Nineteenth-Century *Gagaku* Songs as a Subject of Musical Analysis: An Early Example of Musical Creativity in Modern Japan

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Nineteenth-century gagaku *(Japanese traditional court music) songs, composed mainly between 1877 and 1884, are almost forgotten today; but they deserve special attention for their function in the development of modern composition in Japan. More than 100 compositions by 28 composers, belonging to two collections, can be counted as* gagaku *songs in the narrowest sense. Most of them are accompanied by an individually composed ostinato pattern played on the* wagon, *a six-stringed zither. The songs are strongly shaped by Restoration thought, one of the characteristic aspects of the early modernization period in Japan, although the genre originated in response to the need for music for a modern Western method of education.*

An analysis of the two collections, of intertextually related pieces and of different versions of single songs shows that the collective process of genre development and the individual process of song composition were closely intertwined. The aim of my analysis was to uncover the problems faced by composers when they composed a single song. Particular solutions were often required to fulfil all the demands of the strict stylistic framework of the genre, while meeting the conditions of a specific poem. While similarity to an already existing song was not avoided when a new song was composed, the effort to create a difference can also be observed clearly in some cases. My analysis gives special attention to heterophonic techniques that characterize the relation between voice and accompaniment. Their use is constitutive for the musical form, and their analysis sheds light on the aesthetic significance of each song. An analytical approach to the gagaku *song repertoire provides us with a fascinating insight into how musical creativity was performed under the circumstances of a quickly changing cultural environment in the early modernization period of Japan.*

Introduction

Today, a significant majority of the Japanese people participate in Western musical culture (in the broadest sense); as composers, arrangers, performers or producers; as teachers or students; as writers, translators, editors or publishers of music literature; as programmers of music software; as workers in the music industry; as members of non-professional music ensembles; or, not the least, as consumers. Even outside Japan, for example in Europe or in the United States, the contribution of Japanese artists and companies to Western musical culture is everywhere evident. The question of how and why this came to be should be of interest to all historical musicologists.

Although there was some Western music in Japan as early as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the roots of Japan's participation in the Western musical tradition lie in the late nineteenth century and are closely connected to the end of seclusion (1854) and the consequent process of modernization in Japan. Although

Japan never became a Western colony, these changes occurred under strong pressure from Western colonial politics, and thus the Japanese modernization can be seen, from a global viewpoint, as a part of the history of nineteenth-century Western colonialism, or, in other words, as a chapter of Western history. So it might not be as strange as it seems at the first glance that an article focusing on modernization in a traditional Japanese music genre is to be found in a journal that focuses on nineteenth-century Western music culture.

There is already a certain tradition in musicology of looking at the modernization of Japanese music culture mainly as a history of the 'introduction' or 'reception' of Western music into Japan.[1] This view, however, systematically overlooks the areas of musical creativity. In the early period of modernization, the people concerned with the introduction and reception of Western music were – with a few distinguished exceptions – not professional musicians, but military leaders, missionaries, educators and politicians with limited musical ability. Musical creativity, on the other hand, naturally took place mainly in those realms of musical culture where musical ability and professional experience were available, namely among traditional musicians, who had limited access to and knowledge of Western music. That the reception of Western music was not an important part of their musical creativity does not mean, however, that their creativity had nothing to do with modernization.

First, although there is no question that modernization often went along with Western influences, 'Western influences' in musical culture do not necessarily mean influences of Western *music*. In the late nineteenth century, a modern (Western) method of education, with singing as an essential element, was introduced in Japan. Japanese educators studied the use of songs in this method and looked for a way to introduce singing to Japanese educational institutions as well. In the case of *gagaku* songs, however, the existing music itself was not introduced. Instead, new Japanese songs were composed for the method. So although the style of the new songs was strongly shaped by the character of the new method as well as by other tendencies of the modernization period, and thus it was certainly a 'modern' style, the reception of Western melodies played a minor role in this process.

Second, the modernization of Japan had another face, which deliberately rejected outside influences – not only those from the West, but also those from the Asian continent, which had informed Japanese culture for many centuries. This is why the radical changes at the beginning of modernity in Japan are also called a 'Restoration'.[2] On the one hand, the Restoration was a consequence of a

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[1]   *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, second edition, edited by Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), vol. 12, 'Japan', for example, labels the period after 1868 as 'period of international music' (816), 'Western influences' (817) and 'period of Westernization' (884) (the first two citations are from parts written by KISHIBE Shigeo, the last one by David W. Hughes). The section of the 'Japan' article in *MGG* devoted to the period 1868–1945 addresses only developments in Western music and mentions traditional music only as a matter of continuation. See 'Japan', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, second edition, edited by Ludwig Finscher, Sachteil, vol. 4, (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1996): 1372–4, written by Wolfgang Burde.

[2]   Many historians today prefer to call the political changes after 1868 the 'Meiji revolution' rather than the 'Meiji Restoration', because they believe that the revolutionary elements outweigh the Restorationist ones in importance; but the existence of a Restorationist ideology cannot be denied, and it has special significance for our case study.

then two-centuries-old school of thought – the so-called 'national studies' [*kokugaku*, 国学], which may even be described as an 'anti-modern' rather than a modern movement. On the other hand, the 'national studies', and their influence on Japanese intellectuals, were used to legitimize and shape the modern nation that would eventually compete with the Western nation states. The banishment of all foreign things, even the traditional ones rooted in daily life, and the insistence on a Restoration of the 'true old' Japan, was thus an important part of the process of building a modern nation state. The creation of *gagaku* songs was perhaps one of the most Restorationist musical attempts of this era.

To be sure, a Restorationist approach in general requires more creativity than the introduction of a foreign entity, especially in music, where the Restoration of a practice more than 1,000 years old can only be a fiction. (One may remember the intended 'Restoration' of the Ancient Greek tragedy in sixteenth-century Italy that resulted in the creation of modern opera.) In late-nineteenth-century Japan, Restoration of true Japanese music meant creating a new music that differed from both Western and Asian continental music, as well as contemporary Japanese music, and conformed to historical knowledge. To fill the desideratum of songs for a Western method of education with autochthonous music was a difficult task, certainly more difficult than it would have been to import the Western melodies together with the method. In the end, this difficulty, and the pressure to reach acceptable results in a short time, made the introduction of Western melodies prevail in public music education over all competing projects. The surviving relicts of educational music of that time thus create the misleading impression that innovation was mainly bound to the introduction of Western music. But in reality, the development of modern musical creativity in Japan started not from the introduction of Western music, but from traditional music. The significance of *gagaku* songs for this development is reflected in the fact that a number of composers of *gagaku* songs were among the first who succeeded in composing Western-style songs somewhat later.[3]

This article is a case study of one of the many genres of Japanese traditional music that appeared together with modernity.[4] My aim is to shed some light on song collections in a mostly Restorationist style that were compiled by *gagaku*

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[3]   That *gagaku* musicians were pioneers in the study of Western music can be read in almost all writings about late-nineteenth-century Japanese music history, and that the same names occur as composers of *gagaku* style and Western style songs is also frequently mentioned, but the relation between these two creative activities is seldom discussed. In her important study 'Meijiki no kyūchū ni okeru sakkyoku katsudō: Hoiku shōka no keifu' [Musical composition in the Imperial Court during the Meiji era], *Journal of the Society for Research in Asiatic Music* (Japan) 74 (2009): 25–46, NAKAMURA Mayuko has shown that the step from traditional to Western composition was not 'typical' for the *gagaku* musicians of that time: only a minority of composers later engaged in Western composition, while the majority continued to be involved with *gagaku* style compositions, although they were also forced to develop their ability in the performance of Western music.

[4]   For research on other genres, see the other articles in this issue. Regarding the secularization of *shakuhachi* music see Tone TAKAHASHI, *Tozan-Ryū: An Innovation of the Shakuhachi Tradition from Fuke-Shū to Secularism* (PhD diss., The Florida State University, 1990; UMI 2112119), especially 120–32, 138–42, 145–7, 170–73, 183–7, and the analyses 248–87. Regarding traditional folk song in modern society see David W. Hughes, *Traditional folk song in modern Japan: sources, sentiment and society* (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2008) and other publications of the same author. And on the 'new Japanese

professionals – members of the imperial court music department – between 1877 and 1884 for a decidedly modern education. As one of the earliest examples of modern composition in Japan, this music attracts special interest, but it has received little analytical study.[5] Since my aim is to write this article as a part of the history of globalizing Western music, I will use a method of research that is more common for Western musical studies than for ethnomusicology: that of asking about the 'compositional problems' that the composers dealt with. This should not be done, however, without a consideration of whether and how Western concepts of musical analysis are applicable for the subject. I therefore begin with this question before proceeding to a more precise demarcation of the term '*gagaku* song'. After a treatment of technical questions relating to the analysis of *gagaku* songs, and an overview of music-theoretical categories and the ways in which they have changed during the compilation period, I close with analyses of three songs.

