

Gagaku in the early Meiji period



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Abstract

This paper contains the research done on *gagaku* 雅樂 (Japanese court music), more explicitly how this type of music changed during the Meiji Restoration 明治維新 (Meiji Ishin) and how it managed to survive afterwards in the first years of the Meiji period 明治時代 (Meiji jidai). However, this paper will not include the complete history of *gagaku*, but rather a chapter on its origins as to have a better understanding on the matter. There are not many primary sources that can be found on the subject of *gagaku* in the Meiji period, most of these are in Japanese and are not widely available anywhere else in the world. The sources that have been translated into English or other languages are rather scarce and are not the easiest to find either. There will also be an explanation in the summary about the historical context in which this research topic takes place, namely the Meiji Restoration and early Meiji period as to further support this paper.

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Introduction

The Meiji Restoration took place in 1868 during the Boshin War 戊辰戦争 (Boshin Sensō)¹ and can be described as the time that Japan started to westernize. During the Meiji Restoration the capital of Japan was moved from Kyoto 京都 to Edo 江戸 (now known as Tokyo) and the emperor's rule was restored while the shogunate 幕府(bakufu)² was abolished after almost 700 years. After the Meiji Restoration trade with the West was finally allowed again after Emperor Kōmei 孝明 had announced the Order to Expel Barbarians 攘夷勅命 (Jōi Chokumei) in 1863.³

Culture began to bloom in Japan such as Rangaku 蘭学 (Dutch or, by extension, Western learning), which included the study of Western technology and medicine, but also subjects as chemistry and physical science.

There was a big revival in *gagaku* as well, though it had undergone many refurbishments and revivals already during the Edo period, when the emperor moved to Edo and as such some rites in the repertoire of the court musicians were either retained or abolished based on their function and if they would still be needed in this era. Two of those that were still retained are the “thanksgiving rite for the tasting of new grains” 新嘗祭 (*Niname-sai*) and the *kagura* 神楽⁴ performance at the

Kashikodokoro Shrine of the Imperial Palace 賢所御神楽 (*Kashikodokoro Mikagura*)⁵.

¹ A civil war against the shogunate that took place from 1868-1869 as a result of the displeasure of the noblemen and samurai class after the arrival of Commodore Matthew C. Perry in Japan in 1853 and the establishment of the Treaty of Kanagawa later in 1854 that forced Japan to stop their closed country policy and start trade with Japan under conditions that put Japan in a big disadvantage. It resulted in the end of the shogunate the restoration of the power and authority of the emperor.

² *Bakufu*, literally “tent-government”, had been Japan's governmental system from 1185 until 1868 consisting of commander or *shogun* appointed by the emperor that held almost absolute military power over the land of the emperor and for that reason could be called the *de facto* leader.

³ This order was inspired by the Japanese and Chinese philosophy of *Sonnō jōi* 尊皇攘夷 (Revere the Emperor, expel the barbarians) and in this context interpreted as the shogunate not being strong enough to fight the foreigners (Commodore Perry) despite this being the will of the emperor and thus seen as the shogunate not being able to “Revere the Emperor” and for this reason there was the necessity of “expelling the barbarians” as they were a threat for Japan.

⁴ A form of music and dance in Shintō used to honour the gods, first mentioned in the *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki* where the gods used to dance in an attempt to lure Amaterasu out of the cave she was hiding in. The *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki* being the first written chronicles about the, albeit mythical, origins and history of Japan. *Amaterasu* (her full name being *Amaterasu ōmikami*) on the other hand is one of the main gods in Japanese mythology and symbolises the sun.

⁵ Tsukahara 2013, p. 225-226

Furthermore, because the Imperial Household moved from Kyoto to Edo, *gagaku* was reorganised and strengthened in the 1870s as the music of Japan's imperial rites with the establishment of the *Gagaku Bureau* 雅楽局 (Gagaku Kyoku).

After the establishment of this bureau the court musicians also started to study Western music in addition to *gagaku*, which led to the creation of “modern music” that was used as a tool to unify the Japanese by “singing together in Japanese” rather than listening to *gagaku* performances that uneducated people could not understand.

