

In Silent Homage to Amaterasu: Kagura Secret Songs at Ise Jingū and the Imperial Palace Shrine
in Modern and Pre-modern Japan

Michiko Urita

A dissertation
submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

2017

Reading Committee:

Patricia Shehan Campbell, Chair

Jeffrey M. Perl

Christina Sunardi

Paul S. Atkins

Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

Music

©Copyright 2017
Michiko Urita

University of Washington

Abstract

In Silent Homage to Amaterasu: Kagura Secret Songs at Ise Jingū and the Imperial Palace Shrine
in Modern and Pre-modern Japan

Michiko Urita

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:
Professor Patricia Shehan Campbell
Music

This dissertation explores the essence and resilience of the most sacred and secret ritual music of the Japanese imperial court—kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku—by examining ways in which these two songs have survived since their formation in the twelfth century. Kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku together are the jewel of Shinto ceremonial vocal music of gagaku, the imperial court music and dances. Kagura secret songs are the emperor’s foremost prayer offering to the imperial ancestral deity, Amaterasu, and other Shinto deities for the well-being of the people and Japan. I aim to provide an understanding of reasons for the continued and uninterrupted performance of kagura secret songs, despite two major crises within Japan’s history. While foreign origin style of gagaku was interrupted during the Warring States period (1467-1615), the performance and transmission of kagura secret songs were protected and sustained. In the face of the second crisis during the Meiji period (1868-1912), which was marked by a threat of foreign invasion and the re-organization of governance, most secret repertoire of gagaku lost their secrecy or were threatened by changes to their traditional system of transmissions, but kagura secret songs survived and were sustained without losing their

secrecy, sacredness, and silent performance. This research addresses why and how kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku have persisted in the face of political and societal upheavals, and builds upon the pioneering work of Carl Folke and Jeff Todd Titon on resilience theory in the socio-ecological systems and ethnomusicology, respectively. Historical narrative is foundational to the thesis, which I have developed from examination of archived manuscripts that include the musical notations of kagura secret songs, housed in the National Archives and the Imperial Household Archives, as well as the musical manuscripts formerly owned by the Ayanokōji family, housed at the Tenri University Library in Japan. My analysis has been informed by the ethnographic method, while in residence and in interactions with the priests at Ise Jingū during periods of my field research between 2008 and 2016. Whereas contemporary priests' voices are not heard other than in the "Prelude," their voices echo the ideas and sentiments of historical figures whose work I have examined. Hence, this dissertation can be viewed as a documentary history with ethnographic components that combine in offering an understanding of the continuity of Shinto ritual music and the unique religious affect that is associated with Shinto practices at Ise Jingū and in the imperial household. In sum, this research contributes to historical ethnomusicology, Japanese religious studies, and the advancement of gagaku.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my chair, Professor Patricia Shehan Campbell for her inexhaustible support of my Ph.D. study and for her unending patience, effective advising, and immense knowledge. Her careful guidance and continuous encouragement helped me throughout the research and writing of this dissertation. This work would not have been possible without her. Besides my chair, I would like to thank my committee members of University of Washington: Professor Christina Sunardi for her valuable comments, including my positionality, and Professor Paul S. Atkins for his insightful comments on the resilience of Japanese cultural forms. I sincerely thank Professor Daniel Hart for his suggestion to consider indigenous methodology and my relational accountability. I would also like to thank Azusa Tanaka, Japanese Studies Librarian at the University of Washington Libraries, for her generous support.

A special acknowledgement with respect and gratitude goes to my advisor outside of the University of Washington, Professor Jeffery M. Perl at Bar-Ilan University in Israel. He provided me opportunities to publish my two essays on Shinto of Ise Jingū and North Indian art music in the multidisciplinary journal *Common Knowledge*, which he founded and currently edits. I wholeheartedly thank Professor Perl for his thorough commentary on drafts of this dissertation. His deep understanding and wisdom helped me to realize the importance of writing my personal accounts through interacting with the priests of Ise Jingū, which turns out to be “Prelude” of this work.

I extend my gratitude to various departments and resources of the University of Washington. I received support for three years through Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) grants to study Hind and Bengali, which eventually helped me to expand my

perspectives on music and religion. My research in Japan from September 2012 to January 2013 was supported by a Boeing International Research and Study Fellowship. It was my privilege to receive the University of Washington Graduate School Presidential Dissertation Fellowship in the Arts and Humanities to assist me in the final stages of writing this dissertation. I also deeply thank the Department of Asian Languages & Literature for appointing me a Japanese Teaching Associate for eight years.

In Japan, I am particularly grateful for the unfailing support of Professor Kiyoe Sakamoto at Japan Women's University, Professor Nobuyuki Kanechiku at Waseda University, Professor Kazuhiko Iijima at Dokkyo University, Professor Hitoshi Nitta at Kogakkan University, and Chief Researcher Keiichi Tashiro of the Archives Division at the Imperial Household Agency. My profound gratitude goes to the priests, musicians, and officials of Ise Jingū. There are a number of people at Ise Jingū and the Imperial Household Agency who have immeasurably helped my research but want to remain anonymous. Their deep veneration of the Emperor and dedication to the rituals at Ise Jingū and the Imperial Palace inspired me to pursue this research and made me recognize the continued effects of religion over many centuries. I extend my acknowledgment to Kenny Leno and Dillon Brown for their valuable comments on my work. Finally, I wish to thank the Fujii family, the Hayashi family, and the Nakamura family for their continuous support through long periods over great distances.

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my late parents who keep living in my heart and spiritually support me.

Table of Contents

List of Figures	xii
Prelude	1
What Led Me to Ise Jingū	4
Delving into Ise Jingū	15
Internalizing the Priests’ Fears.....	28
Disputes Surrounding the Sacred Mirror and the Emperor’s Prayers.....	31
Fear-Induced Fire.....	34
Chapter 1: Study of the Resilience of Kagura Secret Songs.....	42
Overview of Kagura Taikyoku “Yudate” and Kagura Hikyoku “Hirume”	43
Theoretical Framework.....	48
Research Method	52
Scholarly Contributions of This Thesis	55
Chapter Overview	62
Chapter 2: Kagura Hikyoku “Hirume”: Performance, Transmission, and Ritual from a Historical Perspective	65
The Emperor as the Principle Agent to Conduct Mikagura.....	67
Musical Scores and Transmission of Kagura Secret Songs.....	69
Characteristics of Kagura Hikyoku “Hirume”	72
“Hirume” Called “Kagura Hikyoku”	76
Two Rituals: Enthronement Ceremony and Transferring of Amaterasu Ōmikami	78
Case of Emperor Momozono (116th)	79
Case of Emperor Go-Sakuramachi (117th).....	80

Program of “Hirume”	82
Conclusion	86
Chapter 3: Challenges to Transmission of the Songs During Warring States Period (1467-1615)	88
Case Study 1: Aritoshi Ayanokōji (1419-95)	92
Characteristics of the Ayanokōji’s Transmission of Kagura Songs	94
Aritoshi’s Struggles to Save the Family Name	96
Aritoshi’s Performances at the Sacred Music Ritual	98
Kaeri-sōden or Alternate Transmission as a Strategy to Return the Music to the Ayanokōji	101
Traditional Way of Transmission Retained	103
Aritoshi’s Son Toshikazu	105
Case Study 2: Takayasu Washino’o (1485-1533)	108
Takayasu as a Recipient of the Kagura Songs	110
Takayasu as a Recipient of Kagura Hikyoku “Hirume”	112
Takayasu’s Performances of the Kagura Taikyoku “Yudate”	115
Case Study 3: Yukinaka Itsutsuji (1558-1626)	118
Yukinaka’s Preservation of the Secret Songs and His Performance of Kagura Hikyoku “Hirume”	119
Conclusion	121
Chapter 4: Continuity of Kagura Taikyoku and Kagura Hikyoku during the Transitional Period from the End of Edo to the Early Meiji	124
The End of Edo and the Meiji Restoration	127

Symbolic Performance of Kagura Hikyoku in 1868.....	132
Foundation of the Department of Music.....	138
Case study 1: Fujitsune Shiba (1849-1918).....	144
Case Study 2: Arinaga Ayanokōji (1792-1873).....	150
Case Study 3: Suenaga Tōgi (1832-1914).....	156
Conclusion	164
Chapter 5: Extending Mikagura and Kagura Hikyoku from the Imperial Palace to Ise Jingū from	
Priests' Perspective during the Meiji Period.....	167
Kiyonao Mikanagi's Studies on Ancient Rituals of Ise Jingū	170
Prince Asahiko and Sokubun Kashima's Preparation for Shikinen Sengū.....	174
<i>Norito</i> (Shinto Prayer) for the Mikagura Ritual at Shikinen Sengū in 1889	182
Conclusion	186
Chapter 6: Emperor Meiji's Active Role in Sustaining the Tradition of Kagura Taikyoku and	
Kagura Hikyoku.....	189
Case 1: Emperor Meiji's Initiative to Extend Kagura Hikyoku at Ise Jingū in 1889	191
Evidence of Non-Performance during the First Half of the Meiji Period.....	194
Restored Role of Court Nobles as Performers of Kagura Hikyoku.....	196
Case 2: Adaptive Management	199
The Government's Strategy: Distortion or Reformation?	199
What would be Missing Without the Court Nobles' Involvement?	203
Voiceless performance.....	205
Borrowing the melodies from other kagura songs.....	206
Lead singer's prayer.....	207

Emperor Meiji's Adaptive Management	208
Case 3: Emperor Meiji's Imperial Fund Distributed to Sustain the Tradition.....	211
Performances of Kagura Hikyoku After 1889	213
Unified Musical Scores of Kagura Taikyoku and Kagura Hikyoku.....	216
Conclusion	220
Chapter 7: Conclusion.....	223
Postlude.....	231
Terms	236
Bibliography	239

List of Figures

- Figure 1: Kagura Hall. (September 5, 2010) All pictures were taken by the author. 9
- Figure 2: A priest using a wooden tool to ignite a sacred fire. This fire was used to boil blackish water. (July 23, 2013) 14
- Figure 3: Newly built Aramatsurinomiya, one of the main auxiliary shrines of Kōtaijingū, at right and the old one at left. Soon after the enshrined deity had been transferred from the old one to the new one, the old shrine building was disassembled. (September 17, 2013)..... 22
- Figure 4: The daigūji (supreme priest) at left and the saishu (head priestess) at right—an elder sister of the present Emperor—march in procession to offer the sacred food to Amaterasu Ōmikami at Kinensai of Kōtaijingū. Kinensei is held to pray for a good harvest as the first ritual among a series of rituals related to rice farming according to the ritual calendar of Ise Jingū. (February 17, 2014) 28
- Figure 5: The imperial envoy, at left, and his attendants who carry the imperial offerings to Amaterasu Ōmikami march in procession to the inner sanctum of Kōtaijingū at Kinensai. (February 17, 2014) 37
- Figure 6: A small amount of rice is harvested from the sacred paddies of Ise Jingū in early September in preparation for Kannamesai, the harvest festival (in October) of offering the newly cropped rice to Amaterasu Ōmikami. (September 4, 2012) 41

Prelude

On the pitch-dark night of October 2, 2013, the sacred mirror where the spirit of the Sun Goddess Amaterasu Ōmikami is believed to reside was transferred by priests from the old sanctuary to the newly built one as part of a rite that has been conducted in the same manner almost every twenty years since the seventh century. The next evening at seven, in order to keep the spirit of Amaterasu Ōmikami calm and tranquil, twelve court musicians sent by the Emperor began to perform the Shinto music ritual of the imperial court. The sacred sound echoed in the deep forest of Ise Grand Shrine throughout the night. After a break at around eleven o'clock, only five court musicians reentered the site and began to perform the kagura secret song. They performed the song silently without vocalized sound. After this private and silent performance, the rest of the court musicians and priests returned to the site, and the sacred music ritual continued until past midnight. The kagura secret song was exclusively performed for the Sun Goddess as part of the rites of renewal at the Shrine.

About a week later, I happened to hear the priest talking to his colleague at a small local café in Ise. "I speculate that 'hikyoku' (secret song) must be either 'Yudate' or 'Hirume,'" however, I cannot identify which it would be," said a priest. He had detailed knowledge on gagaku, and his words attracted my attention. I could not help asking him, "How could you specify those two kagura songs as a possibility for hikyoku?" He replied, "Because it was written in the encyclopedia of gagaku that 'Yudate' is kagura taikyoku (great song of kagura) and 'Hirume' is kagura hikyoku (secret song of kagura). But again, I'm not sure either of which would be the secret song that was performed at Jingū." I found it astonishing that he could simply find in the encyclopedia what other priests had wondered about for many years. At that moment, I began to wonder whether one could find further information in archival collections about the presence of hikyoku in Shinto rituals in honor of the Sun Goddess.

As these excerpts from my field notes indicate, soon after Ise Jingū carried out the all rituals of Shikinen Sengū (the rites of renewal), I heard that hikyoku had become the object of discussion among some priests of the Grand Shrine. It was not a secret that hikyoku was performed during the sacred music ritual called *mikagura no gi* at Shikinen Sengū, but anything further about hikyoku was strictly hidden. First of all, the term hikyoku is ambiguous because it is not a song name nor a proper noun but a noun meaning "a secret song" in Japanese. Some priests, like the priest I met at the café, wanted to know the name of the song(s) or what hikyoku

really was. But no one was sure. Even the supreme priest of Ise Jingū and the imperial envoy had to wait outside the site of the performance until hikyoku was finished. Therefore, none of priests of Ise Jingū had access to the information about hikyoku. I understood the priests' interest in hikyoku because I was also intrigued by it when I, as a temporary member of staff, witnessed at night the awe-inspiring procession of court musicians and priests toward the site of performance. Despite the absolute secrecy of hikyoku, the words of the priest at the café inspired me to seek out answers in archived historical manuscripts.

My archival research turned out to be an adventure in search of ultimate treasure. I vividly recall my surprise when I casually typed “kagura hikyoku” without much expectation on the digital archives of the National Archives of Japan. It brought up sixteen manuscripts related to kagura hikyoku, including its musical notations and certificates of transmission. These manuscripts focused on three kagura secret songs—“Yudate,” “Hirume,” and “Miyabito”—had been submitted by court nobles to the Japanese government in the early Meiji period. I swiftly headed to the National Archives in Tokyo from Ise. I had never felt such excitement and so many deep emotions as when I first touched the centuries-old scrolls and documents on kagura secret songs. Reading them revealed to me how carefully and respectfully court nobles transmitted these materials. I also learned that both the Imperial Archives and Library preserve historical manuscripts on the kagura secret songs ranging from the fourteenth century to the early twentieth. These manuscripts document examples of performances, ritual contexts, performers, transmissions, the program of the ritual, and detailed circumstances of how hikyoku came to be performed at Ise Jingū during the Meiji period. Some of the most precious manuscripts on the hikyoku of Ise Jingū had never been requested for viewing, which suggests that even Japanese scholars have not been much enticed by the idea of an extensive project on kagura secret songs.

The days I spent absorbed in reading the manuscripts there in the archives brought the most blissful moments of my research. Reading the manuscripts was like travelling to the past and interviewing the court nobles who had performed and transmitted the secret songs in their efforts to sustain the tradition. I saw that their feelings and their sense of responsibility to the songs were the same as those of contemporary priests and court musicians.

In the archives, I learned that what is called “hikyoku” at Ise Jingū today is a kagura hikyoku piece called “Hirume,” which has been performed as the secret song at the Imperial Palace Shrine for a millennium. The more I learned from the primary sources about kagura hikyoku, which continues at the Imperial Palace Shrine and Ise Jingū today, the bigger my ethical questions became. There are rituals strictly hidden at the Imperial Palace and Ise Jingū, and kagura hikyoku is one of them. I wondered if it would be right for me to report on it. If doing so, would be ethical, then how much could I write, and in what way should I reveal what I had learned? Furthermore, I am not a priest or court musician; and, as I can neither gain an insider’s full knowledge of the ritual songs nor experience the performance of hikyoku in person, how would I be qualified to write about the ritual? One of the manuscripts on the topic of the songs’ transmission had words of warning written on the sealed envelope: “It is strictly forbidden for those who have not received the hidden tradition [of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku] to open this.” Although there were cataloguers who had already viewed it, when I opened the envelope, I felt tension and was struck by a sense of violation. If I were born during the period in which these manuscripts were written, I would have had no access to them. I asked for permission in my heart of the long-deceased court nobles who had written them.

It is a peculiar position to find oneself in. Japanese society today is undeniably among the most modern and advanced in the world, however one defines those slippery adjectives.

Ethnographic work on a modern culture by a member of it is generally less, rather than more, delicate a proposition than work by an alien on a culture not previously studied or contacted. In my case, however, I am dealing with a secretive, virtually unknown subculture that has survived by the most arduous and undisrupted devotion and perseverance within the context of a fast modernizing society. I am Japanese but an alien excluded—as are even emissaries from the imperial family—from the rituals I study. Like most ethnographers, I am impressed and moved by what I study and want it to continue into the distant future as it has continued from the distant past until today. But the phenomena I discuss have persisted, against all odds, for many hundreds of years, in part because of the secrecy that surrounds them. My hope is that my writing about them will aid their continuity by exposing the modern public of Japan and scholarly communities abroad to religious practices of surpassing beauty. My fear is that modern modes of thought alone will be engaged in understanding them and thereby threaten them with exposure to criticism, on the one hand, or to invasive publicity, on the other. There is nothing I want less than to occasion any sort of difficulty or anxiety for the multiple contemporary agents who sustain the tradition. Because my labor has been one of love as well as scholarship and of ethnography as much as archival research, I want to share some personal background with the reader and also describe my own emotions during the various stages of my research. I will describe as well as the priests' emotions and fears about that research, as they have expressed them to me throughout the process. I do so in order above all to demonstrate that the kagura secret songs have survived a millennium of volatile Japanese history on account of the feelings, transmitted along with the practices and the manuscripts regarding them of the main agents of an astonishing continuity.

What Led Me to Ise Jingū

By interacting with priests of Shinto over a period of eight years, I have come, I think, to understand their beliefs about their ritual practices and traditions, and certainly I have come to respect them. It was music that opened the door to my research. I remember the suspicious voice of the priest who was charged with the administration of Ise Jingū when first talking with him on the phone about the proposal I had submitted for permission to conduct fieldwork at the shrine. He had not yet received the proposal and at first was suspicious about my inquiry. But when I mentioned that I was a student of ethnomusicology and interested in the gagaku (imperial court music and dance) tradition of Ise Jingū, his tone of voice changed quickly from one of suspicion to one of relief: “Oh, you are interested in the music,” he said. “Then, it should not be a problem.” In the view of the officials at Ise Jingū, research on the music harbored no possible threat to the sanctity and secrecy of the shrine. In due course, I received official notice of consent to conduct fieldwork, beginning in September 2009.

My interest in the music led to my discovery that the sacred music ritual and kagura hikyoku had been extended from the imperial palace to Ise Jingū in 1889. This extension restored some elements of the Jingū rituals and reassured Amaterasu of her human descendant’s continuing love. Eventually I arrived at my discovery of the two kagura secret songs as the origin of all the other ritual music integrated into the religious practices of Ise Jingū. The most crucial aspect of my discoveries is that it was Emperor Meiji, Japan’s iconic modernizer, who insisted on maintaining the music in its ritual context at Ise Jingū. In other words, continuity has been ensured even by the modernizers from whom one would least expect it. It was my ethnomusicological approach—my effort to understand the music in its Shinto ritual context—that drew me to delve into the most sacred and secret traditions of the imperial court and thus to

step continually, during my eight years of research, into challenging situations at the two most conservative and least accessible institutions of Japan.

When I went to Ise Jingū for the first time in March 2008, I was not yet familiar with Shinto and its ritual music, as up to that point I had been studying North Indian classical (Hindustani) music, with my focus on its religious aspects. I had studied sitar intensively with Muslim and Hindu musicians by living with their families in India before seeking training as an ethnomusicologist. In India, I witnessed the collaboration and harmony among musicians of different religious backgrounds. They performed on the same stage and shared a common devotion to the music that transcended religious identity. The musicians received respect and applause from audiences of different religious and social backgrounds. I was intrigued by the absence of conflicts in the sphere of Hindustani music in contrast with the religious strife that pervades most other dimensions of society in the region. The more I witnessed the intercommunal harmony, the more that two questions weighed on me: How was it that Hindustani music was able, even if only at performances, to obviate an otherwise pervasive ethnic and religious conflict? How was it that musicians and audiences could share—as they appeared obviously to do—devotional feelings towards an Ultimate Being that the music, in defiance of religious boundaries—appeared to evoke?

Thus, before I went to Ise Jingū in 2008, I had been ready to start writing my dissertation on Hindustani music and its apparently transreligious nature. In the process of studying it, I came to understand, by experiencing them myself, the devotional sentiments that most Indian musicians experience—sentiments that know no boundaries between religious that differ greatly and often violently from one another. Even though Hindustani music is categorized today as secular rather than religious music by both Indians and ethnomusicologists, it seems clear to

anyone who becomes involved with the music that it calls up religious emotions peculiar to the players' and listeners' shared sense that God is present as or in the sound. While in India, I shared in this transreligious feeling myself when playing sitar and when joining the audience at performances. Gradually I came to wonder whether I understood the religious sentiments of my own people and whether feelings of the kind I was experiencing in India were available in any Japanese context.

My questions and concerns deepened when I enrolled in Professor Daniel Hart's courses in American Indian Studies at the University of Washington and interacted with students of the First Nations. One such student, a Diné (Navajo), served as a role model for the younger people in his community and made films about traditional activities. At my request, he sometimes sang a song in the Diné language that he felt comfortable sharing with someone, like me, who was not a part of Diné society. The songs I listened to were serene and soothing. In return, I sang Japanese ballads, and he could follow some of them. We enjoyed this cultural exchange. One day he recounted to me in a sorrowful tone of voice: "Our elder passed away recently. With his death, the songs he had held were forever lost." His grief was unimaginable, in that songs are so sacred and precious in his culture. As an outsider, I respected the boundary between his world and mine, and I shared his sorrow in silence.

When I visited Ise Jingū in March 2008 with these experiences fresh in my mind, I had clear intentions: I wanted to find out whether and if so, in what sense, I might experience the feeling of something sacred by visiting one of the most revered Shinto shrines in Japan. My first visit was a formative experience that would convince me to study the sacred music of Japan. I arrived in Tokyo from Seattle on March 19, 2008 and headed directly to Ise that night. Early the next morning, I went to Kōtaijingū, one of the two main sanctuaries of Ise Jingū, where

Amaterasu Ōmikami is enshrined. I arrived in time to observe a ritual held there on the spring equinox.

As I crossed the large Ujibashi bridge connecting to the entrance to the shrine grounds, the rain was lashing down, transforming the Isuzugawa River beneath the bridge into a raging torrent. There was no one but me present there at the moment. While crossing the bridge, I heard the roaring sound of the torrent of river and rain and felt as if I were crossing the River Styx. I felt that the impurity accumulated in my secular life to that point was washed away with the torrent. The moment I walked under the *torii* gate that marks the entrance to the sacred space, I sensed a drastic change of atmosphere. The shrine ground of Kōtaijingū was huge and surrounded by deep forests and rivers filled with what in Japanese is known as *shinki* (“divine energy” is perhaps an adequate English translation). I walked through a wooded area of tall trees en route to the site of the ritual.

When I arrived, a man stood by with his camera. The heavy rain had become a drizzle. I spent ten minutes of silence in the sacred forest and then heard the sound of a drum signifying the start of priests’ procession to the site. Shortly thereafter, I saw a long line of about fifty priests approaching in synchronized step, sounding a coordinated rhythmic crunch on the gravel pathway. The priests were wearing white ritual robes, holding white Japanese umbrellas, making their procession a beautiful sight of white figures that contrasted with the dark evergreen trees. While the man took photos during the ritual, I quietly watched. Priests of Ise Jingū were observing in prayer the Festival of the Vernal Equinox at the same time as the Emperor was conducting it at the Imperial Palace in Tokyo. This is the ritual performed for the repose of imperial ancestors. The sequence of the priests’ procession and reverent actions was smooth and elegant. The ritual was soon over, but the solemn atmosphere had left its mark.



Figure 1: Kagura Hall. (September 5, 2010) All pictures were taken by the author.

The next day, I visited Kōtaijingu again, this time to visit the Kagura Hall (Kaguraden). At the Kaguraden, worshippers can have their personal prayers recited by a priest, and they may request the performance of the ceremonial dance and music performed by musicians and shrine maidens at any time during the day. Although the splendid architecture and the priests' diffidence were intimidating, I decided to experience the kagura: I made a request and paid the fee for the ceremony. The priest instructed me to fill out a form with my name, current address, the wish to be conveyed in prayer, and the type of kagura to offer. As my current address was in the U.S., I did not know whether I should write it in English or Japanese. I was also not sure what or how I might express "my wish." The priest showed me a list of examples, written in Japanese, including gratitude to the Shinto deities and requests for the well-being of one's household, for good health, academic achievement, and so forth. From his list, I chose

“fulfillment of the heart’s wish.” After helping me with the address, the priest informed me that taking photographs during the ceremony was strictly forbidden. He explained, “The performance is not for entertainment but is a sacred offering to the Shinto deities, so please refrain.” When I returned to subsequent Kaguraden during my numerous visits over the next eight years, I was never informed of this prohibition again; I also recalled the photographer of the previous day’s visit to the shrine and his continued efforts to photograph events throughout the process. The attending priest and I communicated in Japanese, but I sensed that he thought of me as a foreigner, possibly because I was confused about how to fill out the form. My heart was beating fast due both to tension and to excitement, and I was thrilled to experience something unknown and sacred.

After submitting the form to the priest, I followed a staff member to the large main room where the ceremony would take place. A middle-aged gentleman was also guided to the room. The moment I entered, I was struck by a holy and pure energy that I had never before experienced. I sat near the gentleman, facing the raised stage where the altar was set up.

After a priest purified us with streamers of linen and recited a prayer of purification, shrine maidens appeared on the stage and offered sacred food to the deities. A priest, whose higher rank was marked by the long part of the hem of his white silk attire, recited a long Shinto prayer and conveyed the wishes that we had submitted beforehand. I heard “world peace” recited as the gentleman’s wish. After the prayer, musicians performed gagaku, and shrine maidens performed the *yamato-mai* dance, dedicated to the Shinto deities. Next, a male dancer appeared and offered a dance of native origin, called *ninjō-mai*, for which musicians sang a kagura song, “Sonokoma” (That Pony), with Japanese musical instruments including *kagurabue* (kagura flute), *hichiriki* (Japanese oboe), and *wagon* (Japanese zither). I was attracted to the beauty and purity

of the music, the dancer's solemn costume, and his stylized movements. As the dance and music were sacred offerings to the deities, the dances were performed facing the deities, not us. Surprisingly, a second dancer came and performed a *ranryō-ō* dance, followed by a third dancer's *nasori* performance. The former is a dance in the tradition of *Tōgaku* (music and dance from China), while the latter is a dance in the tradition of *Komagaku* (music and dance from Korea). Both dancers' costumes were colorful and gorgeous with embroidered ornaments. The kagura specific to Ise Jingū, consisting of gagaku of both native and foreign origin, is the largest genre of kagura among the different types that worshippers can sponsor at Kaguraden. The costumes, including the masks and accessories for dancers, are works of art (I learned later that a single complete costume costs forty or fifty thousand dollars).

The ceremony fee I paid was not for the largest kagura. I understood that the gentleman asking for world peace had sponsored kagura of that kind and that the fee may have been as high as five thousand dollars. (Later, I learned that it is companies and religious organizations that tend to sponsor the most extensive kagura performances, and large numbers of the sponsor's employees and members attend them. It is rare for a single worshipper to sponsor this type of kagura.) Thanks to the gentleman, I was able on my first visit to Ise Jingū to immerse myself in sacred sounds and experience what felt to me to be a fully charged divine energy, or *shinki*. Put this another way: the ceremony was sublime. I found the dance and music of native origin was especially delicate, subtle, and profound. I did not know that such profound ritual music existed in Japan, and I must assume that very few Japanese do. I was intrigued, full of questions and curiosity, compelled to learn and experience more. I came to learn, among other things, that gagaku of native origin is the ceremonial music performed at imperial court rituals.

When the kagura ceremony was over and I left the Kaguraden, I expressed my gratitude to the gentleman and asked why he prayed for world peace. He said, “That is what I have learned [to do] since my childhood.” I was impressed and waited for anything more he might say. He did speak again: “The Emperor prays for world peace all the time. He knows that without world peace, there won’t be peace in Japan.” I had not thought much before about the Emperor’s role in Japan, so the gentleman’s response was striking. Then, he added, softly: “Ise Jingū is not an ordinary shrine, and it is not appropriate to pray for your own personal concerns here. You would do so to the tutelary deity enshrined at your local shrine, but not here.” In Japanese culture, it is impolite to ask many questions, so I stopped, expressed my gratitude again, and he left. At that time, I had little knowledge about Ise Jingū and none about the Emperor’s prayers, but every part of myself told me that this man had revealed to me the essence of the place and explained to me who the Emperor is. Ise Jingū is the most revered Shinto shrine among eighty thousand in Japan, and the Emperor prays for the peace and the well-being of the people of Japan.

I was drawn to the ritual, the music, the conversation, and the subtle atmosphere I had experienced so far at Ise Jingū and so naturally extended my stay for a few more days. The next morning, while I was enjoying a walk around the shrine grounds, I suddenly heard a voice—saying to me: “Okaeri.” I looked around, but there was no one. I heard it again clearly, and it sounded inside me. “Okaeri” is a greeting that can be heard in practically every household in Japan whenever a member of the family returns home. Anyone at home welcomes returning family members with this greeting, meaning “welcome home.” The familiar warmth that comes with this greeting has no counterpart in my experience of the English language, but in Japanese this greeting truly can engender the feeling of being where you belong. The “sound” of the

phrase, rising up from within me, made me feel that, no matter where I lived, Ise Jingū was my home, though I had not a single acquaintance in Ise at the time.

Certainly no one at the shrine behaved toward me as though I belonged. During this first visit, I learned that the priests never publicly talk about their roles and functions. One learns at first only by observing. I observed their daily prayer for the people and learned that they make fire every morning by means of wood friction without matches, cook rice with the sacred fire, and serve the sacred food twice a day to the deities as an expression of gratitude. The sacred feast is served daily and also at major rites throughout the ritual calendar. Because Ise Jingū is the Emperor's own shrine, where his ancestor Amaterasu Ōmikami is enshrined, it is here that Shinto priests pray for the Emperor's longevity and for the peace and prosperity of the people of Japan, as well as for the good harvests.

As soon as I left Ise, I wanted to go back, and I returned in September 2008 to attend a gagaku festival open to the public. I continued my study of both Hindustani music and Ise Jingū throughout 2009, going to India in March and to Ise Jingū in September to conduct ethnographic research. After my second visit to Ise, I decided to change the topic of my dissertation from Hindustani music to the sacred music of Ise Jingū.¹ I made the decision partly because the Shinto and gagaku traditions of the grand shrine have been understudied in the West. I continued to attend as many rituals there as I could, no matter when they took place. Nearly all rituals at Ise Jingū are conducted outside. I always stood in one spot, for hours at a time, on freezing days in winter and scorching days in summer. Even when observing an entire ritual and thus standing in one place for several hours, the deep joy I felt outweighed any physical hardships.

¹ I subsequently wrote and published an essay on Hindustani music in English: Michiko Urita, "Transreligious and Intercommunal: Hindustani Music in Classical and Contemporary North India," *Common Knowledge* 22, no. 2 (2016): 190–206.



Figure 2: A priest using a wooden tool to ignite a sacred fire. This fire was used to boil blackish water. (July 23, 2013)

Much later, I learned that the priests of Ise Jingū had been observing me as I had been observing them in the early stages of my research. At some point, various priests began to address me with remarks such as, “I understand that you have come to Ise Jingū not to collect data for the sake of research but to study our tradition with respect,” and “You did not come to do research with an eye to look at our rituals as something practiced by primitives.” These words told me that they trusted my motives. When I finished my first period of fieldwork in September 2009, the public relations office of Ise Jingū asked me to write an essay for their quarterly journal—an article that would compare North Indian music, on which the priests by then knew I had been working, and their own gagaku traditions. I agreed, and the essay appeared in their journal in spring 2010 under the title “Otoga kanaderu minzoku no kokoro: Indo koten ongaku

kara Jingū gagaku eno tabi” (Valued sounds of two musical cultures: My journey from North Indian classical music to the Japanese imperial court music of the Ise Grand Shrine).² Both priests and musicians of Ise Jingū read it and gave me feedback, largely positive. But the point of their asking for and the point of my writing the article was to help them to understand my background, intent, and standpoint.

Delving into Ise Jingū

I think that my relationships with the priests and musicians at Ise Jingū are best described as trustful, in that I am honest in my dealings with them, forthright in our conversations, and respectful of their beliefs and values. The turning point in our relations came after I submitted to the Ise Jingū public relations office (twice—in June and July of 2012) extensive reports on the use and meaning of the term “shrine.” The reason for my writing these reports was an article I read in the *Mainichi* newspaper on June 12, 2012, saying that “The public relations officials of Ise Jingū have announced that they are considering using the term ‘Shinto temple’ to explain what Ise Jingū is...on their English website and in English pamphlets. They consider the term ‘shrine’ inappropriate due to its association with the dead or with mausoleums.” I was surprised because “Shinto temple” would be misleading and *shrine* is not primarily associated in English with death. Because there are only a few officials at Ise Jingū who are fluent in English, they did not have a sense of idiomatic usage.

I immediately initiated research to determine the use and meaning of the term “shrine,” sending inquiries by e-mail to selected Western scholars. I asked them, “What comes to mind when you consider the meaning of the terms of ‘shrine,’ ‘temple,’ and ‘sanctuary?’” I explained

² Michiko Urita, “Otoga kanaderu minzoku no kokoro: Indo kara jingū gagaku eno tabi (Valued sounds of two musical cultures: My journey from North Indian classical music to the Japanese imperial court music of Ise Jingū),” *Mizugaki* 215 (Spring 2010): 19–31.

as well my reason for asking the question and received responses from all thirteen scholars to whom I had written. They included academics specializing in Japanese religious studies, Shinto studies, Japanese classical literature, Jewish studies, Japanese art history and architecture, comparative literature, Buddhist studies, and Middle Eastern politics. Some of those who were not Japanologists had written articles on Ise Jingū from their varied perspectives. I was hoping for a broad array of opinions. Most of the scholars communicated that they found the use of “Shinto temple” puzzling and did not agree that “shrine” is primarily associated in English or other Western languages with death.

When I read their thoughtful and insightful comments, I thought I should share them with the officials of the Ise Jingū public relations office. I mailed two thick files consisting of the responses of the thirteen scholars in the original English, Japanese translations of them, along with explanations of the respondents’ expertise and university affiliations. I did not forget to attach the letter explaining to my interlocutors the purpose of my inquiry and my own sense of the difficulty of translating Shinto concepts from Japanese into English. I also made clear to the public relations office that I was investigating the matter of my own accord. The officials mailed back a polite letter to me with words of gratitude. The letter stated that the newspaper had mistakenly assumed that their use of the phrase “Shinto temple” referred to Ise Jingū, when the public relations office was using it in relation to other Shinto holy places. The officials told me that they had been discussing English terms that would be helpful to foreigners in understanding the various types of holy places—all of this, at least in part, in preparation for the explanations the officials would need to make to the media who would be in attendance at the 62nd Shikinen Sengū in 2013. When I visited Ise Jingū a few months after I had mailed the reports, the director of public relations welcomed me even more warmly than on earlier encounters. He expressed his

gratitude for my reports. The vice-director also acknowledged my work and remarked that I should write a thesis based on the reports that I had submitted to them. The next year, on May 12, 2013, I read an article in the *Chūnichī* newspaper indicating that both Ise Jingū and the Association of Shinto Shrines had decided to refer to the grand shrine as, simply, “Ise Jingū,” with no accompanying English translation.

On the basis of the priests’ trust in my intentions, I found myself with three unexpected opportunities to understand further what it is that Ise Jingū upholds. First, I was able to observe Shikinen Sengū (the rites of renewal) as a temporary staff member from the end of September to the beginning of October in 2013. Doing so enabled me to experience rituals as an insider as well as to solidify the trust between the Jingū priests and myself. As all the priests were intensively engaged in the series of the rites performed during those months, Jingū officials who were not priests, along with both priests and staff members of Jinjahonchō (Association of Shinto Shrines) assisted with various events. My job was to guide people from the media to their appropriate spots for each ritual so that they could film and take photographs, and to advise them if they violated any regulations. I also assisted when a translator was needed for the media from abroad. In order to prepare, Ise Jingū provided me with a thick package including illustrations of all ritual sites, a detailed program, an explanation of each ritual, and instructions to give the media. I was allowed to explain the rituals when the media people asked questions. After serving in this temporary employment, many priests seemed to regard me as an insider and seemed more comfortable about sharing their feelings with me. My sense above all was that the Jingū priests were excited and proud to conduct Shikinen Sengū. Many of them carried the divine treasure and commodities during the transferral of the sacred mirror to the newly built main sanctuary. I was told that, at the very moment the sacred mirror moved from the old sanctuary, wind suddenly

blew from the main sanctuary. The priests (and also the invited visitors to whom I spoke) were convinced the wind signified the presence of Amaterasu Ōmikami.

Some priests kindly shared with me their impressions after observing the sacred music ritual that concluded Shikinen Sengū. Although priests did not perform the music at the ritual, a few were appointed to observe it along with the imperial envoy, the supreme priest of Ise Jingū, and the head priestess. A senior priest said to me, “The ritual music I immersed myself in was splendid. The world of *Amano-iwato* [heavenly rock cave] unfolded. Although my duty was to observe the first part of it, I stood outside the Yojōden [the open-air structure where the ritual took place, on the grounds of the inner sanctum] to listen to the music for the next two hours.” The heavenly rock-cave to which the priest referred to is a myth from the *Kojiki* (Records of Ancient Matters) about Amaterasu Ōmikami. The sun goddess hid herself in the rock cave because she was upset with her brother’s mischievous deeds, and as a result the whole world became dark and the evil spirits appeared. After discussion of what to do, other gods and goddesses got her attention by means of music, dancing, and cheerful laughter, succeeding eventually in taking her out of the cave. The sacred music ritual, which takes place at night and lasts until midnight, is dedicated to the sun goddess in the same way that the music of the gods was dedicated to her at the rock cave. The priest who spoke with me said that, while observing the ritual, he experienced the ancient story emerged from the book and come vividly alive in the music and his perception of it.

When I ran into another senior priest at the shrine who had observed the sacred ritual music performance, he shared with me the supreme priest’s words: “The supreme priest remarked on the beauty of the sound of *wagon* [Japanese zither], the way its subtle sound fades out after each stroke, echoing in silence. I agree with him.” *Wagon* is a simple, six-stringed board

zither with movable bridges made of unpolished natural tree branches, and it is the most sacred musical instrument in the Shinto ritual music. Emperor Kōmei had often played *wagon* for Amaterasu Ōmikami at the sacred music ritual held at the Imperial Palace Shrine toward the end of the Edo period. My understanding is that the music connects the sun goddess, her descendants, and the keepers of her sanctuary.

A priest with whom I talked at a local café told me that he stood outside the Yojōden during the extensive performance of the sacred music rituals at both Kōtaijingu and Toyoukedaijingu. He excitedly said that the performance of the court musicians was superb. The Emperor had sent the court musicians to Ise Jingu from the imperial household for the sacred music ritual. Priests can listen to court musicians' sacred ritual music only every twenty years at Shikinen Sengu. I was delighted to see those priests, who are usually calm and quiet, become excited about this experience. The site was not accessible to those who were neither priests nor musicians of Ise Jingu and thus, unfortunately, I could not listen to it. But early the next morning, I went to the main sanctuary to follow the path where I could find burned remains of torches leading to the site of the performance. Recalling the stories I had heard from the priests, I could imagine what their experience was like.

Nonetheless, no one heard the sound of kagura hikyoku, because during the performance, those who were at the site to observe the ritual had to wait outside the site while five court musicians performed it—and, in any case, kagura hikyoku is performed silently without vocalization. After the entire rites related to Shikinen Sengu had been completed, I heard some priests who were interested in gagaku discussing what kagura hikyoku was. I was deeply touched by the existence of the song as the ultimate offering to the tutelary deity of Japan. I initiated my intensive study of kagura hikyoku in October of 2013.

My second special opportunity was my admission to Ise Jingū on March 26, 2014 during the visit of the Emperor and Empress. The chief of public relations for the shrine kindly appointed me to take official photographs. I was close by the Emperor gracefully walked to the main sanctuary, and my feeling was that his presence was in harmony with the place. I wrote a waka poem about his visit: *Uchitsumiya ni furishikiru ame hata to yamu Sumeramikoto no idemashishi toki* (It stopped raining at the very moment His Majesty The Emperor came out to worship at Kōtaijingū). Although it had been raining since morning on that day, when he came out of a building heading to the main sanctuary, the rain stopped. This may sound superstitious, but those of us who were waiting for him to appear, including some of the priests, some media people, and myself, witnessed the exact moment and felt that the enshrined deities were welcoming the Emperor by stopping the rain. The Emperor does not visit Ise Jingū often, but it is his shrine, after all, where his ancestral kami is enshrined. I felt the Emperor's profound reverence for the place while observing the way that he carried himself. Everyone at Ise Jingū was honored to have him visit and show him the newly built main sanctuaries. One of the priests told me how he was deeply touched by the Emperor's expression of appreciation to the priesthood. The priest did not reveal what the Emperor actually said. It was so precious that he wanted to keep it in his heart.

My third special opportunity was an invitation, extended by a priest a few days before U.S. Ambassador Caroline Kennedy and her husband, Dr. Edwin Schlossberg, were to visit Ise Jingū, to accompany him as he guided them around Sengūkan (one of the Jingū museums, specifically focused on Shikinen Sengū). The date of their visit was April 16, 2014. At first I was hesitant because priests generally do not want outsiders involved. The priest explained: "I cannot speak English well, but I understand how the interpreter translates my explanation into English.

When an ambassador visits Ise Jingū, he or she usually brings someone from the embassy as an interpreter. But that person is not necessarily familiar with Shinto and Ise Jingū. I have often found their mistakes in English translations to be caused by a lack of knowledge about the rituals. My English is not good enough to correct their mistakes. Could you please check the interpreter's translation and assist me when you notice anything wrong?" I agreed to assist him, and it turned out to be a chance for me to learn what a Jingū priest wants to disclose and convey to a political figure from abroad.

The interpreter did excellent work when the priest explained the rituals centered on the rice farming and on offering the sacred food in gratitude to the deities. Dr. Schlossberg took great interest in the structure of the main sanctuary building. After we moved to the section of the exhibit on the rites of renewal, I noticed that what the priest said in conclusion was giving the translator difficulties, because no literal translation would make adequate sense. With hesitation, the translator said: "Through repetition, a limited thing lasts an eternity."³ Although her translation was accurate, I could see that it sounded like a Zen riddle to the ambassador and her husband. They did not ask for clarification, and I could not find a better way to explain it on the spot, so I did not interrupt their tour. Later, I realized what the priest had wanted to say because I had heard a similar explanation on another occasion at Ise Jingū. What I should have said to the ambassador and her husband was that Jingū priests often take the example of the Parthenon on the Athenian Acropolis when they explain the characteristics of Ise Jingū. The rituals that used to be conducted there in honor of the goddess Athena are not practiced anymore. While the Parthenon was made of stones, which lasts much longer than wood, the rites practiced inside that temple eventually ceased. Ise Jingū, on the other hand, is made of wood, which does not last for centuries, as stone does. Yet Ise Jingū, by being taken down and reconstructed every twenty

³ The priest's words were: "*kurikaeshi ni yotte kagiri aru mono ga eien ni narimasu.*"

years—once per generation—has so far lasted for more than thirteen centuries, and its rituals have gone on identically throughout the time. That is what the the priest means by “a limited thing [namely, a wooden structure] lasts an eternity by repetition [by being identically rebuilt before it begins to decay]. Among other things I learned during this episode was that to explain the Ise Jingū to those who hardly know Shinto requires very serious preparation.



Figure 3: Newly built Aratsumirinomiya, one of the main auxiliary shrines of Kōtaijingū, at right and the old one at left. Soon after the enshrined deity had been transferred from the old one to the new one, the old shrine building was disassembled. (September 17, 2013)

My fieldwork unfolded in a unique way, in that my positionality changed as the priests’ attitudes toward me did. I was sometimes an insider who shared the values they protect and played the role of their advocate when they communicated with people from abroad. Sometimes, I was a humble visitor who paid a ceremonial fee for the kagura ceremony, donated for the rites of renewal, and entered the grounds of the main sanctuary in order to worship Amaterasu

Ōmikami with the general public. The priests were reminded that I was also a researcher when they read my essays published in Japanese academic journals in 2014⁴ and 2015.⁵ An article of mine about Shinto and Ise Jingū was published also in an English-language journal, *Common Knowledge*, in 2015.⁶ The priests who read my Japanese essays acknowledged that I understood the tradition they maintain. Even a priest who had been difficult to approach said that my first essay was written well.