Questions

What kind of compositional problems did late-nineteenth-century composers of *gagaku* songs face, and how did they solve them? What characterizes the musical structure of their works? Before we try to answer these questions, it might be useful to question the questions themselves: are *gagaku* songs a musical genre in which 'composers' dealt with 'compositional problems' and created 'works' with a 'musical structure'? These are concepts primarily associated with Western classical music, and they imply a concept of individuality of the creator and originality of the created that is by no means universal to all music.

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music' for *koto* and *shamisen* of the 1920's, see KATSUMURA Jinko, 'Some Innovations in Musical Instruments of Japan during the 1920's', *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 18 (1986): 157–72.

    [5]   IBUKIYAMA Mahoko has performed statistical analyses of the use of scale tones and melodic movements in the first collection of modern *gagaku* songs, *Hoiku shōka*. She concludes that the melodies of *Hoiku shōka* are similar to traditional *gagaku* pieces in some respects, but have nothing in common with Western songs. See IBUKIYAMA Mahoko, *Hoiku shōka ni tsuite* [On the 'childcare songs'] (MA thesis, Ochanomizu University, 1976) and IBUKIYAMA Mahoko, '*Hoiku shōka* ni tsuite' [On the 'childcare songs'], *Journal of the Society for Research in Asiatic Music* (Japan) 44 (1979): 1–26. KUBO Masami has analysed the general characteristics of the accompaniment, and the melodic characteristics of *Hoiku shōka* songs, focusing on tendencies that are different from traditional *gagaku* accompaniments and melodies. She argues that there may be Western influences on a very structural level, such as the 'individual accompaniment for every piece'. See KUBO Masami, '*Hoiku shōka* no wagon bansō ni tsuite' [A Study of accompaniment by *wagon* of *Hoikusyoka*], *Gakugei* 40 (1993): 41–51, and '*Hoiku shōka* ni kansuru kenkyū: *Hoiku shōka* to *gagaku* no senritsu no hikaku' [On melodies of 'Hoikusyoka': A comparative study between 'hoikusyoka' and 'gagaku'], *Gakugei* 41 (1994): 71–9. HONDA Sahomi compared *Hoiku shōka* melodies with traditional *gagaku* songs using a different method from Ibukiyama. She came to similar conclusions as Ibukiyama concerning the melodies written in the *ritsu* mode; but she sees essentially new tendencies in the songs in the *ryo* mode. See HONDA Sahomi, 'Meiji-ki shinsaku gagaku shōka (*Hoiku shōka*) no ongakuteki seikaku – Meiji shoki ni okeru wayō settchū shōka no gutai' [The musical features of *gagaku-shōka* in the *Meiji* era (*Hoiku-Shōka*)], *Chiba Daigaku Kyōikugaku Kenkyū kiyō II: Jinbun-Shakai-Kagaku-Hen* [Bulletin of the Faculty of Education, Chiba University, II: Humanities and Social Sciences] 45 (1997): 93–103.

'Composer'

In the great majority of contemporaneous sources for late-nineteenth-century *gagaku* songs, each song is preceded by a few formalized head lines containing the song's title, the origin or author of the words, the composer's name, including his rank in the hierarchy of court musicians, and a number of technical terms specifying the genre, key, scale, metre and length of the song.[6] That the composer's name is seldom omitted, means that a kind of authorship was attributed to the one who had attached the music to the words; the obligatory mention of the official rank, on the other hand, reflects the fact that the author was working as a representative of his professional community. The compositions were commissioned to the court music department, and it seems that they were then assigned to individual members. The completed pieces were returned to their commissioners through the head of the department. Thus, although each piece had an individual author, it belonged to a collection that was the intellectual and artistic property of the department. If an author introduced something new, it was also a new achievement for the community, and he could do so only in accordance with the social relations within his group – either because he was acknowledged by his colleagues as an especially powerful specialist in that area, or because the innovation was approved by such an authority. In either case, the author did not retain rights to the innovation, which was available for use in new songs by his colleagues.

'Work'

A *gagaku* song can thus be described as the work of a professional collective: the author of a single song was the collective, as represented by an individual member. The new songs were copied by all members of the court music department into their personal song books, and became part of the court music repertoire taught in the *gagaku* school and performed in public concerts.

Composition was called 'choice of notes' [*sen-fu*, 撰譜], and 'notes' meant the neumatic *gagaku* notation [*hakase*, 墨譜], in which each note stands for a short melody. To compose was to choose from existing melodies rather than to invent new ones. As I have shown in another article, even the Japanese national anthem, composed in 1880 by court musicians for a Western style military band, and thus not a typical *gagaku* song, consists mainly of common phrases of *gagaku* songs; the only phrases that are not common ones are closely related to an earlier version of the national anthem that was composed by a Westerner.[7]

The individual author mentioned at the beginning of a song was responsible for the choice of melodic phrases, and it was acceptable to choose even longer sections of other songs if they fitted to the new words. The choice of a whole

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6   For an example with explanation see Hermann Gottschewski, 'Poetic Form and Musical Form Performed and Written – European and Asian Cultures Compared', in *Research on Art and Music in Japan. A Colloquy with Foreign Scholars Resident in Japan*, ed. Patricia Fister and Hᴏsᴏᴋᴀᴡᴀ Shūhei (Kyoto: International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 2007): 187–208, here 200. Also online at http://fusehime.c.u-tokyo.ac.jp/gottschewski/online.html.

7   Hermann Gottschewski, '*Hoiku shōka* and the melody of the Japanese national anthem *Kimi ga yo*', *Journal of the Society for Research in Asiatic Music* (Japan) 68 (2003): (1)–(17). (Henceforth '*Hoiku shōka* and *Kimi ga yo*').

pre-existing melody for a new poem did not qualify for new authorship, however. There are several cases where pre-existing melodies were used instead of composing a new melody, and in those cases no author is mentioned, but the title of the song whose melody was used is specified.[8] Every authorized composition is thus new as a whole, but not necessarily in any of its parts. A single 'work' had to conform with the collection, and as a whole it had to be musically distinguishable from the other songs of the collection.

'Musical structure'

The technical information specifying the genre, key, scale, metre and length of the song that headed each song was based on the music theory of *gagaku*, but in a somewhat modernized and standardized form.[9] Since the court musicians were responsible for this standardization, they must have been very much aware of the formal and structural aspects of the music; and this awareness is reflected in contemporaneous writings.

Another structural factor is the metrical structure of the poetry. Only very formalized poems in the conservative style of court poetry were proposed for composition. And a third structural feature relies on the rhythmic order provided by the accompanying instruments. The rhythm is measured by the regular beats of the *shakubyōshi* [笏拍子], a type of wooden clappers, which guarantees a regular tempo. Most songs are also accompanied by an ostinato, played on the *wagon* [和琴, a six-stringed zither], which is repeated several times throughout the piece, although the melody of the song normally does not contain any repetition. The use of *wagon* ostinatos for accompaniment was adopted from traditional *gagaku* genres, but, in contrast to them, the *gagaku* song accompaniments are not common for the whole genre, but (essentially) individual for every piece. The *wagon* patterns therefore form an individual structural background, which is heard throughout the performance of a song.

'Compositional problems'

It can be assumed that the commissioner of a song gave a poem to the court music department and prescribed the genre of the song, such as *shōka* [唱歌, 'singing piece' with *wagon* accompaniment] or *yūgi* [遊戯, 'play-song' without *wagon* accompaniment], so that these elements were not a matter of choice for the composer. Other elements might be prescribed by the head of the department, or were determined by convention. If, for example, the poem contained a reference to one of the four seasons, the key of the song was pre-determined, by a rule that was given in the textbooks that were used by the court musicians in teaching and learning.

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[8]　Later, songs that shared a melody were eliminated, and every song text was given a melody originally composed for it. An exception is a melody that was originally composed by Tōgi Yoriharu (1834–1898) for the song 'Sazareishi'. It was re-used for another poem, 'Futami no ura', by Fujiwara no Kanesuke (877–933), when 'Sazareishi' disappeared from the collection (see Gottschewski, 'Hoiku shōka and Kimi ga yo', note 8). In effect, then, 'Futami no ura' neither has an original melody, nor shares a melody with any other songs of the collection. Both songs can be heard on *Kindai shōka shūsei*, CD 6/27 and 6/26 (see below note 19).

[9]　For an example see note 9 in Tsukahara Yasuko's article in this issue.

In any case, the very strict limitations of each formal category made it necessary to find a strategy to fulfil all requirements, and, as we will see in our analysis, dealing with conflicting requirements was no small challenge. Since there was no tradition of song composition among the court musicians at the beginning of the era of *gagaku* songs, it is very unlikely that the composers had received any instruction to support them in solving these problems. They may have supported each other with their ideas and experience, but in many cases they would have to find a new solution through new strategies. So 'compositional problems' really did exist for *gagaku* song composers, and it is an interesting challenge for musical analysis to determine what they were and how they were solved.