Later these court musicians were requested to compose childcare songs 保育唱歌 (*hoiku shōka*) for the kindergarten attached to the Tokyo Women's Normal School to sing at the opening ceremony of the kindergarten. In addition, they also composed ceremonial pieces for the military and songs for school ceremonies which was a combination of *gagaku* modes and Western scales.⁶

It must also be noted about these military songs that starting from 1869 military cadets in the Satsuma domain received training in British drum and brass band music and became the core of the military band organized by the Ministry of War. They later went in training under Gustave Dagron who's first piece he composed in Japan was a version of “Kimigayo” 君が代 (His Imperial Majesty's Reign), Japan's national anthem which was replaced in late 1880 by what is now the current melody in a *gagaku* scale. Apart from the Japanese national anthem these bands also played “Aux Champs” and “God Saves the King (Queen)”, which are respectively French and British salutes that expresses a sense of nationality.⁷ As these were salutes from other countries Japan started to develop a strong sense of their own nation and so it was requested in 1880 that “Kimigayo” should be revised and used as salute for Japan.

Coming back to the beforementioned school songs, it is interesting to see how in the beginning these songs were all in *gagaku* scales while sometimes with different, more modern Japanese lyrics, but gradually started to attain more western characteristics and therefore were essentially thought of as Western music.⁸

However, these originally composed songs were still used in eight festival days as they were declared national holidays on October 14, 1873.

⁶ Tsukahara 2013, p. 227

⁷ Ibid., p. 232

⁸ Ibid., p. 236

These being the “Beginning of the Imperial Throne” 元始祭 (*Genshi-sai*), “New Year Banquet” 新年宴会 (*Shinnen Enkai*), “Memorial for Emperor Kōmei” 孝明天皇最 (*Kōmei Tennō-sai*), “Accession of Emperor Jinmu” 紀元節 (*Kigensetsu*), “Memorial for Emperor Jinmu” 神武天皇祭 (*Jinmu Tennō-sai*), “Festival of Tasting New Grains” 神嘗祭 (*Kanname-sai*), “Emperor’s Birthday” 天長節 (*Tenchōsetsu*) and “Thanksgiving Festival of New Grains” 新嘗祭 (*Niname-sai*).

With this the summary is concluded and makes it possible to delve deeper into this subject to better understand the changes that *gagaku* has went through during this period and how the use of it has adapted accordingly.

Research question

Gagaku has a long history of change and periods of decline and bloom, but this paper will talk about *gagaku* particularly in the Meiji period as it went through some big formations during this era. Especially in the early years of the Meiji period where Japan was forced to open the gates to the West, and as a result, experienced many influences from different countries in the West such as England, Portugal and the Netherlands. One of the fields that underwent various influences was that of music as traditional Japanese music is not at all the same as western music. In the case of *gagaku* it was not only the music itself that experienced influences, but also the its purpose in the sense that it did not only have a cultural purpose, but a political one as well which changed as the Japanese people slowly became more aware of their national identity during this period of great western influence.

In contradiction to this sense of national identity there also was an urge to fit in with the West and try not to stand out in the hopes that they would be respected and treated as equals and with this came various changes as well in the daily life of the Japanese. Examples of this are wearing western clothes, cooking western food, adjusting their educational system to that of the West and of course also the introduction and incorporation of western music. This incorporation was also crucial in the field of *gagaku* as the Japanese began to take more pride in their cultural heritage, but as previously mentioned also wanted to fit into western standards.

As a result, *gagaku* underwent a certain evolution during the early years of the Meiji period and resulted in the creation of a new genre of Japanese music called “national music”.⁹

This paper will therefor answer the question as to how *gagaku* changed in the early Meiji period concerning its use, how it was conserved, but also how this era of change and renewal caused the creation of a new genre of music that symbolised a certain unification of the West and Japan.

⁹ Toru 2010, p. 101-102

History of *gagaku*

Gagaku was originally introduced around the 6th century along with Buddhism by China but only really became popular later in the Heian period 平安時代 (*Heian jidai*)¹⁰ as music for the imperial court and aristocracy. It was also only during this time that the earliest forms of *gagaku* started to be altered as to suite the taste of the Japanese. During the 10th and 12th centuries *gagaku* had another period of bloom as it started to be more commonly performed in the Imperial court in Kyoto and word of it spread around the common people as they paid high attention to the customs and culture at the court. These customs also spread around the aristocrats as these performances were often conducted as a part of political affairs but also for more informal occasions at the Imperial court.