During my year's residence in Ise during 2013-2014, I intentionally shifted back and forth between being a visitor (or even worshipper) and being an academic researcher. Among other reasons, I wanted to make time for myself. I visited Kōtaijingū early each morning to pay respect to the shrines and spent at least one and a half hours just enjoying the place. After working as a researcher during the day, I went again to the shrines at the end of the day. Besides these daily visits, I often visited the cemetery of the court nobles and court musicians who had devoted themselves to preserving kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku during the Meiji period. One of the graves I liked to visit in Tokyo was that of Suenaga Tōgi (1832-1914). He served both Emperor Kōmei and Emperor Meiji as a court musician. When I read archives about the performances and transmissions of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku toward the end of the Edo period, I noticed his name mentioned in many manuscripts. As a court musician from Kyoto, he played the *hichiriki* at the Imperial Palace in Kyoto and accompanied court nobles who sang the kagura songs and secret songs.

⁴ Michiko Urita, "Kagura hikyoku hirume no rekishi: sōgaku, sōden, and saishi (Kagura secret song 'Hirume': performance, transmission, and ritual from a historical perspective)," *Nihon kokushi gaku* (Journal of national history of Japan) 5 (2014): 61–75.

⁵ Michiko Urita, "Kagura hikyoku no tokuchō: Jingū shikinen sengū no mikagura no gi to sokui rei go kensho mikagura no gi o hikakushite (Kagura hikyoku: Comparing the mikagura rites held at the Shikinen Sengū of Ise Jingū and at the enthronement ceremony of the Imperial Palace Shrine)," *Nihon kayō kenkyū* (Studies on Japanese ballads and songs) 55 (2015): 63–73.

⁶ Michiko Urita, "Punitive Scholarship: Postwar Interpretations of Shinto and Ise Jingū," *Common Knowledge* 21, no. 3 (2015): 484–509.

My first visit to his grave turned out to be very memorable. The date of my visit, February 23, 2014, turned out to be his exact centennial anniversary. Suenaga Tōgi had passed away on February 23, 1914, and in Shinto tradition the centennial anniversary of a death is important. I immediately sent a text to a priest to inform him and ask if there was something special I should do at the gravesite in honor of the occasion. He wrote back: “Please report to Suenaga Tōgi at his grave that the 62nd Shikinen Sengū was successfully conducted and that the sacred music ritual and kagura hikyoku were also performed. He would feel relieved because that must have been his main concern—to sustain the tradition.” We knew that Suenaga Tōgi had come to Ise Jingū in Meiji 22 (1889) and Meiji 42 (1909) to play the *hichiriki* part of kagura hikyoku during Shikinen Sengū. In 1889, kagura hikyoku was performed for the first time at Ise Jingū, and he was the only court musician present. I have a great deal of respect for his contribution to the survival of the sacred music and of kagura hikyoku, so I felt honored to visit the grave on his centennial anniversary. I sent a text also to Suenaga Tōgi’s great-grandson, who is at present the head court musician of the Imperial Court. He asked me to offer sacred evergreen branches at the grave in Shinto fashion. When I arrived, I first thoroughly cleaned the grave with water and wiped the gravestone, then followed the priest’s advice and the great-grandson’s request. Since then, when I get a chance, I continue to visit his grave with sacred evergreen branches.

I also have visited the graves of the Ayanokōji family and the Ōhara family, who were the lead singers of kagura hikyoku during the Meiji and early Taishō periods. I have visited especially when I unable to find information for which I was searching. I have imagined myself talking with them, asking such questions as “What actually happened to the secret songs after the Meiji period? How did you create the unified scores of kagura hikyoku and kagura taikyoku?” I

got answers to most of my questions, but via the archives. I read the archives written by and about these musicians. Reading them was like interviewing the court nobles back in their own time. I have also spoken at some length with a descendant of the Ōhara family, and our discussions have aided my research on court rituals and gagaku.

Indeed, more than fifty experts, including former and current priests, musicians, shrine carpenters, and descendants of court nobles have aided my research in different ways. Their motives for assisting me in my fieldwork may vary, but I believe that the main reasons are that they trust me to properly represent the tradition of Shinto practiced at Ise Jingū and that they share my belief that the tradition will be sustained most reliably by offering well-documented and well-interpreted information to the scholarly public. I aim to honor that trust and that shared belief. To protect my informants' privacy, I will not identify them either by name or by exact status, but I can give some examples of how they have advanced my research. One expert helped me to decipher historical manuscripts, and we have made field excursions together many times to the archeological sites related to the foundation of Ise Jingū and two shrines in Kyoto. Although the Imperial Palace Shrine is not accessible to the public, it is possible to see in part how it is structured at those Kyoto shrines, because the former shrines of the old Imperial Palace were relocated there. The priest thought that seeing a part of the former shrine building of the Imperial Place might inspire me in writing my dissertation. Another expert has spent hours answering my questions about Shinto and its rituals whenever I could not find answers in archival sources or by observing the rituals themselves. Neither of these people ever ended our conversations until my questions were all exhausted. Besides the contacts I had in Ise, I was introduced to both current and former officials of the Imperial Household Agency in Tokyo. One of them is especially well-versed in Shinto rituals and answers any questions I have by e-mail. I have received 52 well-

thought-out, detailed e-mails during our correspondence. All of these people share an obvious reverence for the Emperor and a deep concern for the continuity of the rites and dignity of Ise Jingū. And they all regard the former as the principal caretaker of the latter.

In my commitment to vindicate the trust in my good intentions of these specialists, devotees, and officials, I have embraced and adapted for my work the perspectives of two especially circumspect and ethically motivated research paradigms. Indigenous Native American scholars, objecting to the etic ethnography and historiography to which non-indigenous anthropologists and historians had subjected their cultures, developed in response an emic perspective that they refer to as “Indigenist.” But, as Shawn Wilson, its leading proponent, notes, there is no reason that a non-indigenous scholar cannot subscribe to the paradigm:

I use *Indigenist* to name or label the paradigm that I am talking about[,] rather than *Indigenous*. It is my belief that an Indigenist paradigm can be used by anyone who chooses to follow its tenets... Researchers do not have to be Indigenous to use an Indigenist research paradigm.⁷

Moreover, even before I had heard of the Indigenist research paradigm, I had been following the generally emic approach of ethnomusicologists, who almost always love the music and culture that they study. The principal contact and interlocutor for ethnomusicologists tends to be the native teacher from whom they learn to sing or play instruments or talk about music in ways peculiar to the culture they have chosen to study. Those relationships are not infrequently close, long-lasting, and decisively formative. Just as speaking a new language successfully demands learning to think like its native speakers, so playing a new kind of music demands that one think and indeed feel as the native musicians do. Observation is one thing, “feeling as” is quite another, and the sorts of empathy and identification that develop have led many ethnomusicologists to make efforts to benefit the communities of musicians that have accepted them. I have intended to

⁷ Shawn Wilson, “Guest Editorial: What Is an Indigenist Research Paradigm?” *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 30, no. 2 (2007): 193-94.

be one such ethnomusicologist. When Professor Daniel Hart at the University of Washington exposed me to the Indigenist paradigm after I had begun my fieldwork at Ise Jingū, I became more aware of my positionality, but it was already set. My effort has been from the first, at Ise Jingū as in North India, to conduct myself and all of my interactions in ways, certainly, that will not harm and, where possible, may benefit the communities that have welcomed me to observe and participate.

The second research paradigm that I have adapted for my work has emerged over the past twenty-some years in the multidisciplinary journal *Common Knowledge* and has been defined by its founding editor, Jeffrey M. Perl, as “irenic scholarship.”⁸ Its aim is to treat peace as the equal of truth and justice in the work that scholars in the humanities and social sciences undertake. It was my reading in works of irenic scholarship that helped me to understand the fears that made the Ise Jingū priesthood reluctant to assist scholars in their research and helped me to realize the importance of my taking their affective lives into account when conducting my fieldwork and writing my dissertation. Thus, my research is meant to expose and discuss with sympathy the core values that underwrite the secret traditions and rituals maintained at Ise Jingū and the Imperial Palace Shrine, as well as to clarify the nature, authenticity, and continuity of the affect that, I have concluded and have tried to document, has accompanied them for centuries. A key member of the *Common Knowledge* community, Bruno Latour, has been arguing persuasively over the past several years that there are “matters of concern” that we should not subject to critique,⁹ and it is by no means my intention to reveal the hidden traditions of Ise Jingū in a way

⁸ See esp. Jeffrey M. Perl, *Peace and Mind: Civilian Scholarship from “Common Knowledge,”* ed. Jeffrey M. Perl (Aurora, Colorado: Davies Group Publishers, 2011). Jeffrey M. Perl, “Irenic Scholarship and Public Affairs: A Report on the Skidmore Conference,” *Common Knowledge* 12, no. 1 (2006): 1–12.

⁹ Bruno Latour, “Why Has Critique Run Out of Stream? From Matters of Fact to Matters of Concern,” *Critical Inquiry* 30 (Winter 2004): 225–48. In the same vein, see also Rita Felski, *The Limits of Critique* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

that exposes them to insensitive treatment, let alone aggressive demystification, by other scholars. My aim has been to describe and document the strenuous efforts that Emperors, court nobles, and Shinto priests have put forward to preserve these traditions and rituals. The fear that I observed in the priesthood at Ise Jingū are, understood properly, simply expressions of concern for that in which they very obviously believe.



Figure 4: The daigūji (supreme priest) at left and the saishu (head priestess) at right—an elder sister of the present Emperor—march in procession to offer the sacred food to Amaterasu Ōmikami at Kinensai of Kōtaijingū. Kinensei is held to pray for a good harvest as the first ritual among a series of rituals related to rice farming according to the ritual calendar of Ise Jingū. (February 17, 2014)

Internalizing the Priests' Fears

The threat, which the priests fear, of demystification applies most directly to the sacred mirror and to the present Emperor. It is no secret that the sacred mirror is one of the three

imperial regalia that legitimize the Emperor's status. It is also the receptacle in which the spirit of Amaterasu Ōmikami dwells. Asking the Ise Jingū priests about the sacred mirror is strictly taboo. I heard that when someone did so, the priests asked said, "I don't know" or "I'm sorry I have to go" to avoid engaging in the discussion. Similarly, I noticed that, although priests are proud that Ise Jingū where they serve, belongs to the Emperor, they never speak about the relationship between the Emperor and the grand shrine in public. Shinto priests refrain from talking explicitly about the sacred objects and the Shinto deities, but the reason for their silence is not simply that they are too venerable to discuss in public. In my understanding of the taboo, the priests fear that the sacred mirror and the Emperor will become politicized. Due to the close tie between the Emperor and Ise Jingū, both became targets of terrorist attacks in 1975, which I will discuss in more detail later. Priests do not want to talk about this incident because they believe such talk is inauspicious.

The more I understood the priests' fears, the more I internalized them. What if writing about the sacred mirror at Ise Jingū would raise the question of the legitimacy of the mirror housed at the Imperial Palace Shrine or impugn its claim to sanctity? Is writing about the sacred mirror or about the present Emperor disrespectful? Then there was the question of secrecy; the kagura secret songs, kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku, are not secret for no reason. They are not forgotten, but hidden—a special treasure of the sun goddess of the Land of the Rising Sun. I resolved my fears about revealing secrets, first, by writing only about what can be found in manuscripts available to the general public, and, second, by having priests read a draft written in Japanese for their correction and approval. I received no negative feedback or any opposition to what I wrote, and much positive support. As for my fears about discussion of the sacred mirror

and the present Emperor, those were more difficult to overcome it, because they were related to Western punitive scholarship on Shinto studies.

Some Western scholars have been severely critical of Shinto, Ise Jingū, and the Emperor. They claim that the Association of Shinto Shrines is using Ise Jingū to push an ultra-nationalist agenda, and that the idea of Shinto as an indigenous religion is a recent invention.¹⁰ Obviously, I do not agree with these claims, and I was afraid that these scholars might use my research to politicize Ise Jingū. In Ise in 2013, I had a chance to talk with a Western scholar who, like me, was conducting research. He said to me, in Japanese, making a distinction between his positionality and mine: “I am an outsider to Ise Jingū (*watashi wa ise jingū no ‘outsider’ desu*).” I asked him what he meant by “outsider,” seeing as I too, though Japanese, was an outsider at the shrine. He replied, “Though I don’t intend to fight against Ise Jingū (*Ise Jingū to kenka o suru tsumori wa arimasenga*), it doesn’t matter to me if Ise Jingū ceases to exist (*Ise Jingū ga nakunarōto betsuni watashiniwa dōdemoiidesu*).” I was surprised to hear him admit to having not the slightest appreciation or respect for the subject of his research. His remarks brought me to wonder if the Western scholars who question whether Shinto is a religion at all, let alone an ancient one, might share his sentiment. Initially, it was not my intention to write a prelude of this kind, nor to discuss the sacred mirror and the Emperor’s role at Ise Jingū, in my dissertation, but eventually I decided that writing about the hidden inner world of the shrine and its keepers, down the centuries, might contribute to a wider understanding that Shinto practices are attended by a deep affect peculiar to itself among the religious traditions of the world. To hope and labor for its continuity is no different than to hope and labor for the continued existence of a unique and charismatic species of animal or bird.

¹⁰ See Urita, “Punitive Scholarship,” for details.

As for the sacred mirrors and the Emperor's role, it became increasingly clear to me that I could not discuss the secret songs without involving them. It is by imperial order that the songs have been performed before the sacred mirror, based on the continuing belief that kagura hikyoku delights and pacifies the spirit of Amaterasu Ōmikami and other Shinto deities so that they will protect the country. Similarly, it is by imperial order that kagura taikyoku has been performed at the Kasuga Taisha Shrine whenever its divine forests begin to wither. As the communities of the Imperial Court and the Kasuga Taisha Shrine have regarded the forests as places for the kami to stay, they have viewed the withering of the trees as a sign that the Shinto deities were leaving and that, as a result, disaster would strike to the country and its Emperor. To avoid the disaster and restore the stability and peace in times when they were under threat, the Emperors for centuries sent court nobles to perform kagura taikyoku at the *goshintai* (receptacle of the spirit of the Shinto deities) of the Kasuga Taisha Shrine. I have encountered historical accounts describing the effect of performing kagura taikyoku on the divine mountain: some say that afterward withering trees came back to life, and green leaves and flowers grew.

Disputes Surrounding the Sacred Mirror and the Emperor's Prayers

Today Jingū priests regard the sacred mirrors enshrined at Ise Jingū and at the Imperial Palace Shrine as in essence identical. However, there have been disputes raised related to these mirrors in the past, both before and after World War II. These disputes are known as *Jingū godōza mondai* (the issue of transferring the sacred mirror of Ise Jingū to the Imperial Palace in Tokyo) and *Jingū seido zesei mondai* (the issue of the system of Ise Jingū). No one would suggest it today, but in 1872, during the very early Meiji period, officials of the Ministry of Divinities submitted a proposal to the Grand Council of State to transfer the sacred mirror from Ise Jingū to the Imperial Palace. Their reason was that, as Ise Jingū's sacred mirror had originally

been housed at the palace, it should be returned there.¹¹ The proposal was denied. To fully understand this event would require another major research project, so I can do no more than indicate a couple of key points. First, the submission of the proposal would seem to indicate that the officials who submitted it regarded Ise Jingū's sacred mirror as the more legitimate of the two and believed that the transfer of Ise Jingū's mirror to the Imperial Palace Shrine would enhance the effect of Emperor Meiji's prayers. Second, the proposal was raised during the first years of the "Meiji restoration," which was occasioned by the presence of Western forces in Japanese waters. The reconstituted government under Emperor Meiji felt a need urgently to build a modern nation that could protect the country from colonization. What I think noteworthy is that it was in this historical context that the sacred mirror of Ise Jingū became a subject of debate at the highest level of the new administration. There was a perceived threat to the independence and peace of Japan; therefore, something must be wrong with how the sacred mirror was being handled at Ise Jingū. Politicization of the sacred mirror of Ise Jingū was a public sign of a national instability and crisis already underway.

Hence the Jingū priests are reluctant to discuss anything that relates to the mirror and its relationship to the Emperor. From their perspective, dispute over the sacred mirror has the dangerous potential to disturb the spirit of Amaterasu Ōmikami. As a Jingū priest explained to me: "We continue to conduct rituals in order to maintain the calmness and stability of Shinto deities, because any disturbance of the sacred mirror would cause disaster to Ise Jingū and the Emperor." Another priest suggested the importance of performing the traditional rituals regularly: "According to historical documents of the Kamakura period, the Shinto deities are empowered by people's worship, offerings, and rituals in dedication to them. We believe in the effect of

¹¹ Masatami Nishikawa, "Jingū godōza mondai (Issue of transferring the sacred mirror from Jingū to the Imperial Palace)," in *Jingū meiji hyakunenshi* (One hundred years of Jingū history from the Meiji period), 1 (Ise: Jingū Shichō, 1987), 157–75.

rituals.” The Jingū priests today seldom say so, but it seems that they believe, with the same certainty and intensity with which priests of the Meiji period and before had believed, in the effect of the rituals that they perform on the life of the nation.

A second dispute, taking place after World War II, concerned the question of ownership of the sacred mirror housed at Ise Jingū. From 1957 to 1959, the government, the Ise Jingū priesthood, the Association of Shinto Shrines, and the Imperial Household Agency argued over whether “the original sacred mirror, which ought to be passed down to the new emperor as the imperial regalia” was “given to Ise Jingū—a ‘mere’ private institution from the Imperial House.”¹² The contention that the mirror was in the wrong hands was rooted in U.S. Occupation policies and in the “Shinto Directive,” enforced after the Japanese surrender. The U.S. forces referred to Shinto as “State Shinto” because they regarded the religion as among the central elements that had fostered imperialism and militarism; thus, their main purpose was to break the connection between the government and Shinto shrines in order to more easily exert their own control over Japan. As a result, the continued existence of Ise Jingū was threatened. Despite the grand shrine’s long history of sponsorship and reverence by the Shogunate, and despite its ties with the Imperial Court, Ise Jingū had no choice but to become a private religious institution in order to survive. The question raised was whether a private religious institution might continue to hold the imperial regalia. If so, then establishment of legal ownership was required.

This debate was initiated by the Minister of Education, who in 1956 instructed the Religious Council to discuss whether the Religious Corporation Law, which had been decreed under the U.S. Occupation, required any modification. This episode also demands further research, but it is possible to say what the fact that the debate took place mainly indicates. It was

¹² Masahiro Hatakake, *Nihon kokka ni totte jingū towa nanika* (What is Ise Jingū to the Japanese nation?) (Ise: Ise Jingū Sūkeikai, 1997), 8-9.

against the wishes of the Imperial Household Agency and the Ise Jingū priesthood to expand the dispute over the legal status of the sacred mirror to discussion of the legal relationship between the Emperor and the grand shrine. According to Masahiro Hatakake (1914-2006), a former priest and deputy representative of Ise Jingū, officials of the Imperial Household Agency expressed great hesitation at the time to pursue the issue of how the sacred mirror of Ise Jingū should be situated in the system of law, and the majority of the Jingū priesthood agreed. In other words, the two main parties concerned chose not to pursue the issue, thus leaving it in the hands of the government.

I was able to verify this understanding during a meeting with a former official of the Imperial Household Agency in September 2010. He was a chamberlain to the present Emperor when he was crown prince. I asked: “Why was the Imperial Household Agency not interested in the argument about the status of Ise Jingū’s sacred mirror at that time?” He replied: “During the late 1950s through early 1960s, radical leftists were very active in society. The officials did not want to arouse any political tensions.” Their primary concern was uninterruptedly to maintain the traditional rituals, free of politics (which they regarded as dangerous, undignified, and irrelevant), in order to guarantee the imperial succession and the peace, and prosperity of Japan.

Fear-Induced Fire

The officials’ and the priests’ worst fear was realized in 1975. On September 15, radical left-wing terrorists set fire to Kazahinominomiya, one of the fourteen auxiliary shrines of Ise Jingū, and ran off. According to Atsuyuki Sassa,¹³ who was in charge of security for Ise Jingū as Chief of the Prefectural Police of Mie, the fence of the shrine was half burned down, but priests managed to extinguish the fire and protected the main shrine building. Before this incident, Sassa

¹³ Atsuyuki Sassa, *Kiku no gomoshō to kaenbin: “himeyuri no tō” “Ise Jingū” ga moeta “Shōwa 50-nen”* (Himeyuri memorial tower and Ise Jingū aflame in 1975) (Tōkyō: Bungei Shunjū, 2009).

had suspected that radicals would attack the vast shrine grounds, and so he asked the administration of Ise Jingū to deploy infrared motion sensors, place fire extinguishers at the main buildings, arrange a site for riot police to be on standby, and consent to have police dogs accompany the officers. Sassa quoted the Jingū officials' response to his request:

None of the shoguns, not so much as one, invaded Ise Jingū over the past twelve hundred years. No burglars have entered here. The current guard system should be good enough. Permanent residence of the police is out of the question. Furthermore, it is not necessary, and we cannot allow you to deploy any mechanical apparatus here, such as monitoring devices that would injure the dignity of the divine space. Fire extinguishers would not suit the holiness of the main sanctuaries....No police dogs are allowed to enter here because many long-tailed roosters run free on the shrine grounds. What if the dogs attacked the roosters?¹⁴

The local police agreed with the Ise Jingū administration. As Sassa summarized the Ise officers' common view before the incident: "Ise Jingū is a home for the hearts of all Japanese people. It is a peaceful and sacred place. There is nobody in Ise who would attack Ise Jingū."¹⁵ Sassa knew, based on his experience of confronting violent radicals elsewhere, that they would come from outside Ise. I myself completely understand how hard it was for people in Ise at the time to believe Sassa's prediction. Ise Jingū is so peaceful and heavenly. Every time I return to Ise, all the problems of the world instantly drop from my mind. After the attack of 1975, the administration of Ise Jingū urgently set up the surveillance apparatus that Sassa had requested throughout the shrine grounds and, moreover, terminated nighttime access for visitors.

Sassa had his reasons for caution, obviously. Extremists had attacked Crown Prince Akihito (the present Emperor) and Crown Princess Michiko in Okinawa on July 17, 1975, only weeks before the arson at Ise Jingū. The imperial couple was visiting Himeyuri-no-tō (the Tower of Lilies), a monument where flowers were offered to the students and teachers who had died during the Battle of Okinawa in 1945. Two radicals hurled a Molotov cocktail at the crown

¹⁴ Ibid., 154.

¹⁵ Ibid., 144.

prince and princess. The flames grew to human size and ran along the ground very close to the imperial couple. Sassa's book on the incident reports that the prince and princess showed no fear or anxiety. The crown prince immediately asked about the safety of their guide, who was a survivor of the Battle of Okinawa.

Despite this incident, the imperial couple completed the rest of their itinerary in Okinawa. I have learned that, before the crown prince visited Okinawa, he had studied traditional Okinawan poetry. Based on this model, after his return home, he wrote two poems in Okinawan for the dead at the Battle of Okinawa. Here is a translation of one of his poems: "I offer flowers to the departed unknown souls with my wish for a world without wars."¹⁶ Okinawa was kept under the rule of US forces until 1972, even though Japan had signed the San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1951. The crown prince had been mentally prepared to face any situation that might arise in Okinawa, because its people shared a strong resentment against the Japanese government and the Shōwa Emperor, who had reigned throughout the war years. Sassa understood that the radicals would attack Ise Jingū because the deity enshrined there is said to be the Emperor's ancestor, and indeed the attack on the Kazahinominomiya auxiliary shrine took place only one day after the crown prince and his wife had visited Kōtaijingū, the main sanctuary. Politicization of the sacred mirror and of the Emperor's relationship with it had put Ise Jingū and the imperial family in danger.

¹⁶ Shuzen Hokama, "Ryūka yonjushu no nōto (The Crown Prince's notebook about the Okinawan poems)," *Shokun!*, 2008, 253.



Figure 5: The imperial envoy, at left, and his attendants who carry the imperial offerings to Amaterasu Ōmikami march in procession to the inner sanctum of Kōtaijingū at Kinensai. (February 17, 2014)

Before 1975, visitors could enter Ise Jingū at any time of the day and night. One visitor who had observed the rites of renewal in 1973 told me that he had listened to the sacred music at night at a spot just five meters from the ritual site, as close as any visitors could be. A local resident in his seventies said to me, “When I was small, the backyard of the Gekū [Toyokedaijingū] of Ise Jingū was my playground and I used to stay and play there every day, all day long.” How envious I was of those experiences! Today, a visitor who notices the infrared surveillance devices, covered with wooden boards, placed in many spots around the shrine grounds, and observes the guards’ regular patrols will realize that Ise Jingū, though quiet and peaceful, is constantly on alert. I sometimes wonder if my dream that Ise Jingū might be once

again free of guards and monitoring devices is shared by the Emperor. I believe that it is shared by the Jingū priests.

When I think about the Emperor's role as chief Shinto priest, I am puzzled by the general understanding of him, both in and outside Japan, as a ruler or political figure. He is not even, precisely, as is the British monarch, a political figurehead. Historical manuscripts covering the last millennium document the Emperors' prayers for restoring peace and stability in the face of natural disasters (to which Japan is especially prone), of political and societal turmoil, and of threats to the independence and peace of Japan. Those prayers are still offered today. On August 8, 2016, the current Emperor spoke to the public—a very rare occurrence.¹⁷ It happened because the mass media had reported that the Emperor, now in his eighties, wants to renounce the throne. Given the tumultuous public reaction, the Emperor felt that he had to clarify his position publicly in order to remove himself from political concern and debate. While most of the public felt sorry that he had become the subject of debate, his broadcast message became an opportunity for the public to understand his role as Emperor. The Emperor first acknowledged his responsibility to protect an ancient tradition that had been passed on to him:

Ever since my accession to the throne, I have carried out the acts of the Emperor in matters of state, and at the same time I have spent my days searching for and contemplating what is the desirable role of the Emperor, who is designated to be the symbol of the State by the Constitution of Japan. As one who has inherited a long tradition, I have always felt a deep sense of responsibility to protect this tradition. At the same time, in a nation and in a world which [are] constantly changing, I have continued to think to this day about how the Japanese Imperial Family can put its traditions to good use in the present age and be an active and inherent part of society, responding to the expectations of the people....

The Emperor was aware of the ongoing changes in society and made explicit his own feelings about the role that he should play with respect to them:

¹⁷ “Message from His Majesty The Emperor,” August 8, 2016, <http://www.kunaicho.go.jp/page/okotoba/detailEn/12#41>.

I ascended to the throne approximately 28 years ago, and during these years, I have spent my days together with the people of Japan, sharing much of the joys as well as the sorrows that have happened in our country. I have considered that the first and foremost duty of the Emperor is to pray for peace and happiness of all the people. At the same time, I also believe that in some cases it is essential to stand by the people, listen to their voices, and be close to them in their thoughts.... I have felt that my travels to various places throughout Japan, in particular to remote places and islands, are important acts of the Emperor as the symbol of the State and I have carried them out in that spirit. In my travels throughout the country, which I have made together with the Empress, including the time when I was Crown Prince, I was made aware that wherever I went there were thousands of citizens who love their local community and with quiet dedication continue to support their community. With this awareness I was able to carry out the most important duties of the Emperor, to always think of the people and pray for the people, with deep respect and love for the people. That, I feel, has been a great blessing....

The “first and foremost duty” that the Emperor recognized in his statement (“to pray for peace and happiness of all the people”) is the same one that Emperors of Japan have acknowledged and performed in the past. The innovation made in the Emperor’s role by the Japanese Constitution—which was written in 1947 under the U. S. Occupation and thus includes some Western concepts about constitutional monarchy—is his definition as “the symbol of the state and of the unity of the people.” It appears that the present Emperor has understood this clause to mean that, unlike his ancestors, he should make direct personal contact with the Japanese people. Moreover, while his ancestors expressed their care for the people and country in their poetry, which has been preserved and is available for public reading, the present Emperor clearly expressed—for the first time, in his recent address—his deep respect and love for the people, many of whom he has met. He concluded his message by expressing his hope for the continuity of imperial tradition and of the bond between the people and the emperor:

As I said in the beginning, under the Constitution the Emperor does not have powers related to government. Even under such circumstances, it is my hope that by thoroughly reflecting on our country’s long history of Emperors, the Imperial Family can continue to be with the people at all times and can work together with the people to build the future of our country, and that the duties of the Emperor as the symbol of the State can continue steadily without a break. With this earnest wish, I have decided to make my thoughts [about his wish to retire] known. I sincerely hope for your understanding.

As one who has studied the relevant manuscript records extensively and who has conducted fieldwork (including detailed conversations with its guardians) at the grand shrine, I am confident that the priests of Ise Jingū share the Emperor's hope and feel that their role is to assist him, as chief priest, in maintaining it. The Emperor expressed his wish that the public might understand his message, despite the generality and subtlety required if he was to remain, as he must and desires, outside of politics. My own hope, in this context, is that my research may assist readers to understand the enduring roots and the resilience of Shinto sacred and secret ritual. Whatever else it may discuss in an effort to provide useful bits of context, the main body of this dissertation is focused on historical evidence of how the traditions of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku have been kept alive by multiple, various, and ardently devoted agents across many turbulent centuries.



Figure 6: A small amount of rice is harvested from the sacred paddies of Ise Jingū in early September in preparation for Kannamesai, the harvest festival (in October) of offering the newly cropped rice to Aamterasu Ōmikami. (September 4, 2012)

Chapter 1: Study of the Resilience of Kagura Secret Songs

This dissertation explores the essence and resilience of two songs that are secret and sacred in Shinto ritual tradition in Japan. I explore the manner and means by which these two songs survived over centuries despite unexpected disturbances through the concept of resilience. In doing so, I build on the work of Jeff Todd Titon, who pioneered resilience—“a system’s capacity to recover and maintain its integrity, identity, and continuity when subjected to forces of disturbance and challenge”¹—as a promising notion in ethnomusicology. The two songs that are the subjects of this dissertation, kagura hikyoku and kagura taikyoku, are the most sacred ritual music of the Japanese imperial court and shrines. I emphasize the roles played and strategies used by multiple agents, including the emperor, court nobles, court musicians, and priests, to preserve the songs. I argue that it was neither coincidence nor mere luck but the specific collaboration and deliberate efforts of these agents that kept these songs alive. My research also demonstrates not only a continuity of practices but also a continuity of affect of religious emotions.

The roles played by the emperor, court nobles, court musicians, and priests to maintain the two songs in the contexts of two specific historical crises show how they contributed to the resilience of the two songs particularly well. These two crises are during the Warring States Period (1467-1615) and the Meiji period (1868-1912). The first crisis was marked by social upheaval and constant military conflict, and the second crisis was marked by a series of drastic social changes after the end of feudalism in Japan and in the building of a modern centralized nation. Through the study of these historic crises and their potential to disturb and disrupt the

¹ Jeff Todd Titon, “Sustainability, Resilience, and Adaptive Management for Applied Ethnomusicology,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Applied Ethnomusicology*, ed. Svanibor Pettan and Jeff Todd Titon (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 158.

continuity of the kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku, I will unveil the essence and the resilience of the songs by exploring a set of questions. What are the essential features of these songs? How have the kagura secret songs been sustained for centuries in spite of the social and political conflict and turmoil? Have the key features of the songs been lost or retained? Who were the main agents for the sustainability of the kagura secret songs and what were their motives and strategies for sustaining them? What does this survival mean to those closely involved, and what does it imply to the contemporary society in Japan? In answering these questions, I provide information about this under-studied but important form of Japanese music.

Overview of Kagura Taikyoku “Yudate” and Kagura Hikyoku “Hirume”

Both kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku are kagura songs, or kagura-uta. Kagura means “god delight,” and uta means songs. Kagura-uta is one genre of Shinto ceremonial songs performed at the sacred music ritual, or mikagura no gi, which has been performed at the Imperial Palace Shrine² for more than a millennium. Mikagura no gi is a sacred music ritual consisting of performance of entire kagura songs and dance performed by *ninjō* (dancer of selected kagura songs). The number of kagura songs changed over period of time from thirty-one (1196 C.E.)³ to twenty (1889 C.E.).⁴ Historically, both songs were part of kagura songs and were not secret songs, but along with the formation of court nobles’ hereditary occupations of the imperial court vocal music during the mid-Heian period, these two kagura songs became the secret songs.

Although kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku had its own song title, such as “Yudate” for kagura taikyoku and “Hirume” for kagura hikyoku, both songs stopped being referred to by

² It was called Naishidokoro before 1868 and has been called Kashikodokoro since 1868.

³ Kunaichō Shoryōbu, *Fushiminomiya kyūzō gakusho shūsei* (The entire set of collections of musical manuscripts formerly owned by the Fushiminomiya imperial family), 2. (Tokyo: Meijishoin, 1995), 214-15.

⁴ “Gakkyoku sentei roku from Meiji 3 to Taishō 4 (Record of selected repertoire of music from 1870 to 1915), 26589” Tokyo, Kunaichō shoryōbu (Imperial Household Archives). See the list of kagura-uta in Meiji 22 (1889).

their titles as even titles were regarded as secret and thus kept hidden in order to make these two songs highly sacred and the best offering to the Shinto deities (kami). Therefore, except when court nobles wrote certificates of transmission upon completing the teaching, the titles of “Yudate” and “Hirume” were never uttered nor written, and instead, the titles were replaced with the non-proper nouns of kagura taikyoku (kagura great song) and kagura hikyoku (kagura secret song). In the context of mikagura no gi, these secret songs were sometimes called “taikyoku” and “hikyoku” without “kagura.” In other words, “kagura taikyoku” and “taikyoku” were used interchangeably. This shows how carefully court nobles treated these songs. I will use terms of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku for the rest of chapters.

Kagura hikyoku is one of kagura songs which is specially performed by the emperor’s command in dedication to Amaterasu Ōmikami at mikagura no gi held at mainly three ritual contexts: the imperial enthronement ceremony at the Imperial Palace Shrine, the transfer of Amaterasu Ōmikami from the Imperial Palace Shrine to a temporary shrine and vice-versa in relation to reconstruction or repair of the Shrine, and the rites of renewal (Shikinen Sengū) at Ise Jingū⁵. The purpose of kagura hikyoku is to pray for the peace and prosperity of the people, nature, and all beings of Japan.

Briefly defined, kagura hikyoku is “imperial secret song.” “Hi (秘)” in Japanese means hidden, esoteric, secret, and belonging to the emperor, while “kyoku (曲)” in Japanese means music, songs, and melodies. Considering the agent of command, ritual contexts, the object of worship, and purpose, kagura hikyoku signifies “the sacred and secret ritual song belonging to the emperor and kept hidden.” I refer to kagura hikyoku as “the secret song” time to time in the following chapters, but this “secret” does not refer to an everyday secret that is lightly, even

⁵ The official name of the Ise Grand Shrine is Jingū (神宮). I refer to Jingū as Ise Jingū or Ise Grand Shrine.

playfully, kept hidden just for the sake of it. Rather, kagura hikyoku is kept hidden from public because it is the emperor's prayer in the form of song exclusively dedicated to the imperial ancestral deity, Amaterasu Ōmikami.

The lyrics of kagura hikyoku titled “Hirume” are: *Ikabakari yokiwaza shiteka Amateru ya hirume no kami o shibashi todomen, Oké.*⁶ Translated into English, the lyrics are these: “After inviting Amaterasu and entertaining her, how much more sacred music and dance would it take to induce her to remain here? *Oké.*” “Hirume,” refers to Amaterasu Ōmikami. The concluding bisyllabic word, “*oké,*” is used to mark the end of some *kagura* songs, including hikyoku, which is performed in complete silence, followed by the sounds of the Japanese zither and vocalized “*oké*” at the song's closure. The function of “*oké*” is similar to the way that *amen* and *selah* mark the conclusions or the ends of sections of Hebrew psalms and other prayers. A possible origin of the *oke* is found in the spirit-pacification ceremony of the imperial court illustrated by *Jōgan gishiki*, a book of ceremonies compiled during the late ninth century. According to this book, an overturned wooden bucket was pounded with a long spear to produce a single sound at the end of the performance of each ritual song. This bucket is called “*uké*” or “*oké*” in Japanese. This is the likely origin of the singing of “*oké.*”

Kagura taikyoku is also one of the kagura songs that is specially conducted at mikagura no gi, in dedication to the enshrined deities of Kasuga Taisha Shrine (Kasuga Taisha) in Nara. Kagura taikyoku was performed when the mirrors of Kasuga Taisha Shrine dropped or when trees of sacred mountains of the shrine began to wither. Both cases were understood as a sign of a bad omen to the people and the country. Therefore, in order to prevent from any harm to the people, all creatures, and the emperor, the emperor would send the envoy to Kasuga Taisha

⁶ “‘Hirume fu narabi hiki (The musical score of “Hirume” and the secret notes),’ in Ayanokōji kyūzō gakusho (Musical manuscripts formerly owned by the Ayanokōji family), 761-1 [i]63-293” Tenri, Japan, Tenri University Library.

Shrine, and through the performance of kagura taikyoku, a prayer for the peace and prosperity of the people, nature, and all beings of Japan was offered.

The brief definition of kagura taikyoku is “the imperial great song of kagura.” “Tai (大)” in Japanese means great and large, while “kyoku (曲)” means music, songs, and melodies. The lyrics of kagura taikyoku “Yudate” are: *Ise shima no ama no tonera ga taku honoke, oké, oké.*⁷ The English translation is “It is the sacred fire that the priests of Ise and Shima are making for the Shinto rituals. *Oké, oké.*” Considering the agent of command, ritual contexts, the object of worship, and its purpose, taikyoku signifies “the sacred and secret song belonging to the emperor and kept hidden.” In Japanese, kagura hikyoku and kagura taikyoku are often referred to together as “kagura taikyoku hikyoku (神楽大曲秘曲).” Although they are two different kagura songs, the songs are not very different from one another in essence, although the venues of their performance are distinctive, either Kasuga Taisha Shrine for its enshrined deities or the Imperial Palace Shrine for Amaterasu Ōmikami. Both songs are sung silently to worship Amaterasu Ōmikami and other Shinto deities with deepest respect, humbleness, and dedication. In the rest of chapters, I may refer to kagura taikyoku as “kagura great song” but refer to both kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku as “kagura secret songs.” Both songs are hidden from the secular world because these songs are the emperor’s ultimate offerings to kami in order to fervently pray for the wellness of people and all beings of Japan.

The musical instrumentation of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku is identical. There are five musicians and one dancer involved in the performance of these songs. The five musicians consist of one lead singer, one second singer, one *wagon* (Japanese zither) player, one flute (*kagura-bue*) player, and one Japanese-oboe (*hichiriki*) player. The dancer is called *ninjō*.

⁷ “Yudate fu (The musical score of ‘Yudate’) in Ayanokōji kyūzō gakusho (Musical manuscripts formerly owned by the Ayanokōji family), 761-1 [i]63-295” 1836, Tenri, Japan, Tenri University Library.

Dance is performed with three selected kagura songs: “Hayakarakami,” “Hayauta,” and “Sonokoma.” While a *ninjō* always dances with “Hayakarakami” and “Sonokoma” at annually held mikagura no gi in the Imperial Palace Shrine, “Hayauta” is exclusively performed when kagura taikyoku or kagura hikyoku is performed at mikagura no gi.

There are five key elements that sustain the performance of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku: (1) The emperor is the principal agent who commands the performance; (2) Performers are singers, three instrumentalists, and dancer; (3) the songs are performed in distinctive venues; (4) Musical notations include lyrics, melodies, and the method of silent performance; and (5) ways of transmission include certificates of transmission and the taking of an oath not to reveal the music that is passed down to others. By missing just one of these five elements, kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku would not have been able to persist. This research unveils ways in which these five elements have been sustained for a millennium.

In this thesis, I clarify the circumstances for the continuity of two songs, kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku. I briefly argue the issue of “continuity without interruption” by way of the survival and sustainability of these songs. While the uninterrupted continuity of kagura hikyoku is unquestionable, as it has been performed throughout its history, the unbroken continuity of kagura taikyoku has been somewhat unclear and debatable. There is no record of performance of kagura taikyoku after the Meiji Restoration in 1868. However, I posit that there was no interruption in the performance of these songs, due to these four reasons: (1) The Meiji government’s decision and action was to preserve kagura taikyoku; (2) There is available the unified musical score of kagura taikyoku that is kept at the Imperial Household Agency; (3) There is irrefutable evidence of the presence of court musicians throughout the period; and (4) The very presence of Kasuga Taisha Shrine ensure that preservation was underway. Both kagura

taikyoku and kagura hikyoku continue today, and this thesis chronicles the resilience of these secret songs over the centuries and through historic challenges.

Theoretical Framework

I have found the ecological concept of resilience useful as a theoretical framework for understanding ways in which the kagura secret songs have survived while retaining substantially the same operation since the twelfth century at the imperial palace shrine in Japan. Resilience is a theory of change and continuity. Carl Folke, an environmental scientist and leading scholar of resilience, explained:

Resilience is the capacity of a system to absorb disturbance and recognize while undergoing change so as to still retain essentially the same function, structure, and feedbacks, and therefore identity, that is, the capacity to change in order to sustain identity; resilience is a dynamic concept focusing on how to persist with change, how to evolve with change.⁸

In the late 1990s, Berks and Folke started to use the concept of social-ecological systems as an integrated approach of human-in-nature and related the concept to resilience.⁹ Today, scholars of resilience and social-ecological systems research share the common perspective that people are viewed as part of the planet, as part of the biosphere.

The current resilience thinking and its premise resonate with the resilient nature of Shinto. This definition of resilience corresponds to the nature of the continuity of Shinto. Shinto is an indigenous religion in Japan not as a rigid tradition that has continued separately from other traditions without any change but that has continued with change in order to sustain essentially the same function, structure, and affect on emotions since immemorial. Similarly, the premise of the resilience thinking echoes the Shinto view on the relationship between human life and the

⁸ Carl Folke, "Resilience (Republished)," *Ecology and Society* 21, no. 4 (2016), 4.

⁹ Fikret Berkes and Carl Folke, "Linking Social and Ecological Systems for Resilience and Sustainability," in *Linking Social and Ecological Systems: Management Practices and Social Mechanisms for Building Resilience*, ed. Fikret Berkes, Carl Folke, and Johan Colding (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 1–25.

elements of nature. This is exactly what Shinto embraces. Biosphere is not an object to control or exploit but to co-exist. Therefore, the concept of resilience is tripartite, in that it consists of the integrating resilience, adaptability, and transformability, all of which can join together to illuminate an understanding of how Shinto sacred and secret ritual songs have been continuously operated in the face of series of changes.

The concept of resilience, which emerging from the bio-world, influenced multiple fields and disciplines, including psychology, anthropology, business management, economics, environmental politics, environment, technology and science, and so forth.¹⁰ While an ecological approach to music cultures such as sustainability is not new in ethnomusicology, the specific concept of resilience is a fairly recent thrust. Jeff Todd Titon pioneered resilience as a promising concept in ethnomusicology. He clarified the many advantages of resilience as a means of understanding musical cultures, and claims that “Sustainability is current, while resilience and adaptive management point toward the future of applied ethnomusicology.”¹¹ He defines sustainability in applied ethnomusicology as “it refers to a music culture’s capacity to maintain and develop its music now and in the foreseeable future.”¹²

Then, Titon compares the two terms of sustainability and resilience and highlights the advantages of resilience. According to him, whereas sustainability and its related ideas are goals, not means, resilience offers a practical strategy to guide toward a desirable end. Resilience can be applied to any music cultures because “as music cultures are systems, they too exhibit resilience to a greater or lesser degree.”¹³ Moreover, identifying “what makes a music culture

¹⁰ Carl Folke provides an overview of the emergence of the resilience perspective and the context within which it has developed. “Resilience: The Emergence of a Perspective for Social-Ecological Systems Analyses” in *Global Environment Change* 16 (2006) 253-267.

¹¹ Titon, “Sustainability, Resilience, and Adaptive Management for Applied Ethnomusicology.”

¹² *Ibid.*, 157.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 158.

vulnerable, what makes it resilient, and ameliorating the former while strengthening the latter becomes, therefore, a practical strategy for enhancing a music culture's sustainability."¹⁴

Because my aim is to analyze the strategies employed to sustain the kagura secret songs during Japanese historic periods of instability and disturbances, Titon's view on resilience is relevant and useful. Over the course of almost a millennium, multiple agents sustained the kagura secret songs while retaining the key feature of secrecy and sacredness of this music to this day. My analysis is centered on the strategies of multiple agents—emperors, court nobles, hereditary musicians, the modern government, and court-government-musicians—in facing up to the historic crises of the kagura secret songs during Japan's medieval and the modern periods.

I believe that my role is to support and sustain the continuity of the kagura secret songs into the unforeseeable future. Titon's work here is relevant as well in that he emphasizes the importance of adaptive management for applied ethnomusicologists who "are committed to putting ethnomusicological knowledge and insight to practical use in order to improve musical life."¹⁵ He suggests that "Adaptive management is succeeding in strengthening resilience and decreasing vulnerability in social groups facing undesirable change, and in individuals facing stress and trauma," and that "adaptive management not only enhances resilience but remodels behavior based on a new understanding."¹⁶ Whereas the kagura secret songs are considered to be an example of healthy music culture as it is performed today, there is uncertainty and potential threat toward the continuity of secrecy and sacredness in this world full of uncertainty and constant change. It may seem to some Japanese scholars controversial to unveil the secret, private, and hidden music tradition through the ethnomusicological research, but my aim is to shed light upon this most sacred ritual music in Japan without losing its key feature as the

¹⁴ Ibid., 158.

¹⁵ Ibid., 158.

¹⁶ Ibid., 158.

Emperor's innermost prayer for the country. I hope to analyze characteristics of the resilience of the kagura secret songs, and to explore both what has changed to sustain the essential identity and what has not changed over the centuries.

