Solo Soprano	Vocal Solo	1944
Morning Green	Vocal Solo (?)	1945
Sunflower Children's World Song	Children's Song	1945
Kakurenbo (Hide-and-Seek)	Children's Song	1947
Ebetsu Middle School Song	School Song	1949
Sapporo Middle School Anthem	School Song	1953

Chamber Music

Title	Instrumentation	Year Composed
Evening Pastoral	12 instruments 1 st Version: 2 Fl., Ob., Cl., Bn., Hn., Tbn., Pf., 2 Vcl., 2 Db. Rev. Version: 2 Fl., Ob., Cl., Bn., Hn., Tp., Tbn., Pf., 2 Vcl., Db.	1938
Ballad for Flute and Piano ²	Fl., Pf.	1945
Capriccio	Fl., Ob., Cl., Bn., Pf.	1949
String Quartet	2 Vln, Vla. Vcl.	1950
Duet for Violin and Piano	Vln., Pf.	1950
Suite in Seven Parts	Fl., Ob., Cl., Bn., 2 Hn., Vibes, Pf.	1952
Concertino	Horn and String Orchestra	? (Before 1949)

² Based upon music written for dance piece *Hanabishi tan*.

APPENDIX C: RASHOMON MUSIC CUES

Time	Cue #	Musical Description	Plot Description
0:00:25- 0:02:00	R No 1	Opening Credits: gagaku hybrid music w/sho, koto, low strings, brass and winds	Scenes of ruined gate
0:07:50- 0:09:55	R No 2	Orchestra w/piano and Japanese drums	First Woodcutter's Story up to point where discovers woman's hat
0:09:55- 0:11:55	R No 2a	Begin's with Woman's Motif, continues in same vein as R No 2	Sees hat, continues with remainder of Woodcutter's Story
0:12:50- 0:13:40	R No 3	Uses "abacus" also written in kanji, though crossed out and written "T.B." above	Priest's Story
0:14:25- 0:15:15	R No 4	Low winds (bass oboe and contrabassoon), horns, low strings	Policeman's Story
0:15:45- 0:15:55	R No 5	Dangerous Fanfare, picc trills and horns	Bandit's Story - riding on horse
0:16:00- 0:16:15	R No 5	Noodling bass clarinet	Bandit's Story – got sick after drank from spring
0:17:05- 0:20:00	R No 6	Begins with harps and celesta, Woman's motif, before moving into "walking" music	Bandit's story - sees woman and man, lures him away
0:20:25- 0:21:25	R No 7	Similar to first part of R No 5, trills and fanfares	Bandit's Story - Runs to find Man, walks around, menacing
0:22:10- 0:26:50	R No 8	Lots of music, many moments scored very closely to action on screen	Bandit's Story - Lures Man into woods, runs back to find woman
0:27:20- 0:31:10	R No 9	Dramtic fanfares, contrabassoon solo; end of cue features swirling winds as Bandit rapes the woman, matches low angle shots of sky and sun	Bandit's Story - Takes woman to see man, rapes her
0:31:30- 0:36:40	R No 10	Flute as woman runs after Bandit; woman's motif as Bandit decides to fight, FIGHT MUSIC!!	Bandit's Story - Woman pleads with Bandit, men fight, Bandit kills man

0:39:10- 0:49:00	R No 11	Pseudo Bolero rhythm, flute solo, clarinet joins, builds up winds (includes sax), horns double rhythm, eventually moves rhythm to actual bolero	Woman's Story - She kills man when he refuses to speak to her
0:51:00- 1:00:15	R No 12	Many english horn solos and low instruments, brief use of Woman's motif	Man's Story - He kills himself out of shame
1:00:20- 1:01:20	R No 13	English horn, bass oboe, later full orchestra	Man's Story - After kills himself, medium talking in courtyard, someone pulled knife out of chest
1:26:30- 1:27:55	R No 14	End Credits: hybrid gagaku	Walking off into sun