However, the political function of the practise fell into decline during the late Muromachi period 室町時代 (*Muromachi jidai*)¹¹ until the late Sengoku period 戦国時代 (Sengoku jidai)¹² due to fact that during this time Japan was separated into various territories ruled by regional lords 大名(*daimyō*) who were at constant war with each other, thus there not being as much time nor money for entertainment. This was also a result of the aristocrats at court losing political power as this power began to pass to the samurai class around the provinces. During this time the court did not have any real political power anymore though they were still allowed to keep appearances up by continuing to practise their ceremonial lifestyle.

The Imperial court still offered functions for musician guilds for ceremonies, but these also started to decline after several hundred years as these musicians were also offered to play for the military government, otherwise known as the Shogunate.

¹⁰ 794-1185

¹¹ 1336-1573

¹² Period of Warring States that went on from around 1467 until 1600 when Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 won the Battle of Sekigahara against the forces of Toyotomi Hideyori 豊臣秀頼, son of Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 one of the three unifiers of Japan along with Tokugawa Ieyasu and Oda Nobunaga 織田信長. Later in 1603, Tokugawa Ieyasu established the Tokugawa Shogunate 徳川幕府 (Tokugawa bakufu) which marked the start of the Tokugawa period 徳川時代 (Tokugawa jidai), also called the Edo period.

These musicians working for the Shogunate were often referred to as *Sanpō Gakunin* 三法楽人 (musicians from the Three Quarters). These Three Quarters reference to the cities these musicians were sent to, namely Nara, Osaka and Kyoto.

In these cities they were most often sent to the Shitennōji temple 四天王寺 (Shitennōji) in Osaka, the Kōfukuji temple 興福寺 (Kōfukuji) and Kasuga shrine 春日大社 (Kasuga Taisha) in Nara and the Iwashimizu Hachiman shrine 石清水八幡宮 (Iwashimizu Hachimangū) in Kyoto.¹³

Though even before this decline disaster already befell upon the Imperial court and *gagaku* practitioners as the Ōnin War 応仁の乱 (Ōnin no Ran)¹⁴ broke out in 1467, forming the start of the Sengoku Period. During this war the treasure chest of the court quickly drained, and most Kyoto was destroyed, not able to recover until the mid-16th century. Many musicians fled to other provinces, but a large number were killed as well, ending the lines of several families of musicians. Part of *gagaku* survived with the musicians that fled from the war but were not able to play at the Imperial court due to the lack of money caused by the Ōnin War.

At the end of the 16th century there was a revival of the court and its institutions thanks to the unification and pacification of Japan by Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Ieyasu whom found it important that the Emperor should retain a good image with his people as he was officially still the legitimate leader of the nation even though he had no economic or political power. With the help of the three Unifiers of Japan the emperor's image was restored and with this also came the revival of *gagaku* in court for ceremonies and other affairs.

¹³ Shumway, Larry 2001, p. 120

¹⁴ A civil war originating from a dispute between Hosokawa Katsumoto 細川勝元 and Yamana Sōzen 山名宗全 that escalated into a civil war in all of Japan, though most fighting took place in Kyoto and the Yamashiro Province, nowadays part of the Kyoto Prefecture. In the end the Hosokawa clan wins the war and gains control of the Shogunate.

The importance of *gagaku* to Tokugawa Ieyasu was of a rather big scale as can be seen in a code of laws he promulgated for the court aristocracy in 1615 called the Kuge Sho-Hatto 公家諸法度 in which one of the articles states that the court aristocracy should “devote themselves to scholarship and the arts” as this had been essential to the imperial institution and the state.¹⁵

Even though Noh theatre was more popular among the warrior class, *gagaku* was also very much something the daimyo and the more upper-class warriors enjoyed, which was most likely an outcome of Ieyasu’s revival of the Imperial court and with it its ceremonies and music.

So much so that after his death in 1616 his grandson, and third Tokugawa Shogun, Tokugawa Iemitsu sent several musicians to go to Edo in order to serve at a memorial shrine 東照宮 (*Tōshō-gū*) for Ieyasu, the most famous of these memorial shrines for Ieyasu being Nikkō Tōshō-gū 日光東照宮 in Nikko.