In order to analyze the resilient system of the kagura secret songs, it will be useful to consider also Schippers' five-key-domain-framework on sustainability as a reference. He initiated the grand collaborative project, "Sustainable Futures for Music Cultures: Toward an Ecology of Cultural Diversity (2009-2014)."¹⁷ Each case study is analyzed from the viewpoint of the five key domains: "systems of learning music; musicians and communities; contexts and constructs; infrastructure and regulations; and media and the music industry."¹⁸ Within nine case studies are found documentation of both endangered music practices and successful ones. To explain the rationale of this selection, Schippers writes that "while the former may provide profound insight into the main obstacles encountered by living music cultures in need of safeguarding, vibrant practices can reveal possible pathways to removing such obstacles."¹⁹ My case study of the kagura song exemplifies a successfully sustained living music culture.

Among Schippers' five key domains, that of "contexts and constructs" is particularly useful in analyzing the continuity of religious affect on the multiple agents who have sustained the Shinto sacred ritual music, because this domain "examines the underlining values and attitudes (constructs) setting musical directions."²⁰ However, my purpose is not examining this framework but using it as an assisting tool; thus, instead of fully applying this framework, I illustrate the musical environment of the kagura secret songs and its resilient system that has kept the essential features of sacredness and secrecy over a millennium. Through in-depth analysis,

¹⁷ Huib Schippers and Catherine Grant, eds., *Sustainable Futures for Music Cultures: An Ecological Perspective* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2016).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 12-13.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 12.

this dissertation examines these features within the system of the kagura secret songs have been drastically disturbed or changed, and what have been sustained and highly valued by related agents and a larger community, in this case Japanese society.

Research Method

This project is equally a documentary history and an ethnography focused on the continuity of the most sacred and secret Shinto ritual music—kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku—and the unique religious affect on emotions associated with Shinto practices at Ise Jingū and in the imperial household. Deploying research strategies standard to historical ethnomusicology²¹, I examine the lives and works of prominent court nobles as well as roles of emperors during the periods of crises in order to clarify the mechanisms by which kagura secret songs survived. My analyses were directed to entries in court diaries, historical manuscripts, and musical notations housed in the National Archives of Japan, the Imperial Household Archives and the Imperial Household Library of Japan, as well as *Ayanokōji kyūzō gakusho* (Musical manuscripts formerly owned by the Ayanokōji family) housed at the Tenri University Library in Japan. Manuscripts on rituals and prayers of Ise Jingū, housed at Jingū bunko (Archives of Ise Jingū) in Ise, are also engaged.

My fieldwork includes fifteen visits to Ise Jingū from March 2008 to September 2016 including ethnographic research at Ise Jingū and the Imperial Household Agency, and interviews with key persons active in the perpetuation of Shinto rituals. I observed more than one thousand rituals conducted at Ise Jingū while in residence there from September 2012 to January 2013, and from June 2013 to June 2014. The highlight of my fieldwork was the 62nd Shikinen Sengū (the rites of renewal) that took place in October 2013. As a temporary staff member of Ise Jingū, I

²¹ Jonathan McCollum and David G. Hebert, eds., *Theory and Method in Historical Ethnomusicology* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2014).

was able to observe the related ceremonies to Shikinen Sengū including the rite of transferring the Sun Goddess Amaterasu from the old sanctuary building to the newly built one and the court musicians' procession to the site of the performance of the sacred ritual music and kagura hikyoku. I had the opportunity to understand the sacred songs in ritual context. While I cannot reveal names of those who have helped me to understand these rituals and the secret songs (since I am committed to protecting their status and position), I have developed professional relationships with many experts in the fields of Shinto rituals who generously shared their knowledge, experiences, and viewpoints. I observed the rituals, analyzed them, asked questions and discussed them further with these specialists, which enabled me to identify hidden information about kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku in the Archives. By reading the historical manuscripts on kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku, I was enlightened of numerous key components that helped me understand the resilience and sustainability of the two kagura secret songs.

The combination of ethnographic and historical approaches has been acknowledged in the field of ethnomusicology. For example, one of the influential scholars of historical ethnomusicology, Kay Kaufman Shelemay, shows the effective combination of the two approaches in her study of the reconstruction of Falasha liturgical history. Shelemay explained that “an ethnomusicological study of a living music culture provides a multi-faceted and unique data base, which in its totality may well illuminate important aspects of a culture's history.”²² Bonnie Wade also greatly contributes to historical ethnomusicology through her seminal work, *Imagining Sound: An Ethnomusicological Study of Music, Art and Culture in Mughal India*²³.

²² Kay Kaufman Shelemay, “Historical Ethnomusicology’: Reconstructing Falasha Liturgical History,” *Ethnomusicology* 24, no. 2 (1980): 235.

²³ Bonnie C Wade, *Imagining Sound: An Ethnomusicological Study of Music, Art, and Culture in Mughal India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

Wade describes musical practices during the Mughal period and constructs political and cultural history based on paintings of musicians. Her historical approach is characterized as iconographic analysis. Historical ethnomusicology continues to flourish, and is notable in recent works such as James Revell Carr's book *Hawaiian Music in Motion: Mariners, Missionaries, and Ministers*²⁴ in which old manuscripts and sailors' journals during the nineteenth century are examined and interpreted. The focus and effectiveness of historical ethnomusicology vary depending on the research subject and objectives, although the main approaches include an archaeological approach, interpretation of old manuscripts, iconographic analysis, and oral history/biography.²⁵

The historical dimension of my research concerns the interpretation of old manuscripts. Frequently, I gained information in my study of the manuscripts even though they were written for purposes other than my research aims. For example, I found detailed evidence of the last performances of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku prior to the Meiji Restoration in a governmental document that had been written to use as a reference for future performers of those songs. Unique to my research is the extent to which it discloses insights on the continuing expression of religious emotions by the involved agents, ranging from the thirteenth to the early twentieth centuries, and substantiated by the fieldwork in which I engaged. To show the continuing commitment to the sacred songs, I provide an ethnographic account of the priests of Ise Jingū and my interactions with them, which includes their emotions and fears as well as mine. Hopefully, readers will discover that the emotional commitment of the contemporary priests is shared by the historical figures of many centuries ago who played an integral role in sustaining the Shinto sacred and secret ritual music.

²⁴ James Revell Carr, *Hawaiian Music in Motion : Mariners, Missionaries, and Minstrels* (Urbana, Chicago: Urbana, Chicago : University of Illinois Press, 2014).

²⁵ Jonathan McCollum and David G. Hebert, *Theory and Method in Historical Ethnomusicology*, 45.

Scholarly Contributions of This Thesis

While there are some sporadic studies on *kagura taikyoku* and *kagura hikyoku* in Japanese scholarship, this dissertation will be the first extensive research on these secret and sacred songs in the West and in Japan. This dissertation is thus important in four respects: (1) As further advancement of research on *gagaku*, (2) As a case study of applied ethnomusicology in its demonstration of resilience as a healthy and continuing music culture, (3) As a case study of Shinto religion and ritual music by exploring sacredness, secrecy, and the silent performance, and (4) In reconciling the politicized view of Shinto as the modern invention.

Despite music being an integral part of Shinto rituals, its scholarly works have been scarce in the West because scholars of Japanese religions conduct Shinto studies but do not focus on specific Shinto ceremonial music. Also, Western scholars of Shinto studies are few in number when compared to those who specialize in Buddhist studies. In the field of ethnomusicology, while the Japanese imperial court music and dance has been extensively researched in the West, the subject of research has been centrally focused on the *gagaku* of foreign origin. This is due to the fact that the *gagaku* of native origin, Shinto ceremonial music, is interrelated with Shinto rituals as performed at the Imperial Palace, which is the most closed institution in Japan and thus one of the least accessible sites of fieldwork. Under this situation, the most sacred and hidden vocal tradition of the imperial court rituals—*kagura taikyoku* and *kagura hikyoku*—has not been known in the West.

My research has been informed by both Western and Japanese scholarship on *gagaku*. In order to lay the foundations of research on *kagura taikyoku* and *kagura hikyoku* within realm of Shinto music rituals, a review of prior scholarly works on the relevant topics on Shinto ritual music and *gagaku* is in order. Scholars in Japan, and internationally, have examined these topics

in interdisciplinary ways, through lenses of religion and ritual studies, Japanese history, folklore, and cultural studies.

In Western scholarship, there are some case studies of Shinto music and dance that are associated with particular regions, including the works of Terence Lancashire²⁶ and Irit Averbuch.²⁷ These descriptive ethnographic studies analyze regional styles of Shinto music and dance that are intertwined with the regions. In Japanese scholarship, there are many prior works on regional Shinto ritual music and dance which are categorized as folkloric studies. One of the representative scholars is Yasuji Honda, an influential folklorist, who developed extensive fieldwork on Japanese traditional and folkloric music traditions.²⁸ His works focus on ethnographic description of regional styles of music and dance that are both secular and related to shrines and temples in Japan. My project aims to situate Shinto ritual music on a larger scale by addressing the relationship between the emperor and the country and by suggesting the essence of Shinto ritual music as sharing common features across time and circumstance.

Shinto studies in Japan have paid special attention to Shinto rituals of Ise Jingū and Imperial Court, paving the way to an understanding of the context of the kagura secret songs. There are a great many prior scholarly works on Shinto studies relating to Ise Jingū and the Imperial Court. Especially, the scholarly works by former priests of the Ise Jingū and ritual specialists of the Imperial Household Agency are quite useful, because both Ise Jingū and the Imperial Court are the most inaccessible sites in Japan. Masayuki Nakanishi²⁹ and Kunio Kobori

²⁶ Terence Lancashire, *Gods' Music : The Japanese Folk Theatre of Iwami Kagura* (Wilhelmshaven: Florian Noetzel, 2006).

²⁷ Irit Averbuch, *The Gods Come Dancing : A Study of the Japanese Ritual Dance of Yamabushi Kagura* (Ithaca, NY: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 1995).

²⁸ Yasuji Honda, *Honda Yasuji Chosakushū : Nihon no dentō geinō* (Collected works of Yasuji Honda: Japanese performing arts) (Tōkyō: Kinseisha, 1993).

²⁹ Masayuki Nakanishi, *Jingū shikinen sengū no rekishi to saigi* (History of Shikinen Sengū and rituals of Ise Jingū) (Tōkyō: Kokusho Kankōkai, 2007).

are such former priests of Ise Jingū, and Kiyohiko Kawade³⁰ and Jun'ichi Kamata³¹ are former ritual specialists of the Imperial Court. Their scholarly works focus on the analysis of specific rituals. An exceptional work written by Norifumi Shimazu, a former priest of Ise Jingū, introduces the gagaku tradition of Ise Jingū.³²

Gagaku is the Japanese imperial court music and dance with origins in the ancient performing arts of the Asian mainland as well as musical traditions native to Japan. Prior research on gagaku was advanced by ethnomusicologists Robert Garfias,³³ Eta Harich-Schneider,³⁴ and William P. Malm.³⁵ As in ethnomusicological research of other music cultures before the 1970s, these scholarly works mainly focus on musical aspects of gagaku. Their main interest in gagaku was to trace foreign origin forms of the ensemble such as “tōgaku” and “komagaku.” By contrast, the gagaku music of Japanese native origin, consisting of songs and dances to the music of ancient Japan and its cultural contexts, has been seldom researched in the West. Eta Harich-Schneider completed research on one type of court songs called *rōei*.³⁶ Her book on Japanese music partly includes English translations of some selected *kagura-uta*, or kagura songs,³⁷ but there is no mention of the kagura secret songs. Similarly, Robert Garfias wrote an essay on mikagura, in which he describes selected kagura songs, instruments, and

³⁰ Kiyohiko Kawade, *Saishi gaisetsu* (A survey of Shinto rituals) (Tokyo: Gakuseisha, 1978); Kiyohiko Kawade, *Daijōsai to kyūchū no matsuri* (Daijōsai and imperial court rituals) (Tokyo: Meicho Shuppan, 1990).

³¹ Jun'ichi Kamata, *Sokuirei daijōsai heisei tairei yōwa* (The enthronement ceremony of Emperor Akihito) (Tōkyō: Kinseisha, 2003).

³² Norifumi Shimazu, *Jingū gagaku no dentō* (*Gagaku tradition of Ise Jingū*), Ise Jingū Sūkeikai sōsho ; 20 (Ise: Ise Jingū Sūkeikai, 2015).

³³ Robert Garfias, *Gagaku : The Music and Dances of the Japanese Imperial Household* (New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1959); Robert Garfias, *The Tōgaku Style of Japanese Court Music* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of California, Los Angeles, 1966); Robert Garfias, *Music of a Thousand Autumns : The Tōgaku Style of Japanese Court Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975).

³⁴ Eta Harich-Schneider, *The Rhythmical Patterns in Gagaku and Bugaku* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1954).

³⁵ William P Malm, *Traditional Japanese Music and Musical Instruments. New Ed.*, Nihon Dentō Ongaku Shūsei (Tokyo; New York: Kodansha International, 2000).

³⁶ Eta Harich-Schneider, *Rōei* (Tokyo: Sophia University Press, 1965).

³⁷ Eta Harich-Schneider, *A History of Japanese Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973).

musical notations;³⁸ however, social history and a description of the kagura secret songs are absent. In short, there is no prior work in English on the kagura secret songs and their ritual contexts.

While kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku signify the essence of Shinto and the primary role of the emperor as a head priest, these songs have not been researched by ethnomusicologists or by scholars in other disciplines. This dissertation contributes new understandings to several related disciplines. First, kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku are a continuation and extension of earlier research by ethnomusicologists on gagaku. Prior scholarly works on gagaku emphasized musical structure and repertoires of *komagaku* and *tōgaku*, while overlooking the kagura secret songs. This was partly due to the timing by ethnomusicologists of their interactions with court musicians. As kagura hikyoku is so rarely performed (only at the emperor's once-in-a-lifetime enthronement and at the 20-year rite of reconstruction), the opportunities by ethnomusicologists to study it are just as rare. Further, since the performance of kagura hikyoku is sequestered and accessible only by performers of kagura hikyoku, the chance for ethnomusicologists to study it in a completely ethnographic way has not been possible. Robert Garfias, pioneering ethnomusicologist whose research focuses on *tōgaku*, a type of gagaku of foreign origin (and who wrote generally on mikagura no gi, including some kagura songs), kindly acknowledged my work on the topic: "I have this strong sense that I wish we had talked a long time ago. I think my dissertation might have been better with the information I have learned from you."³⁹

I inquired of Garfias as to reasons why he had not heard about kagura hikyoku during his fieldwork in the late 1950s and 60s. He responded thus:

³⁸ Robert Garfias, "The Sacred Mi-Kagura of the Japanese Imperial Court," *Selected Reports: Publication of the Program in Ethnomusicology of the University of California at Los Angeles* 1, no. 2 (1968): 150–78.

³⁹ Robert Garfias, e-mail message to author, September 17, 2015.

My first visit to Japan was in 1951 but I learned nothing about the music. It was after that that I became interested more seriously in Japanese music. In 1954 the Azuma Kabuki Dance troupe came to the US and they included one Gagaku/Bugaku composition in the performance. I do remember that I was absolutely amazed by the sound of the music, even though it was not pure gagaku. A year or so later I was able to hear the recording made in the early 1940's by the Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai. I did not study gagaku formally until 1956 and at first only with the Tenrikyo musicians in Los Angeles. In 1958 I went to Japan and then began studying under the court musicians.⁴⁰

In the 20th century, kagura hikyoku was performed at Shikinen Sengū at the Ise Grand Shrine in 1909, 1929, 1953, 1973, 1993, and at the enthronement ceremony at the Imperial Palace Shrine in 1928 for Emperor Shōwa and in 1990 for the present 125th Emperor. Garfias had interacted with the court musicians in Tokyo in 1958. If he had begun studying under the court musicians five years prior to 1958, there had been a chance that he would have been present for the performance of kagura hikyoku there at that time. I was in the field at the right time, so it seems. My research on kagura hikyoku and kagura taikyoku extends the study of gagaku that Garfias and other scholars have accomplished.

In Japan, there are plentiful sources on gagaku written by scholars across several disciplines, including history, Japanese classical literature, and musicology. Selected prior scholarly works with a historical approach include Satomi Toyonaga⁴¹ and Akiko Mishima.⁴² Toyonaga analyzes the selected emperors' keen interest in secret repertoires of particular instruments during the medieval period and intimate relationship with the court musicians who transmitted the music to the emperors. Mishima analyzes the family of the court musicians who specialized in the *shō* during the Muromachi period and relationships with Shōgun and the emperors as their masters of the instrument. Their research illuminates the importance of the

⁴⁰ Robert Garfias, e-mail message to author, September 20, 2015.

⁴¹ Satomi Toyonaga, *Chūsei no tennō to ongaku* (The medieval emperors and music) (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2006).

⁴² Akiko Mishima, *Tennō, shōgun, jige gakujin no Muromachi ongakushi* (History of music of the emperors, shogunate, and hereditary musicians of low rank during the Muromachi period) (Kyōto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2012).

imperial court music to the emperors during the era, which historically contextualize my argument of the emperors' strategies and efforts to preserve kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku.

Kazuhiko Iijima⁴³ and Mahito Nakamoto⁴⁴ generated research on mikagura from an approach of Japanese classical literature. Iijima is well versed not only on the historical manuscripts but also the imperial court music and dance as they are described in Japanese classical literature. He deciphered those manuscripts that are related to the foundation of the Ayanokōji family, the lineage of the kagura songs. I owe much to his works as part of the historical foundation of my research. Yasuko Tsukahara⁴⁵ and Naoko Terauchi⁴⁶ specialize in the musicological studies of gagaku during the transitional period of the modern era and aftermath. Tsukahara focuses on gagaku during the modern period and Terauchi builds on Tsukahara's works and analyzes the continuing tradition of gagaku from the later period of the modern period into the present. As for the kagura secret songs, Japanese scholars were not specifically attracted to them. This is partly because of feasibility and inaccessibility to the site of performances; thus, an ethnomusicological approach of looking at kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku in cultural contexts has been missing.

Several former court musicians such as Toshiharu Tōgi⁴⁷ and Suemasa Abe⁴⁸ wrote books on gagaku. These are important sources for understanding not only the musical aspects of

⁴³ Kazuhiko Iijima, *Kodai kayō no shūen to hen'yō* (The end and transformation of the ancient songs and ballads) (Tōkyō: Ōfū, 2007).

⁴⁴ Mahito Nakamoto, *Kyūtei mikagura geinō-shi* (History of the sacred musical ritual at the Imperial Palace) (Tokyo: Shintensha, 2013).

⁴⁵ Yasuko Tsukahara, *Meiji kokka to gagaku: dentō no kindai/ kokugaku no sōsei* (*The Meiji nation and gagaku: modernization of tradition and the creation of a national music*) (Tōkyō: Yūshisha, 2009).

⁴⁶ Naoko Terauchi, *Gagaku no "kindai" to "gendai": keishō, fukyū, sōzō no kiseki* (Gagaku from the modern to contemporary periods: Transmission, popularization, and a path of creativity) (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2010).

⁴⁷ Toshiharu Tōgi, *Gagaku shin'in: tenjō no mai, uchū no gaku* (Sublime gagaku: dance of the heavens and music of the universe) (Saitama-ken: Yūshin Bunko, 1999); Toshiharu Tōgi, *Gagaku hyōbyō* (*Boundlessly wide gagaku*), Shohan (Saitama-ken: Yūshin Bunko, 2002).

⁴⁸ Suemasa Abe, *Gagaku ga wakaru hon: Sennen no gake ga tsutaeru gagaku no sekai* (Understanding gagaku: A millennium of gagaku transmitted by hereditary musician family) (Tokyo: Tachibana Shuppan, 1998); Suemasa

gagaku, but also for clarifying court rituals and ceremonies as to which court musicians perform gagaku. Their books are not scholarly works in the sense that they do not argue positions nor do they offer new and original interpretations. However, these sources are based on the actual experiences of court musicians, and are thus important, as the fact that gagaku was passed on among court musicians is considered to be the most sophisticated form of gagaku in Japan.

While there is scholarship on Shinto ritual music, which is linked to research on kagura songs, no prior scholarly work exists on kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku. A historical approach, combining fieldwork with descriptive and analytical study, is useful to understanding the kagura secret song performed today. In this way, my research offers new insights to the continuing effort to discover the full essence of gagaku.

In addition to contributing to an understanding of gagaku, this research on kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku also serves as a case study that exhibits a resilient system of a healthy music culture that has survived threats to its existence, as well as to its performance practice. As kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku have persisted for more than a millennium, the songs represent an example of a music culture system with strong resilience and delivery of a successful adaptive management plan. Compared to a growing number of studies on music and its sustainability within cultures, the development of case studies of music and resilience has been scarce. This research contributes to the literature on the sustainable futures and resilience of music cultures.

Moreover, this dissertation contributes to research on religion and music, which is a continuing interest of scholars of ethnomusicology. There are classic works on the topic, including Steven Friedson's research on music and trance, *Dancing Prophets: Musical*

Abe, *Gagaku hichiriki sennen no hiden* (Hichiriki of gagaku: The secret tradition of a millennium) (Tokyo: Tachibana Shuppan, 2008); Suemasa Abe, *Gagaku kaisō* (Recollection of gagaku) (Tokyo: Kamomirusha, 2013).

Experience in Tumbuka Healing,⁴⁹ Guy Beck's work on music and Indian philosophy, *Sonic Theology: Hinduism and Sacred Sound*,⁵⁰ and Kristina Nelson's exploration of the sound and Islam, *The Art of Reciting the Qur'an*.⁵¹ Studies of Shinto ritual music have not yet attracted much scholarly attention in the West, although there are several valuable efforts. My research explores the concepts of sacredness, secrecy, and even the silence of voiceless performance as an expression of deep reverence; thus, it provides materials for future comparison with other examples of music in religious practice.

Furthermore, a review of the continuity of kagura hikyoku convincingly contributes to the already accepted view of Shinto as a continuous religion across the history of Japan in all of its ritual practices. This research encourages the further critical examination of the notion of Shinto as "State Shinto" and the modern invention. An argument of modern invention often lacks analysis on change and tends to simply conclude that changes signify discontinuity from the past. Applying the concept of resilience illuminates that change is inevitable in any society and that change can be absorbed in order to continue the system. Thus, some changes do not always mean the break or discontinue tradition but actually provide the means of assisting the re-organization and restoration of tradition in order to sustain the essence and the function of a system. This study demonstrates that Shinto is a resilient tradition that has been continuously and effectively operated in Japan.

Chapter Overview

⁴⁹ Steven M. (Steven Michael) Friedson, *Dancing Prophets: Musical Experience in Tumbuka Healing*, Chicago Studies in Ethnomusicology (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

⁵⁰ Guy L. Beck, *Sonic Theology: Hinduism and Sacred Sound*, Studies in Comparative Religion (Columbia, S.C.) (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1993).

⁵¹ Kristina Nelson, *The Art of Reciting the Qur'an*, [New ed.] (Cairo ; New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2001).

This work is unique methodologically in that it is both historical and ethnographic in its approach, and maybe best described as historical ethnomusicology with aspects of ethnographic enquiry contributing to the relationship of historical events to contemporary beliefs and practices.

Chapter 2 analyzes the characteristics of kagura hikyoku “Hirume” in terms of its performance, transmission, and ritual from a historical perspective between the twelfth and the seventeenth centuries. This chapter provides the essential features of kagura hikyoku as the foundation for discussing in the following chapters resilience of kagura secret songs and for examining how the features of the songs have been sustained over the period of centuries.

Chapter 3 examines the resilience of kagura hikyoku and kagura taikyoku by three case studies during the period of Warring States from the fifteenth through the early seventeenth centuries. I focus on three court nobles who protected the musical and ritual characteristics of the songs and continued their performances and transmissions: Aritoshi Ayanokōji (1419-97), Takayasu Washino’o (1485-1533), and Yukinaka Itsutsuji (1558-1627). I demonstrate the collaboration and the strategy of court nobles, court musicians, and the emperors.

Chapter 4 discusses the topic of changes and continuity in order to demonstrate that the changes that underwent from the end of the Shogunate to the early Meiji period (1866-1912) were part of continued tradition. This chapter investigates how the Meiji government’s two principles of building the modern nation—westernization and sustaining tradition—led to the government’s reorganization of kagura taikyoku “Yudate” and kagura hikyoku “Hirume.” The analysis includes three case studies of three figures who played an important role in sustaining the secret songs during this transitional period: Fujitsune Shiba (1849-1918), Arinaga Ayanokōji (1792-1873), and Suenaga Tōgi (1832-1914). Arinaga Ayanokōji is a descendant of Aritoshi Ayanokōji whose role I have examined in Chapter 3.

Chapter 5 examines the ways in which the performance of mikagura (sacred ritual music) and kagura hikyoku was extended in 1889 to Shikinen Sengū (the rites of renewal) from Jingū priests' perspectives. The analysis shows active roles of Emperor Meiji and Prince Asahiko in supporting the common thread of essential value of court rituals and Jingū rituals and in sustaining the ritual importance of kagura hikyoku. Jingū priests' prior research on ancient practices and manners of Jingū rituals that had been undertaken at the end of the Edo period signifies that Jingū priests shared the same view with Emperor Meiji and Prince Asahiko.

Chapter 6 expands on Emperor Meiji's role briefly presented in the previous chapter to further demonstrate Emperor Meiji's active role and contribution to the continuity of tradition as a priestly figure during the second half of the Meiji period. I examine his three contributions: (1) The Emperor's initiative to the performance of mikagura and kagura hikyoku to Shikinen Sengū at Ise Jingū in 1889, (2) The Emperor's explicit concern about the possible decline of tradition of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku and his command to preserve kagura hikyoku, and (3) The Emperor's approval to provide an imperial fund to the descendants of court nobles to teach and receive kagura hikyoku.

In the Chapter 7, the final chapter, I summarize the findings drawn from this research and discuss these findings in terms of how we ethnomusicologists can continue to advance scholarship by combining ethnography and archival research as well as by applying the ecological perspectives of resilience and sustainable science. I hope that my work will assist the continuity of the kagura secret songs and will contribute to the understanding of sustainability and resilience of music cultures that Titon, Schippers, and other prominent applied ethnomusicologists have actively developed for supporting sustainable music cultures into the future.

Chapter 2: Kagura Hikyoku “Hirume”: Performance, Transmission, and Ritual from a Historical Perspective

This chapter provides the historic formation of the essential features of kagura hikyoku “Hirume” from the twelfth century to the seventeenth century, as the foundation for discussing in the following chapters resilience of kagura secret songs and for examining how the features of the songs have been sustained over the period of centuries. The analysis of this chapter is mainly focused on kagura hikyoku.

On May 1, 1893, Sanetsune Tokudaiji¹, the grand chamberlain of the imperial court, notified the grand master of ceremonies “unofficially” of Emperor Meiji’s “wish” and “command” that the transmission of kagura secret songs to future generations be assured.

Tokudaiji recorded these, in his diary, as the emperor’s own words:

Both kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku used to be transmitted by hereditary court nobles who specialized in vocal court music. As the system of transmission by hereditary noble families has been eliminated, however, since the Meiji Restoration, I am afraid that the transmission of the kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku will eventually die out. For Shikinen Sengū of Ise Jingū and for other occasions as well, the performance of kagura secret songs will be needed. Thus, it is necessary to transmit both types of song either to the descendants of hereditary nobles or to low-rank court musicians who are especially skilled at gagaku.²

This indicates that Emperor Meiji was deeply concerned that the transmission of the kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku might be discontinued due to the end of the traditional system of transmission. The reason he mentioned Ise Jingū is because Ise Jingū had added both mikagura (the sacred music ritual) and kagura hikyoku to Shikinen Sengū in 1889. Moreover, it was the first time that kagura hikyoku was performed after the Meiji Restoration in 1868. Kagura hikyoku was once performed from the middle eras throughout the pre-modern period at the

¹ Names are given in American order, not in Japanese order.

² Sanetsune Tokudaiji, “Tokudaiji sanetsune nikki (Diary of Tokudaiji Sanetsune), C1-149 Copy 3463,” Tokyo, Kunaichō shoryōbu (Imperial Household Archives) ? .

irregularly held sacred music ritual in the Naishidokoro, or the Imperial Palace Shrine for Amaterasu Ōmikami. However, kagura hikyoku had not been performed until 1889 since the Meiji Restoration in 1868. Thus, Emperor Meiji suggested a solution of how to preserve both kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku.

Since the Meiji Restoration in 1868, a series of changes occurred in many fields across Japanese society, such as the aforementioned termination of the traditional system of transmitting kagura songs including the secret songs. *Jingū gokaisei* or Jingū reformation in 1871 is another such example. While Shinto shrines and rituals have been studied by various approaches in Japan, humanists in the West have taken an exclusively politicized approach. Shinto has primarily been discussed as a tradition invented through statecraft during the push towards modernization. However, some changes can be interpreted as a modification or continuity of tradition; for example, kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku present an alternative approach to characteristics of court and Jingū rituals—not as an invention but as a continuous presence, maintained through reformation in a society where changes are inevitable.³

In order to explore the application of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku in the imperial court and Jingū rituals during early modern eras, it is essential to first understand the formation and development of these songs. Despite their importance, however, there are still no scholarly works focusing on them yet, which is why this chapter examines the history of kagura hikyoku, also referred to by its title, “Hirume,” as it was exclusively transmitted among members of hereditary kagura noble families. This examination proceeds through performance, transmission, and ritual contexts between the medieval and pre-modern periods, is based on historical

³ Western scholarship has tended to primarily discuss Shinto as a tradition invented through statecraft during the push toward modernization. Without consideration of historical shrine documents regarding rituals and practices, scholars represent the Ise Grand Shrine in a framework of politicized State Shinto.

documents as primary sources. The aim of this chapter is to initiate discussion about the aspects of kagura hikyoku from its origins to its continued performance today.

The Emperor as the Principle Agent to Conduct Mikagura

Mikagura is a sacred imperial court ritual in which a suite of kagura songs and dances are performed in dedication to kami (Shinto deities) at the Naishidokoro. Historically, mikagura was formed during the reign of Emperor Ichijō (r. 986-1011). Since then, mikagura has been held in mid-December every year as an annual court ritual. Historically, it was not the regularly held mikagura where the kagura hikyoku “Hirume” was performed. A fixed number of kagura songs were performed, but “Hirume” was performed only at mikagura held irregularly at the Naishidokoro for special occasions. The relationship between emperors and mikagura will be investigated from the case of Emperor Reigen (r. 1663-87).⁴

Emperor Reigen made efforts toward reviving ceremonies of the imperial palace that had discontinued due to civil wars, and was responsible for reinitiating many court events and rituals throughout the pre-modern era. In 1687, Emperor Reigen abdicated the throne to a crown prince, who was to become Emperor Higashiyama. At that time, Emperor Reigen negotiated with the shogunate government in order to revive the Daijōsai, which is the first Niinamesai held by the newly enthroned Emperor. Niinamesai is an annual rite of offering newly harvested rice to Amaterasu Ōmikami at the imperial palace. The first Niinamesai after the enthronement of a new emperor is called Daijōsai. Emperor Reigen’s abdication was planned along with the revival of Daijōsai, that is one of the most important court ceremonies.

⁴ The importance of playing the musical instruments to emperors is mentioned the art of kingcraft in *Kinpishō* (a practical guide about traditional imperial events and regulations) written by Emperor Juntoku (r. 1210-21). Mastering the musical instruments is both mental and practical training for emperors who give a command to hold the Shinto and Imperial ceremonial music, *mikagura*.

Here are Emperor Reigen's poems and comments about mikagura where he was present a year before his abdication. They express his feelings of celebrating a crown prince's enthronement and gratitude to the divine oracle of blessing the continuity of emperorship:

On December 14, Jōkyō 3 (1686)⁵, a year before I passed the throne on to my son, I listened to mikagura at the Naishidokoro. Considering the fact that I am going to listen to mikagura, which is very familiar to me, in a different place from next year on, I start feeling sad. However, Amaterasu Ōmikami's blessing will never change. Struck by a sense of awe, I wipe away my tears and make this poem:

Wasureji to omou koyoi no mononone mo morogokoroniya kamimokikuran
I will never forget the sound of the sacred music tonight: Amaterasu
Ōmikami must be listening to it together.

Emperor Reigen was deeply committed to the continuation of the country and its tradition:

The time for my abdication has finally come. I have been thinking of my prince's enthronement for a long time with the hope that Amaterasu Ōmikami will fulfill it. I wish that succeeding emperors' thrones would continue to be firm and endure forever, as long as heaven and earth. Encouraged by the divine order of continuity of the line of emperors, I make this poem:

Waganegai nagakumiteyoto omoukoto koremokamino morogokoronaru
My wish is Amaterasu Ōmikami's blessing toward my imperial successors,
This corresponds with her wish for the eternity of the line of
emperors like heaven and earth.

The Emperor was prayerful, engaging in traditional rituals, including this sacred music ritual:

Having humbly offered sacred rice after a ritual, I make this poem:

Inorioku wagasuemamore toshioete naeshi nagorio kamimo omowaba
The successive emperors including myself have prayed for
Amaterasu Ōmikami's Protection,
At the end of the annual cycle of rituals, I start missing mikagura,
Amaterasu Ōmikami is also listening to it and feeling the same.⁶

All three of Emperor Reigen's poems here include the term *kami*, which literally means "deity" and specifically refers to Amaterasu Ōmikami in these cases. Two out of three poems have the

⁵ It should be noted that the Meiji government adopted the Gregorian calendar on January 1, 1873. In this chapter, dates preceding this are given according to the older Chinese-derived lunar calendar. Jōkyō is a Japanese era name.

⁶ Ikuo Imai et al., *Kōshitsu bungaku taikai* (Compendium of imperial literature), Fukkokuban. (Tōkyō: Meicho Fukyūkai, 54).

term “together with kami.” Therefore, his poems express Emperor Reigen’s fervent prayer for the eternity of the imperial line along with his gratitude to Amaterasu Ōmikami. Emperor Reigen’s prayer for the continuity of the imperial line is one of the three oracles that Amaterasu Ōmikami gave to her grandson before his descending to Japan from the world of kami.⁷ It is called “*tenjōmukyū no shinchoku*” means “as eternal as heaven and earth.” Emperor Reigen made efforts to revive imperial rituals through the prayer based on this oracle. The rite of Daijōsai was revived in the year following this mikagura ritual, when Emperor Reigen’s son became Emperor Higashiyama.

Emperor Reigen’s view on mikagura represents the successive emperors’ view on mikagura. Indigenous sacred songs and dances for deities are performed for the sake of the entertainment and repose of the kami, meaning mikagura is an important court ritual. Mikagura that is held at the Imperial Palace Shrine where Amaterasu Ōmikami is enshrined, which is a site where the current Emperor is the principal priest of this ritual, in which he prays for the eternity of the imperial line as well as the peace and the prosperity of the country and people while feeling Amaterasu Ōmikami’s blessing directly.

Musical Scores and Transmission of Kagura Secret Songs

Historically, sacred music was transmitted from generation to generation among hereditary court nobility of high rank. When the Meiji government terminated this system of transmission in 1870, court nobles had to submit the musical scores and related manuscripts to the government. These documents are preserved, under sixteen subheadings, at the National Archives of Japan, under the title *Kagura hikyoku denju shorui* (Documents of transmitted

⁷ The first alternative writing of the second part of the ages of kami in the second volume of *Nihonshoki* (Chronicles of Japan), New edition of *Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* (Series of Japanese classical literature). Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1994.

kagura secret music). A document titled “Mototaka kyō shimeshisōrō kagura ryōkyoku” (Two kagura songs displayed by Mototaka Jimyōin) records the following valuable details:⁸

Taikyoku refers to “Yudate.”

Hikyoku refers to “Hirume.”

Both songs were established during the reign of Emperor Ichijō [r. 986-1011].

Sanehiro Tōin transmitted both songs to Aritoshi Ayanokōji on

December 20, Eikyō 10 (1438).

After the *kagurabue* [kagura flute], the *hichiriki* [Japanese oboe], and the *wagon*, a song begins.

This document also includes the lyrics and score⁹ of “Hirume,” also known as kagura hikyoku.

The title, “Hirume,” is another name for Amaterasu Ōmikami, who is directly invoked in this

lyrical poem that this lyric came to be classified as secret:

*Ika bakari yoki waza shite ka
Amateru ya hirume no kami o
Shibashi todomen, oké*

After inviting Amaterasu Ōmikami and entertaining her,
how much more god-music and dance would it take
to induce her to remain here? *Oké*

The meaning of the lyrics is that “after inviting Amaterasu and entertaining her, how much more god-music and dance would it take to induce her to remain here? *Oké*.” In other words, the song is sung to see her off. “Yokiwaza” refers generally to sacred music and dance performed before deities as offering.

The document quoted above contains the lyrics and musical scores of “Yudate” as well as “Hirume” and provides some information about their transmission. The record shows that Aritoshi Ayanokōji (1419-97) received this material from Sanehiro Tōin (1409-59) on December 20, Eikyō 10 (1438). The lyrics and notation were transmitted from Mototaka Jimyōin (1520-

⁸ “Mototaka kyō shimeshi sōrō kagura ryōkyoku (Two kagura secret songs passed down by Mototaka Jimyōin),’ in Kagura hikyoku denju shorui (Manuscripts on transmissions of the kagura secret songs), 199-0442, no.15” Tokyo, National Archives of Japan.

⁹ The type of musical notation is *hakase*, which is used for Buddhist chants and other traditional Japanese ballads. The *hakase* of both “Yudate” and “Hirume” are not cited here but can be found in the original documents.

1611) to Yukinaka Itsutsuji (1558-1626), who wrote the entire document in 1593. Aritoshi Ayanokōji belonged to a family of grand masters of kagura songs. The reason that he learned from Sanehiro Tōin—the son of Aritoshi’s father’s disciple—is that Aritoshi had lost his father when he was only eleven and thus was not ready yet for instruction.¹⁰ Here a question arises. How was the transmission in these two families of grand master of kagura songs, i.e. the Ayanokōji and the Jimyōin, during the time of Yukinaka Itsutsuji?

During the Warring States period (1467-1615), Yukinaka Itsutsuji played an important role in transmission of “Yudate” and “Hirume.” One document titled “Taikyoku hikyoku denju azukarisōrō chūko iraino nintei,”¹¹ in the National Archives contains a list, beginning with Arisuke Ayanokōji (1204-72), of sixteen people (nine from the Ayanokōji family, six from the Jimyōin family, and one from the Itsutsuji family) who transmitted “Yudate” and “Hirume.” Only one person on the list, Yukinaka Itsutsuji, was not from a family of grand masters of kagura songs.

Four years after Yukinaka Itsutsuji’s master, Mototaka Jimyōin, died, Mototaka’s adopted son Motohisa (1584-1615) fell in the Summer Siege of Osaka in 1615, and Motohisa’s son Motomasa likewise died young.¹² Due to the loss of the present head of the family and the next in line as well, the Jimyōin faced a crisis of continuity as a family of grand masters of kagura songs. Yukinaka Itsutsuji restored the line of succession of the Jimyōin family by inserting himself as a transitional figure until Motosada (1607-67), who married Motohisa’s daughter, was allowed to inherit and continue the family line.

¹⁰ “Tōin Sanehiro shinji hikyoku Aritoshi e denjūjō utsushi (A copy of the certificate that Sanehiro Tōin transmitted kagura hikyoku to Aritoshi Ayanokōji), 199-0442, No 4” Tokyo, National Archives of Japan. This document states that “Aritoshi Ayanokōji learned all the contents of kagura hikyoku “Hirume” on December 20, Eikyō (1438). It is understood that Tōin passed down “Hirume” to Aritoshi.

¹¹ “Taikyoku hikyoku denju azukarisōrō chūko iraino nintei (The list of names of figures who received the tradition of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku), 199-0442, No 10” Tokyo, National Archives of Japan.

¹² “Jimyōin (Genealogy of the Jimyōin), 155-0001” Tokyo, National Archives of Japan.

As for the Ayanokōji family, however, their line had already ended in the time of Yukinaka Itsutsuji. The family name of the Ayanokōji was revived through adoption of Yukinaka Itsutsuji's son, Taka'ari in 1613.¹³ Another National Archives document, titled “Kagura saibara sosen irai no den (People to whom kagura and saibara have been transmitted)”¹⁴ says that Taka'ari had received kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku from Yukinaka Itsutsuji. In short, Yukinaka Itsutsuji maintained continuity in the transmission of the sacred music repertoire by restoring the lines of succession in both the Jimyōin and Ayanokōji families of kagura grand masters.

In order to prevent any interruption in the conduct of mikagura, the sacred music ritual, noble families other than these two had to participate in the transmission of kagura songs, but as a result the scores and lyrics of “Yudate” and “Hirume” that had been handed down to Aritoshi Ayanokōji were transmitted from generation to generation, over a period of more than four centuries, until they were delivered to the Meiji government in the nineteenth century.

Characteristics of Kagura Hikyoku “Hirume”

Sagan was the historical records about the emperors and events held at the imperial court compiled by Motomitsu Yanagiwara (1746-1800), and includes examples of performing “Hirume.” The Yanagiwara family belonged to the hereditary lineage of court nobles occupying the government official position of *kidendō* (the study of history, literature, and composition). Motomitsu Yanagiwara documented activities of court nobles, Imperial court events, usages and

¹³ Historiographical Institute of the University of Tokyo, “Ayanokōji Arikazu sashidashi (Document written by Arikazu Ayanokōji),00059840” Tokyo, Historiographical Institute of the University of Tokyo.

¹⁴ “Kagura saibara sosen irai no den (People to whom kagura and saibara have been transmitted),199-0442, No 6” Tokyo, National Archives of Japan.

practices of the court household.¹⁵ *Sagan* provides compiled examples of performing “Hirume”.¹⁶

“A matter about kagura hikyoku “Hirume” documented in 1637”
Examples of performances of “Hirume” after Genryaku 2 (1185)

October 5, Ōei 11 (1404). Mikagura was specially conducted at the Naishidokoro. I heard that it was to pray for reducing Takako Tsūyōmonin¹⁷’s illness. “Hirume” was performed at that time.

August, Ōei 29 (1422). Mikagura was conducted at the Naishidokoro for three nights from the ninth of the month in order to pray for the recovery of Emperor Shōkō’s illness. They said that it was the imperial command. “Hirume” was performed at that time.

October, Kakitsu 2 (1442). From the seventeenth of the month, mikagura was conducted at the Naishidokoro for three nights to pray for the recovery of Emperor Go-Hanazono from his tumor. On the second night, “Hirume” was performed. According to my house records, from the last day of the ritual period, Emperor’s condition became better, and people rejoiced.

June, Kanshō 5 (1464). Mikagura was specially conducted at the Naishidokoro. According to my house records, it was because the abdication was to be conducted on coming July 19. I heard that the examples of Eitoku and Kakitsu were considered. Kagura hikyoku was performed at this time.

March 23, Meiō 9 (1500). Mikagura was specially conducted at the Naishidokoro. This rite was held due to the Emperor’s illness, a tumor. As for the example of the rite of Kakitsu 2 (1442), “Hirume” was performed on the second night as listed in the list of songs. That is how kagura hikyoku was performed at the three-night mikagura. I will not describe in detail, but it was a one-night mikagura the rite of *kaikō*.¹⁸ Yet because of the imperial wish, kagura hikyoku was performed. By observing the rite of Eitoku era, “Hirume” was performed on the second night.

The first example of Ōei 11 (1404) describes a performance for Takako Tsūyōmonin to get well from her illness. She was a consort of Emperor Go-Enyū and mother of Emperor Go-

¹⁵ Motomitsu Yanagiwara, *Sagan* (Diary of Motomitsu Yanagiwara); Zushoryō Sōkan (Kunaichō shoryōbu (Imperial Household Archives of Japan), 1994). 445.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 169-177. Cited examples of performing “Hirume” were part of the report originally written in 1673 by Tomotsuna Seikanji, an official of the imperial court.

¹⁷ Ex-emperor Go-Komatsu’s mother.

¹⁸ The meaning of *kaikō* is unclear.

Komatsu. According to *Mikagurazōki* cited in *the Veritable Records of Emperor Go-Komatsu*,¹⁹ one year after this mikagura, on October 5, Ōei 12 (1405), “mikagura was specially conducted in order to offer gratitude to the deities for Emperor’s mother, Takako Tsūyōmonin’s recovery from her illness.” In short, one year after mikagura and kagura hikyoku had been performed for her recovery, mikagura was conducted for thanking the deities.

The second example of Ōei 29 (1422) and the third example of Kakitsu 2 (1442) are the performances of “Hirume” for two emperors’ recovery from illness. The fourth example of Kanshō 5 (1464) is the performance of mikagura and “Hirume” for the Emperor’s abdication. The entry on the date of the fourth example in *Zoku shigūshō* also written by the author of *Sagan*, Motomitsu Yanagiwara, documents:

On June 14, Kanshō 5 (1464), the mikagura ritual was specially held at the Imperial Palace Shrine. There was kagura hikyoku “Hirume.” Mikagura and “Hirume” were performed in accordance with the abdication of the throne. The example of the era of Eitoku was observed.²⁰

The mikagura and “Hirume” were performed because of the abdication of the 102nd Emperor Go-Hanazono to 103rd Emperor Go-Tsuchimikado. In both *Zokushigūshō* and *Sagan*, the example of the era of Eitoku²¹ is mentioned as a common reference.

The record of the Eitoku example is found in the entry of March 30, 1382 of the *Veritable Records of Emperor Go-Enyū*. According to this entry, “It is the practice nowadays. Due to the abdication of the throne, the mikagura ritual was specially held today at the imperial palace shrine.” It is also documented that “Hirume” was sung. In short, the fourth example of 1464 in

¹⁹ All veritable records of emperors cited here is *Tennō kōzoku jitsuroku* (The veritable records of emperors), vol.1-135. (Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 2005-2010).