APPENDIX D: DRUNKEN ANGEL MUSIC CUES

Time Begins	Description
0:00:30	Opening Credits, low winds and brass fanfare, dark
0:01:50	After credits, guitar begins on image of sump
0:04:55	Sanada opens window, guitar music again heard, Sanada begins singing
0:06:10	Guitar stops, Sanada starts humming and whistling
0:10:19	Guitar starts again
0:10:50	Jazz music from speakers, continues under scene
0:14:00	Inside No. 1 Cabaret, Jazz ballad, people dancing
0:16:20	Latin Jazz music leads into bar
0:16:50	Music from Phonograph in bar
0:17:50	Latin music comes back in
0:24:30	Sanada singing drunk, song about grandpa falling down
0:26:30	Guitar playing while Sanada, Miyo, and grandmother eat dinner
0:29:10	Sanada singing while mixing a drink
0:32:20- 0:33:00	Non-diegetic strings as Matsunaga walks from clinic, Sanada looks out window at him and continues when Sanada leaves slum
0:34:40	Jazz music (blues) coming from No. 1 Cabaret
0:40:25	Guitar music
0:43:00	Guitar again, Okada appears
0:44:35	Okada takes guitar and plays “Killer’s Anthem”
0:46:00	Non-diegetic brass theme from opening credits
0:46:30	Non-diegetic music, winds
0:47:15- 0:49:00	Non-diegetic string theme, continues while Matsunaga wanders around slum
0:49:00	Okada appears, sound switches to diegetic jazz music
0:50:50	Jazz music in No. 1 Cabaret
0:53:25	“Jungle Boogie” Jazz Song
0:55:45	Non-diegetic brass theme
0:57:10	Jazz music in No. 1 Cabaret (Jazz version of music from Carmen)
0:57:50	Non-diegetic brass theme
0:59:30	Non-diegetic string theme
1:01:35	Music box in Nanae’s apartment, Matsunaga trying to recover
1:02:10	Non-diegetic string theme
1:04:30	Music Box in Nane’s apartment

1:08:15- 1:11:10	Matsunaga Dream sequence, non-diegetic, both themes, “Killer’s Anthem” on English horn, possible use of back masking effects
1:13:30- 1:17:20	Continuous non-diegetic music, both string and brass themes
1:20:05- 1:23:00	“Cuckoo Waltz” from loudspeaker, ends while Matsunaga is in a bar
1:23:35- 1:25:15	“Cuckoo Waltz” begins again as Matsunaga leaves bar
1:25:30	Okada plays “Killer’s Anthem” in Nanae’s apartment
1:28:45	Non-diegetic string theme
1:30:35	Non-diegetic string theme, Matsunaga dies
1:32:15	Non-diegetic string theme, winds also play
1:35:35	Non-diegetic string theme
1:37:35	Sanada singing
1:37:30	Non-diegetic strings, leads to final credit card.

APPENDIX E: SEVEN SAMURAI MUSIC CUES

Time	Cue #	Musical Description	Plot Description
Disc 1 0:00:20- 0:03:25	R No 1	Percussion rhythm, BANDITS' THEME	Opening titles and text about "bandits' horses"
0:08:00- 0:09:00	R No 2 A/B	CHORUS and low instruments	Villagers walk to old man's watermill to discuss options
0:10:25- 0:11:10	R No 3	Full Orchestra + saxes, SEARCH THEME	Villagers search for samurai
0:11:30- 0:11:45	R No 4	CHORUS only	Failure in search
0:12:40- 0:17:10	None	Diegetic BIWA plucking	Villagers at flophouse, mulling over their lack of success
0:25:00- 0:28:40	R No 6	Orchestra + sax, SAMURAI THEME ver. 1 (QUICK), followed by KIKUCHIYO THEME, and then back in SAMURAI THEME from beginning of R No 6 but played as if on DC	On road following Kambei, Katsushirō asks to be apprentice, Kikuchiyo laughed at
0:31:05- 0:32:55	R No 7	CHORUS, SAMURAI THEME ver. 2 (TRIUMPH)	Kambei initially turns down the offer, Rikichi cries, fight, accepts offer
0:34:30- 0:35:55	R No 8	Full Orchestra + saxes, SEARCH THEME, SAMURAI THEME ver. 3 (MINOR)	The search continues for more Samurai
0:37:10- 0:39:20	R No 9	Full Orchestra + saxes, SAMURAI THEME ver. 3, SEARCH THEME, ST ver. 3 again	Lost a good swordsman, find Gorobei
0:39:30- 0:40:30	R No 10	Winds and low strings, SAMURAI THEME ver. 3	Gorobei talks and agrees
0:49:50- 0:51:35	[R No 11]	Low winds and strings, SAMURAI THEME ver. 3, into ST ver. 1	Kambei and Katsushirō say they've let a good fish get away
0:51:55- 0:54:45	R No 12	Solo cello, SAMURAI THEME ver. 1 (but minor), on DC more instruments join in, first time is largely cello and bassoon	Kambei telling Katsushirō he can't go, changes mind, last Samurai appears
0:59:45- 1:00:55	[R No 13]	KIKUCHIYO THEME	Kikuchiyo tries to prove he's a samurai, is really drunk (wild dog), gets chased around
1:01:10- 1:02:10	R No 14	Oboe melody to wake up by, pastoral, then SHINO THEME	Samurai get ready to depart / scene changes to village, see Shino