For the next 200 years *gagaku* flourished as can be seen in Bizen¹⁶ and musicians were often invited there to participate in memorial services for Ieyasu. One reason for the now peaceful times for *gagaku* is the fact that it resonated very well with the Confucian mindset that had become the ideology of the Tokugawa Shogunate. It stated that the people should be loyal to their superior and cultivate the mind through means of education, which also included *gagaku* as music holding a fundamental role of cultivating the inner self.¹⁷

Gagaku during the early Meiji period

In the Meiji period *gagaku* songs were mostly written between 1877 and 1884 though they were vastly different from the songs that had been written in previous eras in Japan. These older songs which originated from the Heian period were often based on contemporary folk songs but were modified in order to make them more fitting to listen to for the court.

¹⁵ Shumway, Larry 2001, p. 121-122

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 123-130

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 123

This genre of *gagaku* is called *saibara* 催馬楽, meaning pack-horse driver songs.

Another genre is *rōei* 朗詠 which means chanting. They are recitals of Chinese or Japanese poetry with musical accompaniment. A third genre is that of ritual music for Shintō ceremonies. This genre is divided in four major pieces, these are *kagura* 神楽, *azuma-asobi* 東遊び, *kume-mai* 久米舞 and *yamato-mai* 大和舞.

Gagaku songs written in the Meiji period however had a completely different drive to them, and indirectly also another theme. Where songs from the Heian period were either modified folk songs or recitals of poems, songs from the Meiji period wanted to break with this idea altogether. As the name Meiji Restoration implies, Japan wanted to restore to its former glory, one aspect of it being music.

But in order to restore this Japanese music they had to create something that was completely different from Western music as well as music from the continent, as *gagaku* actually originated from China and Korea.

During this time of restoration were also several big changes revolving involving the events where *gagaku* was usually performed. Many rituals involving *gagaku* had been abolished and replaced with new imperial rites in Shintō style created by the Department of Shintō Affairs 神祇官 (Jingikan) in an attempt to unify court rituals with political affairs.¹⁸ Furthermore in 1877 the role of performing *kagura* or *azuma-asobi* shifted from the official musicians of the court to regular civilians contrary to the past when this role was set aside for hereditary musician families, noble families and even emperors. Now, after these reforms the role of musician was entrusted to full-time *gagaku* musicians and were trained to perform rites such as *kagura*.

These new *gakunin* 楽人 (*gagaku* performers) were afterwards entrusted with standardizing scores for the repertoire of modern *gagaku* called the *Meiji sentei-fu* 明治撰定譜.¹⁹ These reforms resulted in a “new”, reworked version of *gagaku* that fit in the idea of a modern state though it underwent several other small changes throughout the years such as the introduction of Western music.

¹⁸ Tsukahara 2013, p. 226

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 227

During official events such as the birthday of the emperor or important banquets Western music was often played by the Navy Military Band and as this Western style became a more regular phenomenon the Meiji government hired court musicians to study and perform this music mostly because of budgetary reasons. These court musicians also played traditional *gagaku* during visits of high-ranked individuals, possibly as a statement to support the new Emperor, such as the Grand Duke Alexei Alexandrovich whom visited Japan in 1872. They studied under Western conductors and gained the ability of combining both Japanese and Western music which was put to use in 1877 when they composed childcare songs for the opening ceremony of the Tokyo Women's Normal School's kindergarten. The court musicians originally used translations of Western songs along with *gagaku* melodies, but later also used old as well as new Japanese poems to compose these songs.

In 1888 several prefectures started to organise school ceremonies during the three “grand festivals” (the Accession of Emperor Jinmu, Emperor's birthday and the New Year Banquet). These became compulsory in 1891 and were instructed to perform songs that fit the festival in question. These songs were constructed by the then head of the Tokyo Music School Muraoka Hanichi 村岡範為馳 by combining select texts and music that complimented the festivals. Two of these songs needed for the ceremonies they already owned, namely “Kimigayo”, the national anthem of Japan, and “Kigensetsu”, a song composed for the National Foundation Day celebrating the mythological foundation of Japan as described in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki*. The other songs were selected from various submissions from writers and scholars of Japanese literature.

The songs that had been selected were later published in a government newspaper in 1893. It stands out that five of these songs were composed in traditional *gagaku* scale while the other three were written in Western scale. The songs written in *gagaku* scale seem to be derived from imperial Shintō rites and were used for ceremonies while the songs composed in Western scales seem to be written for ceremonies with Western origins. Most of the composers who had submitted songs for the ceremonies were court musicians who were both skilled in Western music and *gagaku*.²⁰

²⁰ Tsukahara 2013, p. 237

National music

According to Isawa Shūji²¹ music can play a significant part in our lives if it is introduced early enough. Singing together in elementary school was beneficial for children's physique by training the lungs and actively working on air circulation and technique which in the end improved their posture. Another interesting aspect is that of moral development. Through the selection and performance of particular songs, pupils can be taught what is good or bad and what ideals they should strive for.