²⁰ Motomitsu Yanagiwara, *Zoku shigūshō* (History books written by Motomitsu Yanagiwara in the 18th Century), Chūhen (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2007).

²¹ Eitoku is a Japanese era name.

Sagan is a result of observing the performance of the mikagura and “Hirume” at the time of Emperor Go-Enyū’s abdication to Emperor Go-Komatsu in 1382.

The fifth example of Meiō 9 (1500) is for Emperor Go-Tsuchimikado. According to the record of that day in *Veritable Records of Emperor Go-Tsuchimikado*, “the mikagura was specially held at the Imperial Palace Shrine to pray for the recovery of the Emperor from his illness. The “Tadatomiōki” in the *Veritable Records of Emperor Go-Tsuchimikado* also documents that “Hirume” was sung at the mikagura ritual specially held at the Naishidokoro.” The article of the same day in *Zoku shigūshō* states that “By following the example of the three-night mikagura ritual, despite being only one night, “Hirume” was sung.”²² Thus, “Hirume” used to be performed at the three-night mikagura ritual, but it happened that “Hirume” was sung at the one-night mikagura ritual for a particular prayer because the one-night mikagura ritual was drawing from the procedure for a three-night mikagura ritual.

Sagan provides an article of the manner of “Hirume” performance:

Concerning the matter of “Hirume,” it is performed when there is a special prayer. There are manners of the performance of “Hirume.” An imperial envoy commands it like he commands the songs “Hoshi [stars].” After he stands and leaves the site, a main singer calls the flute player and the *hichiriki* player. After each player performs the prelude of “Hirume,” the lead singer commands the *wagon* player to play some melodic patterns. “Hirume” is a relevant kagura secret song. This song is only sung by one singer at a time not in duet or chorus. The lead singer sings “Hirume,” which is followed by the second singer without the accompaniment of the flute or *hichiriki*. *Wagon* accompanies the song.²³

Performers of “Hirume” consist of two vocalists, a flute player, a *hichiriki* player, and a *wagon* player. First, the flute player plays the prelude. The *hichiriki* also plays the prelude. The *wagon*

²² Yanagiwara, *Zoku shigūshō* (*History books written by Motomitsu Yanagiwara in the 18th Century*), *Chūhen*.

²³ The exactly same content is found in “‘Hirume fu narabi hiki (The musical score of “Hirume” and the secret notes),’ in *Ayanokōji kyūzō gakusho* (Musical manuscripts formerly owned by the Ayanokōji family), 761-1 [i]63-293.”

plays some fixed patterns. Then, the lead singer sings “Hirume” with the *wagon*. The second singer sings “Hirume” with the *wagon*.

There is one more example of a performance of “Hirume” in *Sagan*:

From May 8, Keichō 16 (1611), due to the emperor’s wish, the three-night mikagura ritual was held at the Imperial Palace Shrine starting from this day. Because of the imperial command, “Hirume” was sung on the third night. Yukinaka Itsutsuji served as the lead singer, Motohisa Jimyōin served as the second singer, and Suetsugu Yotsutsuji served as the *wagon* player.²⁴

According to *Veritable Records of Emperor Go-Mizuno’o*, the entry of the same day documents that “the three-night mikagura ritual was held at the Naishidokoro for the enthronement of the new emperor.” While the fifth example of 1500 in *Sagan* is the performance of “Hirume” for the Emperor Go-Hanazono’s abdication to Emperor Go-Tsuchimikado, this is an example of performing “Hirume” for Emperor Go-Mizuno’o’s enthronement.

To sum up the examples of “Hirume” performance in *Sagan*, “Hirume” is performed at the three-night mikagura ritual at the Naishidokoro. The reasons of performance are special prayers such as recoveries of an emperor, empress, and emperor’s mother from illness. As the example of Eitoku period, “Hirume” was performed at the time of abdication at the mikagura ritual held at the Naishidokoro. “Hirume” is a special kagura song that is performed at the time of abdication or enthronement. As for the style of performance, the lead singer and the second singer take turns singing it. There is no accompaniment except the *wagon*. Like the last example of 1611, court nobles of hereditary lineage occupying high ranks are selected as the lead singer, the second singer, and the *wagon* player.

“Hirume” Called “Kagura Hikyoku”

²⁴ Yanagiwara, *Sagan* (Diary of Motomitsu Yanagiwara); Zushoryō Sōkan.

“Hirume” became a kagura secret song, or kagura hikyoku over period of time. An early appearance of “Hirume” in relation to secrecy is in *Eikyokushō* that includes orally transmitted secret tradition on ballads and songs. It states, “A kagura great song, or kagura taikyoku is ‘Yudate.’ This is a secret of songs and dances performed as *kamiasobi* (an offering to the Shinto deities). It is also called a kagura secret song, or kagura hikyoku. ‘Hirume’ is a secret song and is the same as kagura taikyoku.”²⁵ It is likely that *Eikyokushō* was written around the end of the 12th century,²⁶ thus, it can be understood that “Hirume” was already secret around that time.

In later period after the 12th century, the article of March 29, Kenmu 4 (1337) in *Zoku shigūshō* states:

From tonight, the three-night mikagura is held at the Naishidokoro. There is the Emperor’s visit and prayer. The lead singer is the Emperor... there is a great song, “Hirume.” The Emperor sings it. The Emperor means Emperor Go-Daigo [r. 1318-39] who is in charge of the lead singer and sings “Hirume.”²⁷

In short, these sources suggest that “Hirume” was a special and secret song from the 12th through the 14th century.

Regarding between the 15th to the 16th centuries, the aforementioned document of “Both kagura songs that Mototaka showed”²⁸ has a passage that “a matter of the kagura great song is “Yudate,” and a matter of the kagura secret song is “Hirume.” It is a fact that Aritoshi Ayanokōji in the 15th century had transmitted the contents of the document including this passage, and Yukinaka Itsutsuji eventually learned and documented in the 16th century. In sum, the kagura

²⁵ Hokinoichi Hanawa, *Gunsho ruiju* (Collections of historical documents). 19 (Kangenbu kemaribu takabu yugibu inshokubu) (Tōkyō: Yagishoten, 2013).

²⁶ “Eikyokushō” is also referred as “Ryōjinhishō kudenshū,” vol. 11. According to the *Nihon kayō jiten* (Dictionary of the Japanese Ballades) (Tokyo: Oufū, 1985), Former Emperor Go-Shirakawa compiled volumes 1-10 of “Ryōjinhishō kudenshū.” It is not known who compiled vol.11 and the rest of them. But characters of the volumes are overlapped; thus, it is most likely that the rest of the volumes were written by one of the court official who used to serve to Go-Shirakawa.

²⁷ Motomitsu Yanagiwara, “Zokushigūshō, Vol. 20, No. 259-227” Tokyo, Kunaichō shoryōbu (Imperial Household Archives).

²⁸ “Mototaka kyō shimeshi sōrō kagura ryōkyoku (Two kagura secret songs passed down by Mototaka Jimyōin),’ in *Kagura hikyoku denju shorui* (Manuscripts on transmissions of the kagura secret songs), 199-0442, no.15.”

secret song referred to “Hirume” as distinct from the kagura great song, “Yudate” from the 15th to the 16th centuries.

The 17th century text entitled *Gakkaroku* compiled by Suehisa Abe that describes all aspects of the imperial court music and dance shows evidence of how “the song name of the secret song is ‘Hirume,’ and ‘Hirume’ is performed when three-night mikagura is held at the Imperial Palace Shrine.”²⁹ *Gakka kuden jitsuroku*, written also by Suehisa Abe, states that “Hirume” is performed by the lead singer and the second singer at the three-night mikagura held at the Naishidokoro.³⁰

In other words, the word kagura hikyoku, which literally means a secret song, referred to “Hirume” and came to be known by the name “Hikyoku” by the 17th century. Therefore, if there are records of the performance of “Hikyoku” that were performed at the three-night mikagura at the Naishidokoro during that period, it can be understood that “Hirume” was performed.

To sum up, “Hirume” was a piece of secret music by the 12th century. Its music was kept secret through the 14th century to such a degree that Emperor Go-Daigo himself sang “Hirume.” By the 15th century, the term kagura hikyoku referred to “Hirume” specifically and became the name of this song by the early modern period.

Two Rituals: Enthronement Ceremony and Transferring of Amaterasu Ōmikami

Among the examples of performance of “Hirume” documented in *Sagan*, four are for recovery from illness, one is for abdication, and one is for enthronement of Emperor Go-Mizuno’o at the beginning of the 17th century. This section examines two events where

²⁹ Suehisa Abe, *Gakkaroku* (Records of Hereditary Music Families) (Tokyo: Nihonkoten zenshū kankōkai, 1935).

³⁰ Suehisa Abe, “Gakka kuden jitsuroku (Veritable records of oral transmissions of the hereditary musician families)” 1943, Tokyo, Tokyo University of Arts.

mikagura was specially held after the 17th century: the enthronement of a new emperor and the transferral of the sacred mirror.

First, the examples of the “Hirume” performance at the enthronement after the 17th century found in *Veritable Records of Emperors*³¹ will be looked at. In each of the *Veritable Records* of Emperor Go-Mizuno’o (108th), Emperor Meishō (109th), Emperor Go-Kōmyō (110th), Emperor Higashiyama (113rd), Emperor Nakamikado (114th), and Emperor Sakuramachi (115th), it is documented that mikagura was held after the enthronement at the Naishidokoro for three nights, and the secret song was performed. Here are records of mikagura held after the enthronement of two emperors after Emperor Sakuramachi.

Case of Emperor Momozono (116th)

November 13, Enkyō 4 (1747), mikagura was held after the enthronement, and the secret song was performed at the Imperial Palace Shrine. The *Hakkaiki* cited in the *Veritable Records of Emperor Momozono* documents:

I [Hirohashi Kanetane, liaison officer between the imperial court and the shogunate, author of *Hakkaiki*], listened to the mikagura in a small chamber. The secret song was sung silently. In the past, it used to be sung in a regular voice volume. Since Aritoshi Ayanokōji, it began to be sung silently. People do not know the name of the secret song. The name of the song is hidden. Chief councilor of state, Nakayama, says that late Takayasu Washino’o received the secret song, which is “Hirume” according to *Nisuiki*. At dawn, the mikagura ritual was over.³²

The secret song is sung silently, and its song name is hidden. As Nakayama points out, on January 1, Daiei 1 (1521), Washino’o had received the secret song and written its name as

³¹ *Tennō kōzoku jitsuroku* (Veritable records of emperors) have been edited by the Imperial Household Agency and published by Yumanishobou, Tokyo.

³² Jōji Fujii and Masayuki Yoshioka, *Momozono tennō jitsuroku* (Veritable records of Emperor Momozono), vol. 117 (Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 2006), 118.

“Hirume” in his diary titled *Nisuiki*.³³ Thus, it can be understood that “Hirume” was performed at the three-night mikagura held in relation to Emperor Momozono’s enthronement.

Case of Emperor Go-Sakuramachi (117th)

From December 7, Hōryaku 13 (1763), three-night mikagura began to be held in relation to Emperor Go-Sakuramachi’s enthronement at the Naishidokoro. *The Veritable Records of Emperor Go-Sakuramachi* states that the secret song was performed on the second night. Its song name is not written; however, in two years after this mikagura of the enthronement was held, on November 7, Meiwa 2 (1765), three-night mikagura was specially held at the Naishidokoro.

Hakkaiki in *the Veritable Records of Emperor Go-Sakuramachi* states:

At three-night mikagura of enthronement, the secret song “Hirume” was performed. Only the lead singer got a prize of becoming one rank higher. One person from a family of court nobles receives the tradition of kagura taikyoku. The Ayanokōji family and the Jimyōin family transmit kagura taikyoku turn by turn. The lead singer transmits it to the second singer. Now, Toshimune Ayanokōji is in charge of it. The year before last year, kagura hikyoku “Hirume” was performed at the mikagura ritual of enthronement ceremony. Jimyōin of third rank served as the second singer.³⁴

An important point here is that the name of the secret song is clearly written two years after its performance relating to enthronement. From this, we know that the secret song that was performed in 1763 is “Hirume” despite lack of the song name in the records of mikagura of enthronement at that time. In sum, the kagura secret song, which was performed in relation to enthronement from the 15th century through the 18th century of Emperor Go-Sakuramachi, can be considered to be “Hirume.”³⁵

³³ Takayasu Washino’o, *Nisuiki* (Nisui diary), vol. 1–4 (Tōkyō: Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1989).

³⁴ *Gosakuramachi tennō jitsuroku* (Veritable records of Emperor Go-Sakuramachi), vol. 120–123 (Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 2006).

³⁵ November 7, Meiwa 2 (1765), another secret song “Miyabito” was revived and performed at the Imperial Palace Shrine by the Ōno clan, according to *the Veritable Records of Emperor Go-Sakuramachi*. While “Hirume” was court nobles’ kagura hikyoku, “Miyabito” was the secret song of the Ōno, hereditary court musicians of lower rank.

Beside enthronement, three-night mikagura used to be performed in relation to transferring the sacred mirror at the time of reconstruction of the Naishidokoro during the early modern period. According to the *Veritable Records of Emperor Meishō*, the rite of transferal of the sacred mirror to the rebuilt Naishidokoro was held on June 18, Kan'ei 19 (1642). In the next year, three-night mikagura was held in relation to transferal of the sacred mirror at the Naishidokoro on February 2, Kan'ei 20 (1643). On the third night, a secret song was performed. *Zoku shigūshō* also records on that day: “Tonight, on the 29th, kagura hikyoku or kagura taikyoku will be performed. It will be “Hirume.”³⁶ Its performers are Taka'ari Ayanokōji as the lead singer and Motosada Jimyōin as the second singer. This is the result of Yukinaka Itsutusji's contribution to restoration of both family lineages of the Ayanokōji and the Jimyōin by returning both “Yudate” and “Hirume” to them.

The three-night mikagura rituals continued to be held in relation to transferral of the sacred mirror due to reconstruction of the Naishidokoro. For instance, it was held in Bunka 7 (1810) during the reign of Emperor Kōkaku, Bunsei 13 (1830) and Tenpō 2 (1831) during the reign of Emperor Ninkō, and Keiō 2 (1866) during the reign of Emperor Kōmei.³⁷ During the early modern period, it was common that the secret song, which was performed at the Naishidokoro, was not referred to its song name but simply referred to as “hikyoku.” Considering a common practice of following a precedent example of Meishō, it is most likely that “Hirume” must have been performed at mikagura held in relation to transferal of the sacred mirror after reconstruction of the Naishidokoro.

³⁶ Motomitsu Yanagiwara, *Zoku shigūshō* (History books written by Motomitsu Yanagiwara in the 18th Century), Kōhen (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2007).

³⁷ Kunaichō shoryōbu (Imperial Household Archives), “Naishidokoro karidono honden togyo narabini mikagura (Mikagura held at the time of transferal of the sacred mirror to the temporary sanctuary and the main sanctuary), 512-174” Tokyo, Kunaichō shoryōbu (Imperial Household Archives).

Program of “Hirume”

The three-night mikagura ritual for Emperor Higashiyama’s enthronement was held starting from the night of May 9, Jōkyō 4 (1687). According to the *Veritable Records of Emperor Higashiyama*, kagura hikyoku was performed on the first night. In what way did they perform “Hirume”?

There is a document that provides the procedure of performance of “Hirume,” titled “Hikyoku hirumekyoku.”³⁸ It says that the contents of the document were passed down in Jōkyō 4 (1687):

Hikyoku hirume-kyoku (The secret song, “Hirume”)

First, place a round seat in front of the bonfire. Set fire.

Next, a *wagon* player proceeds and sits on the seat. Then, the lead singer proceeds and sits on the seat. The flute player sits on the seat. So does the *hichiriki* player. Then, the imperial envoy comes. The lead singer picks up a pair of clappers). He gives a sign to the flute player with his eyes. The flute player plays prelude. The *hichiriki* player also plays the prelude. The *wagon* player plays a short piece called “Kujidanhyōshi,” or some patterns peculiar to *wagon*. The lead singer sings a secret song. The second singer only plays the clappers. After the lead singer finishes singing, the second singer sings the secret song. The lead singer plays only the clappers. The lead singer sings alone, and so does the second singer. After the second singer finishes, the lead singer sings the word *oké* as a part of the song to end the song. The *wagon* plays a short phrase to conclude. The flute and the *hichiriki* do not accompany singing. The lead singer stands up and proceeds to the round seat in front of the bonfire. He first bows twice. Next, he offers secret prayer. He secretly sings “Yudate” inside his mind. Then, he recites:

Amatsuhitsugi o tsutaetaimai (Continue the reign of Emperor).

Mimosuso gawa no nagare taezu (The flow of Mimosuso River never ends).

[The rest of words are uncertain.]

These days, the prayer of purification of Nakatomi is recited. Next, he bows twice and returns to his seat. Next, musicians of lower ranks leave first. The *wagon* and the song are secret. [The transcription of the *wagon* is provided.] The *wagon* accompanies the lead singer and the second singer. Both *kujibyōshi* and *oké* are part of the song. These are the transmitted teachings. The main singer intones *oké*. The secret song is a mystery.

Transmitted in Jōkyō 4 (1687)

³⁸ “‘Hikyoku hirume kyoku (The kagura secret song ‘Hirume’),’ in Kagura hikyoku denju shorui (Manuscripts on transmissions of the kagura secret songs), 199-0442, no. 11,” Tokyo, Japan, National Archives of Japan.

There are three distinct points on this procedure of “Hirume.” The first point is that the lead singer sings “*oké*” at the end. This is part of the song. The aforementioned document titled, “Both kagura songs that Mototaka showed (mototaka kyō shimeshisōrō kagura ryōkyoku)”³⁹ provides the lyrics of “Hirume,” and it has the word “*oké*” at the end. “*Oké*” indicates conclusion of the secret song, and it should be considered to be part of the lyrics.

The second point is the prayer that the lead singer offers at the round seat placed in front of the bonfire. The prayer can be understood like a Shinto ritual prayer that is recited by Shinto priests. Because of this prayer recited by the lead singer, the entire secret music has a separate and independent form as a ritual. May 8, Jōkyō 4 (1687), after Toshikage Ayanokōji sang “Hirume,” he must have offered prayer at the round seat in front of the bonfire.

The third point is the words of the prayer. The first line of “*amatsuhitsugi o tsutaetamai*” means that “continue the throne of Emperors.” “*Amatsuhitsugi*” is an invocation of the “Imperial Throne.” This entire line corresponds to the divine order of lasting the line of emperors and resonates with Emperor Reigen’s prayer for the continuity of the imperial throne found in his poems and words cited before in this chapter.

The second line of “*mimosuso gawa no nagare taezu*” means that “the flow of Mimosuso-gawa River never ends.” The Mimosuso gawa River is another name of the Isuzu River that runs inside sacred area of Ise Jingū. The name of the river has been used in *waka* poetry since the Heian Period (8th-12th century):

Kimigayowa tsukijitozo omou kamikazeya mimosuso-gawa no sumankagiriwa
I hope that the reign of emperor will not end as long as the water of the Mimosuso-gawa
River is pure and transparent. By Minbukyō Tsunenobu⁴⁰

³⁹ “‘Mototaka kyō shimeshi sōrō kagura ryōkyoku (Two kagura secret songs passed down by Mototaka Jimyōin),’ in Kagura hikyoku denju shorui (Manuscripts on transmissions of the kagura secret songs), 199-0442, no.15.”

⁴⁰ Jun Kubota and Yoshinobu Hirata, *Go Shūi Wakashū* (Gleanings from later collection of Japanese poetry continued) (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1994), Celebration 450.

Yorozuyono suemoharukani miyurukana mimosuso-gawano harunoakebono
 I imagine that I can see descendants of endless emperors while I am at the Mimosuso-
 gawa River at the dawn in Spring. By the Retired Emperor Go-Toba.⁴¹

As shown, the Mimosuso-gawa River is used in poetry as a metaphor of the imperial line. Both lines of the prayer are relevant for the mikagura of enthronement in a sense that they celebrate the succession of the imperial line and pray for its continuation into the future.

Jōkyō 4 (1687) that the aforementioned document was transmitted is the year when three related events took place. Emperor Reigen who had made efforts of restoring court rituals abdicated his throne; Emperor Higashiyama held the rite of enthronement; both the mikagura of enthronement and the performance of the secret song were conducted. It is most likely that the document of Jōkyō 4 was outcome of revising the procedure of “Hirume” at the time of Emperor Reigen’s movements of restoring ceremonies of the Imperial Palace.

The method of singing “Hirume” is known through some records of the *Veritable Records of Emperors*. On November 22, Kyōhō 20 (1735), the three-night mikagura ritual was held for Emperor Sakuramachi’s enthronement. According to the record of that day in *Veritable Records of Emperor Sakuramachi*,⁴² “there is kagura hikyoku. It was sung silently.” Toshimune Ayanokōji, who served as the lead singer, sang kagura hikyoku not in a vocalized way but voicelessly. Let us recall the entry of November 13, Enkyō 4 (1747) in the *Veritable Records of Emperor Momozono* again. It states that “kagura hikyoku was sung silently. In the past, it used to be sung at a regular volume. Since Aritoshi Ayanokōji, it began to be sung silently.” The secret song had been sung silently since the 15th century.

⁴¹ Jun Kubota, Tsuneyo Terashima, and Gotoba, *Gotoba-in gyoshū* (The collection of former Emperor Go-Toba’s poems) (Tōkyō: Meiji Shoin, 1997), Section of Shōji shodo hyakushu, number 96.

⁴² *Sakuramachi tennō jitsuroku* (Veritable records of Emperor Sakuramachi), vol. 115 (Tōkyō: Yumani shobō, 2006), 209-213.

A question of whether characteristic features of “Hirume” up to the 18th century are retained through the 19th century or not is explored. Here is the ritual program of a secret song performed at the three-night mikagura ritual for the enthronement of Emperor Ninkō (r. 1817-46), which was specially held at the Naishidokoro:

Emperor Ninkō’s enthronement

November, Bunka 14 [1817] The program of kagura hikyoku performed on the second night of the three-night mikagura ritual

Kagura hikyoku is performed in this way.

Songs from “Niwabi” through “Torimono” are performed as usual.

Performers of court nobles stand up and leave the seat. After that, they won't return.

“Kosaibari” is omitted, and “Sazanami” is performed.

At the time of singing “Hayauta,” there is a dance.

After “Hayauta,” all of hereditary musicians leave the seats.

An official of the Bureau of Housekeeping places a round seat in front of bonfire.

It is for the lead singer to offer prayer.

Both lead and second singers, *wagon*, flute, and *hichiriki* players take the seats.

The imperial envoy commands kagura hikyoku.

After each flute, *hichiriki*, and *wagon* player plays prelude respectively,

Each lead and second singer sings the song. The *wagon* accompanies it.

After singing, the lead singer proceeds.

After he offers prayer, he returns the seat.

The official of the Bureau of Housekeeping takes away the round seat.

Both court nobles and hereditary musicians return.

The imperial envoy commands the songs of stars as usual.

Some songs of “Hoshi [stars]” are omitted, and “Tokuzeniko” is sung.⁴³

There are two things to point out. The first point is the division of the performance of songs by court nobles and hereditary musicians. Court nobles sing from “Niwabi” through “Torimono” and leave the site during performance of kagura hikyoku. After that, the hereditary musicians take turn. They omit “Kosaibari” and sing “Sazanami” and “Hayauta.” One of them also dances during singing of “Hayauta.”

The second point is the matter of who remain at the site during performance of kagura hikyoku. Hereditary musicians leave the site temporarily like court nobles after the dance of

⁴³ “Naishidokoro rinji mikagura ichie (Mikagura specially held at the Imperial Palace Shrine), 514-60” Tokyo, Kunaichō shoryōbu (Imperial Household Archives).

“Hayauta.” Then, performers of kagura hikyoku take the seats. After performing kagura hikyoku and offering prayer, both court nobles and hereditary musicians return the site. Thus, those who are present at the site are the lead singer, second singer, the flute, the *hichiriki*, and the *wagon*. One who takes care of bonfire must be also present.

The contents of this 19th century program are overlapped with the characteristic features of performing “Hirume” found since the medieval period. In sum, there is dance with “Hayauta” at mikagura where kagura hikyoku is performed. The procedure is: the prelude is performed by the flute, the *hichiriki*, and the *wagon* each in turn. The lead and second singers sing kagura hikyoku turn by turn. The song is sung silently. At the end of singing, the lead singer sings “*oké*.” At the end, the lead singer offers prayer at the round seat in front of bonfire. The presence of prayer clearly indicates that the performance of kagura hikyoku is a Shinto ritual. No one is present in the space of playing kagura hikyoku except for the Shinto deities, kami. I understand that a reason why kagura hikyoku is silently sung is because the song is so sacred that even performers of kagura hikyoku should not hear it. These common features were retained until the reign of the following Emperor Kōmei in the 19th century.⁴⁴

Conclusion

Mikagura is an important court ritual held by the emperor and is distinctive in the sense that the performance of kagura songs is central to the ritual. As noted, “Hirume,” kagura hikyoku, historically had been performed as the kagura secret song at the three-night mikagura ritual that was organized at the Imperial Palace Shrine for particular occasions: the emperor’s special

⁴⁴ “Naishidokoro sankaya rinjimikagura dome (The court document about three-night mikagura specially held at the Imperial Palace Shrine), 355-23” Tokyo, Kunaichō shoryōbu (Imperial Household Archives). The program of the mikagura held at the enthronement of Emperor Kōmei, which is recorded in this document, is the same as that of Emperor Ninkō.

wishes, the emperor's abdication or enthronement, and the transferral of the sacred mirror at reconstruction of the Naishidokoro. One distinct characteristic of the program is prayer that is offered by the lead singer after singing "Hirume." This qualifies the performance of kagura hikyoku itself as an independent ritual within the frame of the mikagura ritual. The method of singing silently also characterizes the secret and sacred nature of kagura hikyoku, which is the manner of performance that is exclusively dedicated to the Shinto deities.

The importance of "Hirume" at the imperial court rituals over the centuries can be understood by examining its history of transmission and performance, which was sustained by united collaboration among the emperors, the court nobles, and the hereditary musicians. Also, Emperor Meiji's unofficial command to ensure the preservation of "Hirume" in Meiji 26 (1893) suggests its continuing importance to him and thus to Japan's Shinto ritual, its music, and its identity at large. There are many questions that are revealed in next chapters, including the status of "Hirume" during the Warring States and modern periods, and the extension of mikagura court ritual and the "Hirume" secret song to part of the rite of transferral of the original sacred mirror at Jingū rituals in 1889 (in relation to the Jingū priests' research on Jingū rituals during the pre-modern period). It should be understood that the performance of mikagura and kagura hikyoku in 1889 at Ise Jingū brought about the development of a highly important site for the transmission and performance of kagura hikyoku. Even with changes to the identity of the performers (see especially Chapters 4 and 6), it is critical to note that the unchanging element in the history of kagura hikyoku "Hirume," is that an Emperor's deep prayer for peace in Japan and the Japanese people is embedded in the song's performance.

Chapter 3: Challenges to Transmission of the Songs During Warring States Period (1467-1615)

This chapter explores the resilience of the kagura secret songs during 148-year period of wars in Japan's medieval period. As music culture is intertwined with society's continued and changing circumstances, it is also severely affected by political instability, religious strife, and wars. The survival of music becomes threatened when an era of turmoil is prolonged. The sacred ritual music and the kagura secret songs faced such crisis of disruption from the mid-fifteenth through the early seventeenth centuries. In exploring the resilience of the kagura secret songs, this chapter examines court nobles and emperors' strategies and their adaptive management to sustain the tradition during the Ōnin War (1467-77) and its aftermath of 15th-16th centuries.

Historically, the instability of the period of domestic strife began as early as the end of the Heian Period (794-1185). The Heian period was the age of the efflorescence of the culture of court nobles, but toward the end, court nobles began to lose their political power even as the warrior class was on the rise. Since the establishment of the Kamakura Shogunate in 1180, the warrior class gained the ruling power. Gradually, emperors lost centralized and political control over the Shogunate. There was also the conflict between the emperors and Kamakura Shogunate as well as within the Shogunate. Such conflict continued at the Muromachi Shogunate during the fourteenth century.

Eventually, the Muromachi Shogunate lost its ruling power due to the political and militant conflict between two forces of the Shogunate. It caused the breakout of civil war, called Ōnin War (1467-77). This was the beginning of a prolonged period of domestic strife. As a result, the court culture and rituals were affected by the series of wars that continued from 1467 onward for nearly 150 years. During this time, the secret songs faced a threat of disruption. This was the

Warring States period, a historical era marked by instability due to the absence of a single dominant ruling power. Major warlords battled continuously through this era to seize the ruling power over the entire country. Consequently, Kyoto, where both the Muromachi Shogunate and the imperial palace were located, was devastated, and the nobles' culture severely declined.

Regarding the court music, one common view among scholars is that the imperial court music and dance ended during this period. It is true that some repertoires of the imperial court music were lost, and the sacred music ritual was once performed at Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine and Kamo Shrine was interrupted in the fifteenth century. However, the sacred music ritual at the Imperial Palace Shrine did not cease to be performed nor were the secret songs disappeared. The performances and transmissions of the secret songs are documented in the court diaries of nobles and an imperial prince during this period. This testifies that the sacred ritual music and the kagura secret songs did not decline. The annual sacred music ritual was occasionally postponed, but never abandoned. The ritual and the songs were sustained as a living tradition without major interruption. Despite the great threat that the tradition of the secret songs faced since their formation in the early eleventh century, the secret songs survived. This survival signifies the strong resilience of the secret songs and the successful strategy and management of the nobility and the emperors to sustain the tradition. Their major task was to ensure that the family lines of qualified performers would persist and that the musical practices would be continued.

Throughout the pre-modern period, it was court nobles who were qualified performers of the kagura secret songs. As the continuity of the secret songs were solely dependent on the continuity of the family lines of these court nobles, this chapter analyzes ways in which the kagura secret songs were sustained by focusing on three court nobles as case studies. These key figures devoted themselves to the continuity of the tradition: Aritoshi Ayanokōji (1419-97),

Takayasu Washino'o (1485-1533), and Yukinaka Itsutsuji (1558-1627). Each figure greatly contributed to the continuity of the secret songs during the turbulent period. Aritoshi performed and transmitted the kagura secret songs as head of the family of grand masters of court vocal ritual music. Takayasu kept the tradition alive by performing the secret songs while the community of performers diminished and other families declined. Yukinaka not only performed and transmitted the secret songs, but also restored the family line of the Ayanokoji after an interruption of 91 years. He also sustained the other family of the grand masters.

For an analysis of these case studies, the period of Warring States is divided into three sub-periods: the Ōnin War (1467-77), the post Ōnin War (late 15th-mid 16th), and the final war called Siege of Ōsaka (1615). At the final war in 1615, Ieyasu Tokugawa defeated his rivals and solidified the Tokugawa Shogunate, which lasted until the Meiji restoration in 1868. Each figure of the three case studies lived in the three divided periods respectively. These case studies are intended to offer an understanding as to how the secret songs were sustained through the struggles and strategies of three key figures, and the resilience of the kagura secret songs was constituted by the resilience of these figures. In the face of unexpected disturbances and random events such as the sudden loss of a son or a father, the destruction of court attires, musical manuscripts, and instruments due to the fires of wars, and serious illness, they showed the high degree of resilience. Court nobles and emperors sustained the continuity of the innermost secret art of the Shinto ritual music through observing, modifying, and restoring the traditional manners and practices.

The system of the kagura secret songs was established during the formative period of the eleventh through the thirteenth centuries. The transmission and performance of kagura ritual music was conducted within the hierarchical system of high-ranked court nobles and low-ranked

hereditary musicians. Kagura songs were considered to be the most sacred court music as well as one of the highly significant court rituals. Thus, the nobility of higher ranks were in charge of the songs, and hereditary professional musicians from Kyoto were in charge of instruments. While the kagura songs, the secret songs, and the Japanese zither, or *wagon* were exclusively performed by court nobles, the flute and the Japanese oboe *hichiriki* were performed by hereditary musicians from Kyoto. In the case of *wagon*, the most sacred instrument associated with the deities, the court nobles were appointed to play it. The importance of the *wagon* is signified by the fact that Emperor Kōmei (r.1846-67) often performed the *wagon* at the sacred music rituals, using it as his expression of prayer in the face of threat to the independence of the country. Among the Kyoto musicians, the Abe clan played the *hichiriki*, and the Yamanoi and the Ōga played the flute for the sacred ritual music.

Besides songs and instruments, there was a dance called *ninjō-mai* as part of the sacred music ritual. This *ninjō-mai* was the hereditary occupation of the Ōno clan, the most ancient musician-family from Kyoto. The Ōno was also in charge of one of the three kagura secret songs titled “Miyabito.” This “Miyabito” is called “jige no hikyoku” meant “the secret song of the lower ranking hereditary musicians”. The Ōno was the only family who were allowed to perform kagura songs at the sacred music rituals despite their status as lower ranks at the imperial court. Other hereditary musicians from Nara and Ōsaka were never allowed to perform the sacred ritual music at the court.

Among the court nobles, there was also a division of specialization and hierarchy. For example, the Ayanokōji’s status was highly acknowledged as the distinguished family of the ritual vocal music. The division of hereditary occupations and the hierarchical system of transmission and performance were absolute and were strictly observed during the era of stability

before the Warring States period. Three case studies reveal what traditional aspects were modified and what was kept unchanged in terms of transmission and performances of the kagura secret songs.

The first case study is Aritoshi from the Ayanokōji. The other two figures Takayasu Washino'o and Yukinaka Itsutsuji belonged to the other families of court nobles. Takayasu and Yukinaka contributed to the continuity of the tradition during the time in which the Ayanokōji and other qualified court nobles were absent due to the interruption of a family line, staying outside Kyoto, and death at war. Takayasu performed the secret songs while the Ayanokōji declined and other nobles left Kyoto. Yukinaka restored the family line of the Ayanokōji after the interruption of 91 years, and effectively sustained the Jimyōin who became the family of great masters of kagura songs. The case studies reveal how the traditional way was sustained and modified throughout the Warring States period.

The materials examined in the development of these case studies, and in supporting the argument for resilience in practice during this period, include court diaries written by Takayasu Washino'o as well as an imperial prince, Sadafusa, and other nobles during the fifteenth through the sixteenth centuries. Historical manuscripts written during the seventeenth century are also engaged, including earlier materials preserved at Japanese National Archives, the Archives of the Imperial Household Agency, and the Tenri University Library are also engaged. These materials provide the musical notations transmitted from generation to next generation starting from Aritoshi to eventually Yukinaka, information about the performances of the secret songs, lives of court nobles who performed and transmitted the secret songs, and the emperor's close link to the continuity of the songs.

Case Study 1: Aritoshi Ayanokōji (1419-95)

Aritoshi was of the fifth generation of the Ayanokōji family, who lived his life during the beginning of the Warring States period. Despite his respected status as head of the family of kagura masters and his ancestors' close ties with the emperors, Aritoshi experienced numerous hardships during the early years of his life.

Aritoshi's rank as a court noble and his hereditary occupation are closely related to his imperial ancestry. The Ayanokōji is traced back to Emperor Uda (r. 887-97)'s eighth son, Prince Atsumi (893-967). Prince Atsumi was known as a skilled player of the *wagon* and *biwa* (lute). As he was given the clan name Minamoto by the Emperor, his descendants of the Ayanokōji also belonged to the Minamoto clan and came to specialize in vocal music such as kagura, *rōei*, *saibara*, and *imayō* as their hereditary occupation at the imperial court. With their imperial ancestry, the Ayanokōji family established their status as grand masters of the court vocal music and served the emperors as their music teachers in the thirteenth century.

According to “The lineage of the Ayanokōji,” the founder of the Ayanokōji, Nobuari Ayanokōji (1269-1324) served Emperor Fushimi (r.1287-98) as his teacher of both vocal music and the *wagon*. The second generation Ariyori (1295-1329) was the teacher of Emperor Go-Daigo and Emperor Go-Fushimi. Ariyori transmitted the secret repertoire of *saibara* to Emperor Go-Daigo and received a gift in return from the Emperor. The third generation Atsuari (1322-1400) served Emperor Sukō (r. 1348-51) as his teacher for vocal music and the *wagon*. Similarly, the fourth generation Nobutoshi (1355-1429) served Go-Sukōin, the father of the Emperor Go-Hanazono. The fifth generation Aritoshi, who is the focus of the first case study, was an adopted son of Nobutoshi.

Aritoshi's life was directly influenced by the instability of society in Kyoto and beyond. This was because of the aftermath of the previous era—the Northern and Southern Courts from

1336 to 1392. This two-court system was a result of the power politics of the Muromachi Shogunate, and the stability was not restored even after the one-emperor system was reestablished. Unlike their ancestors, Prince Sadafusa whom Aritoshi's father Nobutoshi and Aritoshi served did not become the emperor. Although Emperor Sukō was Sadafusa's grandfather, both Sadafusa's father and Sadafusa could not become emperors because of the political strife caused by the two-emperor system during the fourteenth century.

It made a significant difference to the nobles' court life as whether or not they were serving the emperor or the prince. Sadafusa's imperial status as a prince did not help Aritoshi elevate his status at the imperial court. Moreover, Muromachi Shogunate was not stable due to the succession race within the Shogun Ashikaga family. This race eventually caused the breakout of the Ōnin War in 1467. In the face of unexpected disturbance, Aritoshi experienced a series of struggles to sustain the Ayanokōji's hereditary occupation.

Characteristics of the Ayanokōji's Transmission of Kagura Songs

Historically, the secret arts of the hereditary occupations were passed down from fathers to sons. If the family line were interrupted, the prestigious hereditary occupation would be lost. Thus, the head's primary responsibility was to sustain the family line. When there was no son to sustain the family line or a son died young, adopting a male child from another family of court nobles became a matter of urgency. Thus, adoption among the nobility was a common practice in order to sustain the family line and their hereditary occupations during the pre-modern period.

In the case of the Ayanokōji, their hereditary occupation was not only performing but also transmitting the kagura secret songs to the next heir as well as other qualified court nobles. The successive heirs of the Ayanokōji played an integral role in sustaining the tradition of the kagura secret songs. Aritoshi's adoptive father, Nobutoshi Ayanokōji (1355-1429), faced the

danger of the disruption of the family line when he lost his two sons: Nobusada and Sukeoki. Nobutoshi's first son, Nobusada did his debut as the second singer at the three-night sacred music ritual at the imperial palace shrine at the age of twelve. In two years, he became skillful enough to serve as the lead singer at the sacred music ritual on December 26, 1394. Unfortunately, eleven days after this performance, he suddenly died on January 6, 1395. Nobusada was a very talented young boy, and people lamented his sudden death.¹

After losing the next heir of the Ayanokōji, Nobutoshi managed to adopt a son named Sukeoki. However, even worse, this adopted son was in delicate health for more than ten years, and he died young on February 3, Ōei 28 (1421). Nobutoshi was sixty-seven years old at the time of Sukeoki's death. He was left alone without sons or grandsons, and faced a very real threat to the family line as well as to their inherited court vocal music. Prince Sadafusa expressed his concern about a real danger to the hereditary occupation and the family of the Ayanokōji. The prince worried that the vocal music of the imperial court would not be able to be transmitted.² In his despair, within a month from Sukeoki's death, Nobutoshi decided to renounce the world and become a Buddhist monk. This meant that the family line of the Ayanokōji would end and Nobutoshi would stop serving at the imperial court. However, this decision was not enacted due to the fact that the retired emperor Go-Komatsu did not approve it. Go-Komatsu wanted to see the continuity of the court music tradition.³

Many people of his time believed that the Ayanokōji would decline at the passing of Nobutoshi. However, despite his old age, a few years later, Nobutoshi adopted Aritoshi from another family of court nobles, the Yamashina. Considering the fact that the ex-Emperor Go-

¹ Jōji Fujii and Masayuki Yoshioka, *Gokomatsu tennō jitsuroku* (Veritable records of Emperor Go-Komatsu), vol. 82–83 (Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 2009).

² Gosūkōin, *Kanmon nikki* (Kanmon diary), vol.2 (Tokyo: Kunaichō Shoryōbu (Imperial Household Archives), 2002), 109.

³ *Kanmon-nikki*, vol. 2, 119.

Komatsu had disapproved Nobutoshi's wish to renounce the world of traditional music, it is likely that Go-Komatsu encouraged or arranged this adoption. Fortunately, Nobutoshi's adopted son Aritoshi did not die young but lived a long and productive life. Nobutoshi rigorously trained Aritoshi, and Aritoshi made his debut at the court when he was still very young. Prince Sadafusa documented this debut in his court diary *Kanmon nikki* that "Nobutoshi's son Aritoshi performed music at the imperial court in November last year. He was five years old. The continuity of the Ayanokōji family is a blessing. Aritoshi was excellent at his performance, which is really great."⁴ This debut was in fact an announcement that Aritoshi would be the legitimate next heir of the Ayanokōji family. Nobutoshi had already turned seventy years old at the time of Aritoshi's debut, so he was aware that he did not have much time left before completing Aritoshi's music training.

Aritoshi's Struggles to Save the Family Name

Aritoshi lost his adoptive father, Nobutoshi, in 1429, when he was only eleven years old, and so became the head of the family without the male elder's support. The successive heads of the Ayanokōji sustained a close connection with the emperors, who acted as their teachers of vocal music and the Japanese zither, *wagon*, and were assigned an honorable status at the imperial court. However, it was Mitsusue Tōnoin and not Aritoshi who served Go-Komatsu, who was the dominant retired emperor. Aritoshi served Prince Sadafusa Fushinomiya, who was a royal family member but did not have political power of ex-Emperor Go-Komatsu. The absence of the emperor's support then put Aritoshi into a difficult situation. He ended up giving up the family's precious scrolls on saibara vocal music to Mitsusue Tōnoin, who was also his father's senior disciple. The scrolls were part of the inherited treasure of the Ayanokōji family, but

⁴ *Kanmon-nikki*, vol. 3, Entry of January 18, Ōei 31(1424).

Aritoshi had no other choice under the considerable pressure of ex-Emperor Go-Komatsu's directive. This music is documented in Prince Sadausa's diary:

May 19, Eikyo 2 (1430) Aritoshi was asked about the manuscripts on saibara vocal tradition from ex-Emperor Go-Komatsu. Nobutoshi had entrusted me [Prince Sadafusa Fushiminomiya] to keep the manuscripts, but Mitsusue Tōnoin demanded the permission to see the manuscripts based on the master-disciple relationship he had with Nobutoshi. When Mitsusue asked Nobutoshi to let him read the manuscript last year, Nobutoshi did not allow him to read them, and they had a conflict. This time, Mitsusue again asked Aritoshi to let him read them as Nobutoshi's disciple.

Mitsusue wanted to see and copy the Ayanokōji's treasured manuscripts of saibara during the time of Nobutoshi's role as the head of the family. His interest was not just to further his own music training. Possessing the precious manuscripts of court vocal music legitimizes the hereditary occupation and the prestigious status. Nobutoshi declined Mitsusue's request, and after Nobutoshi's death, Mitsusue again tried to acquire the manuscripts through Go-Komatsu:

May 26

Nobutoshi's daughter [Aritoshi's elder sister] declined Mitsusue's request according to Nobutoshi's will; however, because it was the ex-Emperor Go-Komatsu's order, I [Prince Sadafusa Fushiminomiya] attempted to convince Nobutoshi's daughter, and she turned in a pair of the scrolls. Go-Komatsu was not quite content.

Instead of supporting the Ayanokōji family, Prince Sadafusa asked the Ayanokōji to submit the scrolls to Go-Komatsu. This shows the hierarchical relationship between Go-Komatsu and Sadafusa:

May 29

The two manuscript-boxes were submitted to Go-Komatsu. Furthermore, he ordered the Ayanokōji to submit the five volumes of the main music notations of saibara, which was the heirloom of the Ayanokōji. It is an unreasonable demand.⁵

Aritoshi was only twelve years old. Without any support from a patron, "Aritoshi had no other way but to submit the family treasure, namely, the music manuscripts of saibara, to Mitsusue via Go-Komatsu (June 8, Eikyo 2)." Sadafusa could not assist or guide Aritoshi in declining

⁵ *Kammon nikki*, vol. 3, 199-200.

Mitsusue's demand. Although two years prior to this demand, Prince Sadafusa's first son was enthroned and became Emperor Go-Hanazono in 1428, Sadafusa's political power was not yet as strong as Go-Komatsu's. It was three years later when Sadafusa finally regained political power upon Go-Komatsu's death in 1433.

On the other hand, considering the fact that the family line of the Ayanokōji was still fragile right after Nobutoshi's death, it is possible that Go-Komatsu judged that it was important to hand the musical notations of saibara to Mitsusue from the viewpoint of sustaining the tradition of court music. As Mitsusue was already transmitted the kagura songs from Nobutoshi Ayanokōji, Go-Komatsu may have thought that Mitsusue would be a qualified holder of the manuscripts of saibara. Over all, what this episode shows is that even Aritoshi from the distinguished family of vocal court music was severely affected by the political strife of this period and struggled to sustain their hereditary occupation. Aritoshi had to make strenuous efforts to be skilled at the court music in order to gain his position at the imperial court. The continuity of the family line and the hereditary occupation was thoroughly dependent upon him.