Subject of Analysis

For the purposes of this article, '*gagaku* songs of the late nineteenth century' means songs that were commissioned officially to the court music department[10] and composed in a non-Western style by its eligible members (or authorized by them),[11] during the first half of the Meiji Era (1868–1912).[12] The most important collections of *gagaku* songs, in this sense, are *Hoiku shōka* [保育唱歌, Childcare songs],[13] of which there are about 100 songs, and *Kōtenkōkyūsho shōka*

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[10]   The official name of the court music department, from 1877 to 1884, was *Gagaku Department of the Chamber of Ceremonies in the Imperial Household Ministry* [宮内省式部寮雅楽課, Kunaishō Shikiburyō Gagakuka]. Due to reorganization, the name changed several times, but essentially the department has existed from its foundation at the court in Tokyo in 1869 until the present. See for example TERAUCHI Naoko, *Gagaku no 'kindai' to 'gendai'. Keishō, fukyū, sōzō no kiseki* [The 'modern' and the 'contemporary' in *gagaku*: Continuity, dissemination and creative renewal] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2010): 12.

[11]   The duty of composing songs was assigned to court musicians above a certain rank only. For example, songs by the kindergarten teacher KONDŌ Hama are indicated as 'revised by' a member of the court music department in most primary sources and thus also have an individually responsible professional authorizer. About the process of revision see SOGA Yoshie, 'Shōka yūgi no seiritsu katei ni kansuru kenkyū: *Gagakuroku* ni mirareru *Hoiku Shōka* no seiritsu katei kara' [Study of the creation process of 'singing dance': The writing process of *Hoiku-shoka* (childcare songs) found in the Gagaku-roku (The Official Documents of Japanese Imperial Court Music)], *Taiikugaku kenkyū* [Research Journal of Physical Education] 53 (2008): 304. It should be noted that some points Soga claims to have discovered for the first time are already mentioned in older publications.

[12]   In the second half of the Meiji era and later, a number of single *gagaku* songs were commissioned from inside the court, as Nakamura has pointed out ('Meijiki no kyūchū ni okeru sakkyoku katsudō', 35–41). They were mainly composed for private occasions at the court and for representative festivities such as the silver wedding of the Emperor (1894), the 1100-year-anniversary of the old capital of Kyōto (1895) and the wedding of the crown prince (1900). Since the songs are spread over a longer period and composed for special occasions, each of them would require a separate consideration.

[13]   I have adopted the translation 'Childcare songs' from Soga, 'Creation Process of 'Singing Dance'. The term *shōka* has two different meanings in *Hoiku shōka*. In the wider sense, it means 'singing' as opposed to playing instruments, or 'singing instructions' for education. In the narrower sense, it means accompanied 'singing pieces' as opposed to unaccompanied 'play-songs'. *Hoiku shōka* includes both singing pieces and play-songs. In other contemporaneous sources, the word *shōka* is used with other meanings, for example 'words of a song' as opposed to the melody, or 'singing instrumental melodies with mnemonics'. In traditional Japanese music the word is still used with the last mentioned

[皇典講究所唱歌, Songs for the Institute for Research of the Imperial Classics], with 24 songs. Both collections were commissioned by educational institutions.

In the wider sense, songs that were composed by members of the court music department for private purposes or by independent commission, and songs composed in the style of *gagaku* songs by non-members of the court music department, including non-professional *gagaku* scholars, should also be considered as *gagaku* songs. There is a great variety of such songs in various kinds of sources, but their diversity makes it difficult to draw a line between proper *gagaku* songs and other songs that are only influenced by *gagaku* style. Furthermore, it is difficult to discuss this question without an analysis of the stylistic features of *gagaku* songs. For this reason, this paper focuses only on the two collections.

The beginning of *Hoiku shōka* lies in the commission of two songs for the opening ceremony of the Kindergarten of the Tokyo Women's Normal School [東京女子師範学校 付属幼稚園, Tōkyō Joshi Shihangakkō fuzoku Yōchien] in 1877.[14] Thereafter, until 1880, about 100 songs for kindergarten children and older students were composed and taught by court musicians to students at the Tokyo Women's Normal School and other schools. The names of 24 court musicians and one kindergarten teacher, the only woman who contributed to the music of an official *gagaku* song collection,[15] are mentioned in the sources as composers of *Hoiku shōka*.

From 1880 to 1882 the work on the collection seems to have paused, perhaps because, after the foundation of the Institute of Music of the Ministry of Education [Monbushō Ongaku Torishirabe Gakari, 文部省音楽取調掛] in 1879 and the appointment of Luther Whiting Mason as the first foreign teacher for music education, the court musicians concentrated on the study of Western music.[16] In 1882 and 1883, after Mason had returned to America, the work on *Hoiku shōka* was resumed. In this period the earlier songs underwent a fundamental revision,[17] and a number of melodies were added and others deleted. At that point, the songs were already used in a number of educational institutions throughout the country. The plan of publication seems to have failed, however, and the collection fell out of use within a few years.[18] Only a few songs found their way into later songbooks.

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meaning, but it is pronounced 'shōga' (written with the same Chinese characters), while since around 1900 the word 'shōka' has meant mainly Western style 'school songs'. Since most sources give no explanation, it is difficult to know which of the various usages of the word were pronounced 'shōka' and which 'shōga' at the end of nineteenth century. There is good reason to believe that the 'Hoiku shōga' would be historically more correct, but the pronunciation 'Hoiku shōka' is most widespread today.

   [14]   See also the article by TSUKAHARA Yasuko in this issue, page 226.
   [15]   See also note 11, above.
   [16]   See Gottschewski, '*Hoiku shōka* and *Kimi ga yo*', (1). A notice in the chronicle of the court music department, of 20 May 1880 – the last day new songs were added before the two-year break – suggests that, at that time, the compilation was regarded as 'finished' and a later resumption was not planned. See TSUKAHARA Yasuko , *Jūkyūseiki no Nihon ni okeru seiyō ongaku no juyō* [The reception of western music in nineteenth century Japan] (Tokyo: Taga, 1993): 567.
   [17]   Hermann Gottschewski, 'Musikalische Schriftsysteme und die Bedeutung ihrer ''Perspektive'' für die Musikkultur: Ein Vergleich europäischer und japanischer Quellen', in *Schrift: Kulturtechnik zwischen Auge, Hand und Maschine*, ed. Gernot Grube, Werner Kogge und Sibylle Krämer (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2005): 267 and 272–6.
   [18]   The use in schools ended a few years after 1882, when the first songbooks with Western melodies published by the Ministry of Education came into use, but *Hoiku shōka*

Hoiku shōka is preserved in the traditional *gagaku* notation in many hand-written copies, representing different stages of the compilation. A number of them were written by court musicians who participated in the collection as composers, and some of the most important sources remain in the private collections of the families of court musicians.[19]

Kōtenkōkyūsho shōka was compiled in 1883 or 1884 for the Kōtenkōkyūsho, a school founded to educate Shinto clergymen. The songs were taught there for some years, but never found a wider distribution. *Kōtenkōkyūsho shōka* consists of 24 songs composed by 24 court musicians, 21 of whom had also contributed to *Hoiku shōka*.

As already mentioned, *gagaku* songs are performed with the accompaniment of *shakubyōshi* and *wagon*. For *Hoiku shōka*, but not for *Kōtenkōkyūsho shōka*, there exists a complete set of accompaniments for the *sō* [箏], a thirteen-stringed zither (the instrument is often simply called 'koto' [琴], although the term *koto*, in its proper use, comprises other zithers as well, including the *wagon*), which was added for practical reasons after most of the songs were already composed. The *sō* accompaniment seems to have no new structural function in the song. The same is the case for the arrangements for full *gagaku* orchestra that exist for some of the songs.

Method of Analysis

The structure of the original notation of *gagaku* songs forced the composer to write down the words of the poem first (potentially even before he began to compose the song) and to add the melody afterwards.[20] This reflects a compositional process that gives priority to the words and regards melodies as something 'attached to the words'. While the poem is visible as formed language,

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continued to be taught in the court music department and performed regularly at its public concerts until about 1894 – even later inside the court. See Nakamura, 'Meijiki no kyūchū ni okeru sakkyoku katsudō', 30–35.

[19]   Photographic reproductions of sources for a number of songs from *Hoiku shōka*, and an experimentally reconstructed performance based on those sources, were published in CD 5 (no. 12–16) and 6 (all numbers) of *Genten ni yoru kindai shōka shūsei* [Collection of Modern [Japanese] Songs Based on Primary Sources] (henceforth *Kindai shōka shūsei*), a collection of thirty audio CDs and nine volumes of original documents, transcriptions and essays, edited by Yᴀsᴜᴅᴀ Hiroshi et al. (Tokyo: Victor Entertainment, 2000). The sections relating to *gagaku* songs are edited, with commentary, by the author. The texts as well as transcriptions into Western notation of the melodies (without accompaniment) of almost all songs from *Hoiku shōka* were edited by Sʜɪʙᴀ Sukehiro in 1955, 1958 and 1959, in manuscript. Most of these manuscript editions are reproduced (albeit in poor quality) in *Ongaku kiso kenkyū bunkenshū* [Basic research collection of musical sources], ed. Eᴢᴀᴋɪ Kimiko (Tokyo: Ōzorasha, 1991): vol. 15, 1–200 and 503–49. The original manuscripts are held by the Kunitachi College of Music Library. The texts of *Hoiku shōka* from one of the most important primary sources are also published online by the Ochanomizu University Web Library (http://hdl.handle.net/10083/33717). Few books or articles in Western languages make more than passing reference to *Hoiku shōka*. Apart from the articles by the author, cited elsewhere in this article, perhaps the most detailed and most recent one is by Noriko Mᴀɴᴀʙᴇ: *Western Music in Japan: The Evolution of Styles in Children's Songs, Hip-Hop and Other Genres* (PhD diss., City University of New York, 2009), 77 and 82–97. Since Manabe uses only secondary sources (and not in any case the most reliable ones), however, there are a number of mistakes in her study.