1:05:00-1:07:45	R No 15	SAMURAI THEME ver.1, KIKUCHIYO THEME, fanfare+CHORUS	Walking to village, Kikuchiyo wants to join, arrive in village
1:09:45-1:11:35	R No 16	CHORUS	Samurai see village elder who is lamenting the villages cold reception of the samurai
1:11:50-1:12:50	[R No 17]	SAMURAI THEME ver. 2, with drums, theme stops, then BANDITS' THEME is heard underneath	Kikuchiyo sounds false alarm, suddenly villagers love samurai!
1:12:55-1:14:15	R No 18	Slower version of KIKUCHIYO THEME	Kikuchiyo says he sounded alarm, chides villages for treatment
1:23:55-1:26:30	R No 20	Middle Eastern flair, SHINO THEME enters after noodling flute solo, drum beats throughout	Katsushirō in forest, sees Shino for first time, doesn't know she's a girl at first
1:32:20-1:32:25	R No 21	SHINO THEME, Sop Sax, Harp, and Piano	Katsushirō running back to the village
1:33:20-1:34:10	R No 22	KIKUCHIYO THEME slowed down with only sax, celeste and harp	Kikuchiyo going to sleep in barn after fighting with Samurai
1:36:25-1:37:50	R No 23	SHINO THEME, English horn and flutes	Kyuzo sees Shino in woods looking for Katsushirō, she fixes hair in puddle, they meet up
1:40:25-1:40:50	R No 24	Oboe melody with held horns	Samurai give rice to the children
1:44:25-1:46:35	R No 25	Brass and Winds play SAMURAI THEME ver. 3	Kambei gets angry as farmers who live in homes outside the protection zone, gets everyone to fall in line.
1:46:40-1:51:55	[R No 26?]	SHINO THEME, SAMURAI THEME ver. 3, KIKUCHIYO THEME, SAMURAI THEME ver. 1	Intermission
Disc 2 0:00:00-0:02:05	[R No 27?]	New Theme, drum pattern under, high winds	Villagers Harvesting, Kikuchiyo finally sees the village girls, go a bit crazy
0:02:40-0:03:40	[R No 28]	CHORUS	Rikichi has run off after talk about not having a wife
0:03:55-0:04:45	None	Solo bassoon playing SAMURAI THEME ver. 3	Heihachi talking to Rikichi around watch fire
0:07:05-0:08:15	R No 29	Full Orchestra, Sop Sax and Bassoon playing theme	More music for harvesting and preparations
0:08:15-0:08:25	None	Children Singing	Kids sing about birds as run through village