Aritoshi's Performances at the Sacred Music Ritual

As his talent for music had been appreciated at the early age of five, Aritoshi successfully continued to develop his skills of performance. Below are excerpts from Sadafusa's diary and the Annals of Emperor Go-Hanazono, evidence of Aritoshi's earlier performances and his accomplishments. Note Aritoshi's age at the time of these performances:

(1) In November 20, Eikyō2 (1430)

Aritoshi performed as a member of chorus for the first time at the sacred music ritual held to celebrate the enthronement of Emperor Go-Hanazono. Mitsusue performed as the lead singer while his son Sanehiro performed as the second singer.⁶ [Aritoshi was twelve years old.]

⁶ *Kanmon nikki*, vol. 3, 236.

(2) In December 14, Eikyō2 (1430)

Two types of the sacred music ritual were held in a row on this day. For the first one, Sanehiro Tōnoin was the lead singer, and Aritoshi was the second singer. For the second sacred music ritual, Aritoshi was the lead singer.⁷

(3) On February 27, Eikyō3 (1431)

Aritoshi began to learn *hichiriki* (Japanese oboe) from Suenaga Abe on February 23. There was no precedent example of learning *hichiriki* in the Ayanokōji family before.⁸ [Aritoshi was thirteen.]

(4) On September 27, Eikyō5 (1433)

A sacred music ritual was specially held to pray for Retired-Emperor Go-Komatsu's recovery from his illness. Sanehiro Tōnoin performed as the lead singer, and Aritoshi was the second singer.⁹ [Aritoshi was fifteen.]

(5) On December 26, Eikyō6 (1434)

Two types of the sacred music rituals were held on this day. Aritoshi was the lead singer for both.¹⁰ [Aritoshi was sixteen.]

(6) On April 17, Eikyō7 (1435)

The event of performing the imperial court music and dance was held at the court. The Emperor Go-Hanazono observed it. Aritoshi performed the *hichiriki*.¹¹ [Aritoshi was seventeen.]

(7) On October 17, Kakitsu2 (1442)

Aritoshi performed as the lead singer at the three-night sacred music ritual specially held to pray for Emperor Go-Hanazono's recovery from tumor. Hikyoku "Hirume" was performed on the eighteenth.¹² [Aritoshi was twenty-four.]

The first example is evidence of Aritoshi's performance at the age of twelve years at

seishodō-no-mikagura, the sacred music ritual that was specially held in celebration of Emperor Go-Hanazono's coronation in November, Eikyō32 (1430). This was his first performance of a sacred music ritual. While Mitsusue Tōnoin was the lead singer, his son Sanehiro Tōnon was the

⁷ Jōji Fujii and Masayuki Yoshioka, *Gohanazono tennō jitsuroku* (Veritable records of Emperor Go-Hanazono), vol. 85 (Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 2009), 148-50.

⁸ *Kanmon nikki*, vol. 3, 273.

⁹ Fujii and Yoshioka, *Gohanazono tennō jitsuroku* (Veritable records of Emperor Go-Hanazono), vol. 85, 286-88.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 339-40.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 350-54.

¹² Fujii and Yoshioka, *Gohanazono tennō jitsuroku* (Veritable Records of Emperor Go-Hanazono), vol. 86, 350-54.

second singer. Aritoshi served as an accompanying singer.¹³ Their roles reflect their relationship and different statuses.

Performance roles of examples two and four show that Sanehiro's status was higher than that of Aritoshi. Traditionally, it was the head of the Ayanokōji who took the role of the lead singer. But Aritoshi was not the lead singer when Sanehiro performed. It is because Aritoshi learned from both Sanehiro and his father. In short, they were Aritoshi's teachers. On the other hand, the second example shows that Aritoshi served as the lead singer at the age of as early as twelve. This testifies to his great ability and to his acknowledgement by other nobles.

The third example is unique in that Aritoshi played the *hichiriki*, which is the musical instrument of hereditary musicians and not of the nobles. Aritoshi was from the family of grand masters of kagura songs. Although it was not his hereditary occupation, Aritoshi learned *hichiriki* for the first time from Suenaga Abe on February 23, Eikyō3 (1431). Prince Sadafusa documented on February 27, Eikyō3 (1431) that “there is no such example like this [learning *hichiriki*] among the members of the Ayanokōji in the past.”¹⁴ Aritoshi's teacher was a hereditary musician whose occupation was to play *hichiriki* at the imperial palace. During the period of instability, performers of court music were decreasing. Aritoshi sustained the tradition of court music by becoming a *hichiriki* player as well as serving as a vocalist.

The fifth example shows the elevation of Aritoshi's status. He had reached the position of the lead singer at the age of only sixteen. Since this year, he continued to be the lead singer at the sacred music ritual. This has something to do with not only Aritoshi's talent but also the regain of power by his patron, Prince Sadafusa after Go-Komatsu's death in Eikyō5 (1433). By the age of sixteen, Aritoshi had established the appropriate status for his family name.

¹³ *Kanmon nikki*, vol. 3, 235-36.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 273.

Example 6 illustrates that Aritoshi actively participated not only as a singer but also a *hichiriki* player. His talent and dedication sustained the tradition throughout his life. Example 7 is very important as Aritoshi performed the secret song as the lead singer. This signifies that he had been transmitted “Hirume” before this performance, and that he became the fully qualified and legitimized head of the Ayanokōji. As Aritoshi’s patron, Prince Sadafusa regained his authority as the Emperor’s father, and Aritoshi restored the authority and sustained the hereditary occupation.

Kaeri-sōden or Alternate Transmission as a Strategy to Return the Music to the Ayanokōji

Nobutoshi died before completing the transmission of the secret vocal tradition to Aritoshi. This section is centered on the analysis of the traditional way of transmission and Aritoshi’s case. When the family line of court nobles and their hereditary occupations was disturbed, the senior disciple from outside the family of the master transmitted the secret art to the master’s offspring to return the art to the master’s family. This temporary solution is called *kaeri-sōden*, or alternate transmission. This is how Aritoshi was able to learn the secret vocal tradition.

When a son or an adoptive son dies young, another male child can be adopted. But when a father dies before he completes transmission of the secret art to his son, the son cannot adopt a father. This is what Aritoshi faced at the age of eleven years. The solution was the alternate transmission, which meant learning from Aritoshi’s father’s senior disciple. This *kaeri-sōden* or alternate transmission was not uncommon practice.

The aforementioned diary of Prince Sadafusa documents the name of Aritoshi’s father’s senior disciple, Mitsusue Tōnoin. Also, a 14th century-manuscript titled *Kagura ketsumyaku* (the

lineage of kagura songs) documents Mitsusue as Nobutoshi's disciple and Aritoshi's teacher.¹⁵ In short, through the alternate transmission, Aritoshi learned some of the kagura songs from Mitsusue in order to sustain the Ayanokōji's hereditary occupation. Aritoshi also learned other types of vocal music as indicated in a diary entry on July 24, Eikyō 4 (1432): "Today, Aritoshi learned the secret song of saibara titled "Chikukawa." Mitsusue Tōnoin transmitted it to Aritoshi."¹⁶

Aritoshi received the secret song of saibara from Mitsusue two years after Aritoshi's submission of Ayanokōji's five volumes of musical manuscripts of saibara to Mitsusue via Go-Komatsu. Aritoshi benefitted from giving up the scrolls. The relationship between a master's son and a senior disciple is reciprocal. Aritoshi had the alternate transmission from Mitsusue's son as well. As Aritoshi had lost his father before learning the kagura secret songs, Aritoshi turned to another source so to learn the kagura secret songs from someone else. There are some historical manuscripts that document the transmission to Aritoshi, preserved at the National Archives:

On December 20, Eikyō 10 (1438)
Everything about Kagura hikyoku [secret song] "Hirume" was transmitted to Aritoshi Ayanokōji [There is Sanehiro's signature.]¹⁷

Taikyoku means "Yudate"
Hikyoku means "Hirume"
These two songs were established during the era of ex-Emperor Ichijō [r. 986-1011].
Sanehiro Tōnoin passed down these songs to Aritoshi Ayanokōji on December 20, Eikyō 10 (1438).¹⁸

¹⁵ Atsuari Ayanokōji (1322-1400) wrote *Kagura ketsumyaku*. Atsuari was the head of the Ayanokōji family and contributed to sustain the vocal music tradition of the imperial court. *Kagura ketsumyaku* is included in the section of kangenbu (music) of Hokinoichi Hanawa and Tōshirō Ōta, *Zoku gunsho ruiju* (Collections of historical documents Continued), 19-1 Kangenbu (Tokyo: Yagishoten, 2013).

¹⁶ *Kanmon nikki*, vol. 4, 75.

¹⁷ "Tōin Sanehiro shinji hikyoku Aritoshi e denjūjō utsushi (A copy of the certificate that Sanehiro Tōin transmitted kagura hikyoku to Aritoshi Ayanokōji), 199-0442, No 4."

¹⁸ "Mototaka kyō shimeshi sōrō kagura ryōkyoku (Two kagura secret songs passed down by Mototaka Jimyōin)," in *Kagura hikyoku denju shorui* (Manuscripts on transmissions of the kagura secret songs), 199-0442, no.15."

Aritoshi received both “Yudate” and “Hirume” from Sanehiro at the age of twenty years. These documents also provide useful information regarding the lineage of the secret songs. What had been passed down from Sanehiro to Aritoshi was regarded as the primary sources of the secret songs of kagura. These secret songs continued to be passed down for the next one century to Mototaka Jimyōin (1520-1611) as the title of the last manuscript shows. The Jimyōin is another family of grand masters of kagura songs. This transmission completed Aritoshi’s duty to sustain the family tradition.

While Aritoshi had learned the secret song of saibara from Mitsusue, he learned the kagura secret songs from Mitsusue’s son Sanehiro. Aritoshi did not learn the kagura secret songs from Mitsusue because seven years prior to this transmission, Mitsusue had already renounced the world and became a Buddhist monk. When Nobutoshi died, Sanehiro was twenty-one years old. It is likely that Sanehiro had learned the kagura secret songs from Nobutoshi; thus, Sanehiro’s transmission to Aritoshi was one version of the alternate transmission to restore the lineage.

As the example 7 in the previous section shows, Aritoshi performed “Hirume” in 1442, four years after the transmission. As a result of the alternate transmission, Aritoshi became the qualified head of the Ayanokōji family, which then permitted him to perform the secret art and transmit it to other nobles.

Traditional Way of Transmission Retained

Once Aritoshi had fully acquired the kagura secret songs, he began to teach the kagura songs and *wagon* as head of the Ayanokōji family. There are two examples of such transmission. First, he transmitted the *wagon*’s part of “Yudate” to Sanenaka Yotsutsuji on December 29,

Kanshō 1(1455).¹⁹ Aritoshi was then thirty-seven years old, and Sanenaka was twenty-nine. In the previous year, Sanenaka's father had renounced the world and became a Buddhist monk. Aritoshi passed down the *wagon* part of the great song to new head of the Yotsutsuji family, whose primary occupation was to perform the *wagon* and zither at the imperial court. This document housed at the National Archives was part of manuscripts that were submitted to the Meiji government in 1870 by Arinaga Ayanokōji. This means that the content of transmission from Aritoshi to Sanenaka in Kanshō 1(1455) was continuously passed down to Arinaga for more than four centuries. Aritoshi played an essential role in sustaining the tradition of the kagura secret songs.

Next, Aritoshi's transmission to hereditary musicians is documented in *Harutomi-sukune-ki*:

February 11, Bunmei 11 (1479)

Hisatoki [Ōno] came to visit me and said, the chief advisor to the Emperor Mochimichi Nijō instructed to hold the seven-night sacred music ritual at Kasuga Taisha Shrine this month... Hereditary musicians will perform as usual, and Sir Nijō asked to bring a court noble as a performer this time. Hisatoki said that from the day before yesterday, he invited Gakurinken [meaning Aritoshi] and copied the secret manuscript of *wagon*. Both Tadahide and Tadahisa [Ōno] were transmitted the sacred ritual music, and they will receive the secret manuscript for that today.²⁰

This record suggests two important details. First, transmission of the sacred ritual music was completed not only among court nobles but also from a court noble to hereditary musicians. The Ōno is the only clan among hereditary musicians who were allowed to sing the kagura songs at the sacred ritual music. Instead of learning from their head of the clan, the Ōno learned traditionally from Aritoshi, which shows that the traditional way of transmission was observed as long as the family of grand masters of kagura existed.

¹⁹ “Yotsutsuji Sanenaka e Aritoshi yori taikyoku denjujō utsushi (A copy of transmission of the Japanese zither part of kagura taikyoku from Aritoshi Ayanokōji to Sanetaka Yotsutsuji),’ in Kagura hikyoku denju shorui (Manuscripts on transmissions of the kagura secret songs), 199-0442,0002” Tokyo, National Archives of Japan.

²⁰ Mibu Harutomi, *Harutomi sukune-ki* (Diary of Harutomi Sukune) (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1971).

Second, it is likely that Aritoshi taught the *wagon* part of the great song “Yudate” to Hisatoki. According to “Kasugataisha nanakayo mikagura ki (The record of the seven-night sacred music ritual at Kasuga Taisha Shrine)”²¹, the seven-night sacred music ritual was held starting on February 25, Bunmei 11 (1479) for a week at Kasuga Taisha Shrine. Traditionally, the great song “Yudate” was specially and secretly performed on the fourth night during the ritual. The *wagon* player accompanied the lead singer for “Yudate.” Aritoshi must have been invited to perform “Yudate.” Before the performance, he taught the *wagon* part of “Yudate” to Hisatoki. Aritoshi was already a monk at that time, but he continued to teach and perform in order to sustain the tradition of the kagura secret songs.

Aritoshi's Son Toshikazu

As head of the Ayanokōji family, Aritoshi's primary responsibility was to sustain the family line. Aritoshi was thirty-three years old at the time of the birth of his son Toshikazu (1451-1518). Due to the prolonged wars, Toshikazu experienced a series of hardships since he became the head of the family at the age of 18, following Aritoshi's renouncing of the world in order to become a Buddhist monk in 1468. The Ōnin War broke out in Kyoto during the previous year 1467 and continued until 1477. This war destroyed Kyoto, which disturbed the lives of court nobles and the performance of court rituals. For instance, the house of the Ayanokōji was burnt in 1478, and Toshikazu lost court costumes and important manuscripts of vocal music. Due to the same fire at that time, the Yotsutsuji's house was also damaged. This resulted in their incapacity to serve as performers, and the sacred music ritual was postponed on December 26, Bunmei 10 (1478).²² In a few months, Toshikazu managed to acquire the court costume, and the

²¹ “Kasugasha nanakayo mikagura no ki (Record of the seven-night sacred music ritual at Kasuga Taisha Shrine), 516-177” Tokyo, Kunaichō shoryōbu (Imperial Household Archives).

²² Harutomi Mibu. *Harutomi sukune-ki* (Diary of Harutomi Sukune) (Tōkyō: Meiji Shoin, 1971), 49.

postponed music ritual was held on March 5, 1479.²³ This episode shows the negative effect of the war on the ritual music and nobles at the imperial court.

The relationship between Toshikazu and Aritoshi was rather disturbing for Toshikazu.

There is an episode documented in a court diary written by Sanetaka Sanjōnishi:

On December 13, Entoku 2 (1490), the three-night sacred music ritual was held... This time, the performance of the secret song “Hirume” was planned; however, Toshikazu was offended that the lead singer Suetsune Yotstuji had wanted Aritoshi, who was a monk, to teach him “Hirume.” Indeed, Aritoshi had renounced the world, but considering the fact that Sanehiro Tōnoin had transmitted such a secret song even after his renunciation, it would be fine if Aritoshi were to transmit the secret song to Suetsune if Suetsune wants him to. But as a result of Toshikazu’s complain, unfortunately, the performance of “Hirume” was cancelled with the Emperor’s approval.²⁴

At that time, Aritoshi was seventy-two and Toshikazu was thirty-nine. From Toshikazu’s viewpoint, he wanted to teach “Hirume” to Suetsune and moreover, wanted to be the lead singer for “Hirume,” as he was now the head of the Ayanokōji family. Arikazu resented that his father continued to teach and transmit the kagura music and songs when he had already renounced the world. Whereas Aritoshi lived his life as a skilled musician and received respect until the end of his life, Toshikazu was not empowered to perform “Hirume” nor transmitted it at the age of forty.

Furthermore, on December 8, Meiō 2 (1493), when the seven-night sacred music ritual was held at Kasuga Taisha Shrine, it was Suetsune who performed as the lead singer. Toshikazu was the second singer. According to the *Nisuiiki*, the court diary written by Suetsune’s son, Toshikazu did not perform as the lead singer, not even when he had reached his fifties, in the sacred music ritual at the Imperial Palace Shrine. This was evidenced in performances that took place on March 8, Bunki 4 (1504), December 19, 1504, March 8, 1505 as Suetsune performed as

²³ Ibid., 70.

²⁴ Sanetaka Sanjōnishi, *Sanetaka kō ki* (Diary of Sanetaka Sanjōnishi), vol.2-2 (Tokyo: Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseikai, 1979), 518-19.

the lead singer.²⁵ If Toshikazu had transmitted the secret song “Hirume” to Suetsune in 1490, their roles of performance would have been alternated.

Yet, Toshikazu pursued the hereditary occupation of the Ayanokōji. On March 1, 1505, Toshikazu had transmitted kagura songs to Suetsune’s son Takayasu before Takayasu made his debut as an accompaniment at the sacred music ritual held on March 8. At this ritual, Suetsune was the lead singer while Toshikazu was the second singer. Suetsune could have transmitted the kagura songs to his son, but he encouraged his son to learn the songs from head of the Ayanokōji.²⁶ Traditionally, the Ayanokōji transmitted the kagura songs to other nobles. Suetsune valued and observed the traditional way.

In addition to Takayasu, importantly, Toshikazu accepted Motonori Jimyōin’s earnest request to take him as his disciple. Motonori was skilled at singing, and Toshikazu taught him the kagura songs and allowed him to copy the precious manuscripts of the kagura songs. These acts signify that Toshikazu recognized Motonori’s talent and dedication to the music. At that time, the Jimyōin’s hereditary occupation was not the kagura songs yet. It was Motonori and his son Mototaka who established the Jimyōin as a family of grand masters of the kagura songs. Toshikazu contributed to sustain the community of court nobles by assisting the rise of the Jimyōin.

While a new family of grand masters of kagura songs emerged, the Ayanokōji’s family line was again fragile. Aritoshi and Toshikazu sustained the family line by having a son. When Toshikazu was forty-six, Sukeyoshi was born in 1496. Sukeyoshi developed his skills and performed as the lead singer at the sacred music ritual on March 27, Eishō 18 (1521).²⁷ But the very next year, he vanished at the age of twenty-seven. Toshikazu had already passed away four

²⁵ Washino’o, *Nisuiki (Nisui diary)*, vol.1, 12, 39, 40, 47, 48.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, vol.1, 47.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, vol.1, 18.

years prior to that without leaving any other sons. Sukeyoshi's disappearance disrupted the Ayanokōji family in 1522. It was not easy to sustain both the family line and the status of the master of the kagura songs. Yet though the family line of the Ayanokōji was disrupted, the kagura secret songs and their performances did not discontinue. The nobles who had learned the kagura music and the secret songs from Aritoshi and Toshikazu expended efforts to ensure that the tradition survive and continue.

Case Study 2: Takayasu Washino'o (1485-1533)

The primary importance of sustaining the tradition of the kagura secret songs is to enable their performance. Preserving the musical notations for these songs is not enough for their continuity. The songs need to be performed as performance itself is one of the most significant Shinto court rituals and because the secret songs are the Emperor's prayers. As the head Shinto priest, the emperor instructs court nobles to perform the kagura secret songs to keep or restore the stability and peace of the nation. The close relationship between the emperor and the nobles was established through the performance and transmission of the court music. During the period of instability and conflicts in the early sixteenth century, the emperors and the nobles collaborated for the continuity of the tradition of the kagura songs and secret songs.

Takayasu Washino'o highlights this collaboration and their strategies through their modifications of aspects of the traditions in order to keep the performances of the kagura songs and secret songs alive. Takayasu Washino'o transmitted and performed the kagura secret songs as the lead singer when the Ayanokōji family declined. Without Takayasu, the secret songs would have been disrupted. Takayasu lived at the time of Kyoto's devastation at the end of the Ōnin War (1467-77). Despite the general instability of society and the decline of the families of

grand masters of kagura, Takayasu became a bridge and sustained the tradition with his biological father and brothers.

Takayasu was born in 1485 as the second son of Suetsune Yotsutsuji (1447-1524). The Yotsutsuji family was a distinguished noble family, specializing in the Japanese zither, *wagon*, as their hereditary occupation. Takayasu became a member of the Washino'o family at the age of four years, which helped to sustain the family line of the Washino'o, one of the court noble families that performed the *kagura* songs. By sending his son from the Yotsutsuji to the Washino'o line, Suetsune succeeded in making his son heir to the Washino'o family and with the qualifications to perform at the court.

The importance of Takayasu's adoption needs to be understood from the viewpoint of his biological father Suetsune and not the adoptive father. In fact, Suetsune sent his three sons including Takayasu to three different families to strengthen the group of holders of the kagura music and songs. First, Suetsune's eldest son Kin'oto was adopted by Sanenaka Yotsutsuji, who was the elder relative of Suetsune and belonged to the main line of the Yotsutsuji. Kin'oto became his adopted son and primary performer of the *wagon* as heir of the Yotsutsuji. Second, Takayasu's brother who was eight-years younger, Norihisa, was adopted by the Takakura. The hereditary occupation of the Takakura family was performing the kagura songs at the imperial palace. Thus, Suetsune's three sons became central figures to perform the sacred ritual music at the Imperial Palace Shrine.

These adoptions were Suetsune's strategy to sustain the tradition of the kagura ritual music. Suetsune supported the family lines of not only his own but also other families, which directly led to the continuity of the tradition. While adoption was common practice in order to sustain the family line and hereditary professions, giving three sons to different families was not

that common. Suetsune did that because he had five sons and was strongly committed to sustain the art. Among his sons, Takayasu greatly contributed to the continuity of the kagura secret songs through his performances and transmission during the difficult time of uncertainty and even physical danger due to the wars.

Suetsune's wish, determination, and devotion is explicitly expressed through his waka poetry:

Theme: *Koto* (zither)

Kumono ueni kikoshiagenaba hiku kotonno sueno yomademo taejito omou

I hope that the sound of the zither, which the emperor listens, would continue for following generations without a break.²⁸

The succession of the family line and the music tradition without a break is important in order to conduct the performance and pass down the art while retaining the essential feature and contents.

Suetsune wished the continuity of the imperial line, his family line, and the tradition of the kagura music. With this hope, he sent his three precious sons to other households.

Takayasu as a Recipient of the Kagura Songs

The lives and works of Takayasu are described in *Nisuiki*, a court diary written by Takayasu. The contents of *Nisuiki* date from Eishō 1 (1504) through Tenmon 2 (1533). *Nisuiki* is a useful literal source for understanding circumstances of the imperial court and the lives of court nobles during the period of the Warring States (1467-1615). *Nisuiki* documented events and nobles' deeds like official record. Court diaries in general were not personal but rather official. In particular, as Takayasu belonged to the family of the Japanese zither and the court ritual songs, *Nisuiki* provides great information about performances of the imperial court music and dance during his period.

²⁸ Privately owned.

Takayasu's main contribution is the important role that he played in place of the kagura masters when they were not present. During the later period of Takayasu's life, the presence of the families of grand masters was sporadic and disrupted. When Takayasu began to perform the music at the imperial court, Toshikazu Ayanokōji (1451-1518) was still alive, and the Ayanokōji family remained stable and did not decline. During this period, the traditional way of transmission could still be observed. As such an example, Takayasu learned kagura songs from Toshikazu Ayanokōji at the age of twenty-one on March 1, Eishō 2 (1505) and performed in the sacred music ritual at the Imperial Palace Shrine for the first time a week after the transmission on May 8.²⁹

It was Takayasu's father, Suetsune, who performed as the lead singer, while Takayasu's teacher, Toshikazu was the second singer. This means that the Yotsutsuji could perform the kagura songs as the lead singer, but when the family of kagura masters was present, the nobles observed the traditional way of the transmission. As discussed in the previous section, Toshikazu never performed as the lead singer since Suetsune performed as the lead singer. Although Suetsune was skillful enough to transmit the kagura songs to Takayasu, he did not do so. Suetsune respected the traditional way and let his son follow the ceremony of being passed down the songs from Toshikazu, head of the Ayanokōji.

After Toshikazu Ayanokōji died in Eishō 15 (1518), Takayasu performed as the lead singer at the sacred music ritual at the imperial palace sanctuary. On January 21, Eishō 17 (1520), for example, Takayasu was the lead singer at age thirty-six; Motonori Jimyōin was the second singer at twenty-nine; Toshikazu's son Sukeyoshi was an accompanied singer at age twenty-six. Takayasu was older than the heirs of the Ayanokōji and the Jimyōin and was in the position of

²⁹ *Nisuiiki*, vol. 1, 47-48.

leading them as a skillful senior noble performer. Both Sukeyoshi and Motonori developed their skill as performers, and Sukeyoshi served as a lead singer when Takayasu could not perform on March 27, Eishō 18 (1521). However, Sukeyoshi vanished two years later in Daiei 3 (1523). The Ayanokōji declined after Sukeyoshi's vanish, and Takayasu continued to perform as the lead singer in the sacred music rituals at the Imperial Palace Shrine and sustained the tradition.

Takayasu as a Recipient of Kagura Hikyoku "Hirume"

In order to keep the secret songs alive, it is important to transmit them to qualified individuals. Takayasu received kagura hikyoku "Hirume" on January 14, Daiei 1(1521) at the age of thirty-seven. As the Ayanokōji family had already declined, Takayasu learned "Hirume" to sustain the tradition. Selected passages of *Nisuiki* describe this transmission:

January 21, Daiei 1 (1521)

Breakfast was served at the Western Palace. It was a treat from one of Hideo Taguchi's sons. I took a ritual bath at night. I stretched a sacred straw festoon and began a Shinto ritual.

January 22, Daiei 1 (1521)

I washed my hair as usual.

It was very cold in January in Kyoto, but he washed his hair as part of ritual preparation.

Takayasu was ready to receive transmission of the kagura secret song the next day:

January 23, Daiei 1 (1521)

I went to the Imperial Palace Shrine. The wind scattered the snow outside [during the night], which was unexpected. But it became clear in the morning. It is very enchanting. At noon, after conducting a Shinto ritual, I received the kagura hikyoku "Hirume." [The teacher] gave me a certificate [of reception of kagura hikyoku] as usual. In return, I humbly gave [him] a catalogue of gifts such as a horse and a sword. I expressed my gratitude. An event such as this has not happened in a long time. It is really delightful. It was about 7:00 pm. At dusk, I put on traditional ceremonial court dress. Prior to that, I had ritual bathing. Former Middle Counselor Reizei and I went to the residence of the Takakura. After a while, Middle Counselor Yotsutsuji, Junior Counselor Norihisa Takakura, and others put on the traditional ceremonial court dress, and all of us went to the Imperial Palace together. ³⁰

³⁰*Nisuiki*, vol.2, 6.

This transmission shows that Takayasu became a holder of kagura hikyoku “Hirume.” Although the cited passages do not provide the name of his teacher, I construe that Takayasu’s biological father, Suetsune Yotsutsuji, transmitted kagura hikyoku to Takayasu, based on three observations: (1) Takayasu’s teacher of kagura songs, Toshikazu Ayanokōji, had passed three years prior to this transmission; (2) Toshimune Ayanokōji (1690-1770) speculated that Suetsune Yotsutsuji had passed down kagura hikyoku to Takayasu; (3) Emperor Go-Kashiwabara (r. 1500-26) received instruction in the zither tradition twice from Suetsune Yotsutsuji, and his enthronement ceremony was fast approaching.

Further discussion is warranted. First, Takayasu learned kagura songs from Toshikazu Ayanokōji, but none of the archived manuscripts document that Takayasu received kagura taikyoku or kagura hikyoku from Toshikazu Ayanokōji, whereas the archived manuscripts formerly owned by the Ayanokōji family document that Toshikazu passed down the kagura taikyoku “Yudate” to Motonori Jimyōin (1492-1551) on February 5, Eishō 11 (1515).³¹ It is likely that Toshikazu did not teach kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku to Takayasu. Suetsune was seventy-four years old in 1521, which was three years prior to his death, so it would have still been possible for him to pass down kagura hikyoku to Takayasu.

Second, during the eighteenth century, Toshikazu Ayanokōji’s descendant, Toshimune Ayanokōji (1690-1770), rigorously collected manuscripts, certificates, and musical scores in relation to kagura songs, kagura taikyoku, and kagura hikyoku, and added his own record in order to sustain the hereditary occupation of the Ayanokōji. Toshimune Ayanokōji wrote that “I speculate that Takayasu Washino’o learned kagra hikyoku from Suetsune Yotsutsuji. Takayasu

³¹ “Taikyoku hikyoku denju rei (The list of transmissions of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku) in Ayanokōji kyūzō gakusho (Musical manuscripts formerly owned by the Ayanokōji family), 761-1 [i]63-70” Tenri, Japan, Tenri University Library.

received the tradition of kagura hikyoku for his generation only. [Takayasu received the tradition of kagura hikyoku, but did not pass it down to his son.] The musical score Takayasu had received has not been preserved, but there is a record in *Nisuiki* about this transmission.”³² After his research, Toshimune could not identify who passed down kagura hikyoku to Takayasu, but it was evident to him that Takayasu had received it based on Takayasu’s court diary, *Nisuiki*. Toshimune speculated it was Suetsune who had taught “Hirume” to Takayasu. Toshimune did not write his reasoning, because Suetsune was a highly reputed master of court ritual music at that time.

Third, I infer that Emperor Go-Kashiwabara arranged Suetsune Yotsutsuji’s transmission of kagura hikyoku to Takayasu. Emperor Go-Kashiwabara had learned the secret art of the zither twice already from Suetsune Yotsutsuji on November 10, Eishō 12 (1515) and on November 25, Eishō 15 (1518). Suetsune was Emperor Go-Kashiwabara’s master of zither. Furthermore, Suetsune also passed down the music “Manshūroku” on August 29, Daiei 1 (1521) and “Ōdaihajinroku” and “Toraden” on March 27, Daiei 3 (1523) to Emperor Go-Kashiwabara’s son.³³ As Suetsune was a virtuoso of the ritual vocal music as well as a teacher of zither for both Emperor Go-Kashiwabara and his son, it is likely that the Emperor arranged Suetsune’s transmission of kagura hikyoku “Hirume” to Takayasu. I understand that this was a preparation for Emperor Go-Kashiwabara’s enthronement ceremony. Due to the instability of society of this period, Emperor Go-Kashiwabara had been unable to conduct the enthronement ceremony for twenty years. The coronation ceremony was finally held later in the same year in 1521, twenty-one years after he became the emperor. The transmission was part of his preparation for the

³² “Enkyō yonen naishidokoro sankayo no mikagura hikyoku no ki (The record of three-night mikagura at the Imperial Palace Shrine in 1747) in Ayanokōji kyūzō gakusho (Musical manuscripts formerly owned by the Ayanokōji family), 761-1 [i]63-66” Tenri, Japan, Tenri University Library.

³³ *Nisuiki*, vol. 2, 47, 48, 164, 165.

coronation ceremony. In short, Takayasu Washino'o sustained the tradition of the kagura hikyoku "Hirume" when the other qualified court nobles were not available.

Takayasu sustained not only the kagura secret songs but also the kagura songs when the Ayanokōji was disrupted. On September 19, Daiei 8 (1528), Takayasu passed down the kagura songs to his biological younger brother Norihisa Takakura. Their biological father Suetsune had already passed away four years before at the age of seventy-eight. Emperor Go-Kashiwabara had also passed away two years before. Emperor Go-Nara acknowledged the great contribution of Suetsune to the tradition, which made Emperor Go-Nara order Takayasu to pass down to Norihisa. After this first transmission, Takayasu passed down three more kagura songs to Norihisa in December of the same year again.³⁴

Emperor Go-Nara's primary intention was to acknowledge Suetsune's commitment to sustain the tradition of the kagura songs. At that time, the community of performers of the kagura songs was diminishing. Emperor Go-Nara was well aware of the importance of strengthening the community by increasing qualified performers of the kagura songs in order to continue the court rituals. It was the exactly same objective of Suetsune. Suetsune's strategic adoption for the continuity of the tradition was successfully fulfilled by the Emperors and his sons.

Takayasu's Performances of the Kagura Taikyoku "Yudate"

Traditionally, while the kagura hikyoku "Hirume" was performed at the three-night sacred music ritual held at the Imperial Palace Shrine, the kagura taikyoku "Yudate" was performed at the seven-night sacred music ritual held at the Kasuga Taisha Shrine. Court nobles performed both "Hirume" and "Yudate" as the lead singer and the second signer. These two songs are the most sacred and secret songs. Takayasu performed "Yudate" as the lead singer at

³⁴ *Nisuiiki*, vol. 3, 157.

least three times in his life when qualified performers from the Ayanokōji and Jimyōin families were not present. Takayasu documented his service in his diary entry:

On June 23, Daiei 5 (1525)

Today I sang kagura taikyoku “Yudate.” I washed my hair [to prepare for the sacred performance]. We had a rehearsal. Tonight is the middle night [of the seven-night sacred music ritual]. The kagura taikyoku was performed without any trouble. I feel relieved. There was a *ninjo-mai* [dance] with “Hayauta.” It [“Yudate”] is the secret tradition.³⁵

Takayasu sang kagura taikyoku “Yudate” again on the last day of completing the seven-night music ritual:

On June 26, Daiei 5 (1525)

Tonight, I sang “Yudate.” This song is profound and esoteric in the kagura music. This song should not be vocalized. When this song is performed at the Imperial Palace, they say that performers get a gift of celebration. This is the ritual for an ancestral deity and exclusively to worship kami [the Shinto deities].³⁶

Takayasu explicitly stated that performance of “Yudate” itself is a religious ritual to worship kami. His serious and pious attitude as the lead singer is clearly conveyed through the various entries to his diary. Through his performance, Takayasu kept “Yudate” alive.

After six years, on December 21, Kyōroku 4 (1531), Takayasu performed “Yudate” as the lead singer at the Kasuga Taisha Shrine. This time, his younger brother Norihisa Takakura, who had learned the kagura songs from Takayasu with the imperial order three years before, performed as chorus. Their elder brother Kin’oto Yotsutsuji performed the *wagon*. Motonori Jimyōin, who was a disciple of Toshikazu Ayanokōji, served as the second singer. Takayasu sustained the continuity of performing “Yudate” with his two biological brothers and his same teacher’s disciple Motonori Jimyōin. This performance of “Yudate” was the successful result of Suetsune Yotsutsuji’s strategic adoption that his three biological sons played significant roles in

³⁵ *Nisuiiki*, vol. 4, 151-159.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 4, 151-159.

performing “Yudate” and sustaining the hereditary occupations of the three families the Yotsutsuji, the Washino’o, and the Takakura.

In order to understand Takayasu’s commitment, we need to remember that Kyoto was not a safe place at all. It was still during the Warring States period. Some nobles left Kyoto. For example, Motonori Jimyōin sometimes did not perform at the sacred music ritual when he left Kyoto and stayed in Mino’o.³⁷ But Takayasu did not leave Kyoto. He continued to perform as the lead singer at the sacred music ritual held at the Imperial Palace Shrine and the Kasuga Taisha Shrine. Takayasu was aware of his responsibility to make the tradition continue. Although it was his great honor, it also put a lot of pressure on him. Toward the end of his life, he was often sick and worried about whether he could serve as the lead singer or not. He was relieved when he managed to recover and to serve as the lead singer at the sacred music ritual.

In the end, unlike his biological father, Takayasu did not live a very long life. On February 25, Kyōroku 4 (1531), Takayasu became sick due to taking a bath on a previous night when it was very cold, and he did not recover. Within less than two weeks, he passed away at the age of forty-nine on March 6, Kyōroku 4 (1531). Takayasu died about two and a half months after the performance of “Yudate” at the Kasuga Taisha Shrine. He devoted himself to the continuity of the kagura music throughout his life. After his death, the family line of the Washino’o was disrupted as Takayasu’s son died young. It was thirty-five years after Takayasu’s death when the Washino’o family was restored. This restoration happened because Takayasu’s elder brother Kin’oto’s grandson gave his second son Suemitsu to the Washino’o as Takayasu’s adoptive son in 1566. It was indeed very difficult to sustain the family lines especially during the Warring States period.

³⁷ Ibid., vol. 4, 8.

After Takayasu, court nobles who emerged from other families such as Motonori Jimyōin's son Mototaka Jimyōin and his disciple Yukinaka Itsutsuji sustained the tradition. In sum, the case study of Takayasu shows that the continuity of the kagura secret songs was dependent upon the continuity of the selected family lines, and that sustaining the succession of the family lines and the hereditary occupations were not easy at all. This vulnerability of the kagura secret songs did not make the tradition decline because of the nobles' resilient dedication.

Case Study 3: Yukinaka Itsutsuji (1558-1626)

Yukinaka was a court noble of the Itsutsuji family whose hereditary occupation was the kagura songs. His importance is his great contribution during the third division of the Warring States period marked by the final war called Siege of Ōsaka in 1615. Due to this war, the Jimyōin family line faced the danger of disruption. However, Yukinaka preserved the musical manuscripts of the kagura secret songs, performed them, restored the Ayanokōji, and supported the Jimyōin.

The list of holders of the great and secret songs is preserved at the National Archives of Japan, located in Tokyo. This list and other related documents were submitted to the Meiji government by nobles due to the government's order to the nobles in 1870. In this list titled "Taikyoku hikyoku denju azukarisōrō chūko iraino nintei," which begins with Arisuke Ayanokōji (1204–72), there is a collection of sixteen court nobles (nine from the Ayanokōji family, six from the Jimyōin family, and one from the Itsutsuji family) who transmitted "Yudate" and "Hirume."³⁸

Only one person on the list, Yukinaka Itsutsuji, was not from the family of grand masters of *kagura*. Four years after Yukinaka's master, Mototaka Jimyōin, died, Mototaka's adopted son

³⁸“Taikyoku hikyoku denju azukarisōrō chūko irai no nintei (the list of names of nobles who were transmitted the kagura great and secret songs since the medieval era),” National Archives of Japan, 199–0442, no. 10.

Motohisa (1584–1615) fell in the Summer Siege of Osaka in 1615, and Motohisa’s son Motomasa likewise died young.³⁹

Due to the loss of both head and future head of the family, the Jimyōin faced a crisis of continuity as a family of grand masters of kagura. Yukinaka Itsutsuji supported the line succession of the Jimyōin by helping Motosada (1607–67), who was the husband of Motohisa’s daughter, until Motosada was allowed to be heir of the Jimyōin. As for the Ayanokōji, the family line of the Ayanokōji was revived by Yukinaka who restored the Ayanokōji by giving his son Taka’ari to the Ayanokōji.⁴⁰ Other document of the National Archives, titled “Kagura saibara sosens irai no den” [People to Whom Kagura and Saibara Have Been Transmitted]⁴¹, records that Taka’ari had received kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku from Yukinaka Itsutsuji.⁴²

In short, Yukinaka Itsutsuji maintained the continuity of the transmission of the sacred vocal music by restoring the lines of succession in both the Jimyōin and the Ayanokōji. In order to prevent interruption in the conduct of the sacred music ritual, Yukinaka played a role of the Ayanokōji and the Jimyōin until they were restored in preserving, performing, and transmitting the secret songs. Through Yukinaka’s management, the scores and lyrics of “Yudate” and “Hirume” that Aritoshi Ayanokōji had transmitted were passed down from generation to generation, over a period of more than four centuries up to the early Meiji period.

Yukinaka’s Preservation of the Secret Songs and His Performance of Kagura Hikyoku “Hirume”

Yukinaka played an important role in preserving the kagura songs and the great and secret songs. The scores of the kagura songs, the secret song “Hirume,” and the great song

³⁹*Jimyōin* (Genealogy of the Jimyōin), National Archives of Japan, 155–0001.

⁴⁰“Ayanokōji Arikazu sashidashi” (The genealogy of the Ayanokōji written by Ayanokōji Arikazu), Historiographical Institute, University of Tokyo, 00059840.

⁴¹ “Kagura saibara sosens irai no den” (people to whom kagura and saibara have been transmitted), National Archives of Japan, 199–0442, no. 6.

⁴²“Kagura saibara sosens irai no den,” National Archives of Japan.

“Yudate” have been kept in the two texts at the National Archives of Japan to this day: “Kagura fu (Scores of kagura)”⁴³ and “Kagura hikyoku fu (Scores of the kagura secret songs).”⁴⁴

Yukinaka copied the content of the first source in 1593 when he borrowed the original text owned by Yukinaka’s master, Mototaka Jimyōin. This source contains thirteen kagura songs including the secret song “Hirume” and the manner of the *ninjō* dance. It has both music notations and the song texts.

The second source contains the music notations and the song texts of “Hirume” and “Yudate.” It is recorded that the contents were documented in 1596. This means that Yukinaka completed the learning of “Hirume” and “Yudate” by 1596. This document also contains the name of Mototaka Jimyōin, who transmitted the songs. Yukinaka received the kagura songs and the secret songs of “Hirume” and “Yudate” from Mototaka.

With this transmission, Yukinaka became a qualified performer of the secret songs and performed the secret song, “Hirume,” on May 10, Keichō 16 (1611). The three-night sacred music ritual was held at the Imperial Palace Shrine on May 8, 1611, and the secret song “Hirume” was performed on the third night. Yukinaka was a lead singer; Motohisa Jimyōin was a second singer; Suetsugu Yotsutsuji was a *wagon* player.⁴⁵ This was four years prior to Motohisa’s death in the Summer Siege of Osaka in 1615. Although many nobles were in physical danger during the period of war, Yukinaka continued to commit himself to the support of the secret songs.

In other document of the National Archives titled “Taikyoku hikyoku denju azukarisōrō chūko iraino nintei,” there is a list of holders of the kagura great and secret songs. Before the name of Yukinaka, the name of Mototaka Jimyōin is documented. After Yukinaka’s name, Taka’ari Ayanokōji is documented. Yukinaka was passed down the secret tradition from the

⁴³ “Kagura fu (Musical scores of kagura),” National Archives of Japan, 117-0003.

⁴⁴ “Kagura hikyoku fu (Scores of the kagura secret songs),” National Archives of Japan, 199-0442, No.5.

⁴⁵ Yanagiwara, *Sagan* (Diary of Motomitsu Yanagiwara); Zushoryō Sōkan, 177.

Jimyōin and passed it down to his biological son, Taka'ari, who became heir of the Ayanokōji after a ninety-one year-disruption.

In sum, Yukinaka not only restored the family line of the Ayanokōji and supported the Jimyōin family line, but he also sustained the performance of the secret songs. He also preserved the manuscripts of the secret songs for later generations. After the generation of Taka'ari and Motohisa, both the Ayanokōji and the Jimyōin firmly established their authority as the distinguished families of the kagura songs and continued to sustain the kagura secret songs without threats throughout the stable Edo period.

Conclusion

My three case studies show that, during the Warring States period, court nobles who specialized in court ritual music struggled but managed to sustain the performance and the transmission of the kagura secret songs in the face of disturbances and physical danger. While some of the main families such as the Ayanokōji declined, this period is marked by the emergence of talented performers of the kagura songs from other families such as Suetsune Yotsutsuji, Takayasu Washino'o, and Yukinaka Itsutsuji. Motonori Jimyōin and his son Mototaka also made the kagura songs their additional hereditary occupation. The formation of the Jimyōin as a distinguished family of kagura performers was initiated during this period. While the Ayanokōji family line was interrupted, the traditional way of performing and transmitting the secret songs was modified, and other nobles performed the secret songs as lead singers. Once the Ayanokōji were restored, the traditional way of performing and transmitting the secret songs was also restored. This re-organization and restoration reflected the court nobles' strategy and strengthened the resilience of the kagura secret songs.

The emperors played a significant and integral role of adaptive management in sustaining the tradition of the kagura songs and the secret songs. When the tradition was in danger of decline, the emperor became involved and ordered the submission of the musical manuscripts and the transmission of the kagura songs to other nobles. The emperor was naturally involved in maintaining these traditions due to his role as the head priest who prays for the peace and the well-being of the people and who offers the secret songs to the imperial ancestral deity Amaterasu.

Throughout the centuries, the emperor and court nobles specializing in court music were also closely connected by that music. As Emperor Juntoku (r. 1210-21) emphasized the importance of mastering court music in *Kinpishō* that he wrote in 1221, sustaining the court music was the successive emperors' primary concern. In essence, the kagura secret songs—the jewel of court music—are the emperor's serenade and prayer to Amaterasu Ōmikami. The resilience of the secret songs and their performers' persistence are due to their *raison d'être* as the emperor's innermost prayer. During the period of instability and conflict in the early sixteenth century, the emperors and the nobles were able to sustain the continuity of the tradition together.

As a result of the collaborative support of the emperors and court nobles, the kagura secret songs survived during the Warring States period. The kagura secret songs as a system exhibited a great degree of resilience during the period of turbulence. The performances of the kagura secret songs were unquestionably required to restore peace and stability. Sustaining these practices was even more essential due to the political and social instability in Japan in this period.

After the Warring States period, both the Ayanokōji and the Jimyōin solidified their status as the families of grand masters of the kagura songs and continued to sustain the kagura

secret songs by performing and transmitting them throughout the next two and a half centuries without any interruptions. The resilience of the kagura secret songs would be tested again, however, during the time of the Meiji Restoration in 1870s.