[20]   See Gottschewski, 'Musikalische Schriftsysteme', 260–61 and 270–76.

and is readable independently from the music, the connection between the melodic fragments is constituted only through the connection between the syllables to which they are attached. The phrasing is indicated by lines between the text syllables and is thus a property of the words rather than the melody.[21]

In discussing compositional problems, we must not forget that traditional notation was the perspective from which *gagaku* song composers viewed their own and others' works. Even if we find that a deep insight into genuinely musical forms was indispensable to compose a *gagaku* song, these forms were always attached to words, which came with their own form. My analysis thus begins with the words and then proceeds to the musical form.

Notwithstanding the role of the poetic form in the musical structure, musical time in *gagaku* songs is strictly cyclic, and is regulated by the ostinato of the accompanying instruments. The concept of timing is also graphically obvious in the *wagon* notation, where the symbols for the beats of the *shakubyōshi* form a geometric grid along which the notation is arranged.[22] Since the instrumental notation is separated from the vocal notation, however, the interrelation between the poetic form of the vocal part and the cyclic form of the instruments is not obvious from the notation.[23] Like medieval and renaissance Western polyphonic music, where the voices are notated separately, what sounds together can only be experienced in a real performance or calculated by counting beats in both notations. It is not known which strategies court musicians used to imagine the interaction between melody and accompaniment to conceptualize the musical form of a song.

In order to understand how *gagaku* composers worked on their songs we should actually put ourselves in their perspective and use the original notation for our analysis. Considering the fact, however, that most readers of this article are unfamiliar with East Asian scripts in general, and *gagaku* notations in particular, we will illustrate our analysis with transnotations to Western staff notation. Fortunately, the most essential musical parameters shown in the notation of *gagaku* songs, namely pitches and rhythmic values, are commensurable to Western staff notation, so that the transnotation is unambiguous in most cases. A transcription of *Hoiku shōka* to Western notation was published by SHIBA Sukehiro,[24] but it does not include the accompaniment, and it shows, as a rule, only one version for each song. His transcription is a kind of compromise between a transnotation, which tries to preserve the structural and symbolic information of the original notation, and a translation to Western notation, which tries to render how a performance of the score sounds. The examples in this

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[21]   An example of this notation can be seen in a source called 唱歌譜 [*shōkafu*] in the library of Waseda University and accessible online at the homepage of the library (http://archive.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kosho/chi11/chi11_04038/chi11_04038.html). The manuscript, which contains the 24 songs of *Kōtenkōkyūsho shōka*, is written on an official paper of the Chamber of Ceremonies and takes a seal of the *Kōtenkōkyūsho* at the page where the first song begins. But the title of the collection, the sources of the words and the names of the composers are not mentioned. The manuscript does not include accompaniments. For examples of *Hoiku shōka* notation with explanation, see Gottschewski, 'Musikalische Schriftsysteme', 271, 272 and 275, and Gottschewski, 'Poetic Form and Musical Form Performed and Written', 200. See also note 19.

[22]   See examples in Gottschewski, 'Musikalische Schriftsysteme', 271, and Gottschewski, 'Poetic Form and Musical Form Performed and Written', 200.

[23]   Gottschewski, 'Musikalische Schriftsysteme', 269–71.

[24]   See note 19.

article are in a rather mechanical transnotation that looks less familiar to Western eyes, but forces the reader to think in the categories of *gagaku* music theory, especially with regard to beats and metre.[25]

Some of our transnotations show the vocal part vertically arranged above the accompanying pattern (see Figure 5, below). The synchronous display is useful for musical analysis, but we should be aware that it is doubtless different from what the court musicians had in mind when they composed the songs. Our analysis will proceed from the general to the specific, beginning from a description of the style and ending with analyses of three songs.

Structural Categories

Form of the Poem

The *gagaku* songs use as texts either poems from the *Man'yōshū* (eighth century) and the ancient imperial collections or newer poems in the style of the ancient poetry.[26] Even the earliest *gagaku* songs of the Meiji Era, which were based on translations of Western song texts,[27] follow these extremely conservative forms. This means that all poems begin with a five-syllable clause,[28] followed by one or more pairs of clauses with seven and five syllables, and ending with a pair of seven and seven syllables.[29] The shortest form is the *tanka* [短歌] (5 7–5 7–7), while

[25]   Some questions of transcription are discussed in Kubo Masami, 'Hoiku shōka no gosenfuka ni kansuru mondaiten ni tsuite' [On problems of transcription of *Childcare Songs* to western notation], *Kansai gakuri kenyū* [*Kansai Studies of Music theory*], 10 (1993): 79–88, and in Kubo, 'Hoiku shōka no wagon bansō ni tsuite'.

[26]   On the texts of *Hoiku shōka* see Nakayama Eiko, *Meiji shōka no tanjō* [The birth of the *shōka* of the Meiji era] (Tokyo: Bensei, 2010): 1–41 and Fujita Fumiko, 'Hoiku shōka no kenkyū: Fröbel-shiki yōchien shōka yūgi inyū no keika o chūshin to shite' [Research on *Hoiku Shōka*: With a focus on the introduction of kindergarten songs and plays for the Froebel method], in *Kunitachi Ongaku Daigaku sōritsu 50shūnen kinen ronbunshū* [Collection of essays in celebration of the 50th anniversary of Kunitachi College of Music] (Tachikawa: Kunitachi Ongaku Daigaku, 1978): 329–69. The texts of *Kōtenkōkyūsho shōka* have not yet been subject to detailed study, but some aspects are mentioned in Hermann Gottschewski, 'Gonda Naosuke henjutsu *Shinkyō kafu*: Sanbika to shōka no hazama kara okotta Meiji shoki shintō no uta' [Gonda Naosuke's *Song Notation of the Shintō Religion*: Shintō Songs from the Early Meiji Era Between Church Hymns and Shōka], *Nihon Hikakubungakukai Tōkyō Shibu kenkyū hōkoku* [Research report of the Tōkyō section of the Japan Comparative Literature Association] No. 5 (Sept. 2008): 60–61. The character of the texts of *Kōtenkōkyūsho shōka* is essentially similar to the later *Hoiku shōka*.

[27]   See Tsukahara Yasuko's article in this issue, note 8.

[28]   Linguists use the term 'mora' rather than 'syllable' for the smallest rhythmic unit of the Japanese language, but for the application of classical Japanese lyrics to songs the difference between the concept of 'mora' and 'syllable' is not very important. The 'mora' in classical Japanese consists of a short vowel preceded or not preceded by a single consonant. The half-vowel 'n', however, can also form a mora and is thus often treated like a syllable in songs. Except for the short postpositions, most Japanese words have between two and five syllables, and there is no stress accent. When five-syllable clauses and seven-syllable clauses are mentioned in this article, I include cases where the actual number of syllables is six or eight due to certain rules of syllable augmentation.

[29]   Although literary scholars prefer to speak of one or more 5–7 pairs followed by a 5–7–7 clause, due to the semantic structure of the ancient poetry, the description given here

Fig. 1a   The D *ritsu* scale (*ichikotsuchō rissen*)

Fig. 1b   The A *ritsu* scale (*ōshikichō rissen*)

the longer forms are called *chōka* [長歌].[30] The use of these ancient forms contrasts to most other songs composed in the same era, namely the songs compiled by the Ministry of Education, including most of the *gagaku* style 'ceremonial songs'. Although the composers probably had no influence on the selection of texts, the poetic form is one of the important stylistic characteristics of the *gagaku* songs.

In all songs the beginning five-syllable clause is sung unaccompanied, by the musical leader. The *wagon* accompaniment begins with the last syllable of the first clause, and the other singers begin with the second clause. The songs are sung in unison.

Key and Scale

Gagaku songs have a genuine theory of scales, which is derived from traditional *gagaku* scales. The theory stipulates two modes, *ryo* and *ritsu*, usable in various transpositions, and two mixed scales. The theory and usage of the scales changed slightly during the compilation period. Since tonal analysis is not the focus of this article, only the scales used in the examples are displayed in Figures 1a and 1b in Western notation. They are called *ichikotsuchō rissen* [壹越調律旋] (used in Figures 3 and 4) and *ōshikichō rissen* [黄鐘調律旋] (used in Figure 5). These are *ritsu* scales based on the key notes D and A, respectively. As in a Western melodic minor scale, the fifth degree of the pentatonic *ritsu* scale is raised by a half tone if the melody ascends, so that the ascending scale is different from the descending scale.