0:08:25-0:08:45	R No 29	Full orchestra	Montage continues
0:09:05-0:09:55	R No 30	KIKUCHIYO THEME	Kikuchiyo tries to ride a horse
0:10:35-0:12:20	R No 31	Bolero-esque, ornamented patters, SHINO THEME	Katsushirō and Shino running around forests, she gives him a look
0:12:40-0:12:55	R No 32	BANDITS' THEME	Katsushirō and Shino discover the horses belonging to bandit scouts
0:16:20-0:18:45	R No 33	BANDITS' THEME	Samurai go off to kill the scouts
0:19:40-0:20:15	R No 34	CHORUS + Flute	Old woman kills bandit in act of revenge
0:20:35-0:22:25	R No 35 A	Ostinato galloping rhythm with high wind melody, horns, trumpets	Samurai and guide ride off to attack Bandits' fort
0:22:25-0:25:45	R No 35 B	BANDITS' THEME, Shinobue flute enters about 2 minutes in	Samurai approach the fort, see Rikichi's wife (flute)
0:26:30-0:26:45	None	Shinobue solo	Rikichi's wife exits fort, sees Rikichi and runs back in, killing herself in fire
0:28:00-0:29:55	R No 36	SAMURAI THEME ver. 3, low strings, horns, bassoon	Heihachi has been shot and killed, funeral
0:29:55-0:30:10	R No 37	SAMURAI THEME ver. 1, brass	Kikuchiyo plants the flag in a rooftop
0:46:55-0:47:15	R No 40	Horns and High winds, SHINO THEME at end	Katsushirō runs into Shino after battle
0:49:15-0:51:40	R No 41	Low brass and winds provide pulse, English horn plays SAMURAI THEME ver. 3	Waiting on the edge of a battle, return of Kyuzo who left to capture a rifle from bandits
0:56:35-0:57:25	R No 43	Winds, trumpet, cello play melody (similar to SAMURAI THEME), horns hold chords	The bandits have been driven off again, but the final battle is yet to come
1:00:25-1:01:10	R No 44 B	KIKUCHIYO THEME, bari and alto sax, joined by trombones	Kikuchiyo goes after another bandit rifle, runs through forest
1:07:50-1:08:55	R No 45	SAMURAI THEME ver. 3, solo horn	Gorobei is dead because of Kikuchiyo leaving post
1:12:15-1:13:15	R No 46	Slow tango with guitar and harp w/flute solo	Katsushirō and Shino run off together for a rendezvous
1:14:10-1:15:00	None	Villagers singing	Night before final battle, drinking sake
1:16:10-1:17:05	R No 47	Guitar and vibe with CHORUS singing var. of SHINO THEME	Manzō goes looking for Shino, sees her and Katsushirō leaving barn

1:18:55- 1:20:45	R No 48	CHORUS singing var. of SHINO THEME	After Manzō yells at Shino, village looks on, Kambei figures out what has happened, samurai and Rikichi try to explain matters to Manzō
1:30:35- 1:34:15	None	Villagers singing, playing drums and flute	Villagers planting their new crops as samurai look on, "Victory belongs to them"
1:34:10- 1:34:50	R No 49	Horns brass, then orchestra SAMURAI THEME var. 3	Final shot of film, the four graves of the dead samurai

APPENDIX F: UGETSU MUSIC CUES

Time	Cue #	Musical Description	Plot Description
0:00:30-0:03:15	R No 1	Noh music: sho, percussion (w/calls), harp	Opening Credits continues through opening panning shot to village
0:08:00-0:09:35	[R No 2]	Oboe and Strings	Genjuro with family after selling wares, giving gifts to family
0:10:45-0:12:50	None	Traditional Percussion and Flute	Making more pottery to sell
0:18:25-0:19:10	R No 3	Traditional Percussion and low strings	Tobei sneaks back to steal armor
0:22:50-0:29:35	None	Traditional Percussion and diegetic singing, non-diegetic chanting at end.	Crossing Lake Biwa, ominous warning, leaves family to return home alone
0:29:35-0:31:45	None	Traditional Instruments; strings and percussion.	Market Scene: Genjuro, Tobei, and Ohama sell their wares, meet Lady Wasaka
0:31:55-0:33:20	None	Traditional Percussion	Tobei runs after Samurai, buys armor and spear
0:33:40-0:36:30	None	Traditional Percussion and Chanting	Ohama is raped by soldiers when looking for Genjuro, taken inside a temple
0:36:30-0:37:45	None	Long Flute Tones	Genjuro goes to deliver wares to Lady Wasaka
0:36:50-0:38:45	R No 9	Celesta, Harp and Cello	Genjuro thinks about buying kimono for wife, has vision of wife's reaction
0:39:05-0:41:10	R No 10	Winds, percussion, and strings	Genjuro is escorted to Lady Wasaka's estate
0:41:10-0:42:50	R No 11	Flutes playing cluster chords (going in and out of dissonance), Harps and continuing percussion, eventually Flute I and Celesta play cadenza runs	Genjuro is led into Lady Wasaka's home to see and talk to her
0:42:55-0:43:40	None	Traditional flute	Lady Wasaka enters and talks with Genjuro
0:47:15-0:48:05	[R No 12]	Traditional flute (same music as previous) and harp	Genjuro is asked to swear love to Lady Wasaka and marry her, Genjuro reacts poorly, they embrace