Chapter 4: Continuity of Kagura Taikyoku and Kagura Hikyoku during the Transitional Period from the End of Edo to the Early Meiji

This chapter analyzes ways in which kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku were sustained from Emperor Kōmei's era (r.1846-67) at the end of the Edo period (1603-1867), through the early Meiji period. I examine the roles and strategies of Emperor Meiji, government officials, and court musicians in sustaining the essential feature of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku. While kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku went through changes during the early Meiji period, including the termination of the inheritance of noble occupations at the imperial court and the shift of performers from court nobility to court musicians, these changes can be understood as part of the process of sustaining the core feature of the tradition—performance of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku as an essential Shinto rite. Thus, I argue that these changes to the secret ritual songs can be interpreted not as modern inventions but as modifications of tradition with the core feature retained from the past.

From the viewpoint of changes as a modification and part of the process of sustaining tradition, I examine ways in which changes on kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku sustained the core feature. My analysis is based on historical documents and manuscripts preserved at the Imperial Household Archives, court noble Arinaga Ayanokōji's diary, court musician Fujitsune Shiba's diary, and the Annals of Emperor Meiji. I also analyze three significant figures' roles in transmitting kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku: Fujitsune Shiba, Arinaga Ayanokōji, and Suenaga Tōgi. While Ayanokōji was a hereditary court noble, Shiba and Tōgi were hereditary court musicians who became government employees as court musicians at the Department of Music. My analysis challenges the concept of Shinto as a modern invention by demonstrating the continuity of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku as an essential Shinto court ritual.

Historically, kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku had been transmitted and performed by hereditary court nobles. Kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku faced the crisis of discontinuity two times during its history of about nine centuries. The first crisis was the Ōnin war (1467-77) in Kyoto during the period of the Muromachi shogunate (1336-1573). Most of Kyoto was devastated in the flames of war. This affected the lives of the nobility. For instance, some court nobles lost their houses, musical manuscripts, instruments, and court robes, which put them in strained circumstances. Also, court nobles who lost their heirs and sons faced the discontinuity of family occupations. Thus, it was common for nobles to adopt a son from other court nobility. In sum, the main strategy of sustaining kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku prior to the Meiji period was to maintain the lineage of court nobles who specialized in kagura ritual music as their occupations.

The second crisis happened during the early modern period from the end of the 1860s to the 1880s, which is the main focus of this chapter. This period is marked by a series of changes in society due to the drastic transition from the end of the feudal regime lasting two hundred sixty years, to a modern era. Changes during this period are often argued from the viewpoint that traditions were invented to establish a modern nation. For instance, Shinto is often seen as statecraft and a modern invention among most scholars of Japanese history and religious studies. On the contrary, I argue that some changes can be interpreted as no more than modifications of tradition because such changes sustained the core feature of the tradition. Thus, a case study of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku testifies that Shinto operates, like all traditions, by slow modification to meet its changing environment.

I emphasize two factors that contributed to the complex dynamics of changes during the Meiji period: westernization and efforts in sustaining tradition.¹ Modernization through westernization was a response to the threat from Western powers. By the time when Japan was forced to open the country and to enter unequal treaties for commerce with Western powers in the 1850s, most Asian and African countries had been colonized by Western powers. Japan's independence and peace were severely threatened. The Meiji government's most urgent task was to establish a modern nation and to terminate the unfair treaties with Western powers in order to sustain Japanese independence. As a result, the Meiji government adapted selected Western cultural features and systems to various social systems including politics, imperial court ceremonies, administration, education, military, laws, economy, and culture.

On the other hand, Meiji government recognized the importance of maintaining the ancient court rituals and manners enforced by Emperor Kōmei. The government officials put an importance upon restoring the unity of religion and state combined with emperor veneration as a principle of nation building. Both westernization and restoring the traditional rituals, which seems to be contraries, were two driving forces of nation building during the Meiji period. Changes in society during the Meiji period reflect this dichotomy one way or another.

This study challenges the argument that the Meiji government imposed changes and created invented tradition to establish the centralized modern government. Instead, through dynamism of collaborative interaction among government officials, court nobles, court musicians, and Emperor Meiji, I argue that the government established a system whereby, for example, sacred music rituals and kagura hikyoku would be continuously performed under any situation without being interrupted by the inevitable changes in society.

¹ In case of kagura secret songs, sustaining tradition includes the restructuring, reorganizing, and modifying of performance, the musical scores, and performers.

The End of Edo and the Meiji Restoration

We look at the characteristics of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku in terms of performance, musicians, ritual contexts, and the emperor's role during the end of the Edo period from a historical perspective so that we can understand what happened to sacred ritual music after the so-called Meiji Restoration in 1868.

Historically, kagura hikyoku has been specially performed at the sacred music ritual at the Imperial Palace Shrine for a millennium. The sacred music ritual consists of the performance of about seventeen kagura songs, and there are two types of sacred music ritual held at the Imperial Palace Shrine. The first type is held regularly in mid-December every year for a night while the second type is held irregularly by the imperial order, and it lasts for three nights. Before the Meiji period, kagura hikyoku had been performed at the latter three-night sacred music ritual in relation to the enthronement ceremony and the transferral of the sacred mirror where the spirit of Amaterasu Ōmikami is believed to reside.

Before the Meiji period, kagura taikyoku had been specially performed on the middle night at the seven-night sacred music ritual held at Kasuga Taisha Shrine in Nara. Kagura taikyoku was performed in relation to the withering of trees on the shrine's sacred mountain and an incident in which the mirrors at the shrine fell down. Both situations were regarded as warning from the deities about potential dangers to the region or to the country. The performance of sacred ritual music and kagura taikyoku was offered to avoid potential disasters. Thus, performance of both kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku and sacred ritual music are considered to be one of the essential imperial Shinto rituals.

Performers of kagura taikyoku and those of kagura hikyoku were same. Court nobility mainly served as lead and second singers as well as *wagon* players while hereditary musicians of

lower ranks from Kyoto served as performers of the *hichiriki*, the flute, and *ninjō* dance. Their roles were not changed but fixed as hereditary occupations based on court ranks and family lines. Hereditary musicians from Osaka and Nara had never performed kagura ritual music before the Meiji period. The continuity of family lines was important to sustain the sacred music ritual. After the crisis of the continuity of tradition during the Muromachi period, lineages of both court nobility and hereditary Kyoto musicians were well sustained during the Edo period (1603-1867). Despite the 91-year interruption before the Edo period, since the Ayanokōji family had been restored through adopting a son from the Itsutsuji family in 1613, the Ayanokōji family continued to perform and transmit kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku without any interruption throughout the rest of the Edo period.

Toward the end of the Edo period, Emperor Kōmei's reign was marked by unprecedented crises inside and outside of the country. Yet, without interruption, kagura hikyoku was performed at the three-night sacred music ritual at the rite of Emperor Kōmei's enthronement, the rite of construction of the Imperial Palace Shrine, etc. Similarly, kagura taikyoku was performed at Kasuga Taisha Shrine in Bunkyo 2 (1862) at the seven-night sacred music ritual due to the fall of the mirrors kept at the shrine. Despite the turbulence of these times, Emperor Kōmei, court nobles, and hereditary Kyoto musicians sustained kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku in the same ritual contexts as before.

What is noteworthy about Emperor Kōmei and the sacred music ritual is his frequent performance at it in person. Kōmei often performed the *wagon* at both types of sacred music ritual held at the Imperial Palace Shrine. It was his primary involvement in prayer, besides sending the imperial envoy numerous times to Ise Jingū and other major shrines to deliver his

prayer to protect the country. His active participation as a performer of *wagon* was his distinct way of offering his fervent prayer for peace during the unquiet days at the end of the Edo period.

Emperor Kōmei was also concerned about instability within the country. Many nobility and warriors strove for anti-shogunate movement while Emperor Kōmei supported the movement for reconciliation between the imperial court and the shogunate. Deeply concerned during the days of the upheaval, Emperor Kōmei performed the *wagon* at the sacred music ritual on December 11, Keiō 2 (1866) as usual, and two weeks after, he died. Soon after his death, the evacuation of the Edo castle without bloodshed took place, and the two hundred-sixty years' shogunate regime ended. Those who overthrew the shogunate and promoted Japan's opening to the world based on the imperial veneration established the Meiji government in 1868.

In sum, Emperor Kōmei often played the *wagon* at the sacred music ritual and prayed for restoring peace and protecting the country until the last days of his life. His active performance at the sacred music ritual signifies that the sacred music ritual is one of the essential imperial Shinto rituals and is also the intimate site for him to offer his fervent prayers for the country to the imperial ancestral kami. After the Meiji Restoration, Emperor Kōmei's son, Emperor Meiji continued the prayer that his father had embedded into the sacred music ritual throughout his reign of forty-five years.

The Meiji government and Emperor Meiji aimed to establish the modern nation based on the two principles of Westernization and sustaining tradition. The latter means reorganization of ancient manner and practices of the imperial court rituals based on imperial veneration. These two principles also had a major impact on kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku during the early Meiji period. The new government promoted Western culture in order to establish the modern state. In November 1871, the Meiji government dispatched the Iwakura Mission to America and

European countries lead by the plenipotentiary delegate Tomomi Iwakura, one of the central figures contributing to the Meiji Restoration. The Iwakura Mission included not only government officials but also male and female students. They witnessed highly modernized society in terms of the judicial system, parliament, centralization, industrialization, urbanization, militarization, and so forth. The Meiji government pursued modernization through Westernization.

Emperor Meiji also promoted Western culture from the early Meiji period. On October 22, Meiji 4 (1871), Emperor Meiji appeared before the heads of noble families and encouraged them to study in the West as well as to send their sons and daughters to study Western culture there.² Emperor Meiji also explicitly expressed his support for Western culture. For example, despite the government's proclamation of cutting the topknots in August 1871, many men did not follow it. However, Emperor Meiji himself had his hair cut and started to wear Western clothes in 1873. Emperor Meiji acted up to his principle, which was shown visually in public.

Emperor Kōmei supported the closure of the country from the world and opposed to Western culture, whereas Emperor Meiji and the Meiji government supported the opening the country and Westernization. However, it is not that Emperor Meiji was disenchanted with traditional ways nor, did he blindly follow the principle of Westernization. Emperor Meiji put a primary importance upon the stability of the country and valued the ancient ways of Japan for that. He aimed to establish a modern state without discarding the traditional ways while learning from the West. In a word, both the Emperor and the government embraced the continuity of tradition and Western culture in order to sustain the independence, peace, and stability of the country.

There are many examples of how Emperor Meiji put an importance upon Shinto tradition and the sacred music ritual from the beginning of the Meiji period. When his enthronement was

² Japan. Kunaichō, *Meiji tennō ki* (Annals of Emperor Meiji), vol. 1–13 (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1968).

held on August 27, Keiō 4 (1868), Emperor Meiji worshiped at the imperial palace shrine. Two weeks later on September 7, Meiji 1 (1868) when the sacred music ritual was conducted at the Imperial Palace Shrine in celebration of the change of the era name from Keiō to Meiji, Emperor Meiji worshipped at the Imperial Palace Shrine. Likewise, he appeared at the sacred music ritual held twice on January 12 and 13, Meiji 2 (1869) and worshipped at the Imperial Palace Shrine. The first one was the sacred music ritual that had been postponed in the previous month, and the next one was held in relation to the moving of the sacred mirror upon the Emperor's return to Kyoto from Tokyo on December 22, Meiji 1 (1868). He also appeared at the enshrining ceremony upon completion of a temporary shrine in the Department of Divinities and worshipped there. He continued to worship at the Imperial Palace Shrine when the sacred music ritual was held in mid-December. Thus, his presence at the rituals shows that Emperor Meiji regarded the sacred music ritual and Shinto ceremonies as highly important court rituals.

Emperor Meiji is famous for his skill and productivity in writing waka poems. His poetry indicates his views. One of his waka poems created during the early Meiji period signifies his principles:

Title: "Country" *Hitomo waremo michio mamorite kawarazuba kono shikishimano kuniwa ugokaji*

As long as subjects and I observe the traditional path since ancient times, this country will never move.³

We see that Emperor Meiji highly valued the traditional ways to stabilize the country. The term "ugoka-ji" means "not move," suggesting that stability is sustained by ancient manners and practices preserved in Shinto rituals.

One of the central ritual contexts of performing kagura hikyoku is related to the moving of the sacred mirror. Whenever the sacred mirror is transferred from a temporary shrine to the

³ Meiji, Emperor of Japan, *Meiji tennō gyoshū* (The collection of Emperor Meiji's poems) (Tōkyō: Monbushō, 1922), 3. The cited poem was created before Meiji 11 (1878).

original palace shrine due to an unexpected accident or reconstruction of the imperial palace shrine, kagura hikyoku has been performed. This is because the transferral of the mirror is regarded as a potential danger to the country or the emperor. Thus, performance of kagura hikyoku is required to tranquilize the spirit of Amaterasu Ōmikami in order to restore the stable state. A performance of kagura hikyoku has been one of the primary tasks of the successive emperors. Emperor Meiji was deeply aware of it.

Symbolic Performance of Kagura Hikyoku in 1868

This section examines the first performance of kagura hikyoku and its ritual contexts during the beginning of the Meiji period in order to discuss what aspects of kagura hikyoku were changed and what aspects were. Kagura hikyoku was first performed at one-night mikagura held at the Imperial Palace Shrine in Kyoto on September 7, 1868. This performance of kagura hikyoku is symbolic in terms of its ritual contexts and the principles of the Emperor and the government.

The governmental document on mikagura provides information about this performance of kagura hikyoku at the one-night mikagura on September 7, Keiō 4 (1868). The information is found in the passage where governmental officials discussed the performers of the sacred music ritual and kagura hikyoku that was to be established to Ise Jingū in 1889:

June Meiji 22 [1889]

In this October

By the imperial instruction, both the sacred ritual music and kagura hikyoku would be performed at Shikinen Sengū at Ise Jingū. Therefore, to get imperial approval, we report the following performers for the sacred ritual music and kagura hikyoku decided based on the references of precedent performances.

[In need of the Imperial approval]

Performers of the sacred ritual music and kagura hikyoku at Ise Jingū:

Lead and second singers: nobility, [each] one

Wagon and flute: nobility, one

Hichiriki: senior court musician, one

Chorus: senior court musicians and court musicians, eleven
 In total: fifteen⁴

The following is references based on which performers for Ise Jingū in 1899 were decided:

March 18, Bunkū 2 (1862)
 Performers of the sacred ritual music and kagura taikyoku at Kasuga Taisha shrine:
 Lead singer: Arinaga Ayanokōji
 Substitute: Motomasa Jimyōin
Wagon: Kinyasu Yotsutsuji
 Flute: Kinyasu Yotsutsuji
 Chorus: ten
 In total: fifteen

September 7, Keiō 4 (1868)
 Performers of naishidokoro no mikagura and kagura hikyoku:
 Singer: Arinaga Ayanokōji
 Arikazu Ayanokōji
 Flute: Kinyoshi Yotsutsuji
Wagon: Kinyasu Yotsutsuji
Hichiriki: one
 Chorus: several

Performers of the sacred ritual music at present:
 Senior court musicians and court musicians: fourteen⁵

The Meiji government referred to the two preceding examples of performing kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku as well as the present practice in order to decide performers of the sacred music ritual and kagura hikyoku at the Ise Jingū. Based on these examples as the reference, the performers were chosen for Ise Jingū. The lead singer, the second singers, the *wagon* player, and the flute player were all nobility while court musicians served as the *hichiriki* player and the chorus. Except kagura hikyoku, the sacred ritual music was to be performed by court musicians. In short, the government followed the traditional way of performing kagura hikyoku whereas the government reorganized a way of performing the sacred ritual music. Before the Meiji

⁴ “Mikagura-roku Meiji 3-Taishō 8 (Record on mikagura from 1870-1919), 11803,” Tokyo, Kunaichō shoryōbu (Imperial Household Archives).

⁵ “Mikagura-roku Meiji 3-Taishō 8 (Record on mikagura from 1870-1919), 11803” Tokyo, Kunaichō shoryōbu (Imperial Household Archives), Section of Meiji 22 (1889).

Restoration, it was court nobles who mainly performed the sacred ritual music. By 1889, the performance of the sacred ritual music was completely shifted from the nobility to court musicians of the Department of Music.

Next, the ritual contexts of the two precedent examples are considered. As for the first example, according to the record on mikagura at Kasuga Taisha Shrine, the mirrors that had been hanging inside the shrine dropped and were damaged. After the damaged mirrors were repaired and returned to the shrine, the seven-night mikagura was held, and on the middle night, kagura taikyoku was performed. The song name is noted as “Yudate.”⁶

From the fourteenth century through the Edo period, “Yudate” had been performed at the seven-night mikagura at Kasuga Taisha shrine, which was irregularly held when unusual and serious events happened such as the fall of the sacred mirrors or the withering of trees on the shrine’s sacred mountain. The fact that the Meiji government referred to the example of kagura taikyoku in 1862 indicates that “Yudate” was regarded as significant private song for the imperial court.

The second reference, the performance of kagura hikyoku on September 7, Keiō 4 (1868), has two ritual contexts: the enthronement and the change of the era name. Historically, kagura hikyoku has been performed at the sacred music ritual held after the enthronement. There is a documented record of the performance of kagura hikyoku at the enthronement for most emperors during the Edo period in the Annals of Emperors. Similarly, ten days after Emperor Meiji’s enthronement ceremony that had been held on August 27, Keiō 4 (1868), kagura hikyoku was also performed.

⁶ “Kasugasha nanakayo mikagura no ki (Record of the seven-night sacred music ritual at Kasuga Taisha Shrine), 516-177.”

The other ritual context for the second reference is found in the entry of September 7, Keiō 4 (1868) of *Annals of Emperor Meiji*:

At the rite of changing the era name, after the Emperor [Meiji] had prayed at the Imperial Palace Shrine, he had the sacred music ritual conducted and appeared at the ritual.”⁷

The performance of kagura hikyoku on September 7, Keiō 4 (1868) marked the change of the era. The era name was officially changed from Keiō to Meiji on the following day on September 8, Meiji 1 (1868).

Thus, the Meiji period began with the sacred ritual music and kagura hikyoku as the symbolic performance. This performance also signifies the continuity of tradition. Through this performance of kagura hikyoku, Emperor Meiji, who worshipped at the Imperial Palace Shrine, prayed for the peace and stability of the country like his father and other preceding emperors did. The performance of kagura hikyoku on September 7, Keiō 4 (1868) symbolizes the characteristics of the Meiji period. Emperor Meiji, the Meiji government, and court nobles prayed for stabilizing the country in a continuing traditional way at the time of transition toward establishing the modern nation.

After the Meiji Restoration, there was a major change to the sacred music ritual—the termination of the three-night mikagura and the seven-night mikagura. To my knowledge, there is no record of the three-night mikagura held at the Imperial Palace Shrine, nor the seven-night mikagura held at Kasuga Taisha Shrine based on historical manuscripts available to the public. In the case of the Kasuga Taisha Shrine, through the official response to my question, it is confirmed that the seven-night mikagura had not been performed since the Meiji period. While it is most likely that the three-night mikagura was also ceased in the Meiji period, Arinaga Ayanokōji’s diary written in 1869 indicates that the three-night mikagura and kagura hikyoku

⁷ Japan. Kunaichō, *Meiji tennō ki* (Annals of Emperor Meiji).

were planned for December 1869. This plan suggests the important aspects about what happened to kagura hikyoku in the early Meiji period.

Arinaga Ayanokōji was the key figure of transmitting and performing kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku in the early Meiji. As one of the two main families of kagura masters, Arinaga performed kagura taikyoku at Kasuga Taisha Shrine and kagura hikyoku at the Imperial Palace Shrine before the Meiji Restoration. Like all other court nobles, Arinaga used to live in Kyoto. The government instructed Arinaga to move to Tokyo from Kyoto in 1869 in order for him to serve at the sacred music ritual in Tokyo. His diary states:

September 15, Meiji 2 (1869)

I visited the Itsutsuji's house. By Emperor Meiji's wish, mikagura is to be held at the Imperial Palace Shrine in Tokyo in December. Thus, several court nobles as performers of mikagura will be gathered. As I hold the score of mikagura and perform it despite my old age, I have come alone to report [other possible performers to Itsutsuji]. The plan is that I play the *wagon*, Kinmasu Yotsutsuji the flute, Arikazu [Ayanokōji] the *hichiriki*, for the chorus, Shigetomi Ōhara, Motoyuki Higashisono, Arinaka Jikōji, Toshizane Ōhara, Yasunaka Itsutsuji, and Motonaru Higashisono.⁸

What is noteworthy is that proposed performers of mikagura were all court nobles in the same way as before. The difference is that the place of performance was at the Imperial Palace Shrine (Kashikodokoro) in Tokyo, not Kyoto, as the sacred mirror was transferred from Kyoto to Tokyo.

The other entry of Arinaga's diary indicates that they also planned to perform kagura hikyoku at this three-night sacred music ritual:

October 26 and 27, Meiji 2 (1869)

It has been secretly planned that with the Emperor's intention, kagura hikyoku is to be performed at night of the second day if the three-night mikagura is held. If that is a case, for the only the second night, I will serve as a lead singer, Yotsutsuji will play the *wagon*, Yamai will play the flute, and Abe will play the *hichiriki*.

⁸ "Arinaga Ayanokōji. Ayanokōji Arinaga nikki 1 Meiji 2. 9. 15 yori 12. 28 itaru (Diary of Arinaga Ayanokōji vol.1 from September 15, 1869 to December 28, 1869),34252" Tokyo, Kunaichō shoryōbu (Imperial Household Archives).

The proposed members of performing kagura hikyoku were also in the same as before. Court nobles were in charge of vocal and *wagon* while hereditary Kyoto musician were in charge of flue and *hichiriki*. The latter had played the instrumental part of kagura hikyoku as hereditary occupations until before the Meiji Restoration.

Although the ritual context was not written in the diary, it is likely that the three-night miakgura and kagura hikyoku were planned to perform in relation to the transferral of the sacred mirror along with Emperor Meiji's moving into Tokyo from Kyoto of the same year. Emperor Meiji permanently moved into Tokyo from Kyoto in March 1869 with the sacred mirror housed at the Naishidokoro.⁹ Prior to it, there was precedent for performing mikagura in relation to the transferral of the sacred mirror along with Emperor Meiji's return to Kyoto from Tokyo. This was Emperor Meiji's first visit to Tokyo from Kyoto on October 13, Meiji 1(1868), and he returned to Kyoto on December 22, Meiji 1 (1868). Mikagura was held on January 13, Meiji 2 (1869) in order to placate the spirit of Amaterasu Ōmikami after her symbol of the sacred mirror traveled to Tokyo and returned to Kyoto with the Emperor. Then, Emperor Meiji's second visit to Tokyo in March 1869 became the permanent one, and he never returned to Kyoto. With him, the sacred mirror was also moved into Tokyo permanently. Thus, it is possible that the three-night mikagura and kagura hikyoku were planned to perform for the sacred mirror in the same way as mikagura held on January 13, Meiji 2 (1869).

The next question is whether the three-night mikagura and kagura hikyoku were actually conducted or not. First, mikagura was conducted in December, but it was not for three nights but one night on December 19, Meiji 2 (1869). Second, Arinaga did not write in his diary about the

⁹ The original sacred mirror where it is believed that Amaterasu is embodied is housed in Ise Jingū. This original mirror used to be housed at the imperial court, but Emperor Sujin transferred it outside the palace in order to worship it appropriately. After this transferal, another sacred mirror was created to enshrine it at the imperial palace shrine.

actual performance of kagura hikyoku. Arinaga planned performers of kagura hikyoku and consulted the government officials about it; however, because the description of kagura hikyoku is missing in the entry of performing mikagura on December 19, Meiji 2 (1869) of his diary, it is likely that kagura hikyoku was not performed.

Yet, what is sure is that in 1869, the three-night mikagura and kagura hikyoku were planned in the traditional way, and even if it was for one night only, mikagura was performed in Tokyo to pray for the stability of the country at the very beginning of the Meiji period. Both Emperor Meiji and the Meiji government highly valued kagura songs and managed to conduct the sacred music ritual in Tokyo as early as 1869. They regarded mikagura and kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku as an essential part of court rituals and set up the modified system of its transmission and performance during the Meiji period.

Foundation of the Department of Music

During the Meiji period, there were two main changes to the imperial court music: the foundation of the Department of Music at the government and the termination of the inheritance of occupations of court nobles. These affected the traditional system of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku in terms of transmission and performers; however, the changes sustained the performance itself. I examine ways in which the main changes can be understood not as the interruption and discontinuity of tradition but as the modification of tradition.

There is an official record about the government's new policy:

November 7, Meiji 3 (1870)

The government placed the Department of Music at the Grand Counsel of State... There are two types of administrative positions of head and vice, who are in charge of the ancient imperial court music and dance, have court musicians advance their skills, and have the court musicians guide and teach young musicians. There are three ranks of court musicians, whose main task is performing gagaku. The government reorganizes the custom of transmitting gagaku as hereditary occupation, terminates the transmission of *biwa* [four-stringed Japanese lute for gagaku] of Fushimino-miya and the three families:

the Kikutei, the Hanazono, and the Saionji. The government terminates the titles of the Aynokōji and the Jimyōin's hereditary occupations of vocal ritual tradition of the ancient imperial court music. Transmissions and related matters of kagura songs and other music traditions are ceased. Also, the Yotsutsuji's occupations of accompanying kagura songs, teaching the *wagon*, and arranging performances of the hereditary musicians from Kyoto, Nara, and Osaka are terminated.¹⁰

The government reformed the traditional system of transmitting and performing kagura songs by creating the Department of Music. This reformation includes the termination of the hereditary occupations of the royal family and court nobles, who used to play the central roles in transmitting kagura songs and kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku. The main purpose was to sustain the sacred music ritual at the imperial court under any circumstances without interruptions by controlling the music and performers.

Until before the Meiji period, kagura songs including kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku had been transmitted and performed by hereditary court nobles who specialized in vocal tradition of the imperial court music as their occupations. Due to the foundation of the Department of Music and termination of their professions, the agent of transmitting and performing kagura songs and kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku was shifted from court nobles to hereditary musicians who entirely occupied the positions as court musicians at the Department of Music. It can be said that the new policy broadened the range of performers, and the continuity of the sacred music ritual would not be disturbed by the continuity of the family lines of court nobles anymore. The main change made in transmission of the rituals in order to ensure uninterrupted transmission in the future.

Indeed, this reformation seems to enhance the government's central power over gagaku; however, it can be understood as a modification of tradition since the reformation serves the continuity of the sacred music ritual and kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku by eliminating the

¹⁰ Japan. Kunaichō, *Meiji tennō ki* (Annals of Emperor Meiji).

threat of a crisis of lineage in a few select noble families. Although archived documents do not indicate the names of the officials of the Meiji government who specifically initiated this reformation, there are two pieces of evidence indicating that Sanetomi Sanjō (1837-91) played an important role in reorganizing the system of transmission and performance of kagura songs and kagura secret songs. First, Sanetomi Sanjō was one of the most influential and central officials of the Meiji government from the beginning of its establishment to his last days in 1891. Second, he was a disciple of Arinaga Ayanokōji and learned court ritual vocal music from him. The fact that Sanetomi's father, Sanetsumu Sanjō had also been Arinaga's disciple for the imperial court vocal music shows the close tie between the Sanjō family and Arinaga. Unfortunately, the list of Arinaga's disciples for kagura songs is missing from the archived manuscripts, but there is an extensive list of Arinaga's disciples of other types of imperial court vocal music, *saibara* and *rōei*.¹¹ According to this list, Sanetomi's father learned *saibara* and *rōei* on March 18, Ansei 3 (1856), and Sanetomi also learned them on May 27, Bunkyū 1 (1861). The manuscript in which Sanetomi took an oath not to reveal the *saibara* tradition he received from Arinaga has been also preserved.¹² This manuscript indicates that Sanetomi was a serious disciple. Hence, we can assume that Sanetomi deeply understood the function and meaning of kagura songs and kagura secret songs as one of the most important court rituals, promoting him to urgently reorganize the system of transmission so that the songs would continue in the modern nation.

The Meiji government recognized the exceptional importance of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku from the early Meiji period and took the initiative in modifying the system of

¹¹ “Shin montei roku: Arinaga no dai; Tenpō gonon yori (The new list of disciples of Arinaga Ayanokōji from 1834) in Ayanokōji kyūzō gakusho (Musical manuscripts formerly owned by the Ayanokōji family), 761-1 [i]63-144” Tenri, Japan, Tenri University Library.

¹² “Saibara sōden no seijō (The certificate of taking an oath of not revealing the received tradition of saibara) in Ayanokōji kyūzō gakusho (Musical manuscripts formerly owned by the Ayanokōji family), 761-1 [i]63-180” Tenri, Japan, Tenri University Library.

transmitting them. The Department of Music made an announcement soon after its creation regarding kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku. This is the announcement from November 1870:

At the time of reformation, all musical scores of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku should be submitted to the government. Arinaga Ayanokōji will be in charge of kagura songs. Up to this day there have been several families that have studied kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku. It is hard to judge which household's kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku are correct. Meanwhile, once all the musical scores will be turned over, we will scrutinize the legitimacy of each score and decide which one should be chosen.¹³

The significance of this document is that the instruction shows that the government clarified the ownership of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku. Although court nobles copied and passed down the musical scores and historical manuscripts on the songs for centuries, kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku are the emperor's property in essence. It has been emperors who command the performance of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku. By making court nobles turn over their musical scores of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku to the government, the government reclaimed that kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku were the emperor's properties and obtained all scores of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku in order to investigate them and choose the legitimate ones. Thus, the order of turning over the musical scores of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku was a modification of tradition in order to strengthen transmission of the most appropriate musical texts.

The government's notice with the same instruction was sent from the Great Council of State to selected former court nobles and one family of former hereditary musicians in November 1870. It states that "Due to the imperial investigation, please turn over the musical scores of secret songs. November 1870."¹⁴ This was addressed to two former court nobles and four hereditary musicians. The former are Arinaga Ayanokōji and Kinyoshi Yotsutsuji. The latter are

¹³ "Gosatatodome Meiji 3-12 (Official documents on imperial messages 1870-79), 11987," Tokyo, Kunaichō shoryōbu (Imperial Household Archives), Section of November, Meiji 3 (1870).

¹⁴ *Mikagura-roku Meiji 3-Taishō 8* (Record on mikagura from 1870-1919). Imperial Household Archives, 11803. Entry of November, Meiji 3 (1870).

all members of the Ōno clan, one of the most ancient families among hereditary musicians. The Ōno has the history of eleven hundred years of performing court music and dance at the imperial court in Kyoto. The four members who got the notice from the government are Hisaaki (1802-90), Tadanobu (1818-73), Tadanaru (1811-74), and Tadaisa (1838-1923).

The notice of the government affirms that those court nobles and the Ōno family did have the musical scores of kagura hikyoku and used to perform them at the Imperial Palace Shrine. Indeed, it was hereditary court nobles that exclusively performed kagura songs for centuries, and it was only the Ōno clan who was specially allowed to sing kagura songs among hereditary musician families. Yet, the secret song that the Ōno used to have was not kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku—“Yudate” and “Hirume” but “Miyabito.” “Miyabito,” which is one of the three kagura secret songs, had been considered to be the Ōno family’s expertise for centuries. “Miyabito” used to also be called “jige-no-hikyoku (the secret song of the hereditary musicians, i.e., the Ōno’s). The other two ritual secret songs are just called kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku. These two secret songs used to be called “tōshōkuge-no-taikyoku and hikyoku (kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku of the court nobles).”

Among turned over the manuscripts and musical scores in 1870, which are kept at the National Archives in Japan today, there are the musical scores of “Yudate,” “Hirume,” and “Miyabito.” Since 1870, the government became responsible for preserving and transmitting them. The Meiji government sent further notices to former court nobles and hereditary musicians and continued to enhance the system of governing kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku. This is another governmental notice sent on the fourteenth of February 1871:

Kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku used to be privately owned by court nobles who specialized in kagura songs and also by hereditary musicians through oral transmission. But on this day, all the musical scores should be returned to the Department of Music of the Imperial Household Ministry. It is also prohibited for them to own duplicate copies of

the scores of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku. Oral transmission within each family is also prohibited. It is ordered that Arinaga Ayanokōji with Senior Second Rank, be in charge of transmitting kagura taikyoku [vocal] and that Kageaya Yamanoi, a court musician of the middle rank, be in charge of the flute of kagura taikyoku. Thus, the scores will be provided to both of them.¹⁵

The government's instruction may look like extra work, first collecting the scores from the nobility, and then distributing the scores back to those who had held them in the first place. But one significant point in this instruction is that the government officially restored the imperial ownership of the scores of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku. After that, the government appointed Ayanokōji and Yamanoi to a post of holding the scores. In other words, the government valued the traditional system exclusively for kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku.

The government sent another official notice:

February 15, Meiji 4 (1871)

The Great Council of State instructs Arinaga Ayanokōji and other court musicians to be in charge of kagura taikyoku.

A notice to Arinaga Ayanokōji: you are responsible for kagura taikyoku, with the manuscript attached.

A notice to Kageaya Yamanoi: you are responsible for the flute part of kagura taikyoku, with the manuscript attached.

A notice to Kinyoshi Yotsutsuji: you are responsible for the *wagon* part of kagura taikyoku. April 5, Meiji 4 (1871).

A notice to Suenaga Abe¹⁶: you are responsible for the *hichiriki* part of kagura taikyoku.¹⁷

This notice also shows that the government followed the traditional system of transmitting and performing kagura taikyoku. The government chose Kageaya Yamanoi, Suenaga Abe (Tōgi), and Kinyoshi Yotsutsuji to sustain the instrumental parts of kagura taikyoku. All of them had already played kagura taikyoku at the imperial palace shrine before the Meiji Restoration.

¹⁵ “Dajōkan nisshi (Daily record of the Great Council of State)” and “Shoka keifu (Various families’ lineages),” in *Meiji tennō ki* (Annals of Emperor Meiji), vol.2, 412.

¹⁶ Suenaga Abe is identical with Suenaga Tōgi. Suenaga used to serve at the sacred music ritual at the imperial palace shrine.

¹⁷ “Dajōruiten (Records from the Cabinet of the Meiji Government), Series 1, Vol. 46,” Tokyo, National Archives of Japan. In *Gosatatodome Meiji 3-12*, it is Suekazu Abe that was appointed to be responsible for the *hichiriki* part of kagura taikyoku in January 1871. By February, it could be changed to Suenaga Abe.

In sum, the traditional system of holding the scores of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku was once terminated, and the all scores had to be turned over to the imperial court. Once they were submitted, the government created the unified musical score of kagura taikyoku and appointed court nobles and hereditary musicians of the Department of Music to be in charge of kagura taikyoku. These appointed figures were exactly the same people who used to transmit and perform kagura taikyoku before the Meiji period. Submitting the musical scores was one of the big changes, but from a viewpoint of the essential owner of the scores and the agent instructing the performance, the imperial ownership of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku was reaffirmed.

Case study 1: Fujitsune Shiba (1849-1918)

The Meiji government created the Department of Music in November 1870. Then, they terminated the inherited occupations of nobility, and collected the scores of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku. For the purpose of sustaining the sacred music ritual at the imperial court, the government aimed to change the performers of kagura songs from nobility to court musicians who belonged to the Department of Music. This means that court musicians were expected to become able to perform the sacred music ritual on their own.

Today, court musicians of the imperial household agency solely perform the sacred music ritual and kagura hikyoku at the Kashikodokoro; thus, it is difficult to imagine today that it used to be nobility who performed mikagura before the Meiji Restoration for several centuries. Except the Ōno and other hereditary musician families from Kyoto, all other hereditary court musicians from Nara, Osaka, and Edo were neither allowed to sing kagura songs nor perform the instrumental parts of kagura songs. Therefore, all court musicians of the Department of Music, who were from Osaka, Nara, and Edo, had to learn kagura songs as a completely new subject during the early Meiji period. They started learning kagura songs in 1871 and mastered them

within two years. By contrast, in the case of kagura hikyoku, it took more than a half-century beyond the Meiji and Taishō periods for court musicians to thoroughly perform it on their own.

This section considers the shift of performers of kagura songs. In 1870, what kagura songs should be performed at the sacred music ritual were selected: ajime, sakaki, shizukarakami, haya-karakami, komomakura, sazanami, chitose, hayauta, akahoshi, kikiriri, tokuzeniko, yūtsukuri, asakura, and sonokoma. In the same year, the government appointed fifteen former court nobles to perform the sacred ritual music.¹⁸ At the time of November 1870, majority of court musicians were not able to perform the sacred ritual music; thus, former nobles were instructed to perform it. This appointment was temporary, however, lasting only until court musicians finished learning kagura songs.

The post-Restoration continuity of kagura songs was dependent upon court musicians' successful learning of kagura songs. We follow the process of shifting performers of kagura songs from nobility to court musicians by a case study of court musician Fujitsune Shiba (1849-1918). He presents a good example of a court musician's mastering kagura songs during the early Meiji despite the lack of prior knowledge. Based on Yasuko Tsukahara's study on Fujitsune Shiba's diary written in 1871, I examine ways in which the first generation of court musicians mastered kagura songs and served court rituals so that the process of shifting performers of kagura songs from nobles to court musicians is clarified.

Fujitsune Shiba moved to Tokyo from Nara at the age of twenty-one in order to be a court musician at the Department of Music in 1870. The Shiba is a family of hereditary musicians from Nara, and they specialized in the flute and the dance of the Tōgaku style. Like other members of the Shiba, Fujitsune had never studied kagura songs before the Meiji period. In Meiji 1871, court musicians including Fujitsune at the Department of Music began to learn

¹⁸ *Mikagura-roku Meiji 3-Taishō 8* (Record on mikagura from 1870-1919). Imperial Household Archives, 11803.

kagura songs from Arikazu Ayanokōji. Based on Tsukahara's reproduction of Fujitsune's diary in 1871, I examine his learning process of kagura songs.

Fujitsune intensely studied kagura songs during the first half of Meiji 4 (1871):

January 14, 18, 22, 27, and 29: Learned kagura songs.
Those who had not been transmitted kagura just observed.

February 2: I observed others' learning kagura songs. 3rd: We went to the Ayanokōji's house in order to learn kagura, saibara, and rōei from Arikazu. Arikazu said that as there is no urgent need to learn saibara and rōei, we would learn kagura only for the time being. 7, 9, 12, and 14: These are days for learning kagura songs. 16th: I took a lesson of a kagura flute from Kageaya Yamanoi at his house. I also learned the ritual movements of "Niwabi." I borrowed the scores with kana [one of Japanese letters] to copy those songs including "Niwabi," "Yoriai," "Monjaku-netori," "Haya-karakami," "Hayauta," "Asakura," and "Sonokoma." I am so delighted that I can also learn the kagura flute. 19th: Lesson of kagura songs. I began to practice the flute part of "Shizu-karakami," "Haya-karakami," etc. 22nd: Lesson of kagura songs in the morning, and azuma-asobi in the afternoon. For both kagura songs and azuma-asobi, I played the flute part as an accompaniment. I went to Kageaya Yamanoi's house and returned the scores that I had borrowed. 24, 27, and 29: Learned kagura songs.

March 2, 4, 7, 9, 22, 24, and 27: Learned kagura songs. 20th: We went to the house of Kinyoshi Yotsutsuji in order to take a lesson of the *wagon* for kagura and *koto*.

April 2, 4, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14, 24: Learned kagura songs. I was a second singer for "Niwabi" and "Torimono" on 14th. 15th: We got gather at the Ayanokōji's house for offering kagura songs at Iwashimizu Shrine. I served as a second singer for "Niwabi" and "Torimono." I played the flute for "Kosaibari." Arikazu Ayanokōji and Shigetomo Ōhara, who were former court nobles, served as lead singers.¹⁹

During the first half of 1871, Fujitsune learned kagura songs for the first time in his life with other court musicians. The teacher was Arikazu Ayanokōji, who was from the family of kagura masters. Fujitsune also learned the kagura flute from Yamanoi. This was because Fujitsune was a Nara musician specializing in the flute. Yamanoi was a hereditary musician from Kyoto specializing in the flute and the kagura flute and used to serve at the sacred music ritual at the Imperial Palace Shrine in Kyoto before the Meiji restoration. In other words, court musicians

¹⁹ Yasuko Tsukahara, *Meiji yonen Shiba Fujitsune nikki: Honkoku kaidai* (Diary of Fujitsune Shiba in 1871: A reprint and explanatory notes), Research report of grants –in-aid for scientific research by Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, 2011.

learned kagura songs, the kagura flute, and *wagon* directly from those who were masters. Thus, what they learned was legitimate.

Since the second half of 1871, Fujitsune and other court musicians began to perform kagura songs at some court rituals. For example, on July 15, court musicians served at the four hundred fiftieth anniversary of Emperor Go-Kameyama and performed some selected kagura songs as part of the ceremony. Those who served as a lead singer, a second singer, a *hichiriki* player, a flute player, and a *wagon* player were all court musicians. Fujitsune Shiba played the kagura flute.

On September 30, at the time of transferring the spirits of preceding emperors from the Ministry of Divinities to the imperial palace, court musicians performed the kagura song titled “Senzai” during the procession. In November, there was the Daijōsai, the first ceremonial offering of rice by the newly enthroned Emperor, and court musicians performed court music including kagura songs.

Court musicians, who had not known kagura songs at all before 1871, learned kagura songs well enough within a year to perform at court rituals. Their teacher Arikazu Ayanokōji was born in 1849. Fujitsune Shiba was also born in 1849. In 1871, both of them were twenty-two years old, and their relationship was teacher and student. Former court nobles including Arikazu, who were appointed to serve at mikagura in 1870, stopped performing mikagura due to the termination of the appointment in 1873. Then, Arikazu became a court musician of the Department of Music, along with court noble Kinmasu Yotsutsuji, who was a teacher of the *wagon* for kagura songs.

While almost all court musicians were former hereditary musicians from Osaka, Nara, Kyoto, and Edo, there were a few court musicians who were former court nobles, and who

contributed to preserve the valuable tradition of Shinto ceremonial music at the Department of Music during the early Meiji period. After a series of changes at the Department of Music such as the establishment of Western classical music in Meiji 7 (1874), both Arikazu and Kinmasu resigned in 1879. Arikazu was thirty years old, and Kinmasu was thirty-nine years old. Kinmasu died the next year. Since the Department of Music was created in 1870, both Arikazu and Kinmasu played an important role in passing down the tradition and in performing the sacred music ritual until court musicians became able to perform it on their own. Their resignation completed the transfer of kagura knowledge and performance from the nobility to the court musicians

Fujitsune Shiba continued to sustain the ritual music and other repertoires of the imperial court music and dance after Arikazu and Kinmasu had left the Department of Music. Fujitsune learned Western classical music when it was introduced to court ceremonies in December 1874. Fujitsune mastered both gagaku and Western classical music and contributed to solidify the systems of the Department of Music. As a result, he became a senior court musician at the age of forty-nine in 1898 and became a chief court musician at the age of fifty-nine in 1907. Fujitsune served as a chief court musician until 1917 and devoted himself to gagaku.

His great contribution is exemplified by his appointment as a flute player of the secret song at Shikinen Sengū of Ise Jingū at the end of the Meiji period in Meiji 42 (1909):

These are appointed performers of the sacred ritual music and the secret song for Shikinen Sengū of Ise Jingū.

September 15, 1909, from Board of the Ceremonies

Performers of both mikagura and hikyoku

Lead singer: Shigetomo Ōhara

Wagon: Kinfuji Muromachi

Second singer: Tomoaki Jimyōin

Hichiriki: Suenaga Tōgi

Flute: Fujitsune Shiba²⁰

Among the five performers of the secret song, only Fujitsune Shiba and Suenaga Tōgi were court musicians. Suenaga Tōgi used to play the *hichiriki* at the sacred music ritual as a Kyoto musician from well before the Meiji period; thus, kagura songs and kagura *hichiriki* were not new to him. The other three performers were former nobles, and although they did not belong to the Department of Music, they were specially appointed to perform kagura hikyoku at Ise Jingū because the vocal and the wagon parts of kagura hikyoku were not transmitted to the court musicians yet. While the three former nobles and Suenaga had been playing kagura hikyoku well before the Meiji Restoration, Fujitsune learned kagura songs and kagura flute for the first time after the Meiji Restoration. His appointment as the flute player for the secret song in 1909 was the first example that a court musician who had not known kagura songs before the Meiji period performed the secret song on the flute. Fujitsune's great contribution was acknowledged by this appointment.

In sum, the transmission of kagura songs from nobility to court musicians was completed by the end of 1871. The shift of performers of kagura songs was completed when the fifteen-nobles' temporal appointment as performers of mikagura was terminated in 1873. While Arikazu Ayanokōji and Kinmasu Yotsutsuji stayed in the Department of Music as the court musicians of former nobles, mikagura began to be performed entirely by court musicians instead of former nobles. It was intended that performers of mikagura would be completely shifted to former hereditary-court musicians.

As the case study of Fujitsune shows, the actors transmitting and performing kagura songs were successfully shifted over several years. Indeed, the traditional performers of kagura

²⁰ *Mikagura-roku Meiji 3-Taishō 8* (Record on mikagura from 1870-1919). Imperial Household Archives, 11803, Section of Meiji 42 (1909).

songs were changed from nobility to court musicians during the Meiji period; however, this shift can be understood as re-organization of tradition as the contents of transmission were legitimate, and the sacred music ritual continued in the same manner as before.

Case Study 2: Arinaga Ayanokōji (1792-1873)

I demonstrate the process of shifting the performers of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku by a case study of Arinaga Ayanokōji (1792-1873) as he was the central key figure in terms of transmission of kagura taikyoku and hikyoku during the early Meiji period.