In singing practice the second and the descending fifth degree may be lowered somewhat, as shown in Figure 3c, but the transnotations here show the pitches as they are notated and stated to be correct by contemporaneous theoretical writings. For technical reasons, the *wagon* uses the tones of the descending scale in ascending as well.

Beat and Metre[31]

The *gagaku* songs with accompaniment belong to two types of metre, 'quick metre' [*haya-hyōshi*, 早拍子] and 'slow metre' [*shizu-hyōshi*, 閑拍子]. They consist

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better fits the musical structure of *gagaku* songs. It seems that when the court musicians of the nineteenth century read ancient poetry they were influenced in their reading by a rhythmic feeling acquired from the experience of more recent Japanese lyrics.

[30]   In the two collections discussed here, the only songs that are neither *tanka* nor *chōka* are those discussed in note 44, below, and the song 'I ro ha' (*Kindai shōka shūsei*, CD 6/22). The text of the latter is the traditional Japanese syllable alphabet, which is also a poem, but in another metrical form.

[31]   A more comprehensive description of the metres of *Hoiku shōka* can be found in Gottschewski, '*Hoiku shōka* and *Kimi ga yo*', (3)–(4).

●   ●   百   ●   ●   ●   百   ●

Fig. 2a   Two hyperbars in quick four metre

●   ○   ●   ○   ●   ○   百   ○

Fig. 2b   One hyperbar in slow four metre

of rhythmical units called 'big times' [大節, written as 百], 'small times' [小節, written as ●], and 'yin times' [陰節, written as ○].[32] Yin times are used in slow metre only. Essentially all times have the same length, but only big times and small times are beat. One *hyōshi* (we will call it a 'hyperbar') consists of one big time and several small times. In slow metre a yin time occurs after every beat. We call the time from one to the next beat a 'bar'. For examples of metres, see Figures 2a and 2b.

The transnotations use the minim for the (big, small and yin) times and bar lines to indicate the beat times. Big time is indicated by a double bar line immediately preceding it. (Please note that the double bar line does not coincide with the boundaries of the hyperbars, since the big times do not fall on the beginning of a hyperbar.) A song in quick four metre [*haya-yo-hyōshi*, 早四拍子] is thus written as a one-two time with a double bar line at every third bar of a hyperbar (see Figure 5, below), and the slow metres are written as a two-two time with double bar lines at the place of the big time (see Figures 3b and 4).

Phrase and breath

Phrasing is an essential part of *gagaku* song notation and thus a structural element of the music. Vertical red lines between text syllables in the original notation indicate a continuous breath phrase, while the absence of such a line shows a break in the phrase (see Figure 3a, below). Similarly the phrasing in the transnotations is shown by horizontal lines between the text syllables (see Figures 3b and 5). In this article, the word 'phrase' always means a section of the melody that is sung in one breath. As I have shown elsewhere,[33] the treatment of phrases changed fundamentally between the earlier and later *Hoiku shōka*, and the phrasings of many earlier *gagaku* songs were revised around 1882.

Embellishments

Gagaku song notation shows the rough melodic shape as lines drawn at the left side of the text syllables, and the exact pitches with the Chinese characters for the relative tone names – *kyū* [宮], *shō* [商], *kaku* [角], *chi* [徵], *u* [羽] for the five pentatonic scale degrees and *ei-u* [嬰羽] for the heightened fifth degree in the ascending *ritsu* scale – above the lines (see Figure 3a). There are, however, two

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[32]   'Yin' – read '*in*' in Japanese – refers to the dualism of yin and yang in Asian thought. I conjecture that this naming refers to the 'darkness' of the musical time that is not 'highlighted' by a beat in performance.

[33]   See Gottschewski, 'Musikalische Schriftsysteme', 266–77.
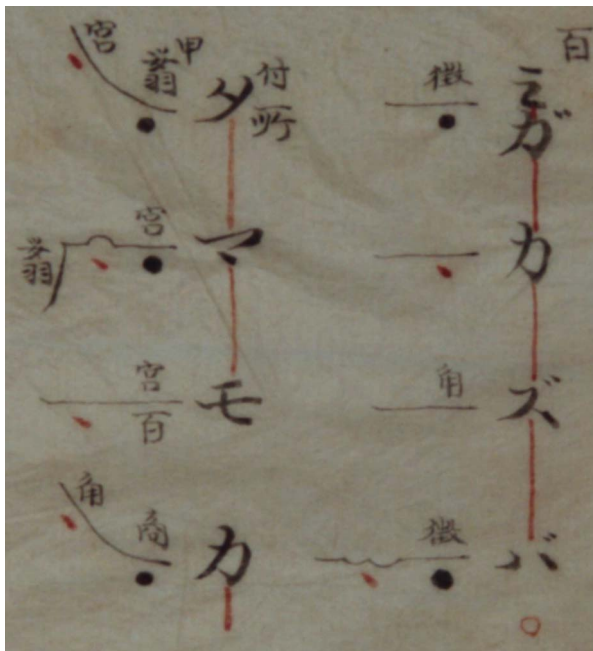
Fig. 3a   Original notation, manuscript of Bunno Yoshiaki (1848–1920), who was also a composer of *Hoiku Shōka*; to read from the top to the bottom, the neumes and the columns from right to left.

Fig. 3b   Transnotation of Bunno's manuscript by the author.

Fig. 3c   Transcription by Tanabe Hisao (1919).

Fig. 3d   Transcription by Shiba Sukehiro, after a photocopy of a manuscript written by Shiba in 1955, original held by the Kunitachi College of Music Library.

Fig. 3e　**Another transcription by the same, after the photographical reproduction of a manuscript written by Sʜɪʙᴀ in 1958, published in *Ongaku kiso kenkyū bunkenshū*, 1991. The deviation of an octave in bars 3–5 in Tᴀɴᴀʙᴇ's transcription may be due to a deviation in the source he used, but more probably, it is a mistake by the transcriber. On the deviating key signature in Tanabe's transcription see above page 000. The other deviations reflect the divergent principles of transcription.**

kinds of embellishments that are not shown as pitches: *tsuku* [ツ ク] is a kind of upper mordent, mostly performed on the second beat or unbeat time of a longer note, as at the seventh text syllable in Figure 3, and *yuri* [ユ リ] is a kind of slow double lower mordent, performed on long notes (either *kyū* or *chi*) as on the fifth text syllable in Figure 3. There is no exact explanation of its performance in the primary sources of *gagaku* songs. The approximate performance may be as shown in the transcriptions of Tᴀɴᴀʙᴇ Hisao[34] and Sʜɪʙᴀ Sukehiro (Figures 3c, 3d, 3e). In our transnotations we use signs similar to the original notation (Figure 3b).

Musical forms

While a majority of the *gagaku* songs, even many of the longer ones, have a linear form and cannot easily be divided into parts, some forms use repetitions or multipart concepts. A comprehensive description of them is beyond the scope of this article. Larger songs are often divided into two or more *dan* [段] (stanzas or movements), either with the same melody or with different melodies. Some of the multipart forms adopt the concept of *jo-ha-kyū*[35] [序破急], a form that is used in traditional multipart *gagaku* pieces.

The forms of the earliest songs of *Hoiku shōka* show some influence from Western songs, but this influence is hardly detectable in later songs. The variety of approaches on the one hand and the establishment of common form concepts for different pieces on the other hand show that the development of larger musical forms posed a continuous challenge for the individual composers as well as for the collective of composers.

Accompaniment patterns

As already mentioned, *gagaku* songs – except the play-songs – are accompanied not only by the regular beats of the *shakubyōshi* but also by an ostinato on the *wagon*. A *wagon* ostinato may be one or several hyperbars long, and the length of an accompanied song is a multiple of the length of the *wagon* ostinato.

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[34]　Tᴀɴᴀʙᴇ Hisao, *Nihon ongaku kōwa* [Lectures on Japanese Music] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1919): appendix without page number.

[35]　See for example Kɪᴋᴋᴀᴡᴀ Eishi, *Nihon ongaku no seikaku* [On the character of Japanese music] (Tōkyō: Wanya , 1948): 194; German translation by Petra Rudolph, as *Vom Charakter der japanischen Musik*, Studien zur traditionellen Musik Japans 2 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984): 155.

Fig. 4   *Wagon* ostinato of 'Manabi no michi'

The structure and development of the *wagon* ostinatos show most clearly the innovation in the *gagaku* songs and the peculiarities of the collective creative process. The use of the *wagon*, which was believed to be one of the most authentic 'national' instruments of Japan (as opposed to instruments imported from China or elsewhere), was a strong and Restorationist symbol of the autonomous development of a modern Japanese music. Founded in the old tradition of Shinto ritual music, the ostinatos had no counterpart in the Western educational songs that served as models for the early *Hoiku shōka*; yet the way in which they were applied to the new compositions had no model in traditional Japanese music. Nevertheless, the foundations of the new concept were established in a very short time and then adopted by all composers of *gagaku* songs.