Moreover, along with teaching moral values through songs there was also the ability to learn children about patriotism and loving their country which was an essential part of the new Meiji regime and the national music that was created during this time.²²

On his quest to create a new type of music that could appeal to ordinary people and evoke a feeling of pride and love for their country, Isawa tried to select a form of already existing Japanese music as a base for this new genre but in the end saw no other way than to import music from the West. As opposed to others who were strongly against the incorporation of Western and wanted to keep their culture as genuine as possible. Isawa saw no problem in integrating Western music as long as the result was a new genre of music that the Japanese people could enjoy and be proud of as something that embodied their nation. He called this combination of cultures *wayō secchū* 和洋折衷, meaning blending Japanese and Western styles.²³

The first creations were nothing more than using Western melodies, but the original lyrics were replaced by Japanese texts that often completely ignored the original meaning of the song.²⁴ These songs were later compiled and incorporated into music textbooks for elementary schools as was the case with the Tokyo Women's Normal School and the songs they compiled to perform during the school ceremonies.

²¹ An educator in the Meiji period whom was involved in the development of the Tokyo School of Music (now Tokyo University of the Arts) and the creation of national music. His idea of national music came forth out of the conviction that every race or nation needs a form of art in order to express their inner thoughts and beliefs

²² Toru 2010, p. 100

²³ Howe e.a. 2014, p. 98

²⁴ Toru 2010, p. 101

However there was nobody who could teach these songs at the time, so from 1880 on the Music Research Institute 音楽取調掛 (*Ongaku Torishirabegakari*), where Isawa researched different styles of music of Japan as well as from other countries, published music textbooks and taught court musicians as well as traditional musicians Western music²⁵, recruited maximum 30 people every year with prior knowledge of traditional Japanese music to learn both Western and Japanese music in order to enrol them as music teachers later. They were taught to play both the piano and several traditional Japanese instruments such as the *sō* (also known as *koto*, a Japanese string instrument) and *kokyū* (often called a Japanese fiddle).

These students also conducted research in order to further support national music and even composed new songs combining both Japanese and Western elements.²⁶

Examples of these songs are the ones that were written for the kindergarten children of schools such as the Tokyo's Women's Normal School. Some of these court musician composers are also mentioned in sources of these childcare songs. Another part of their curriculum was the transcribing of traditional music, including *gagaku*, into western staff notation and harmonised the parts for singing if possible.²⁷ An extraordinary example of this was Franz Eckert, a German composer and director of the Japanese Navy Band from 1879-1880. He composed the harmonised version of the Japanese national anthem "Kimigayo" and his version is still used to this day.

In the 1880's there were visible changes in the structure of the Research Institute as the West started to be more incorporated in the daily life of the Japanese people. In 1887 the Institute got turned into the Music Academy and had two different sections the students could choose from. These being the Teaching Profession Section and the Special Section. The Teaching Section was only one year long while the Special Section was three years long. In addition, there was a bigger emphasis on teaching students the piano than traditional instruments as only the students in the Teaching Section had *sō*-lessons in their curriculum.²⁸ Another change that can be noticed is that of the staff as the Music Academy was founded. The staff of the Research Institute mainly consisted of Western musicians whom got invited to teach in Japan but later left the academy aspiring to be more art musicians.

²⁵ Howe e.a. 2014, p. 97-98

²⁶ Toru 2010, p. 102

²⁷ Ishii e.a. 2005, p. 72

²⁸ Toru 2010, p. 103

This same pattern of viewing music as a form of art rather than a tool to use for political or military purposes such as drilling military soldiers or accompanying the court ceremonies slowly changed and the Japanese started to see and use music more as a tool to express one's inner feelings in an artistic way rather than a tool to show off political power. Connected to this change of perspective was the founding of the Musicological Society of Japan 日本音楽会 (*Nihon Ongakukai*), also in 1887. They organised concerts and practised music, mostly for the aesthetic of it. There were also close relations between the Musicological Society and the Music Academy as the Academy often supported the Society when the latter had singing exercises.²⁹

Conclusion

From its introduction to Japan up to the Meiji period *gagaku* underwent a series of alterations as it evolved into what we nowadays know as *gagaku*. It serves a variety of functions and has become an indispensable element of the Japanese culture and has undergone various attempts to be preserved in times of war and decline. Though in the end *gagaku* has always persevered and celebrated as a medium to honour and thank the gods, but also to bring people together in high society as to work together and maintain order in the nation.