0:48:05-0:52:25	None	Biwa and Singing, gives way to Noh flute, chanting, and percussion	Lady Wasaka is performing for Genjuro, statue of dead father joins in with noh music
0:52:25-0:54:40	[R No 13]	Harp Arpeggios	Genjuro is asleep, is woken up by Lady Wasaka
0:54:50-0:56:00	R No 14	Winds and harp, sho enters at end	Scene of Genjuro bathing, Lady Wasaka asking him again to marry her
0:56:00-0:57:20	[R No 15]	Lady Wasaka singing, accompanying self on traditional shoulder drum, gives way to sho and celesta and harp, bass clarinet	Genjuro declares love to Lady Wasaka
1:03:55-1:10:00	None	Biwa and Singing in Geisha house	Tobei is on way to return home as powerful samurai, finds Ohama working as prostitute
1:11:30-1:12:20	None	Chanting, hichiriki joins roughly one minute in	Genjuro encounters priest who reveals truth about Lady Wasaka...Ghost!
1:15:55-1:20:00	[R No 18]	Harp Arpeggios, low winds and percussion, hichiriki joins when prayers are revealed, traditional flute joins when Genjuro fights back	Lady Wasaka pleads with Genjuro to come away with her, discovers prayers of priest written on body, also truth about Genjuro already being married, finally escapes
1:21:25-1:22:40	None	Sho and biwa, echo vocals	Genjuro surveys the burned down estate
1:23:45-1:30:25	R No 20	Celesta and cello; traditional flute joins late, along with other woodwinds; solo traditional flute with very soft percussion	Genjuro returns home, Miyagi is there with son, but she is gone by morning
1:32:40-1:33:15	None	Traditional Flute and percussion	Tobei throws samurai armor in stream
1:34:20-1:36:50	R No 21a	Low winds, strings and percussion, hichiriki and sho join in on second time through material	Final sequence, Miyagi voiceover as Genjuro, Tobei, and Ohama resume their lives

APPENDIX G: SANSHO THE BAILIFF MUSIC CUES

Time	Cue #	Musical Description	Plot Description
0:00:15- 0:01:50	R. No. 1	String and wind melody; Japanese inflection (percussion like gagaku); repeat different orchestration during repeat	Opening Titles
0:01:50- 0:02:40	R. No. 1	"Free" Oboe melody over held strings	Continued, over prologue text
0:02:40- 0:04:10	R. No. 2/3/4B	Mainly string melody (score also indicates oboe)	Opening scene, family travelling in forest
0:06:30- 0:07:40	R. No. 2/3/4B	See above, this use is from Beginning to Reh. 3	Family beside creek eating
0:08:40- 0:09:40	R. No. 4	Mournful string melody	Father's instruction to son, be merciful on others even if hard on self, gives son Kwannon statue, goddess of mercy
0:09:40- 0:10:40	R. No. 2/3/4B	Beginning to Reh. 2	Family travelling again, boy repeating father's words
0:10:40- 0:12:35	R. No. 5	String and bassoon pizzacatti, but actual "cue" lasts longer than music (traditional flute that plays over)	Father leaving family home, peasants chase after
0:12:35- 0:15:40	R. No. 6/7	Strings, celeste, and harp	Back to present, mother looking for place to stay, first mention of slavers
0:16:25- 0:18:05	R. No. 8	Quick strings and winds (in 1)	Kids gather thatch and grass for makeshift lodge
0:21:15- 0:23:25	Traditional Music #1	Low and metallic percussion into traditional flute; JHK/Gagaku	Priestess offers to lodge family for night-interior house, leaving on boat
0:24:30- 0:25:30	Traditional Music #2	High traditional flute, panic!	Mother separated from Children by boatman
0:30:05- 0:32:00	[none]	Diegetic musical sounds: whistle and clappers	Whistle calls slaves back from chores, clappers indicate escaping slave
0:33:40- 0:35:00	R. No. 13	Mournful strings and wind	Sanshō son Taro takes children aside to ask about past
0:35:50- 0:36:55	R. No. 14	Strings and bassoon, follows style of previous	Taro gets truth from children, tells them to endure until they are old enough to survive trip to find their father. Gives them new names.