The *wagon* patterns are composed of very simple elements. The *wagon* is played with a plectrum with the right hand and with the fingers of the left hand. The most important playing technique is to pluck all six strings either forth or back with the plectrum and to damp five or four of them immediately afterwards with the fingers of the left hand, so that after an arpeggio of all strings the sound of only one or two strings remains.[36] Other techniques are to pluck all strings without damping, to pluck only one string with the plectrum, or to pluck one, two or (seldom) three strings together with the fingers of the left hand. There are no other techniques used to modify the tone.

The rhythms used for the *wagon* patterns are also very simple. In slow metres, one of the above-mentioned elements is played on every beat, and on the unbeat times an element may be played or not. If an element is played on the unbeat time, there may also be a tone (never an arpeggio or two tones played together) between the times. That means that in our transcription the rhythm of the *wagon* can be written in semibreves, minims and crotchets, and there are no dotted rhythms, rests or syncopations. Figure 4 shows the *wagon* pattern of the song shown in Figure 3, a one-hyperbar pattern in slow five metre. The tones with '+' mark are plucked with the left hand.

The same rhythms are used in quick four metre, replacing the unbeat times by the second and fourth beat of the hyperbar, as seen in the lowest staff of Figure 5, below.

Since the *wagon* can only play the five main scale degrees in a closed one-octave register, its melodic possibilities are very limited, and the rhythmic effect seems to prevail. In the longer ostinatos, however, its melodic significance cannot be ignored, and the change between the stable key tone, the relatively stable fifth and the unstable other scale degrees gives them a decisive shape.

Despite these restrictions, the characteristics of the *wagon* patterns show a great variety, and the changes of their external form, elaboration, relation to the song melody and intertextual structures tell us a story of continuous collective and individual problem solving. At this point, we may turn to the external and collective aspects, leaving the other aspects to the individual analysis at the end of the paper.

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[36]   This technique is also described in KIKKAWA, *Nihon ongaku no seikaku*, 210–11 (176–7 in the German translation).

Fig. 5   The three songs 'Hana tachibana', 'Shirogane' and 'Kashima no kami' and their shared accompaniment.

The earliest nine songs with accompaniment, composed for the kindergarten between November 1877 and February 1878 by nine different composers, are all in quick four metre, and each song has an individual *wagon* pattern, which is from three to seven hyperbars long. The ostinato is played from two to six times. It is surprising that the most essential properties of the *wagon* accompaniments and the way they are related to the melody are already seen in the very first song, 'Fuyu no madoi' [冬燕居, 'Gathering in winter'], composed in 1877 by Tōɢɪ Suenaga.[37] By the way, Suenaga was also the first to use slow metre in *Hoiku shōka*, namely in the song 'Manabi no michi' shown in Figures 3 and 4. If any individual can be named for having coined the style of late-nineteenth-century *gagaku* songs, it is Tōɢɪ Suenaga.

Two new tendencies can be seen in the next 21 songs with accompaniment, composed from March to October 1878. First, while the song melodies become more elaborated – some of them are apparently not for the kindergarten but for older students – and now also use the slow four and five metres, the *wagon* patterns tend to become shorter: for example, only two hyperbars in quick four metre and one hyperbar in the slow metres. This means that the number of repetitions increases, and now ranges from 3 to 18 for simple songs and up to 44 in a multipart song. Second, some of the songs do not use new *wagon* patterns but re-use the accompaniment of other songs, with longer and more complex patterns particularly subject to re-use. One would perhaps expect that two songs sharing a complex accompaniment become very similar in melody and character, but that is not the case. The re-use of accompaniments in this period forms a rather subtle method of intertextual relationship between songs. It is remarkable that this experimental approach to compositional structures was undertaken in a decisively collective process. The seven songs composed between April and October 1878 that re-use accompaniments are by seven different composers; and with one exception, the composer who re-uses an accompaniment is different from the original composer. Thereafter the re-use of accompaniments stopped,[38] which also seems to have been a collective decision. While in most cases we cannot be certain in which order the melody and accompaniment were composed, the cases of re-use of accompaniment give us an interesting insight into the process of creating musical structures in late-nineteenth-century Japan.

The next 21 songs, composed between November 1878 and September 1879, continue the tendency of the previous songs, but every song now has its own *wagon* pattern again, as in the first period. The range of metres is extended by the exceptional slow two, three, six and eight metres, and the slow metres become predominant. The tendency to more elaborated and longer, multi-part songs

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[37]   The words of the song are a versification of a prose translation of the second stanza of an English winter song, 'Now we are in Winter', which is itself a translation of the German song 'Der Winter ist kommen'. See *Kindai shōka shūsei*, CD 5/12.

[38]   There is only one (much) later example in *Hoiku shōka* where a composer re-uses an accompaniment, in that case one from his own songs. Many songs in *Kōtenkōkyūsho shōka* share their accompaniments for a different reason, discussed below. A special case is a song cycle called 'Muttsu no tama' [六ノ球, Six Balls] or 'Tama to iro' [球及色, Balls and colours], for Froebelian kindergarten education, consisting of nine songs composed by nine different court musicians (*Kindai shōka shūsei*, CD 6/38–46). The nine songs share their key, scale, metre, length and *wagon* pattern. The song cycle was a late addition to the *Hoiku shōka* and was abandoned shortly afterwards; it is found in only a few manuscripts. See Gottschewski, '*Hoiku shōka* and *Kimi ga yo*', note 8, sources (3) and (5).

also continues. The longest *gagaku* songs composed in the late nineteenth century are from this period, an exemplary case being the five-part song 'Ō Shōkun' [王昭君, 'Wang Zhaojun'], a poem by Murata Harumi (1746–1811) composed by Oku Yoshiisa (1858–1933) and dated[39] May 1879, which has a total length of 604 times.[40] The longer songs do not use longer *wagon* patterns, but repeat them more often. The first four parts of 'Ō Shōkun', for example, are composed in slow five metre, each of them different in length and with its own melody, but using the same *wagon* pattern of one hyperbar length, which is repeated 58 times. Even in the fifth part, written in quick four metre, a one-hyperbar pattern is used. A one-hyperbar pattern in quick four metre is the shortest possible ostinato in a *gagaku* song. Such short patterns make their first appearance in this period, in the last stanzas of multipart songs, which correspond to the *kyū* part of the *jo-ha-kyū* concept. Later, they are also used in single short *gagaku* songs. Repeated every few seconds, a pattern this short has no melodic relevance, but, besides its rhythmic importance, also adds a sound colour to the piece.

In the following period, the regular production of *gagaku* songs gradually ceased, until it temporarily stopped between mid-1880 and spring of 1882. Several songs that were added in this period were not newly composed, but were new poems adapted to pre-existing melodies. Since not all later songs of *Hoiku shōka* can be dated exactly, it is not possible to give an exact number for how many songs were composed before the interruption, but a clear stylistic tendency can be observed: songs become shorter again, quick metres prevail, *wagon* patterns remain individual for each song and very short patterns become more frequent.

This tendency is even more obvious after the interruption. The songs that were newly composed in 1882[41] are the shortest of all songs in *Hoiku shōka*, and almost half of them have a one-hyperbar *wagon* pattern in quick four metre. It is rather surprising that all of these short patterns are different, because such short patterns become necessarily very similar, and it is probable that it worked only because the composers were very careful to make them all different. The tendency towards simple *wagon* accompaniments can also be seen in some revisions of older pieces that were made at that time, replacing longer patterns by shorter ones.[42]

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[39]   The dates that are given for *Hoiku shōka* generally refer to the handover to the commissioner or to another act by the court music department that made the songs an officially approved part of the collection. That means that the composition was certainly finished at that time, but it does not exclude the possibility of later revisions by the composer or another person of the department, either on demand of, or approved *ex post facto* by, the department.

[40]   Since the number of times per beat and the number of beats per bar varies by metre, but the length of a time is about the same in all metres, the length of songs can best be compared if not bars or beats, but times are counted. A full performance of 'Ō Shōkun', as included in CD 6 of *Kindai shōka shūsei*, CD 6/31–35, takes almost 20 minutes.

[41]   Those poems that had been set to pre-existent melodies before the interruption in mid-1880, were among those that were most often used for newly composed songs in 1882.