The Ayanokōji family was one of the two highly prestigious families of kagura masters. Both the Ayanokōji and the Jimyōin used to primarily perform mikagrua and transmit kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku as their inherited occupation from the thirteen through the nineteenth centuries. At the time of the very beginning of the Meiji period, the head of the Jimyōin was still young.²¹ Thus, Arinaga played a leading role in transmitting and performing kagura songs during the early Meiji period while his grandson Arikazu (1849-1907) played a leading role after his grandfather's death.

Arinaga was a highly distinguished court noble. The government officially acknowledged his great contribution to sustainability of the sacred ritual music on December 23, Meiji 2 (1869):

Senior Second Rank Arinaga Ayanokōji has served the four Emperors successively starting from Emperor Kōkaku and sustained kagura songs as the hereditary occupation of the Ayanokōji family. Despite his advanced age, he moved his residence from Kyoto to Tokyo and performed mikagura with much trouble. Today, he is specially allowed to use a walking stick in the Imperial Palace and is granted the award of thousand *ryō* [old currency unit] in honoring his contribution.²²

As acknowledged, Arinaga served four successive emperors: Emperor Kōkaku (r.1779-1817), Emperor Ninkō (r.1817-46), Emperor Kōmei (r.1846-66), and Emperor Meiji (r.1867-1912).

²¹ The head of the Jimyōin was Tomoaki Jimyōin (1862-1925). He was eight years old in 1870.

²² “Dajōruiten (Records from the Cabinet of the Meiji Government), Series 1, Vol. 32,” Tokyo, Japan, National Archives of Japan.

Arinaga performed mikagura as well as kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku throughout periods of the reigns of the four emperors. This award was given after he had performed mikagura on December 19 at the Kashikodokoro in Tokyo. Arinaga was fully aware of his responsibility of transmitting kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku to the next generations.

The government also recognized the significance of preserving kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku. The government delivered an official notice to Arinaga Ayanokōji as early as May, Meiji 3 (1870):

[Delivered to] Ayanokōji, Senior Third Rank
You are instructed to pass down kagura taikyoku to your grandson as he is going to return to Kyoto.²³

Arinaga was already in his late seventies. Arikazu's father had passed away sixteen years prior to this notice. Transmitting kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku orally from the head of the family to the next successor was a traditional way and important to sustain the continuity of tradition. During the Meiji 2-3 (1869-70), the government acknowledged this traditional way of transmission and recognized the significance of transmitting kagura taikyoku from Arinaga to his grandson Arikazu as Arinaga was getting older.

Six months after Arinaga's transmitting kagura taikyoku to Arikazu, in November, Meiji 3 (1870), Arinaga asked the government to allow him to transmit kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku to other former court nobles:

[Addressed to] [Shigetomi] Ōhara
Shigetomi Ōhara has mastered kagura [songs] and is getting old. I would like to transmit kagura hikyoku to him.
[From] Arinaga.

[Addressed to] [Takanaka] Itsutsuji
Takanaka Itsutsuji has mastered *kagura* [songs] and serves at department of gagaku. I would like to transmit kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku at the same time to him.

²³ “Kōbun-roku, Meiji 3, Vol. 79, Kanoe-uma May-July (Collections of the Meiji government's documents in 1870), Vol. 79, May-July)” Tokyo, National Archives of Japan.

[From] Arinaga.²⁴

Arinaga's request shows that he valued the traditional way of passing down private songs to other court nobles specializing in court ritual vocal music. Shigetomi Ōhara (1801-79) and Takanaka Itsutsuji (1807-86) specialized in court ritual vocal music. When Arinaga was planning the performance of three-night mikagura and the secret song in December 1869, he consulted with Takanaka about the performers of mikagura. Both Takanaka and Shigetomi performed mikagura with Arinaga on December 19, 1869. When Arinaga requested the transmission of the secret song to the two of them, Shigetomi Ōhara was sixty-nine years old and Takanaka Itsutsuji was sixty-three. Arinaga himself was in his late seventies. Arinaga was aware of his responsibility of passing down kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku to other qualified former court nobles to sustain the legitimate content of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku before Takanaka and Shigetomi became too old to learn kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku.

Arinaga's grandson Arikazu also played an integral role in transmitting kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku and in preserving the secret songs. Arikazu Ayanokōji was transmitted from his grandfather both kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku, which is documented in compiled manuscripts entitled "kagura hikyoku denjyu shorui (manuscripts of transmitting kagura hikyoku)."²⁵ These compiled historical manuscripts are manuscripts that the former court nobles and the hereditary musicians returned to the imperial palace and government due to the governmental instruction during the early Meiji period. All of the manuscripts are highly important sources as they are primary the 17th century manuscripts, which contain texts from earlier times.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ "Kagura hikyoku denjyu shorui (Manuscripts of transmitting kagura hikyoku), 199-0442," Tokyo, National Archives of Japan.

Two particular manuscripts provide us information about the position of Arikazu Ayanokōji at the government and transmission of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku to him: “Taikyoku hikyoku denju azukari no chūko iraino nintei (persons who were transmitted and holders of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku from the 17th century)” and “Kagura saibara sosenirainoden (Kagura and saibara transmitted from ancestors).” In the first manuscript, Arikazu is listed as the last person. His title is both imperial chamberlain and associate director of the Department of Music. The position of associate director of music was made in 1870 and terminated in 1871. Thus, Arikazu was the associate director of music department during 1870. In the second manuscript, there is description that “Arikazu was transmitted kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku.” In sum, Arikazu had been already transmitted both kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku by 1870.

When the government created the Department of Music in November 1870, the hereditary occupations of the nobles were terminated. Also, the musical scores of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku had to be submitted to the Meiji government. Then, the government appointed Arinaga to hold the score of the kagura taikyoku:

February 15, Meiji 4 (1871)

The Great Council of State instructs Arinaga Ayanokōji and other court musicians to be in charge of kagura taikyoku.

A notice to Arinaga Ayanokōji: you are responsible for passing down kagura taikyoku, with the score attached.

A notice to Kageaya Yamanoi: you are responsible for passing down the flute part of kagura taikyoku, with the score attached.

A notice to Kinyoshi Yotsutsuji: you are responsible for the *wagon* part of kagura taikyoku. April 5, Meiji 4 (1871).

A notice to Abe Suenaga²⁶: you are responsible for the *hichiriki* part of kagura taikyoku.²⁷

²⁶ Suenaga Abe is identical with Suenaga Tōgi. Suenaga used to serve at the sacred music ritual at the imperial palace shrine.

²⁷ “Dajōruiten (Records from the Cabinet of the Meiji Government), Series 1, Vol. 46.”

The government chose Arinaga and Arikazu as the holders of kagura taikyoku, Kinyoshi as the holder of the *wagon* taikyoku, and Kageaya and Suenaga [Tōgi] as the holders of instrumental part of kagura taikyoku. The young court musician Fujitsune Shiba also documented the same information in his diary:

April 12, Meiji 4 (1871)
 Suenaga [Tōgi] was appointed to the post of being charge of [the *hichiriki* part of] kagura taikyoku.
 Yotsutusji was appointed to the post of being charge of the *wagon* part of kagura taikyoku.²⁸

As for the vocal score of kagura taikyoku, which is the primary part, Arinaga Ayanokōji had already received the score officially by this time. Arinaga then received the government's notice regarding transmitting kagura taikyoku:

September 19, Meiji 4 (1871)
 [Addressed to] Senior Second Rank Arinaga Ayanokōji
 There was reformation recently. Be instructed to transmit kagura taikyoku [vocal] to your grandson Arikazu.²⁹

The government supports the traditional way of transmitting kagura taikyoku.

The next article from Fujitsune Shiba's diary indicates that Arikazu needed to be transmitted the unified score of kagura taikyoku by his grand-father before being sent to Kyoto:

September 20, Meiji 4 (1871)
 Today both Suenaga and Kageaya were instructed to go to Kyoto on the twenty-fourth of this month to teach kagura. This is because kagura taikyoku and accompaniment of flute and *hichiriki* were reformed. The scores were provided to both Suenaga and Kageaya. As for teaching the song, Arikazu Ayanokōji will go to Kyoto as well.³⁰

Arikazu received the unified musical score of kagura taikyoku from his grandfather, and then went to Kyoto to teach in the branch office of the Department of Music. The next government-

²⁸ Tsukahara, *Meiji yonen Shiba Fujitsune nikki: Honkoku kaidai* (Diary of Fujitsune Shiba in 1871: A reprint and Explanatory Notes), Research report of Grants –in-aid for scientific research by Japan Society for the Promotion of Science.

²⁹ “Gosatatodome Meiji 3-12 (Official documents on imperial messages 1870-79), 11987.”

³⁰ Tsukahara, *Meiji yonen Shiba Fujitsune nikki: Honkoku kaidai* (Diary of Fujitsune Shiba in 1871: A reprint and Explanatory Notes), Research report of Grants –in-aid for scientific research by Japan Society for the Promotion of Science.

record on the same day validates the content of the entry of the same day of Fujitsune Shiba's diary:

September 20, Meiji 4 (1871)
 [Addressed to] Imperial Chamberlain Arikazu Ayanokōji,
 Court Musician Suenaga Tōgi
 Court Musician Kageaya Yamanoi
 All of you are instructed to come [to the Department of Music] for official business.³¹

Arinaga's letter accepting the official notice testifies Arinaga's transmitting kagura

taikyoku to his grandson:

There was reformation recently [about kagura taikyoku]. I humbly accept the instruction of passing down kagura taikyoku to my grandson Arikazu as backup and provide him the score of kagura taikyoku.
 October 1871. [From] Arinaga Ayanokōji
 [To] Shikibu-ryō (The Office of Ceremonies of the Imperial Household Ministry).³²

The aforementioned documents show that both former court nobles Arinaga and his grandson Arikazu played an important role in officially transmitting and sustaining kagura taikyoku that had been reshaped as the unified score. According to the government's announcement in November 1870, "Up to this day there have been several families that have studied kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku."³³ I speculate that the variation among the scores is a result of the manner in which musicians from different households perform the oscillating of individual pitches. The unified score is a result of a modification of the nuances to a single rendition. What is noteworthy here is that the government supported the traditional way of transmitting kagura taikyoku during the early Meiji period. I see this as a method to preserve the legitimate content of kagura taikyoku.

During the early Meiji period, as for the transmission of kagura hikyoku, there are no further notices in governmental documents that are available to the public other than "kagura

³¹ "Gosatatodome Meiji 3-12 (Official documents on imperial messages 1870-79), 11987."

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

hikyoku will be scrutinized more” documented in the governmental notice about distributing the scores of kagura taikyoku to appointed figures in January 1871.³⁴ In 1889, Arikazu Ayanokōji transmitted kagura hikyoku to Shigetomo Ōhara, who was Shigetomi’s son, when mikagura and kagura hikyoku were established to Ise Jingū in 1889. Arikazu was the lead singer of kagura hikyoku, and Shigetomo was the second singer of hikyoku. In short, the shift of the transmission and the performance of kagura hikyoku did not complete during the Meiji period unlike kagura songs.

The government did not interfere with the transmission of kagura hikyoku. It might be because kagura hikyoku is more sacred than kagura taikyoku. We have a question of who controlled all of this. Scholars have not yet identified who was in charge of controlling the transmission and performance of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku at the government during the early Meiji period. In my view, a key figure might be Sanetomi Sanjō (1837-91), because he learned the ritual vocal music from Arinaga since the end of the Edo period and continued to possess higher and important positions at the government from the beginning of the Meiji period.

Case Study 3: Suenaga Tōgi (1832-1914)

In this section, I examine how the transmission and performance of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku was shifted from nobility to court musicians through the case study of Suenaga Tōgi (1832-1914). Suenaga played an integral role in sustaining kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku and bridging between nobles and court musicians as a senior court musician throughout the Meiji period. Suenaga Tōgi was the first court musician who was appointed to hold the score of kagura taikyoku in the early Meiji period. He also played the secret song on the *hichiriki* at the

³⁴ *Gosatodome Meiji 3-12*. Imperial Household Archives, 11987.

Ise Jingū in 1889, which marks the first example of a court musician being one of the five performers of the secret song after the Meiji Restoration.

As the case study of Fujitsune Shiba shows, the performers of kagura songs were shifted completely from the nobility to court musicians by Meiji 6 (1873). In the case of the more sacred and secret tradition of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku, the shift of performers happened gradually and partly during the Meiji period. The shift first happened with the *hichiriki* in Meiji 22 (1889), as Suenaga Tōgi took over performing that instrument. Next, Fujitsune Shiba assumed flute playing duties in Meiji 42 (1909). The singers and the *wagon* player were not shifted from the nobility to court musicians during the Meiji period. We have to wait until the early Shōwa period. Thus, the case study of Suenaga Tōgi illustrates the gradual process of shifting while retaining the traditional structures to some degree.

Soon after the Department of Music had been created in November 1870, Suenaga Tōgi moved to Tokyo from Kyoto and became a court musician by the end of 1870 at the age of thirty-nine years. Indeed, Suenaga used to play the *hichiriki* at the Naishidokoro in Kyoto; thus his work in Kyoto can be understood as “a court musician,” but Kyoto musicians like Suenaga and other families of hereditary musicians from Nara and Osaka used to be identified as the same group of musicians who had been called “*jige-gakke* (hereditary musicians with lower status than nobles).” All *jige-gakke* or hereditary musicians had a connection with the imperial palace through their performance of the instrumental music and dance of foreign origin, which are called *tōgaku* and *komagaku* today. By “court musician” I mean the governmental employees like today’s court musicians who are also civil servants.

As a former Kyoto musician and a member of the Tōgi family, Suenaga specialized in the *hichiriki*. He had been playing the *hichiriki* at the sacred music ritual held at the Naishidokoro in

Kyoto well before he moved to Tokyo in 1870. First, we consider three examples of his performances as a *hichiriki* player at the sacred music ritual before moving to Tokyo.

First, according to the historical manuscript on mikagura held at the Naishidokoro, the three-night mikagura was held starting from July 27, Kaei 7 (1854).³⁵ As usual, court nobles served as the lead singer, the second singer, and the *wagon* player, whereas hereditary musicians from Kyoto served as the *hichiriki* player, the flute player, and the *ninjōmai* dancer. On the third-night the 29th, Suenaga, who was twenty-four years old, played the *hichiriki*.

Second, according to the historical document on mikagura held at Kasuga Taisha Shrine, the seven-night mikagura was held at the Kasuga Taisha shrine from March 15 to 21, Bunkyū 2 (1861) for the mirrors of the shrine. The ritual context was that the sacred mirrors that had been hanging inside the shrine dropped and were damaged. After the damaged mirrors were repaired and returned to the shrine, the seven-night mikagura was held, and on the fourth night kagura taikyoku was performed.³⁶ Suenaga played the *hichiriki* on the third night. He performed the mikagura not only at the imperial palace shrine but also at the Kasuga Taisha shrine as a hereditary musician from Kyoto.

Third, according to another historical document on mikagura held at the imperial palace shrine, the three night mikagura was held from March 17 to 19, Keiō 2 (1866), in relation to the return of the sacred mirror from the temporal shrine to the imperial palace shrine. According to the list of performers, Suenaga played the *hichiriki* on the third night. Emperor Kōmei played the *wagon* for all three nights; thus, Suenaga performed mikagura with the Emperor. Arinaga served as the lead singer on the first night while his grandson Arikazu served as the second singer on the

³⁵ Kunaichō shoryōbu (Imperial Household Archives), “Naishidokoro karidono honden togyo narabini mikagura (Mikagura held at the time of transferal of the sacred mirror to the temporary sanctuary and the main sanctuary),512-173.”

³⁶ “Kasugasha nanakayo mikagura ki, Bunkyū 2 (Record of the seven-night mikagura at Kasuga Taisha Shrine in 1862),516-287” Tokyo, Kunaichō shoryōbu (Imperial Household Archives).

third night.³⁷ Suenaga had known Arinaga and Arikazu already when he became a court musician, which helped Suenaga communicate with them after he became a court musician.

These performances demonstrate not only Suenaga's skill with the *hichiriki*, but also his familiarity with the ritual contexts of the three-night mikagura and the seven-night mikagura where the secret songs were performed. He also witnessed Emperor Kōmei's playing the *wagon* as his fervent prayer. Suenaga understood the ritual aspects of mikagura and kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku. When he was instructed to be a court musician at the age of thirty-nine years, his appointment was the highest rank as a court musician. This appointment must be based on his experience and understanding of mikagura. Suenaga was a leading court musician and dedicated himself to the solidification of the Department of Music until he retired at the age of eighty-one years old.

Next, I examine Suenaga's role in sustaining kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku. As Fujitsune Shiba's diary shows, court musicians began to learn kagura songs in January 1871. Fujitsune and other court musicians who had not known kagura before had to observe first, while Suenaga, who had known kagura already, began learning kagura songs right away in January 1871. Then, Suenaga was instructed to hold the score of kagura taikyoku as early as February, 1871:

February 15, Meiji 4 (1871)

The Great Council of State instructs Arinaga Ayanokōji and other court musicians to be in charge of kagura taikyoku.

A notice to Arinaga Ayanokōji: you are responsible for passing down kagura taikyoku, with the score attached.

A notice to Kageaya Yamanoi: you are responsible for passing down the flute part of kagura taikyoku, with the score attached.

A notice to Kinyoshi Yotsutsuji: you are responsible for the *wagon* part of kagura taikyoku. April 5, Meiji 4 (1871).

³⁷ Kunaichō shoryōbu (Imperial Household Archives), “Naishidokoro karidono honden togyo narabini mikagura (Mikagura held at the time of transferal of the sacred mirror to the temporary sanctuary and the main sanctuary), 512-174.”

A notice to Abe Suenaga³⁸: you are responsible for the *hichiriki* part of kagura taikyoku.³⁹

Suenaga was chosen to hold the unified score of kagura taikyoku.

Fujitsune Shiba also documents the same information about Suenaga's appointment in his diary:⁴⁰

April 12, Meiji 4 (1871)

Suenaga [Tōgi] was instructed to come to the office of the Department of Music regarding the kagura taikyoku. He is appointed to be in charge of [*hichiriki* part of] kagura taikyoku.

Yotsutusji was appointed to be in charge of the *wagon* part of kagura taikyoku.

Suenaga's appointment is the first example in which a court musician held the *hichiriki* score of kagura taikyoku.

Fujitsune Shiba's diary indicates Suenaga's important role as a teacher:

September 20, Meiji 4 (1871)

Today both Suenaga and Kageaya were instructed to go to Kyoto on the twenty-fourth of this month to teach [their instruments]. This is because kagura taikyoku and accompaniment by the flute and *hichiriki* have been reformed. The scores were provided to both Suenaga and Kageaya. As for teaching the song, Ayanokōji Arikazu will go to Kyoto as well.

Holding the unified score of kagura taikyoku qualified Suenaga to teach. He was responsible for sustaining kagura from the early Meiji period.

One of reasons Suenaga was chosen to be in charge of kagura taikyoku is that he had been transmitted kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku well before the Meiji Restoration. This information is found in a manuscript that Suenaga submitted to the Meiji government. Suenaga's manuscript is dated January 1871:

³⁸ Abe Suenaga is identical with Tōgi Suenaga. Suenaga used to serve at the sacred music ritual at the imperial palace shrine.

³⁹ "Dajōruiten (Records from the Cabinet of the Meiji Government), Series 1, vol. 46."

⁴⁰ Tsukahara, *Meiji yonen Shiba Fujitsune nikki: Honkoku kaidai* (Diary of Fujitsune Shiba in 1871: A reprint and Explanatory Notes), Research report of Grants –in-aid for scientific research by Japan Society for the Promotion of Science.

Kagura taikyoku: First the flute, next the *hichiriki*. [The score is provided.] This is performed at the time of performing kagura taikyoku.

Kagura hikyoku: First the flute, next the *hichiriki*. [The score is provided.] This is performed at the time of performing kagura hikyoku.

On January 12, Tenshō 19 (1591), these two scores, kept at the imperial palace, were orally transmitted by Kintō Yotsutsuji to my ancestor Suekane. [After Suekane, there are seven names of the Tōgi who were passed down and also passed down to the next generation before Suenaga's father Suenobu.] Orally transmitted from Suenobu to Suenaga myself. On November 22, last year, 1870, I was instructed by the government to come to Tokyo, and as I was to leave Kyoto on the 30th of November, I enclosed the two scores in the envelope. On November 28, I informed my son Suesada that the scores would be returned.

January 1871, Daireijin [Senior court musician] Tōgi Suenaga⁴¹

There are three important points about Suenaga's manuscript that help us see his integral role at the Department of Music: the imperial ownership of the scores, Suenaga's familiarity with the *hichiriki* part of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku, and the close relationship with the Yotsutsuji. First, the scores that Kintō Yotsutsuji orally transmitted to Suekane were officially stored at the imperial storage. This legitimizes the imperial ownership of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku. Historically, mikagura and kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku had been performed principally at the emperor's command. Although nobles and Kyoto musicians had documented the scores of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku to preserve the repertoire they had been passing down from one generation to another, kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku were essentially the emperor's property in that it was the emperor who called for the performance.

Second, this document confirmed that Suenaga had already received the scores of *hichiriki* for both kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku before he became a court musician in 1870. Suenaga's ancestors had been performing kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku on the *hichiriki* for three hundred twenty years. This family history differentiated Fujitsune Shiba from

⁴¹ "Kagura taikyoku hikyoku, 199-0442, 0007" Tokyo, National Archives of Japan.

Suenaga. While Fujitsune did not have a higher rank, Suenaga had a higher rank in the Department of Music and was qualified to hold the *hichiriki* score of kagura taikyoku during the early Meiji.

Third, the Tōgi family from Kyoto had close tie with the Yotsutsuji family. Suenaga was the 10th generation to receive the *hichiriki* scores of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku, which was first passed to his family by Kintō Yotsutsuji. The Yotsutsuji were one of the most distinguished and influential families of court nobles until before the Meiji Restoration, as they had been in charge of arranging performances of hereditary musicians from Nara, Osaka, and Kyoto. Their inherited occupations were *wagon*, *koto*, and kagura. Suenaga adopted one of sons of Kinmasu Yotsutsuji (1840-80), which exemplified that Suenga maintained the close relationship with the Yotsutsuji in the Meiji period. His adopted son's name is Tamishirō (1876-1932). Tamishirō's biological father Kinyoshi had an administrative position along with Arikazu Ayanokōji when the Department of Music was created in 1870. Then, both Kinyoshi and Arikazu were court musicians from Meiji 7 (1874) to Meiji 12 (1879). Tamishirō Tōgi became a court musician in 1886 at the age of ten.

Considering the fact that Suenaga used to perform mikagura with Arinaga and Arikazu well before the Meiji Restoration, and that Suenaga had been close to Kinmasu, it is likely that Suenaga actively worked with Arinaga, Arikazu, and Kinyoshi at the Department of Music. Because of his familiarity and history of performing kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku on the *hichiriki* at Kasuga Taisha Shrine and the Imperial Palace Shrine, it was natural that the Meiji government appointed him to hold the unified *hichiriki* score of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku. All these lead to a logical conclusion that Suenaga must have worked on scrutinizing and creating the unified scores of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku with Arinaga, Arikazu,

and Kinyoshi. During the early Meiji period, the former system of transmission of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku by the nobility and Kyoto musicians was unchanged in a real sense.

When kagura hikyoku was performed in Meiji 22 (1889) at Shikinen Sengū of Ise Jingū, Suenaga played the *hichiriki* part of kagura hikyoku, and he was the only court musician among the performers of kagura hikyoku. Arikazu Ayanokōji was the lead singer while Kinyasu Yotsutsuji played the flute and the *wagon*. In Meiji 42 (1909), Suenaga again played the *hichiriki* part of hikyoku at Ise Jingū. Fujitsune Shiba played the flute part of kagura hikyoku. Among three former nobles who performed kagura hikyoku, Kinfuji Yotsutsuji played the *wagon*. In short, the shift of transmission and performance of kagura hikyoku happened gradually. Suenaga took over *hichiriki* performance in 1889, with Fujitsune Shiba following on the flute in 1909.

During the period of wars and aftermath from the 15th through 16th centuries, kagura songs and kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku faced the crisis of continuity due to the decline of some court nobles such as the Ayanokōji. However, through the shift of transmission and performance from the nobility to court musicians, the performance was firmly sustained. Also by relinquishing the scores, the imperial ownership of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku was restored. The possible loss of tradition with the decline of the nobility was avoided.

The transitional periods were different between kagura songs and kagura secret songs. The former took shorter time compared to the latter. This exemplifies that the Meiji government did not invent tradition in order to establish modern nation through westernization, but strategically modified the traditional system in order to retain the essential features of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku.

A lack of documents on kagura hikyoku obscures our understanding of the changes to this tradition in the Meiji period. The government appointed selected court musicians to transmit

kagura taikyoku rather than kagura hikyoku. Does this mean that the government need more time to complete the unified score of kagura hikyoku than kagura taikyoku? The clue about kagura hikyoku is found in the first part of the government's notice addressed to Arinaga Ayanokōji back to January 1871:

The music department appoints you to transmit the score of kagura taikyoku. Yet regarding kagura hikyoku, as you were informed before, after investigating [returned manuscripts and scores], you will be appointed.⁴²

By 1871, kagura taikyoku was investigated, and the unified scores for the song and instruments were ready to pass down officially. On the other hand, kagura hikyoku needed to be further scrutinized at that time.

Conclusion

In sum, there are four things that became evident based on governmental documents during the beginning of the Meiji period. First, the imperial ownership of scores of kagura taikyoku and kagura was restored. Kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku had been performed by the imperial order from the 11th century throughout the early modern period. Thus, the imperial ownership of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku was legitimized. While the nobility that performed the songs had primarily controlled the scores, the government's directions in the Meiji period reasserted central control through the Department of Music on behalf of the Emperor.

Second, the government took the initiative in transmitting the secret songs. The Meiji government controlled transmission of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku. Such control used to be in the hands of the major court nobles of kagura like the Ayanokōji family and the Jimyōin family before the Meiji Restoration. The purpose of the Meiji government was that ritual

⁴² “Gosatatodome Meiji 3-12 (Official documents on imperial messages 1870-79),11987.”

performance of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku should not be interrupted by possible discontinuity of the court nobles. The performance itself is a significant Shinto ritual.

Third, performers of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku during the very early Meiji period still remained unchanged. The government officially instructed both court nobles occupying high ranks and hereditary musicians to pass down kagura taikyoku from 1869 to 1871. The former court nobles were Shigetomi Ōhara, Yasunaka Itsutsuji, and Arikazu Ayanokōji for the vocal parts. The hereditary musicians were Kageaya Yamanoi for the flute, and Suenaga Tōgi for the *hichiriki*. All of these people used to transmit and perform kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku at the Naishidokoro in Kyoto until before the Meiji Restoration. Their involvement means that kagura taikyoku continued to be transmitted in the same way during the very beginning of the Meiji period.

Fourth, the purpose of the government was to shift former court nobles' responsibility from sacred ritual music to nation building through westernization and modernization. Court nobles were temporarily appointed to transmit the secret songs. The government planned to make court musicians of the music department eventually perform the ritual music and kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku. In other words, the government, former court nobles, and former hereditary musicians who became court musicians sustained kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku from different positions yet as a coordinated whole.

Lastly, what is noteworthy is that in the very early Meiji period, the government engaged in investigating scores of kagura hikyoku but had not completed the unified scores of kagura hikyoku yet in 1871. As far as the author knows, there are no governmental notices appointing former court nobles or court musicians to transmit kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku after 1871 among the governmental records open to the public. We have to wait to see the

reappearance of the government's control on kagura secret songs until Meiji 22 (1889). This was when the sacred music ritual and kagura hikyoku were brought over from the imperial court to Ise Jingū. We can assume that the government created the unified score of kagura hikyoku between 1871 and 1889.

Chapter 5: Extending Mikagura and Kagura Hikyoku from the Imperial Palace to Ise Jingū from Priests' Perspective during the Meiji Period

This chapter examines the continuity of kagura hikyoku through the study of the restoration movement of Ise Jingū from the end of the Edo period (1600-1867) through the first half of the Meiji period (1867-1912). This chapter differs from other chapters in that rather than discussing ways in which kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku survived, it addresses instead details of the extension of the mikagura and kagura hikyoku to Ise Jingū, which was supported by Emperor Meiji, Prince Asahiko, and the priests of Ise Jingū. I examine an important historical movement in 1889, occurring during the time of Japan's modernization, and analyze the Jingū priests' strategy by which ritual music and the kagura secret song was brought over to Ise Jingū from the imperial palace.

First, I consider the impact of the work of a 19th century-Jingū priest, Kiyonao Mikanagi (1812-94), on ancient practices and manners of ceremonies of Ise Jingū. Second, I investigate the role of *saishu*, or the supreme celebrant of Jingū, Prince Asahiko, in integrating the priest's work on ancient ceremonies into reestablishing and restoring the Jingū ceremonies. Jingū's chief priest Sokubun Kashima's request to extend the mikagura ritual and kagura hikyoku as part of the vicennial (occurring every twenty years) renewal, or Shikinen Sengū is also examined. Third, *norito* (Shinto prayer) is analyzed in order to understand the function and meaning of mikagura and kagura hikyoku to the priests of Ise Jingū. This study demonstrates how the extension of mikagura and kagura hikyoku from the Imperial Palace was led by the Jingū priests as their deliberate choice in order to maintain the core value of Ise Jingū. The analysis is based on the literary works of three main figures, along with shrine documents, Shinto prayers, and other official documents of the Meiji government.

Historically, according to *Kōtaijingū gishikichō* (Register of Ceremony of Kōtaijingū)¹ that compiled ceremonies and rituals of the Ise Jingū and was submitted to the Ministry of Ceremonies in 804, it was ruled that ritual dance and songs were performed as part of major ceremonies such as Kannamesai (harvest festival of offering newly harvested rice to Amaterasu Ōmikami) and Tsukinamisai (one of the three major annual ceremonies) at Ise Jingū. Performance of ritual music and dance continued during the Heian period and through the medieval period. While some types of music and dance such as *gosechimai* (female dance) were interrupted due to societal upheavals of society after the 14th century, some types, such as *tonagomai* (children's bird dance), continued until the Meiji Restoration in 1868.

The early Meiji period is marked by a series of changes at Ise Jingū. In 1871, the Meiji government enacted a law that reformed the ceremonies and hereditary priesthood of Ise Jingū, called *Jingū Gokaisei* (Jingū Reformation).² Changes included the terminations of hereditary priesthood, a type of kagura (music and dance offered to the Shinto deities) that had been conducted by local priests outside the Shrine, and the other type of kagura that had been performed by female children of Jignū priests inside the Shrine.³ As one of the impact of the Jingū Reformation, court musicians performed kagura songs⁴ for the first time in 1872 at the time of offering sacred food to Amaterasu Ōmikami at Kannamesai at Ise Jingū. In 1889, mikagura and kagura hikyoku were extended to Shikinen Sengū. Court nobles and court musicians were sent by Emperor Meiji to perform mikagura and kagura hikyoku. This extension

¹ “Kōtaijingū gishikichō (Register of ceremony of Kōtaijingū),” in *Shintō taikai jingū hen* (Compendium of Shinto, volume on Jingū), vol. 1 (Tokyo: Shintō Taikai Hensankai, 1979), 3–188.

² Motohiko Matsuki, “Meiji yonenno Jingū gokaisei (Jingū reformation in 1871),” in *Jingū meiji hyakunen-shi* (One hundred years of Jingū history from the Meiji period) (Ise: Jingū bunko, 1987), 131–54.

³ Kagura refers to music and dance offered to the Shinto deities. Types of music and dance of kagura vary depending on regions and shrines. In case of Ise Jingū, the types of kagura performed inside and Ise Jingū were different.

⁴ Kagura songs are *kagurauta* in Japanese. This is categorized as a native origin of gagaku (the imperial court vocal music).

of mikagura and kagura hikyoku restored the tradition of performing ritual music at Ise Jingū and also enhanced the links between the imperial court and Ise Jingū.

There was a principle of pursuing the restoration of the Jingū rituals:

October 2, 1889

As Emperor Meiji instructed, the rite of transferring Amaterasu Ōmikami was held at Kōtaijingū. Observing Emperor Meiji's instruction, Prince Asahiko served as the supreme celebrant of Ise Jingū and reorganized rituals and practices on the basis of the principle of establishing manners and rituals based on ancient practices.⁵

The principle can be understood as “establishing manners and rituals based on ancient practices.” This principle resulted in leading to the extension of mikagura and kagura hikyoku to Ise Jingū. Court nobles' role as performers of mikagura and kagura hikyoku was also restored:

By the imperial order, the *shōtenchō* [chief priest serving in the shrines in the premises of the Imperial Palace] Michitaka Kujō was sent to Ise Jingū as an imperial emissary accompanied by the *shōten* [priest serving in the imperial palace shrine] Aritō Chigusa, and two guards were sent. Emperor Meiji also sent the Director of the Department of Music, Tomotsuna Iwakura, and Shigetomo Ōhara, Kinyasu Muromachi, and Arikazu Ayanokōji in order to have them sing both kagura songs and kagura hikyoku.⁶

Emperor Meiji sent government officials and court nobles as performers of mikagura and kagura hikyoku to the rite of transferring Amaterasu Ōmikami to a new shrine building. This shows that Shikinen Sengū became solidified as the grand ritual and that the close link between the emperor and Ise Jingū was also strengthened:

The following day, Michitaka Kujō offered the sacred cloth at the rite of *hōbei* [the imperial offerings] on behalf of the emperor as the imperial emissary at Kōtaijingū. Ōhara, Muromachi, and Ayanokōji performed kagura songs and kagura hikyoku based on ancient practices. Offering sacred food and performing the ritual music after the *hōbei* had been interrupted since the medieval era. But they were resumed from this year; thus restored.⁷

Performers of kagura hikyoku were court nobles of higher ranks who had been performing mikagura and kagura hikyoku at the Imperial Palace Shrine as their hereditary

⁵ Kōgakkan University, *Kunishinnō gyōjitsu* (Records of Prince Kuni) (Ise: Kōgakkan University, 2013), 29.

⁶ Japan. Kunaichō, *Meiji tennō ki* (Annals of Emperor Meiji).

⁷ *Ibid.*, 368.

profession up until the Meiji Restoration in 1868. The Emperor, government officials, and priests regarded the performance of mikagura and kagura hikyoku at Ise Jingū as a restoration of tradition. In order to reorganize and sustain the essential features of the Jingū rituals, Prince Asahiko and the priests of Ise Jingū successfully restored in 1889 some elements of the Jingū that had fallen into disuse.

Kiyonao Mikanagi's Studies on Ancient Rituals of Ise Jingū

The historical movement to restore old practices and manners before the Meiji Restoration in 1868 contributed greatly to the extension of mikagura and kagura hikyoku to Ise Jingū in the mid Meiji Period. One effect of this movement was a Jingū priest's study of the rituals of Ise Jingū at the end of Edo period. During the tempestuous last days of the Tokugawa shogunate, Emperor Kōmei (r. 1846-66) promoted the movement to restore court rituals. As Ise Jingū was also affected by the movement to restore the imperial court rituals, historical study on the rituals of Ise Jingū was extensively advanced. The central figure of this study is Kiyonao Mikanagi (1812-94). He was born in a hereditary priest family and was a priest of Toyoukedaijingū, which is one of the two main sanctuaries of Ise Jingū where Toyouke no Ōmikami is enshrined.

Toward the end of the Edo period, European fleets often appeared in the Japan Sea. Independence and peace in the country was under severe threat while almost all countries in Asia and Africa were colonized by Europe and America. From 1853 when Commodore Perry and his four black ships came to Uruga through 1864, Emperor Kōmei sent an imperial emissary to Ise Jingū seven times to offer his prayer to Amaterasu Ōmikami, so that he would get Amaterasu's help to protect the country from foreign threats and maintain peace in the country.⁸

⁸ Kiyondo Mori, *Mikotonori* (Imperial edicts) (Tokyo: Kinseisha, 2002).

Although there was no precedent, Emperor Kōmei decided to visit Ise Jingū in order to pray for protection of Japan from external pressures. He would become the first emperor to visit Ise Jingū. The Jingū priests began to prepare to receive the Emperor's visit and made plans about ways the Emperor should worship at Ise Jingū. As part of the preparation, in August 1863, Kiyonao Mikanagi was sent to Kyoto. The reason Kiyonao Mikanagi was chosen is analyzed as follows:

When Emperor Kōmei made the decision to visit Ise Jingū in order to offer a prayer to drive out foreign forces, with the instruction of the supreme celebrant of Ise Jingū, Kiyonao Mikanagi went to Kyoto to discuss various matters. This is because Kiyonao was well versed in the ancient practices of Ise Jingū.⁹

Throughout the history of Ise Jingū, this was the first time that the emperor planned to visit Ise Jingū, and priests had to study appropriate protocols for such a case. Thus, the supreme celebrant of Ise Jingū sent Kiyonao to Kyoto where Emperor Kōmei resided. In the end, due to intensified turbulence of inside and outside of Japan, Emperor Kōmei's visit to Ise Jingū was canceled, and Kiyonao returned to Ise. Yet this episode shows that Kiyonao was highly regarded at that time as an expert on the ancient rituals and practices at Ise Jingū.

Influenced by Emperor Kōmei's efforts toward restoring court rituals, the Jingū priests continued to restore rituals during the end of the Edo period. The rite of the imperial offerings at Kannamesai was restored in 1865 at Ise Jingū as a result of an imperial consultation that took place the year before. At that time, Kiyonao wrote "Kannamesai gyoyū kōjitsu (a study of ritual music and dance at Kannamesai)" as one of the outcomes of his historical studies on the ancient rituals and manners of Ise Jingū. The beginning of this article suggests Kiyonao's idea about songs and dance in relation to rituals at Ise Jingū:

⁹ Jingū shichō, "Mikanagi Kiyonao ōden (Biography of Kiyonao Mikanagi)," in *Jingū shinji kōshō kōhen* (Study on Jingū rituals), vol.3 (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2007), 9.

The rite of performing ritual music at Kannamesai at the two main sanctuaries was established based on the Daijōsai [the first Niinamesai after enthronement ceremony] and Niinamesai [annual rite of offering newly harvested rice to Amaterasu by the Emperor] at the imperial court. At Daijōsai, the *yamatomai* (和舞) dance is performed by officials in charge of rituals and chamberlains while the *yamatomai* (倭舞) dance is performed by an imperial envoy and his attendants at Ise Jingū. The female dance called *gosechimai* (五節舞) is performed at Daijōsai while the *gosechi-mai* is performed by the *saiō* [the emperor's daughter serving at Ise Jingū]'s court ladies. There is *kumemai* (久米舞) dance at Daijōsai while there is *tonagomai* (鳥名子舞) dance at Ise Jingū. Similarly, there are *ōnaobiuta* (大直歌) at Daijōsai and *mikeuta* (御饌歌) at the Shrine; *ōuta* (大歌) at Daijōsai and *iseuta* (伊勢歌) at the Shrine. While the performers of dance, songs, zither, and flute are gifted ritual costumes for Daijōsai [at the imperial court], performers of *tonago-mai*, the zither player, the lead singer, and the flute player are given ritual costumes at Ise Jingū. We should study the history of music and rituals of Ise Jingū while understanding that music and rituals at Ise Jingū do not differ from those of the imperial palace.¹⁰

Kiyonao recognized the commonality between Kannamesai at Ise Jingū and both Daijōsai and Niinamesai at the imperial palace in terms of music and dance. From this viewpoint, Kiyonao pointed out the parallels in music in a ritual context at the imperial palace and Ise Jingū as well as the correspondences between ritual costumes of both venues. Kiyonao concluded that the role of music in the Kannamesai is identical to that of music in imperial court rituals, and that it is important to investigate the history of ritual music of Kannamesai in this respect.

In the same article, Kiyonao examined the songs and dance of rituals at Ise Jingū and presented his view about the origin of the ritual music of Ise Jingū:

The origin of *yamatomai* dance performed at Ise Jingū is found in *Kogoshūi* [Gleanings from Ancient Narratives]. According to *Kogoshūi*, the [perhaps legendary] emperor [Sujin], while reigning [97 BCE-30 CE] at the Mizugaki Palace in Shiki, began to fear living under the same roof with Amaterasu Ōmikami and felt overwhelmed by her divine presence. He instructed his daughter Toyosuki-iri-hime-no-mikoto to remove the sacred objects—the sacred mirror and the sacred sword—from the palace and to enshrine them in Kasanui-no-mura village in Yamato province. On the evening after the divine emblems were enshrined, all the courtiers gathered and entertained [the goddess] throughout the night, singing: “miyabito-no ohoyosugarani isatohoshi yukinoyoroshimo ohoyosugarani.” This song is still sung in a modified version, as follows: “miyabitono ohoyosogoromo

¹⁰ Kiyonao Mikanagi, “Kannamesai gyoyū kōjitsu (Study on the ritual music of Kannamesai),” in *Jingū shinji kōshō zenpen* (Studies on Jingū rituals), vol.1 (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa koubunkan, 2006), 759–84.

hizatohoshi yukinoyoroshimo ohoyosogoromo.”¹¹ So says *Kogoshūi*. The song and dance performed at this feast is the origin of *yamatomai* dance. The performance of music and dance dedicated to Amaterasu Ōmikami began at that time.¹²

Kiyonao cited the passage of *Kogoshūi* that describes how Amaterasu Ōmikami had been transferred from the imperial palace to Kasanui-no-mura village during the era of Emperor Sujin and that the song and dance had been performed at the feast on that night. Kiyonao concluded that the song sung before Amaterasu Ōmikami after the transfer and enshrinement in Kasanui-no-mura village was the origin of the performance of music and dance offered to the sun goddess. Transferring Amaterasu Ōmikami means transferring the sacred mirror within which the spirit of Amaterasu is believed to reside. Kiyonao contextualized the passage of *Kogoshūi* as a precedent for performing ritual music before the sacred mirror in relation to its transferral.

In general, it is said that Shinto ritual music and dance originate from Amanouzume-no-mikoto's dance that was performed to make Amaterasu Ōmikami come out from the cave, which is narrated in the Rock-Cave myth. Contrary to this story, Kiyonao focused on the context of singing a song after transferring the sacred mirror and enshrining it in Kasanui-no-mura village and considered the performance of music to be the origin of ritual music dedicated to Amaterasu Ōmikami. In other words, Kiyonao understood that music and dance performed at Ise Jingū during ancient times had originated from the music performed at Kasanui-no-mura village on that night of transferring and enshrining the imperial kami. Furthermore, he viewed the rituals at Ise Jingū and the imperial palace as essentially identical. Because of his standing within this institution, we may assume that his views are representative of Jingū priests at the time.

¹¹ The meaning of this quite clear. One of multiple translations is provided by Genchi Katō and Hikoshirō Hoshino: “What a fine, long robe each courtier in the suite wears at the Ceremony of the Removing of the Divine Insignia! It reaches to the knees. Oh, how splendid is the procession to the Divine Insignia!” Hironari Inbe, *Kogoshui: Gleanings from Ancient Stories*, ed. Genchi Katō and Hikoshirō. Hoshino (Tokyo: Zaidan-Hōjin-Meiji-Seitoku-Kinen-Gakkai Meiji Japan Society, 1926).

¹² Mikanagi, “Kannamesai gyoyū kōjitsu (Study on the ritual music of Kannamesai).”

During the era of Emperor Kōmei in the 19th century, Prince Asahiko, who was to become the supreme celebrant of Ise Jingū in 1875, had closely served Emperor Kōmei. Prince Asahiko understood Emperor Kōmei's deep concern about the peace of the country and the importance of the restoration of ancient practices of rituals. Emperor Kōmei often performed the *wagon* (Japanese zither) since 1861 at the rite of mikagura in the Naishidokoro. As the rite of mikagura is one of the most ancient and significant Shinto rituals, Emperor Kōmei offered his prayer for peace of the country and the people through performing the *wagon* until his death in December 1886. To the Emperor, music was not only an important part of court rituals but also a means of offering his innermost prayer to Amaterasu Ōmikami. Emperor Kōmei's prayer was continued by his son, Emperor Meiji. Prince Asahiko recognized the shared principles and depth of prayer of both Emperor Kōmei and Emperor Meiji. After Prince Asahiko had become the supreme celebrant of Ise Jingū, he restored the ancient practices and manners of rituals at Ise Jingū with the emperors' prayers in his mind.

Prince Asahiko and Sokubun Kashima's Preparation for Shikinen Sengū

In celebration of the completion of Shikinen Sengū in 1889, the Jingū priests made waka poems:

Yorozuyo ni nagarete taenu isuzugawa sayakani kami no kage mo miyuran
 Isuzu River continues to run during the numerous generations of the emperors; it is so transparent as if we would see the shadow of Amaterasu Ōmikami.
 By Prince Asahiko

Hatatose ni niimiya tsukuri tameshi koso ugokanu miyo no shirushi narikere
 The very manner of constructing the new shrine once every twenty years is the emblem of stability of the emperor's reign.
 By Jingū chief priest Sokubun Kashima.¹³

¹³ "Meiji njūninen gosengū kyōen waka (Waka poetry dedicated to the renewal ceremony of Ise Jingū in 1889), 3555," Ise, Jingū bunko.