In the early years of the Meiji period Japan was in disorder with the introduction of the West and were forced to reorganise their whole structure. The warrior class disappeared, traditional medicine made its way for Dutch medicine, but also Western music was introduced. As a reaction, people started to become more patriotic and at first rejected these new concepts and clung onto their customs that had not changed for centuries. As time went on people started to grow towards the West, even as far as regarding it as modern and desirable. This probably had to do with the fact that the Emperor was seen wearing Western clothes more often and thus accepting this as a new standard.

²⁹ Toru 2010, p. 104

A similar pattern can be seen with gagaku, where in the beginning it was strongly used to differentiate the Japanese from the West in things such as traditional ceremonies but later also the childcare songs, though this last part can also be seen as a start of the incorporation of the West in Japanese music since many of these songs are Western melodies accompanying Japanese texts that often had nothing to do with the original lyrics of the story. Though these songs were a mixture of Japanese and the Western aspects its function was still one patriotism towards the nation and the emperor as they were performed during school ceremonies on various national holidays.

Original gagaku was still performed at the Imperial court during official events such as meetings with important figures or banquets, but it carried less importance than it used to in history. In an attempt to restore Japanese music as something that reflected their culture and what it truly meant to be Japanese, Isawa Shūji created something that was not anything like the Japanese music from the past, but could still be enjoyed and taken pride in by the Japanese people even though there were Western elements incorporated in it.

He also contributed to the founding of the Music Research institute in 1880 where people could research music from both Japan and the West, but also further compose and compile songs that fell under the category of new national music.

In later years the Research Institute underwent reformations and changed into the Music Academy where students could enrol and study to become music teachers in kindergartens and elementary schools, or to become scholars on the field. Even though the Academy put a higher emphasis on learning Western instruments such as the piano, the students were also given lessons in traditional instruments and in doing so helped to preserve that part of the national identity. It were in some cases also these students that later went on to play Western as well as traditional music at the Imperial court as court musicians when this function shifted from the hereditary musician families, whom were exclusively allowed to play at the court, to common people who had studied these customs.

It is through these series of events that we are able to see that even though gagaku underwent a period with a lot of fluctuations and changes to itself and the world around it, it still managed to survive in an age where many people thought it would be better to fit in and leave their heritage behind.

Though as this period ended it was not completely the same as it had been, yet many of the old ways were still preserved even if they were not used in the same way as before. Instead, this era of change paved a way for *gagaku* to innovate and become something not only to be experienced by the nobility alone, but something that could also be enjoyed by the common people and be taken pride in. In a way *gagaku* made it possible to find an equilibrium between everchanging modernity, that is symbolised by the West, and the historical values that are described in the ancient texts that are recited during the traditional performances.

Methodology

For the research of this paper there mostly was a focus on secondary sources as primary sources of this subject are hard to come by and more often than not written in Japanese. Because of this, there were not that many sources left about the specific subject of this paper, but rather about the general subject of *gagaku* as a whole. In addition, the sources that were about a specific niche on the subject of *gagaku* were mostly about its changes through history in terms of composition of the songs in its repertoire, whereas the subject of this paper was to uncover the changes *gagaku* underwent in terms of function and use. In terms of sources, they were not all on *gagaku* alone, but also on other subjects related to it in the same period of time such as the sources on national music that have its roots and development in *gagaku*.

After reading all viable sources and selecting those segments that were compatible with the research, they were grouped per chapter accordingly and a summary was made of how they would support the structure of the paper. Thereafter parts were marked in the sources that could be quoted in case some information could not be articulated in any other way or if it was unnecessary to do so. After marking these portions, sources were reread and correlations between certain events and possible connections between other parts in history were written down and researched in order to confirm these possible connections.

Lastly, another rough structure of the complete text was made including chapter layout, topics that were to be discussed in these chapters, but also where footnotes needed to be added in order to reference a source or describe terms that are not related to the subject, but need further clarification in order to understand the context in which the subject takes place.

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