[42]   In 'Kami no megumi' [神惠,'The blessings of the deity'], poem by Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801) by Hayashi Hirotsugu (1845–1917), the four-hyperbar pattern in quick four metre, which has a simple first half and a more complex second half, is shortened to its first half, which is now repeated twice as often. In 'Omou dochi' [思ドチ, 'Friends'], poem by Taira no Kanemori (d. 990) by the same composer, a quick-four-metre song ten hyperbars in length, the five-hyperbar pattern is replaced by a two-hyperbar

The songs of *Kōtenkōkyūsho shōka*, the last official *gagaku* compositions in the nineteenth century, are generally similar to the latest *Hoiku shōka*: rather short and simple and most of them in quick four metre. Concerning the accompaniment, however, there is a great difference, since the composers decided to use the same accompaniments wherever possible. Essentially all short songs in quick four metre are accompanied by the same one-hyperbar pattern. (This pattern is not identical to any of the accompaniment patterns of *Hoiku shōka*.) The idea that the *wagon* accompaniment should give an individual colour to the piece seems not yet sustained in *Kōtenkōkyūsho shōka*. As already mentioned, the use of an ostinato that is common to all songs of a genre is characteristic for some traditional genres of Japanese court music. Restorationist tendencies were important for the *gagaku* songs from the beginning, but in the late years it seems that they gained more power.[43] This may be due partly to the reaction against the Westernized music education that had already begun, but also to the fact that *Kōtenkōkyūsho shōka* was composed for the education of Shinto clergymen and not, as *Hoiku shōka*, for general education.

The *gagaku* songs thus become longer until 1879 and then shorter again, but the *wagon* accompaniments are longest in the beginning and shortest in the end. While the early accompaniments have a strong significance for the musical form, the later patterns give mainly a colour and rhythmic effect to the piece. In *Kōtenkōkyūsho shōka* they finally lose their individuality and become a purely formal element of the genre.

Analysis of Three Songs that Share an Accompaniment

The songs discussed below are shown in Figure 5.

'Hana tachibana' [花橘, 'Tachibana flowers']

The poem is a free adaptation of an English song text. The prose translation was versified in the form 5 7–5 7–7 7, a *tanka* with an added seven-syllable clause:[44]

> Satsuki tatsu / kewai mo shiruku / waga yado no
> hana tachibana wa / hokorobi ni keri / niwa mo kaorite

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pattern, which is thus played not twice but five times. And in 'Yukimeguri' [行巡, 'On the way'], poem by Fᴜᴊɪᴡᴀʀᴀ no Sanesuke (957–1046), composed by Tōɢɪ Takekata, a three-hyperbar pattern in quick four metre was replaced by a one-bar pattern.

[43]   The Restorationist tendency is also obvious in the selection of the texts.

[44]   See also note 30. This scheme is also known as the form of *bussokusekika* [仏足石歌], an archaic form of Buddhist lyric. There seems to be no connection between this archaic form and its modern use, however. 'Hana tachibana' was the first song in *Hoiku shōka* to use this form. The other songs in this form are dated between April and June 1878, except 'Kimi ga megumi' [君ガ恵, 'The Emperor's blessings'], which is of unknown date. Most of the songs in this form are translated English songs or poems newly written at that time; but two (like 'Shirogane' below) are classical *tanka*s with an arbitrarily added line. It is unknown why the compilers of the texts of *Hoiku shōka* felt so strong a need for that form that they added words to famous classical poems. Nakayama (*Meiji shōka no tanjō*, 33) also mentions this addition and suspects that the composers may have added the words for musical reasons. But given the diverse musical structures of the various examples in *bussokusekika* form this seems unlikely.

Literal translation, clause by clause:

> The fifth month begins / the atmosphere is moist / and at our house
> The tachibana flowers / have bloomed / and the garden is fragrant[45]

The song is dated 22 February 1878 and was composed by YAMANOI Motokazu (1853–1908).[46]

A certain type of syllabic *gagaku* songs in quick four metre was already established at the time 'Hana tachibana' was composed. In songs belonging to this type every five- or seven-syllable text clause forms one phrase of one hyperbar length, with no more than two syllables per beat. Five-syllable clauses end with a long note that falls on the big time. Only the last text clause, consisting of seven syllables, is extended to two hyperbars, because seven syllables in one hyperbar do not allow a melodic closing formula. A song entirely composed in this simple style has thus one hyperbar more than the text has clauses.[47]

Although this syllabic style prevails in 'Hana tachibana', the fourth clause, 'hana tachibana wa', extended to two phrases (bars 13–20), is an exception. In fact, this exception was necessary to allow a *wagon* pattern of more than one hyperbar length, as otherwise the song would have had a length of seven hyperbars, which is a prime number. By augmenting the song to eight hyperbars the composer makes a four-hyperbar *wagon* pattern possible. Incidentally, the composer makes a virtue of necessity, because by prolonging the note values in 'hana tachibana wa' he gives emphasis to the beautiful words that gave the song its title.

In contrast to the other two songs, for 'Hana tachibana' we do not know whether the melody or the accompaniment was composed first, or whether the two were composed together. The fact that both halves of the song are very similar in bars 3–10 and 19–26 makes it probable that the composer either composed the accompaniment first or was at least aware that the two sections would need a common accompaniment when he composed the melody.

The basic rhythm of the *wagon* accompaniment – tones on the first and second beat and an arpeggio on the third beat – is very common in *gagaku* songs. The accompaniment is thus divided into four sections. The first section starts from the key tone (*kyū*) and ends on the fifth (*chi*), the second is an intensified repetition of the first, the third section proceeds from the fifth to the key tone, and the last section confirms the key tone.

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[45]   The original English text, itself based on a German song, is as follows: 'The May is trav'ling hither, / The May is at the door, / The garden and the meadow / Will bloom again all o'er.' The 'fifth month' in the lunar calendar is somewhat later than May and falls in the so-called 'plum rain' season. The source used by the Japanese translator is Adolph Douai, *The Kindergarten: A Manual for the Introduction of Froebel's System of Primary Education into Public Schools* (New York: E. Steiger, 1871), or another edition of that book. The song is found in German and English on pages 42–3. The prose translation contained in the Japanese edition of this book, SEKI Shinzō, trans., *Yochienki*, ed. by the Tōkyō Women's Normal School, 1877, volume 2, 62 (reprint in *Meiji Hoiku Bunkenshū*, 1977), was used for the free adaptation. Seki's prose translation omits the second stanza of the song.

[46]   *Kindai shōka shūsei*, CD 6/9.

[47]   See, for example, 'Aki no hikage' [秋ノ日影, 'Autumn shadows'] (text of unknown origin), dated December 1877 and composed by SHIBA Fujitsune. The text in *chōka* form has eleven clauses, and the song is twelve hyperbars long.

The *wagon* plays almost in unison with the melody in bars 3–12. Since the first two bars of the accompaniment are not played in the beginning, the listener can recognize good congruence between melody and accompaniment from the beginning to the first break in the melody. In bars 13–16, however, there is a great discrepancy between melody and accompaniment, so that the confirmation of the tonality in the accompaniment loses its effect. This is important to maintain the musical tension. Thereafter, the complete congruence of melody and accompaniment in bars 17–20 has a very strong effect. It is the expressive climax of the song. The divergence between melody and accompaniment in bars 25–28 is important to prepare the final cadence. In bars 29–32, the *wagon* supports the melody, which closes with the formula that is most common in *gagaku* songs for a full cadence.[48]

In an analysis of a Western song one would perhaps describe the function of melodic motives, as for example the movement B – D – E and its inversion A – F♯ – E, for the musical form, but that would be less appropriate for the analysis of a *gagaku* song, since all melodic movements that are used in this song are ubiquitous in *gagaku* songs and thus not characteristic of this particular song. It is rather the relationship between accompaniment and melody – the change between congruence and divergence – which creates the individual form of a *gagaku* song.

'Shirogane' [白金, 'Silver']

The words of this song are as follows:

> Shirogane mo / kogane[49] mo tama mo / nani sen ni
> masareru takara / ko ni shikame ya mo / utsukushiki ko ni

Translated clause by clause:

> Silver / gold and jewels / what are they for?
> The greatest treasure / can it be equal to a child / to a beautiful child?

The text was originally a *tanka* by Yamanoue no Okura (660–733), but the last clause was added by the compiler of *Hoiku shōka* (see note 44). The song is dated 9 April 1878, and was composed by Shiba Fujitsune (1849–1918).[50] Together with 'Kiku no kazashi'[51] it was the first song in *Hoiku shōka* to re-use the *wagon* pattern of another song.

Although through the addition of a seven-syllable clause the text acquired exactly the same form as 'Hana tachibana', and it would thus be possible to sing the words with the melody of 'Hana tachibana' by replacing the syllables one by

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[48]   The difference between G in the melody and F♯ in the accompaniment, in bar 30, creates a strong dissonant effect for European ears, but in *gagaku* the discrepancy between these two tones is rather perceived as a difference of intonation than as a musical interval.

[49]   The original poem has 'kugane' instead of 'kogane'. The poems in this article are given as written in the sources of *Hoiku shōka*.

[50]   *Kindai shōka shūsei*, CD 6/10.

[51]   'Kiku no kazashi' [菊ノ插, 'Chrysanthemum decoration'], also dated 9 April 1878, with a text of unknown origin, composed by Hayashi Hiromori, uses the *wagon* accompaniment of 'Hahasoba' [ハハソバ, 'Oak leaves'], translated from an English song, composed by Ue Sanetake (1825–1895). See *Kindai shōka shūsei*, CD 6/12.

one, Shiba has chosen to make the song four hyperbars longer, and, except for the first clause,[52] he does not use the simple syllabic style we have seen in 'Hana tachibana'.