0:38:55- 0:41:25	Traditional Music #3	Diegetic dance music, flute, voice, [biwa] and drums	Dance in honor of visit from lord, music continues off screen as Taro visits children and leaves compound
0:41:30- 0:41:50	Unnumbered Cue #1	Low wind (bassoon?) and traditional percussion	Transition scene; ten years pass
0:42:00- 0:43:30	[none]	Diegetic clappers	Children in bed, waking up, chasing escaped slave, Zushiō chases and brands
0:47:05- 0:47:50	Elegy I	Zushiō/Anju song	Anju working in sewing house, new girl sold from Sado sings song
0:48:25- 0:50:35	Elegy II	Zushiō/Anju song, when scene shifts, traditional flutes and sho come in, voice fades out	Anju asks girl to sing song again after inquiring about origins, scene shifts to Sado, song continues off screen, mother trying to escape
0:51:15- 0:53:30	Elegy III	[Biwa] buzzing (like in R. No. 2/3/4B), with string parts (winds at very end); arrangement of Zushiō/Anju song	Mother carried to shore as she cannot walk easily
0:53:20- 0:53:40	Elegy III	Zushiō/Anju song	Anju sings song back in hut with Zushiō, who stops her
0:57:15- 1:01:15	R. No. 24	Slow, rhythmic melody gives way to oboe solo; restatement of R. No. 8 comes in when Anju and Zushiō gather thatch (soft with echo); long pause before next entrance	Begins with Zushiō taking slave to mountain to die, kids gather thatch to make dying woman comfortable; kids plan escape
1:05:50- 1:07:40	R. No. 24	Long strings and harp, ominous	Begins as Zushiō gets woman to escape, guards become suspicious, sound alarm
1:07:55- 1:08:25	[none]	Clappers	Zushiō has escaped!
1:11:00- 1:12:40	[R. No. 25] / Elegy IV	Zushiō/Anju song w/underscore (harp)	Anju commits suicide by drowning herself in lake
1:27:20- 1:28:20	R. No. 28	Celli and clarinets, sho enters in towards end	Zushiō finds out father has died, is given father's title by high official
1:28:05- 1:33:10	Traditional Music #4	Sho continues, add flutes (gagaku music); sho continues, koto enters, more flutes	Ceremony in which is given title, goes into scene where visits father's tomb; style comes back as assumes new post, ceremony, meets advisors
1:30:21- 1:31:50	R. No. 29	Low strings (many parts of orch. left out), ends after repeat	Visit to father's tomb

1:35:45- 1:36:40	R. No. 30	Celeste arpeggios with strings and winds	Zushiō's adviser goes to Sanshō's for Anju, told she is not there
1:46:10- 1:46:45	Unnumbered Cue #2	Harp arpeggios and melody	Zushiō visit site of sister's death
1:49:30- 1:50:50	Traditional Music #5	Traditional flute blowing	Zushiō on Sado, boat leaving, looking for mother
1:54:00- 1:54:30	Traditional Music #6	Traditional flute blowing	Looking for place where mother supposedly died
1:55:35- 1:57:40	Elegy V	Zushiō/Anju song	Zushiō on beach, hears mother singing
2:01:15- 2:04:17	R. No. 34	Violin solo, harp, more instruments as continues, also traditional flutes	Zushiō reunited, but not happy, has to tell about death of sister and father