The concept of melodic and tonal cadences in 'Shirogane' is similar to that in 'Hana tachibana', since Shiba sets melodic cadences congruent to the *wagon* accompaniment in the third hyperbars of the first and second *wagon* cycle (bars 9–12 and 25–28), but divergent melodic movements in the following hyperbars. Since the second cadence in bars 25–28 is not congruent to a text clause ending, it is the weakest cadence of all, and does not entirely break the tension towards the climax of the song. In the last sixteen bars of the song, the composer sets two exceptionally long phrases. The last phrase begins and ends in congruence with the accompaniment.

Exceptional in this song is also the use of the voice registers for the expression of the words. The parts of the song that belong to the disesteemed silver, gold and jewels use mainly the lower register, and the parts belonging to the highly esteemed child use firstly the middle and then the high register. The use of the upper mordent *tsuku* on the high tones gives an additional emphasis. An expressive highlighting of whole phrases is exceptional in *Hoiku shōka*.

Although 'Hana tachibana' and 'Shirogane' share some very similar passages (bars 6–15 of the former, for example, are almost identical with bars 22–31 of the latter), the overall impression of the two songs is very different, and it can be said that the experiment of composing a new song to the old accompaniment has worked well in this case.

'Kashima no kami'

The poem is a *tanka* by ŌTONERI no Chifumi (eighth century):

> Arare furu[53] / Kashima no kami o / inoritsutsu
> sumera mikusani / ware wa kinishi o

Translated clause by clause:

> To [hailing][54] / Kashima's deity / praying
> As a warrior of the Emperor / I came!

The song was composed by Tōgi Takekata (1855–?) and is dated August 1878.[55] 'Kashima no kami' is the most melismatic of the three songs analysed here, with the same length as 'Shirogane', but only five text clauses. In bars 25–38, a principle of text distribution is observed that is more common for slow metres: each syllable has the length of two times. As is often the case in passages that follow this principle, the phrasing becomes independent of the musical metre, so that after bar 25 the caesuras are incongruent with the hyperbars.

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[52] Often in *Hoiku shōka* the first five-syllable clause, which is sung solo, is composed in the simple syllabic style, even if that style is not used in any other part of the song.

[53] The original poem has 'furi', but the sources of *Hoiku shōka* write 'furu'.

[54] 'Arare furu' ['hail is falling'] is a *makurakotoba* belonging to the name 'Kashima'. So the use of the expression in this poem does not necessarily mean that it hailed at that time.

[55] *Kindai shōka shūsei*, CD 6/11.

The composer uses many melody fragments from 'Hana tachibana' as well as 'Shirogane'. Bars 9–16, for example, are a transposition of bars 41–48 of 'Shirogane', bars 17–24 are almost identical to bars 1–8 of 'Hana tachibana', and the ending is the same as in 'Shirogane'. Nevertheless, the formal concept of 'Kashima no kami' is very different from both other songs.

The difference is most obvious if we look at the melodic cadences on the key tone in the three songs. As described in the above analyses, the two previous songs make use of the two cadences of the *wagon* pattern and synchronize the interim cadences (bars 9–12 in 'Hana tachibana' and bars 9–12 and 25–28 in 'Shirogane') with the first, and the final cadence with the second. Furthermore, the interim cadences use the weaker formula of simple movement down to the key tone, and only the final cadence uses the strong formula of movement a step down from and then back to the key tone. So there is a clear distinction between 'half' and 'full' melodic cadences. In 'Kashima no kami', in contrast, there are three strong melodic cadences (in bars 13–16 and 27–30 and the final cadence), and none of them is congruent to the first cadence of the *wagon*.

The first 16 bars of 'Kashima no kami' are a musically closed section, symmetrically divided in a two-hyperbar solo and a two-hyperbar tutti. The former is further divided in two phrases, both closing with the key note, and the latter closes with a full cadence, congruent to the final cadence of the *wagon* pattern. The tension at this point is maintained only by the text, since the musical cadence falls in the middle of a text clause. (The clause endings are indicated by slashes in the transnotation. In the original notation, the clause endings are indicated by small circles between the text syllables.)

The five- and seven-syllable clauses are important for the structure of *gagaku* songs. As it can be observed in 'Hana tachibana' and 'Shirogane', a phrase can be identical with a text clause, but a text clause can also be divided into several phrases. However, a phrase does not extend beyond the end of a text clause.[56] That means that even if a clause is divided into several phrases, the end of the clause conveys a certain feeling of completion, and if a melodic and tonal cadence falls in the middle of a text clause, its closing function is reduced. In 'Shirogane' the difference between the first cadence (bars 9–12), which marks a clause ending, and the second one (bars 25–28), which falls in the middle of a clause, contributes to the consequent lead-up to the climax.

In 'Kashima no kami', where strong melodic cadences break the flow of the melody twice, it is very important that they are not congruent to the clause structure of the text. The second cadence (bars 27–30) is even 'out of phase' with the rhythm of the *wagon*. The strong rhythmic dissonance motivates the melodic climax in the last two text clauses, and it is not resolved until the very last phrase. It thus seems that the composer intentionally followed a very strict concept of rhythmic symmetry in the beginning – rather unusual for a *gagaku* song – to make the rhythmic dissonance in the second half more effective.

Conclusion

As seen in the three short examples, musical analysis of *gagaku* songs can reveal structural differences between particular songs and show aesthetic qualities of individual pieces. For such an analysis, however, it is necessary to know the

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[56]   There are very few exceptions of this rule, and some of them are spurious.

constraints and conditions under which the process of composition operated. While the melodic shape of the *gagaku* songs shows almost no individuality, and the formal structures are rigidly regulated by collective processes, the interplay between the diverse rhythmic, tonal and melodic elements, namely the text clause structure, the rhythmic and tonal shape of the *wagon* accompaniment and the phrases and cadences of the melody, shows a great variety of individual solutions. Musical tension is produced and resolved mainly by incongruence and congruence between these elements. Since the clause structure is essentially asymmetrical, and the musical structures are symmetrical, the composer was forced to search for solutions to bring these elements together.

There remain a great number of unresolved questions: Which of the structural features shown in our analysis are generally used or widespread in *gagaku* songs, which are restricted to a certain period or certain composers, and which are specific to one or a few songs? Which compositional techniques are learnt from traditional music genres, especially traditional *gagaku*, or from the reception of non-traditional music, and which techniques are newly developed? Did the individual musical structure of certain *gagaku* songs have any direct influence on later *gagaku* songs or on compositions beyond that genre? Are there related techniques in pieces of other music genres around the same time?

Melodic, rhythmic and harmonic[57] congruence and incongruence between voice and instrument seem to be of general importance for the composition of *gagaku* songs. Although the specific usage of ostinatos seen in *gagaku* songs is not found in other genres of modern Japanese music (not even in many of the songs that belong to the *gagaku* song genre in a wider sense), congruence and incongruence as a general principle is also a valid concept for many other genres of Japanese music and the music of other Asian cultures. In a certain sense, this principle is the 'heterophonic' equivalent to consonance and dissonance in polyphonic or homophonic music.

Obviously, it is tempting to find here an 'Asian' approach to composition that is fundamentally opposed to the Western approach. This fundamental opposition, however, would not long stand in a broader investigation of the modernization process in Japanese music. Just as it is questionable whether the music of Debussy or Scriabin can be subsumed under the Western concepts of polyphony and homophony, in a majority of modern Japanese compositions, whether they emerged from a traditional or a Western background, it is difficult to draw a definite line between polyphonic and heterophonic techniques. The very temptation to draw such a line reflects our tendency to fall back on the binary opposition of 'Western' modernity and 'Asian' tradition, and thus to neglect modernization in traditional culture. Although consciousness of tradition and demarcation against the 'other' is also a phenomenon of modernity, the question of whether heterophonic or polyphonic techniques are used is, at least aesthetically, less interesting than the question of how they are used. Focusing on this last question we will not have 'one' heterophony and 'one' polyphony, but a field with a great variety of possibilities. And the composer creating within this field will not appear primarily as an ideologist belonging to a certain school or stylistic tendency, but as an individual working on real solutions for real problems.

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[57] 'Harmonic' not in the Western sense, but only in the broadest sense, as shown in our analyses: whether the full and half cadences of the melody and the accompaniment coincide or not.

To come back to our three songs, we do not know why the court musicians at a certain moment decided to compose songs with a shared accompaniment and why they later abandoned this practice, but the existing examples are especially interesting for musical analysis, since it is clear that these songs have a very close intertextual relationship. In a situation where very similar melodies would have been the most obvious solution, the two composers who added their composition to the first one apparently struggled to find clearly distinctive musical structures. The use of the same accompaniment for all three thus does not reflect a lack of independent originality, but was a measure to perform the difference more visibly, and it is almost impossible to imagine that this difference came about other than by a conscious act of will.

Without question the history of *gagaku* songs – though short – can be written as a story of solving compositional problems, and the resulting musical structures are interesting documents of musical creativity shortly after the Meiji Restoration.