When Prince Asahiko became the supreme celebrant of Ise Jingū in 1875, he was 52 years old and ready to dedicate himself to reorganizing the Jingū rituals. Since the Jingū Reformation in 1871 enacted by the Meiji government, the rituals of Ise Jingū underwent changes. By Emperor Meiji's support, Prince Asahiko reorganized the rituals of Ise Jingū based on the principle of "establishing manners and rituals based on ancient practices."¹⁴ In 1882, Prince Asahiko began to prepare for the 56th Shikinen Sengū that would be held in October 1889.

At the time of the Jingū Reformation in 1871, the strictly hereditary element of the priesthood was terminated, and as a result Kiyonao Mikanagi, who had belonged to the hereditary priest family of Toyoukedaijingū, resigned from Ise Jingū. In 1875, Prince Asahiko called Kiyonao back to Ise Jingū. On March 29, 1882, Asahiko appointed both Kiyonao Mikanagi and Morinobu Sonoda as senior priests. Before the Jingū Reformation in 1871, Kiyonao Mikanagi had belonged to the hereditary priest family of Toyoukedaijingū, and Morinobu Sonoda had belonged to the hereditary priest family of Kōtaijingū at Ise Jingū. When they were appointed as the senior priests, Kiyonao was 71 years old, and Morinobu was 59. Prince Asahiko pursued the restoration of rituals and advanced preparation for Shikinen Sengū with the unfailing support of Kiyonao and Morinobu.

The outcome of Kiyonao's studies on ancient rituals of Ise Jingū such as "Kannamesai gyoyū kōjitsu" became a reference to the extension of ritual music and dance at Shikinen Sengū in 1889. As explained in "Kannamesai gyoyū kōjitsu," songs and dance of native origin had been performed at Kannamesai at Ise Jingū during the ancient times. Based on this, Prince Asahiko considered extending ritual music in order to reorganize a series of rituals related to Shikinen Sengū in appropriate forms. As a result, mikagura and kagura hikyoku were integrated as essential ritual music into Shikinen Sengū.

¹⁴ Kōgakkan University, *Kunishinnō gyōjitsu (Records of Prince Kuni)*, 29.

Prince Asahiko's deep interest in mikagura and kagura hikyoku is best demonstrated by his own training in kagura songs, starting in 1888. On January 26, 1888, Prince Asahiko began to learn kagura songs and organized a private group of court nobles to perform mikagura in order to sustain the ancient ritual music. Similarly, on March 29, 1888, he privately conducted the performance of the kagura songs by following the same procedure of the mikagura ritual, and on June 1, 1888, he continued to learn kagura songs. Then again, on September 1, 1888 he organized the private group to perform kagura songs like the mikagura ritual. Throughout the previous year of the Shikinen Sengū, Prince Asahiko continuously practiced kagura songs and performed them in the same manner as the mikagura ritual.¹⁵ These performances were privately held and not conducted as a Shinto sacred music ritual. I understand that they were like rehearsals before the actual performance of mikagura and kagura hikyoku at Ise Jingū in 1889. Although the name of Prince Asahiko's teacher of kagura songs was not documented, it is very likely that he learned kagura songs from court nobles who were qualified holders of kagura songs and possibly appointed performers of kagura hikyoku at Ise Jingū. The fact that court nobles had not performed kagura songs since 1873, meant they needed to practice the songs before the actual performance at Ise Jingū, which was the reason Prince Asahiko arranged these rehearsal-like performances.

Prior to Prince Asahiko's learning of kagura songs, he had already initiated the performance of gagaku with court nobles who were experts of kagura and the imperial court music. On January 7, 1881, he organized a group to perform gagaku mainly with court nobles in order to sustain the music culture of the nobles. These regular performances frequently continued from 1881 throughout 1889. In 1882, Arinaga Ayanokōji's son-in-law, Yorishige Toyo'oka

¹⁵ Kōgakkan University, *Kunishinnō gyōjitsu*, 28, 444-49.

(1814-1886), who was also an uncle of Arikazu, often attended the performance of gagaku.¹⁶ In short, Prince Asahiko's training and performance of kagura songs and gagaku exemplify his important role in supporting mikagura and kagura hikyoku to Ise Jingū in 1889.

On March 2, 1889, by Prince Asahiko's instruction, Sokubun Kashima, who served as the chief priest since his appointment on April 2, 1884, submitted a petition to the government that Ise Jingū would get a permission to extend mikagura and kagura hikyoku to Shikinen Sengū. This petition included the passages from Kiyonao Mikanagi's "Kannamesai gyoyū kōjitsu." Sokubun's petition is extensive, but as it provides Jingū's official view about mikagura and kagura hikyoku, the entire petition is cited in three sections. First, Sokubun began the petition by describing the intimate tie with the emperor and Ise Jingū:

Ise Jingū is the shrine where Amaterasu Ōmikami is enshrined and from which the imperial line originates. Because of this, the preceding emperors have continued to respect and worship Ise Jingū. Ancient practices and manners that were once discontinued since the medieval period should be restored along with the imperial regime. Considering the antiquity of rituals and manners and comparing the present with the antiquity, it has become apparent that ancient rituals and practices of Shikinen Sengū that were temporarily interrupted should be restored. Shikinen Sengū is one of the biggest matters to the nation. Undoubtedly, conducting Shikinen Sengū assures the divine protection of the imperial throne. Yet the fact that a ritual of performing sacred music has not been performed at Shikinen Sengū is a great defect.¹⁷

Sokubun emphasized the importance of restoring ancient rituals related to Shikinen Sengū. To support this point, part of Kiyonao's research result was cited:

According to *Kogoshūi*, while reigning at the Mizugaki Palace in Shiki, the Emperor [Sujin] began to be afraid of living under the same roof and to be overwhelmed by Amaterasu's divine influence. He instructed his daughter Toyosuki-iri-hime-no-mikoto to remove the sacred objects of the mirror and the sword from the Palace and to enshrine them in Kasanui-no-mura village in Yamato Province. On the evening after the divine emblems were enshrined, all the courtiers gathered and entertained throughout the night, singing: "miyabito-no ohoyosugarani isatohoshi yukinoyoroshimo ohoyosugarani." Also,

¹⁶ Ibid., 397-454.

¹⁷ Junshi Gomazuru, "Senzen sandaino Shikinen Sengū (Shikinen Sengū during the reigns of the three emperors)," in *Jingū Meiji hyakunen shi* (One hundred years of Jingū history from the Meiji period), Vol. 1 (Ise: Jingū bunko, 1987), 480.

according to the regulations of Ise Jingū officially compiled in the 10th century, called *Engi-daijingū-shiki*, *gosechi-mai* dance performed by *saiō*'s four court ladies is mentioned; Eighteen boys and girl who perform *tonagomai* dance at three important rites of Ise Jingū and at *gesai* [end of purification for a ritual] and *naorai* [celebratory feast after ritual] receive ritual costumes from the Imperial Palace. In the *Hyakuren-shō*, it is documented that on May 10 of Ninji 3 (1242), costumes of dance performance are prepared for a rite that the general initiated at Ise Jingū.¹⁸

The first part is exactly same as the passages of Kiyonao's "Kannamesai gyōyū ōjitsu."

This is the origin story of mikagura and kagura hikyoku associated with the transfer and enshrinement of Amaterasu Ōmikami. The second half demonstrates the significance and describes performances of ritual music and dance in the past at Ise Jingū. Sokubun concluded the petition with the request:

Considering these records, performing ritual music at Ise Jingū in the ancient times has been discontinued. Therefore, as the Emperor [Meiji] worships Ise Jingū deeply enough to wish to restore ancient rituals and practices, I humbly submitted a petition that mikagura and taikyoku [kagura hikyoku] will be performed at night after the rite of *hōbei*. It is the responsibility of the priests of Ise Jingū to conduct rituals to keep divine spirits calm and peaceful and to pray for peace of the nation. With this in my mind, I humbly request.¹⁹

Sokubun Kashima's petition provides three important points to examine further: mikagura, kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku, and *gesai* and *naorai*. First, Sokubun regretted a lack of performance of mikagura at Ise Jingū. Sokubun cited the passages from Kiyonao's "Kannamesai gyōyū kōjitsu" about the origin of performing music described in *Kogoshūi* and the ancient practice of performing dances and songs at important rites of Ise Jingū. Mikagura was requested as the most appropriate ritual music to perform at Ise Jingū because mikagura is the most sacred ritual music that has been performed at Naishidokoro. The rite of mikagura has been held for more than a millennium.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid. 481.

Second, Sokubun also requested a performance of not only mikagura but also “taikyoku,” which he meant “kagura hikyoku.” Historically, when mikagura was irregularly performed by the emperor’s order, kagura taikyoku or kagura hikyoku was also performed for special occasions. Kagura hikyoku was performed at the three-night-mikagura ritual at the Naishidokoro while kagura taikyoku was performed at the seven-night-mikagura ritual at Kasuga Taisha Shrine. There are two kagura hikyoku: “Miyabito” and “Hirume” whereas kagura taikyoku is “Yudate.” “Miyabito” was the secret song of the Ōno clan, low-ranking court musicians, until the eleventh century. Its performance had been discontinued at a certain point, but it was revived by Emperor Go-Sakuramachi in the eighteenth century, and members of Ōno clan performed it.²⁰ “Hirume” and “Yudate” were the secret songs of high-ranking court nobles. Sokubun wrote “taikyoku” in the petition, but it was kagura hikyoku “Hirume.”²¹

Third, the *gesai* and *naorai* of the three important annual rites in Ise Jingū are interrelated with ritual music. *Gesai* means the end of *saikai*. *Saikai* is a period of purification of body and mind for priests in order to conduct a ritual. *Gesai* is a significant part of a ritual to mark the end of the ritual and the return to everyday life. Historically, songs and dance of native origin had been performed at *gesai* of important rituals at Ise Jingū. The lyrics of the song cited in *Kogoshūi* is in fact exactly same as that of “Miyabito.” In the sense of *gesai*, singing “Miyabito” at night after enshrining the sacred mirror and the sacred sword at Kasanui-no-mura village functioned as the dance and songs of *gesai*. Singing “Miyabito” concluded the ritual and brought courtiers back to everyday life. Sokubun’s request to extend mikagura and kagura hikyoku can be

²⁰ On November 7, Meiwa 2 (1765), the three-night music ritual was held at the Imperial Palace Shrine, and “Miyabito” called the secret song of the *jigegakke* (hereditary musician of lower rank) was revived. See *Gosakuramachi tennō jitsuroku* (Veritable records of Emperor Go-Sakuramachi), entry of November 7, Meiwa 2.

²¹ In Japanese, these two secret songs were often referred to “kagura taikyoku hikyoku” without “and” between the two. Because of that, like Sokubun’s petition, a mixed use of “taikyoku” and “hikyoku” is found in official documents of the government and Ise Jingū during 1889. It is hikyoku that was extended to Ise Jingū.

understood in the same ritual context of *gesai* because both mikagura and hikyoku would be performed as the final ritual after transferring Amaterasu Ōmikami to a new shrine building. In other words, mikagura and kagura hikyoku function as *gesai* to conclude the grand ritual of Shikinen Sengū. Consequently, it was a valid decision of Ise Jingū to extend mikagura and kagura hikyoku to Shikinen Sengū. Sokubun Kashima received the response on March 14, 1889:

While Ise Jingū made the petition to perform mikagura, Emperor Meiji had already instructed to perform mikagura and kagura hikyoku, and the Minister of Interior informed it to the Grand Master of ceremonies on the 15th of previous month. Since we will send a notice to the administration of Ise Jingū, we will keep your petition.

[From] Ministry of Interior

[To] Sokubun Kashima²²

The administration of Ise Jingū received the notice on March 14, 1889:

The Emperor expressed his instruction that both kagura songs and kagura hikyoku would be performed at this coming Shikinen Sengū. This is delivered to the administration of Ise Jingū.

[From] Minister of Interior, Masayoshi Matsukata

[To] Jingū Administration²³

It was officially decided that mikagura and kagura hikyoku would be performed at the Shikinen Sengū in 1889. Emperor Meiji had initiated the performance of mikagura and kagura hikyoku before Ise Jingū made the petition to the government. What can be said is that the performance of mikagura and kagura hikyoku at the Shikinen Sengū was not something the government imposed on Ise Jingū. It was the necessary outcome when the emperor, the government, and the Jingū priests explored ways of restoring ancient practices and manners of rituals of the imperial palace and Ise Jingū.

Which song these official documents refer to when they mentioned “hikyoku”?

Considering the history of the performing of kagura hikyoku “Hirume” at the three-night-mikagura rituals at the imperial palace shrine throughout the pre-modern period, kagura hikyoku

²² Gomazuru, “Senzen sandaino Shikinen Sengū (Shikinen Sengū during the reigns of the three emperors).” 481.

²³ Ibid., 481.

of these documents signifies “Hirume.” During the Edo period, “Hirume” was performed whenever Amaterasu Ōmikami was transferred from the imperial palace shrine to the temporary shrine at the time of repair of the main shrine and whenever Amaterasu Ōmikami was transferred back to the main one at the time of the completion of the repair. Because of this ritual correspondence, kagura hikyoku “Hirume” was extended to Shikinen Sengū at Ise Jingū.

Two months after getting a notice to perform mikagura and kagura hikyoku, Sokubun Kashima also made another petition to the Minister of Interior, Masayoshi Matsukata regarding the additional conducting of a rite of offering sacred food prior to the performance of mikagura:

May 30, 1889

This is the petition for a rite of offering sacred food prior to mikagura.

Since mikagura and kagura hikyoku are to be performed at the Shikinen Sengū of Kotaijingū and Toyoukedaijingū, we would like to conduct the rite of offering sacred food before it. During the ancient times, transfer of a deity to a new shrine building had been held on the fixed dates of September 16 at Kotaijingū and September 15 at Toyoukedaijingū. Those days correspond with days when the rite of offering sacred food had been conducted at Kannamesai throughout the ancient times. Since the medieval period, the days of the transfer of a deity to a new shrine building at the two main sanctuaries changed to early September, i.e., a few days prior to Kannamesai. This results in the lack of offering sacred food after the transferring of Amaterasu Ōmikami to a new shrine building. Therefore, as mikagura and kagura hikyoku would be performed at this coming Shikinen Sengū, we would like to request to allow us to conduct the rite of offering sacred food prior to the performance of mikagura and kagura hikyoku. While you prepare for the program of taikyoku [hikyoku]²⁴, will you please discuss regarding our petition? The list of tools and utensils that will be used at the rite of offering sacred food is attached.²⁵

The petition to conduct a rite of offering sacred food at the Shikinen Sengū was made based on ancient practices. Before the medieval period, the rite of offering sacred food had been conducted at the Shikinen Sengū because Kannamesai had been conducted at the same time.

Kashima Sokubun held a view commonly shared by the other priests of Ise Jingū that performing

²⁴ Sokubun used taikyoku and hikyoku interchangeably, and “taikyoku” in this document should be “kagura hikyoku.”

²⁵ Gomazuru, “Senzen sandaino Shikinen Sengū (Shikinen Sengū during the reigns of the three emperors).” 481-482.

the rite of offering sacred food followed by the rite of mikagura would make the Shikinen Sengū a complete ceremony as it was. The petition was accepted. The Shikinen Sengū was reestablished in its entirety with the addition of these two rites: offering sacred food and performing mikagura and kagura hikyoku.

It is apparent that Sokubun's petition reflects Kiyonao Mikanagi's previous works on ancient rituals and practices of Ise Jingū. Kiyonao was one of the most significant figures who provided archival sources and references to Prince Asahiko. Asahiko pursued the reorganization of a series of rituals of the Shikinen Sengū by following the principle of "establishing manners and rituals based on ancient practices." As a result, the rite of offering sacred food was to be performed, and the mikagura and kagura hikyoku were to follow as the concluding ritual at the Shikinen Sengū in 1889.

Norito (Shinto Prayer) for the Mikagura Ritual at Shikinen Sengū in 1889

Norito is a Shinto prayer, and an essential element of a ritual. In October 1889, both court nobles and court musicians were sent by Emperor Meiji to perform mikagura and kagura hikyoku at the 56th Shikinen Sengū. Prior to the performance of mikagura, the rite of offering sacred food was conducted, and *norito* was recited. *Norito* is written in classical Japanese, which a priest recites to a Shinto deity. This recitation of *norito* is a highlight of a complete Shinto ceremony consisting of a series of rites: purification of priests and tribute, presenting food to deities, recitation of *norito*, and performance of ritual music.

While there are standardized *norito*, priests are free to compose their own when necessary. Kiyonao Mikanagi drafted many *norito* for a series of rituals related to the Shikinen Sengū in 1889, including *norito* for the rite of offering sacred food prior to the performance of mikagura and kagura hikyoku. It must have been a great honor for Kiyonao Mikanagi, who had studied

ancient rituals and practices of Ise Jingū since the end of Edo Period, to compose *norito* for many rituals related to the Shikinen Sengū.

Norito is a great source to understand the origin and meaning of rituals because it has a fundamental structure. There are rules for the composition of *norito*: opening words in praise of the deity, reference to the origin of the ritual, actual deeds of the ritual such as the offerings, delivering report, wish, and gratitude to a deity, and concluding words of respect. Based on these rules, I would like to examine the *norito* that Kiyonao Mikanagi composed. Through this examination, two aspects of mikagura can be understood: the meaning of the mikagura performed for the first time in 1889 and the outcome of the performances of mikagura and kagura hikyoku. The title of Kiyonao's *norito* is "Mikagura-mike-norito (Shinto prayer of the rite of offering sacred food for the rite of mikagura)":

I humbly speak in the solemn presence of Sume-oho-mi-kami [Great Sovereign Deity, i.e., Amaterasu Ōmikami], Sume-mima-no-mikoto [Sovereign Grandchild, i.e., the Emperor] is pleased that Great Sovereign Deity has moved to a new shrine building and would remain peaceful and tranquil. By the solemn command of Sovereign Grandchild, mikagura and kagura hikyoku are to be performed in accordance with the origin and history of performing *kamiasobi* [music and dance performed by and for the Shinto deities] throughout the night after enshrining Great Sovereign Deity for the first time in a shrine in Kasanui-no-mura village during the period of [Emperor Sujin's] reigning at the Mizugaki Palace in Shiki. Before court officials come and perform mikagura, I present tribute such as sacred food and *sake*, and place them high so they may become like a range of mountains. Be pleased to enjoy *kamiasobi* of singing songs and playing the flute with lit bonfire, and accept the sacred music peacefully and tranquilly. I humbly speak.²⁶

In the first part of the *norito*, the episode of performing music at night after transferring Amaterasu Ōmikami from the imperial palace to Kasanui-no-mura village, documented in *Kogoshūi*, is cited as the origin of the ritual of performing mikagura after transferring Amaterasu Ōmikami from an old shrine building to a new one at the Shikinen Sengū. Kiyonao Mikanagi regarded the music performed in Kasanui-no-mura village as *kamiasobi* in this *norito*. The same

²⁶ Jingū shichō, "Meiji nijūni-nen Sengū shosai norito-bun (Shinto prayers composed for the rituals related to Shikinen Sengū held in 1889)," in *Jingū shinji kōshō hoi*, Vol. 2 (Ise: Jingū Bunko, 2010).

term of *kamiasobi* was also used to refer to mikagura and kagura hikyoku in this *norito*. Thus, we can see that Kiyonao Mikanagi considered *kamiasobi* performed in Kasanui-no-mura village to be the precedent and origin of mikagura and kagura hikyoku that was to be performed before Amaterasu Ōmikami at Shikinen Sengū in 1889.

In the second half of the *norito*, offerings including sacred food and *sake* were stated. *Kamiasobi* of singing songs and playing the flute, which signifies mikagura, was also mentioned as part of the offerings. The concluding words show the purpose of offering sacred food and performing mikagura—entertaining the Shinto deities and keeping them calm and peaceful. Apparently, some part of the *norito* originates from Kiyonao Mikanagi’s own article titled “Kannamesai gyoyū kōjitsu” in terms of the origin of ritual music before Amaterasu Ōmikami and the importance of music as an inseparable component of a ritual. Kiyonao Mikanagi’s view on the ritual contexts of mikagura and its role had been already formed before the Meiji period, and became the base to compose the *norito* a few decades later in 1889.

Additionally, at the 56th Shikinen Sengū in 1889, an address to the deities as the *gosaimon* (Emperor’s words of prayer) was recited by an imperial emissary in order to report to the deities that mikagura and kagura hikyoku were to be performed at Ise Jingū. The title of this *gosaimon* is “Kōtaijingū kagura hikyoku sōkō hōkoku gosaimon (the Emperor’s address to report the performance of kagura hikyoku to a deity recited by an Imperial envoy):”

By command of the Emperor, in the presence of Amaterasu Ōmikami, it is august to mention, who is enshrined at the newly built magnificent shrine beside the Isuzugawa River. The large pillars of the shrine are firmly built on the solid ground with the ornamental crossbeams raising high to the high plain of heaven. Chief Priest of the Imperial Palace, Michitaka, humbly speaks with great awe and reverence. As the preceding emperors pursued, through constructing a new shrine building and transferring Amaterasu Ōmikami from an old building to a new one, the Emperor reveres and worships Amaterasu Ōmikami. This is the Emperor’s address:

“Be pleased to listen to my humble report that sacred food will be offered to you, Amaterasu Ōmikami, and I will gather singers and make them perform mikagura and kagura hikyoku for you.”

Be pleased to listen to Emperor’s address; I thus humbly speak with great awe and reverence.²⁷

While a Jingū priest recited the norito that Kiyonao had composed, the imperial emissary recited this *gosaimon* at the rite of offering sacred food prior to the rite of mikagura in order to report to Amaterasu Ōmikami that mikagura and kagura hikyoku would be performed. Because the imperial emissary usually recites *gosaimon* at selected significant Jingū rituals, we can understand that the performance of kagura hikyoku was considered to be a significant event by both the Emperor and the priests of Ise Jingū.

Emperor Meiji initiated the extension, and Prince Asahiko played an integral role in preparing the performance of mikagura and kagura hikyoku with the reference of Kiyonao’s studies on ancient practices. Emperor Meiji, Prince Asahiko, and the Jingū priests, including Kiyonao Mikanagi, collaborated together to successfully reestablish the Shikinen Sengū as a complete form, and they sustained the continuity of kagura hikyoku during the Meiji period. The performance of kagura hikyoku at Ise Jingū also suggests the high resilience of the song because kagura hikyoku attained an additional venue for the performance outside Naishidokoro.

Prince Asahiko’s final contribution before his death was the extension of the mikagura ritual to Kannamesai at Ise Jingū, the rite of offering the first crop of rice to Amaterasu Ōmikami. On February 18, 1890, several months after Shikinen Sengū was over, Prince Asahiko petitioned to the Minister of the Interior in this manner:

The mikagura ritual was conducted at Kōtaijingū and Toyoukedaijingū for the Shikinen Sengū last year. I humbly request that by the Emperor’s edict, the mikagura ritual should be held at the night after offering sacred food at Kannamesai every year at Ise Jingū from now on.

²⁷ Jingū shichō, “Kotaijingū kagura hikyoku sōkō hōkoku gosaimon (the Emperor’s address to report performance of kagura hikyoku to a deity recited by an imperial envoy),” in *Jingū rinjisai noritobun*, 1mon, 6866,” Ise, Jingū Bunko.

[From] Supreme Celebrant Prince Asahiko
 [To] the Minister of Interior, Aritomo Yamagata.²⁸

Prince Asahiko sought the Emperor's command to annually perform the mikagura ritual at Kannamesai. The government accepted this petition, and the mikagura ritual was established on July 8, 1890:

The petition made this February regarding the mikagura ritual was accepted.
 On July 8, 1890
 [From] Minister of Interior, Earl Saigo Jūdō
 [To] Administration of Ise Jingū²⁹

Prince Asahiko's request was granted. Court musicians of the Ministry of Imperial Household began to be sent to Ise Jingū for Kannamesai from 1890 every year. During the Jingū Reformation in the early Meiji period, the *tonagomai* dance at Kannamesai had been terminated; however, based on the principle of “establishing manners and rituals based on ancient practices,” the rite of mikagura was extended to Kannamesai. Mikagura is performed after offering sacred food and reciting *norito*, which means that the mikagura ritual concludes Kannamesai and functions not only as sacred offering to entertain the Shinto deities but also as *gesai* (ending a period of purifying body and mind for ritual and returning to everyday life). With the extension of the mikagura ritual, the ideal form of Kannamesai was restored.

Conclusion

Under the guidance of Supreme Celebrant Prince Asahiko, both Kiyonao Mikanagi and Sokubun Kashima played an important role in sustaining the tradition of performing ritual music at Ise Jingū. Kiyonao Mikanagi considered performance of music at night after transferring the sacred mirror from the imperial palace to Kasanui-no-mura village to be the origin of playing

²⁸ Junshi Gomazuru, “Jingū no saishi (Rituals of Ise Jingū),” in *Jingū Meiji hyakunen-Shi* (One hundred years of Jingū history from the Meiji period), Vol. 1 (Ise: Jingū Bunko, 1987), 309.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 309.

ritual music in the presence of Amaterasu Ōmikami. His view is shown in his article of “Kannamesai gyoyū kōjitsu” and the *norito* he composed in 1889. Kiyonao Mikanagi recognized the correspondence between imperial court rituals and Jingū rituals. He also put an importance upon the interrelatedness between rituals and music at both venues.

Sokubun Kashima submitted a petition to the Ministry of Interior regarding the extension of mikagura and kagura hikyoku to Shikinen Sengū of 1889. He cited Kiyonao Mikanagi’s view of the origin of ritual music in his petition. Sokubun recognized the importance of mikagura and kagura hikyoku as offerings and their function to mark the end of the sacred period and the return to ordinary life.

Supreme Celebrant, Prince Asahiko, acknowledged the integral role of mikagura through Shikinen Sengū in 1889 and realized that mikagura is the appropriate ritual music to perform to reassure Amaterasu of her human descendant’s continuing love at Ise Jingū. Therefore, he made a petition to conduct the rite of mikagura at Kannamesai every year by the Imperial Edict. He passed away just before the mikagura ritual was held at Kannamesai in 1890. Since 1890, the mikagura ritual is conducted at Kannamesai at Ise Jingū.

As a result of the efforts of multiple agents in restoring the ancient manner and practices of mikagura, both the Shikinen Sengū and Kannamesai regained the complete and ideal forms similar to their forms during the Nara and Heian periods from the 7th through the 14th centuries. Extending mikagura to Ise Jingū as ritual music was deemed appropriate by all agents—the Emperor, Prince Asahiko, priests, and the Meiji government, given the long and unbroken history of performing mikagura for more than a millennium at the Imperial Palace Shrine in the presence of Amaterasu Ōmikami. The extension of mikagura and kagura hikyoku resonates with the core values of Ise Jingū—to conduct rituals to keep Amaterasu Ōmikami peaceful and

tranquil so that the imperial lineage will firmly last, and the land and the people of Japan will remain peaceful and prosperous. In the words of Kiyonao Mikanagi, Sokubun Kashima, and Prince Asahiko, expressions such as “innovation” or “new” never appear. The common thread revealed through their words and deeds is the principle of “establishing manners and rituals based on ancient practices.” In a word, tradition of Jingū rituals and kagura hikyoku has been sustained without any break while retaining the essence.

The mikagura ritual continues at Ise Jingū today. While court musicians of the Ministry of Imperial Household continued to perform at Kannamesai until Shōwa 6 (1931), from Shōwa 7 (1932), musicians of Ise Jingū, who had finished learning mikagura and gagaku from court musicians, began to perform mikagura at Kannamesai.³⁰ Jingū musicians continue to perform the mikagura ritual at Kannamesai today. As for mikagura and kagura hikyoku at the Shikinen Sengū, it is court musicians of the Imperial Household Agency who continue to perform to this day. In October 2013, court musicians of the Imperial Household Agency performed both the mikagura ritual and kagura hikyoku at the 62nd Shikinen Sengū. The 63rd Shikinen Sengū will take place in 2033. Ise Jingū will continue to sustain the tradition of mikagura and kagura hikyoku into the future.

³⁰ Shimazu, *Jingū gagaku no dentō* (Gagaku tradition of Ise Jingū), 40.

Chapter 6: Emperor Meiji's Active Role in Sustaining the Tradition of Kagura Taikyoku and Kagura Hikyoku

This chapter examines the resilience of the kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku and Emperor Meiji's active role in sustaining the tradition during the second half of the Meiji period (1889-1912). This was still a critical period for forging the continuity of the kagura secret songs after a series of changes toward modern nation building in Japan during the first half of the Meiji period. This chapter also addresses the development of crises during this second half of the Meiji period, from the nineteenth into the early twentieth centuries, and the resilience that was manifested by the emperor despite the disturbances that threatened continuity of practices.

The survival since the eleventh century of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku, in the face of civil disturbance and political upheavals in Japan, is an exemplary manifestation of the concept I am calling resilience. This term originated as an ecological concept and involves capacity of a system to experience random disturbances but maintains its ongoing functions. While other repertoires of the imperial court music and dance came to an end in the Japanese medieval and Meiji eras due to a series of political and social upheavals, kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku were continued for some hundred years to the present day. This continuity of musical repertoire is not a matter of mere good fortune or coincidence, but results from successful adaptive management and strategies on the part of multiple agents that were active throughout the millennium. This phenomenon of a long-surviving musical practice resonates with the concept of resilience as applied to natural systems studied by ecologists. The purpose of this chapter is to identify how the main agent, Emperor Meiji, pursued his own variety of adaptive management in order to sustain two of the most sacred imperial court vocal traditions, kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku.

Kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku persisted and showed remarkable resilience in the face of disturbances during the transitional period of Japan's instability, 1889-1912. These songs were important imperial court music rituals, and functioned as the emperor's earnest prayer to Amaterasu Ōmikami, Japan's tutelary and imperial ancestral deity. This chapter examines three cases of Emperor Meiji's contributions to the continuity of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku. The first case discusses how the Emperor took the initiative to extend the sacred music ritual and kagura hikyoku from the imperial palace to Ise Jingū in 1889. The chapter's second case discusses how he explicitly expressed his concern about the possible decline of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku and instructed the government in 1893 to take an action to preserve them. The third case discusses how he approved the distribution of the imperial fund in 1894 to the offspring of court nobles to support them in their efforts to pass down the kagura secret songs.

In the analysis of these three (case) contributions, crises and disturbances specific to each case that prompted Emperor Meiji's active involvement in sustaining the tradition are also examined in order to illustrate the importance of his strategies of adaptive management. With reference to the first case, there was the absence of performances of kagura taikyoku at Kasuga Taisha Shrine and kagura hikyoku at the Imperial Palace Shrine, or Kashikodokoro from the Meiji Restoration in 1868 and throughout the 45-year Meiji period. Second, the Meiji government's management led to what may have become a distortion of the music. Third, the offspring of court nobles continued to lose resources and legitimacy in their efforts to keep the kagura secret songs alive, given that the hereditary occupations had been suspended during the early Meiji period. As analysis of Emperor Meiji's contributions to the continuity of long-standing traditions during these three crises illuminates an essential role of the emperors of Japan,

which is praying to their ancestor Amaterasu Ōmikami for peace and stability through the medium of ritual songs.

The sources examined for and cited in this chapter are official documents of the Meiji government and diaries of the government officials kept at the Imperial Household Archives in Tokyo, as well as various other historical and musical manuscripts of this era. These sources emanate from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries. The manuscripts were owned by the Ayanokōji family until 1963, and are now housed at Tenri University Library in Tenri, Japan.

Case 1: Emperor Meiji's Initiative to Extend Kagura Hikyoku at Ise Jingū in 1889

The Meiji government ended all hereditary occupations of court nobles in 1870. This action eventually resulted in the discontinuation of the performance by families of grand masters of kagura songs. Moreover, both the three-night mikagura and the seven-night mikagura rituals were also ended during the Meiji period. Historically, the kagura hikyoku “Hirume” had been performed during the three-night mikagura ritual in the Imperial Palace Shrine, and the kagura taikyoku “Yudate” had been performed during the seven-night mikagura ritual in the Kasuga Taisha Shrine. When both types of mikagura rituals were discontinued after the Meiji Restoration in 1868, the mikagura was diminished in its scale, and kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku faced a dangerous decline by the mid-Meiji period. What sustained the continuity of the performance of these songs was the extension of kagura hikyoku at Ise Jingū in 1889 initiated by Emperor Meiji.

While kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku were not performed at any rites during the first half of the Meiji period, Emperor Meiji played an integral role in extending mikagura and kagura hikyoku to Shikinen Sengū held at Ise Jingū in 1889. The modification and restoration of ancient rituals and practices were in progress since the Jingū Reformation in 1871. This

extension was partly a result of the continuous movement toward restoring the ancient ways of performing court rituals at the imperial palace as well as of studies made of ancient practices of rituals at Ise Jingū since the end of shogunate. Moreover, both Emperor Meiji and Prince Asahiko (who served as a Supreme Celebrant of Ise Jingū) promoted and supported the extension in collaboration with the government.

On February 15, 1889, one official document, sent from the Minister of the Imperial Household Ministry to the Grand Master of Ceremonies of the Imperial Household Ministry, communicated the will of the Emperor:

His Majesty instructs, “For the rites of renewal at Ise Jingū, kagura [mikagura] and hikyoku should be performed,” which you are informed.

[From] Minister of the Imperial Household Ministry Hisamoto Hjiikata

[To] Grand Master of Ceremonies of the Imperial Household Ministry Naohiro Nabeshima¹

In other words, it was Emperor Meiji who ordered the performance of mikagura and kagura hikyoku at Ise Jingū in 1889. Jun’ichi Kamada (1923-2014), a former master of the board of ceremonies of the Imperial Household Agency and a distinguished scholar of Shinto studies, also documented the Emperor Meiji’s initiative for the extension of this sacred ritual music. He analyzed a similar document sent by the Minister of the Interior to Ise Jingū on March 14, 1889, which stated:

His Majesty instructs, "For the rites of renewal at Ise Jingū, mikagura and kagura hikyoku will be performed,” and I deliver this.

[From] Minister of Interior Masayoshi Matsukata

[To] Jingū shichō [Administration of Ise Jingū]

According to Kamada, then, that it was not the priests of Ise Jingū who initially planned the performance of mikagura and kagura hikyoku at Ise Jingū but the Emperor.² On the other hand, a

¹ “Mikagura-roku Meiji 3-Taishō 8 (Record on mikagura from 1870-1919), 11803.”

² Jun’ichi Kamada, “Sengyo go no mikagura ni tsuite (About the sacred music ritual held after the rite of transferring the sacred object at Ise Jingū),” *Kōgakkanshigaku*, 22 (2008): 53–71.

former priest of Ise Jingū, Norifumi Shimazu (b.1967), analyzed Chief Priest Sokubun Kashima's petition for the performance of mikagura and kagura hikyoku at Ise Jingū, submitted to the Minister of the Interior on March 2, 1889. Shimazu argues that the priests of Ise Jingū initially planned the extension of mikagura and kagura hikyoku, and Emperor Meiji approved it.³

In my view, it was Emperor Meiji and Prince Asahiko who, in tandem, were the first to promote the extension of mikagura and kagura hikyoku at Ise Jingū. The Emperor's strategy was to restore the tradition at Ise Jingū through Prince Asahiko. It is likely that Prince Asahiko was sent to Ise Jingū to restore ancient practices and manners in response to Emperor Meiji's instruction. The Emperor and the Prince shared the determination to re-establish all the rituals of Shikinen Sengū in 1889, based on the ancient practices of Ise Jingū. Moreover, Prince Asahiko was familiar with the court music and initiated a private group of gagaku musicians on January 7, 1881, in order to lend support to court nobles and former court musicians who would then gather privately to practice gagaku.⁴ In addition, he began himself to learn kagura songs on January 26, 1888, and continued to organize a private group of court nobles to practice kagura songs in March, June, and September of 1888. This was his preparation for the extension of mikagura at Ise Jingū in 1889. The Meiji government conducted the administrative work for the extension in response to the imperial order. As a result, Chief Priest Sokubun Kashima at Ise Jingū submitted a petition to extend mikagura and kagura hikyoku on the second of March, 1889. In response to Sokubun Kashima's petition, Masayoshi Matsukata, Minister of the Interior, consulted with the Minister of the Imperial Household Ministry on March 5, 1889:

Chief Priest of Ise Jingū submitted the petition of performing kagura [mikagura] at Shikinen Sengū. As Ministry of the Interior supervises this matter, I humbly consult with you about transferring the petition and this matter to your Ministry.
[From] Minister of the Interior Masayoshi Matsukata

³ Shimazu, *Jingū gagaku no dentō* (Gagaku tradition of Ise Jingū).

⁴ Kōgakkan University, *Kunishinnō gyōjitsu* (Records of Prince Kuni), 26.

[To] Minister of the Imperial Household Ministry Hisamoto Hijikata⁵

Hisamoto Hijikata responded to Masayoshi Matsukata on March 11, 1889:

There was the petition regarding the performance of mikagura at Shikinen Sengū from the Chief Priest Sokubun Kashima at Ise Jingū. It is granted that the response will be sent. In fact, this petition was already delivered. We have already made an arrangement with Ise Jingū. Thus, this is a response to your inquiry.

[From] Minister of the Imperial Household Ministry Hisamoto Hijikata

[To] Minister of the Interior Masayoshi Matsukata⁶

Emperor Meiji initiated the extension of the performance of mikagura and kagura hikyoku, and the government officials notified each other. Meanwhile, Prince Asahiko had the Chief Priest of Ise Jingū submit a petition to the government, which was granted by the officials. In short, the extension of mikagura and kagura hikyoku at Ise Jingū was completed with the active support of three agents: the Emperor, as the first and main agent, the Jingū priests led by Prince Asahiko, and the relevant government officials.

Evidence of Non-Performance during the First Half of the Meiji Period

The documents examined here were initially written by officials of the Meiji government to determine the individual qualified performers of kagura hikyoku at Ise Jingū in 1889.

However, these documents can also be read to evidence the absence of the performances of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku after the Meiji Restoration. These documents moreover show the extraordinary importance attributed to the court nobles as performers.

In June 1889, officials of the Imperial Household Ministry discussed the performers of kagura hikyoku for the coming October of the same year:

By the imperial command, mikagura and kagura hikyoku will be performed at Shikinen Sengū at Ise Jingū. We made reference to the document of examples of performances submitted separately from this, based on which performers have been decided. The imperial approval will be needed.

⁵ "Mikagura-roku Meiji 3-Taishō 8 (Record on mikagura from 1870-1919), 11803." Section of Meiji 22 (1889).

⁶ Ibid.

The number of performers of mikagura and kagura hikyoku at Ise Jingū:
 Lead and second singers—two nobles
Wagon and flute—one noble
Hichiriki—one senior court musician
 Chorus—eleven: senior court musician and court musicians
 In total: fifteen⁷

The same document refers to the performances of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku on two dates six years apart:

Performers of kagura taikyoku [“Yudate”] at the Kasuga Taisha Shrine:
 Lead singer: Arinaga Ayanokōji
 Backup singer: Motomasa Jimyōin
Wagon: Kin’isa Yotsutsuji
 Flute: Kin’isa Yotsutsuji
Hichiriki: Suesuke Abe
 Chorus: ten
 In total: fifteen
 March 18, Bunkyū 2 (1862)

Performers of the mikagura ritual at the Imperial Palace Shrine [in Kyoto] and kagura hikyoku [“Hirume”]
 Singers: Arinaga Ayanokōji
 Arikazu Ayanokōji
 Flute: Kinyoshi Yotsutsuji
Wagon: Kinyasu Yotsutsuji
Hichiriki: one
 Chorus: several⁸
 September 7, Keiō 4 (1868)

Performers of the mikagura ritual at the Imperial Palace Shrine today
 Twenty-four: senior court musician and court musicians⁹

The officials of the government referred to two precedents for the performances of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku. This means that, from the vantage point of 1889, the last performance of kagura taikyoku was March 18, 1862, and for kagura hikyoku, September 7,

⁷ “Mikagura-roku Meiji 3-Taishō 8 (Record on mikagura from 1870-1919), 11803.” Section of Meiji 22 (1889).

⁸ According to “Keiō yonen mikagura hikyoku ikken,” Arinaga was the lead singer and Arikazu was the second singer. While eight court nobles served the mikagura ritual as the chorus on September 7, Keiō 4 (1868), court musicians served as the chorus in Ise Jingū in October 1889. “‘Keiō yonen mikagura hikyoku ikken (The sacred music ritual of 1868),’ in Ayanokōji kyūzō gakusho (Musical manuscripts formerly owned by the Ayanokōji family), 761-1 [i] 63-100” Tenri, Japan, Tenri University library.

⁹ “Mikagura-roku Meiji 3-Taishō 8 (Record on mikagura from 1870-1919), 11803.” Section of Meiji 22 (1889).

1868. Hence both were performed before the Meiji Restoration. Therefore, it can be said that kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku were not performed after the Meiji Restoration at least until 1889 and that the extension of kagura hikyoku at Ise Jingū in 1889 resulted in sustaining the performance of kagura hikyoku.

Restored Role of Court Nobles as Performers of Kagura Hikyoku

As a result of accepting the preceding examples for the performance of thus kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku, three former court nobles were selected by the Meiji government to perform the vocal, *wagon*, and flute parts of kagura hikyoku in its extension at Ise Jingū in 1889. For the *hichiriki* and the chorus parts, former hereditary musicians were appointed, who were court musicians of the Music Department of the Imperial Household Agency.¹⁰ This action shows that former court nobles were selected to sing and play the *wagon*, which had been the traditional practice before the start of the Meiji period. Although the Meiji government terminated the hereditary occupations of court nobles in 1870, and court nobles ceased to perform kagura songs after the early Meiji period, nonetheless the lead singer, the second singer, and the *wagon* player were all selected from former court nobles. Thus, the traditional system was restored, and the only change that transpired was that the performers of the chorus were now court musicians rather than court nobles.

Of interest is the reason that court musicians were not selected to be the lead and second singers of kagura hikyoku. In fact, court musicians from Osaka and Nara were not familiar with mikagura and kagura hikyoku before the Meiji Restoration. However, there were court musicians who had sung kagura songs at the Imperial Palace Shrine for centuries, and who were members of one of the oldest families of hereditary musicians, the Ōno family of Kyoto. Members of the

¹⁰ Ibid.

Ōno family comprised the majority of musicians in the music department of the Imperial Household Ministry. Some members of the Ōno family could have learned kagura hikyoku and performed it, but this was not the case in 1889. Kagura hikyoku was exclusively performed by court nobles, and was passed down by court nobles, and none of the court musicians (including Ōno family members) were allowed to sing kagura hikyoku. As a result of the Emperor's dictate, the important role of court nobles as performers of kagura hikyoku was reclaimed. Court nobles were regarded as the most appropriate performers of kagura hikyoku by Emperor Meiji, the government, and Prince Asahiko.

On June 13, 1889, the government finally selected actual performers of kagura hikyoku for the following October:

By the imperial command, mikagura and kagura hikyoku will be conducted at Shikinen Sengū of Ise Jingū. The notice of appointment will be sent to those performers.

Second singer: Shigetomo Ōhara

Lead singer: Arikazu Ayanokōji

Wagon: Kinyasu Muromachi

Flute: same as *wagon*

Hichiriki: Suenaga Tōgi¹¹

Among the performers at this event, only the *hichiriki* performer was a court musician; all of the others were court nobles. Before the Meiji Restoration, Suenaga Tōgi had been performing *hichiriki* at the mikagura ritual held at the Imperial Palace Shrine in Kyoto. He belonged to the Abe clan whose house profession was performing *hichiriki* at the Imperial Palace. In other words, all five selected performers of kagura hikyoku were exactly the same members who used to perform those same sacred songs before the Meiji Restoration. The traditional practice was not changed but reinstated.

On June 17, 1889, the Imperial Household Ministry sent a notice to Arikazu Ayanokōji and Shigetomo Ōhara,¹² in which the former was instructed to pass down kagura hikyoku to the

¹¹ “Mikagura-roku Meiji 3-Taishō 8 (Record on mikagura from 1870-1919), 11803.” Section of Meiji 22 (1889).

latter, and the latter was instructed to receive kagura hikyoku from the former. These notices obviously show that Shigetomo Ōhara had not yet received kagura hikyoku at that time.

Needless to say, Arikazu was from a distinguished family of grand masters of kagura songs. The traditional way of passing down kagura hikyoku in person continued in 1889.

On October 2, 1889, the rite of the transfer of Amaterasu was completed at Kōtaijingū¹³ at night. On October 3, 1889, the rite of the imperial offerings was held during the daytime. On that night, the mikagura ritual and the performance of kagura hikyoku were conducted. Likewise, on October 5, the rite of transferring the deity Toyouke no Ōmikami at Toyoukedaijingū¹⁴ was held. The rite of the imperial offerings was held, and the mikagura ritual and the performance of kagura hikyoku were conducted in the same manner.

Besides this extension of kagura hikyoku to Ise Jingū, it is noteworthy that although none of court musicians served as the lead or second singers of kagura hikyoku and other kagura songs, they served as a chorus and sang kagura songs with the court nobles. This was newly established after the Meiji Restoration as before Meiji Restoration, the chorus had exclusively consisted of court nobles. Both the traditional practice and the reorganized system sustained the survival of kagura hikyoku during the Meiji period.

In sum, Emperor Meiji as a principal agent, the government, court nobles, and court musicians collaborated in support of performing mikagura and kagura hikyoku at Ise Jingū in 1889. This performance reinstated the line of continuity of the tradition after its lapse during the first half of the Meiji period.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Kōtaijingū is the official name for one of the two main sanctuaries of Ise Jingū where Amaterasu Ōmikami is enshrined. It is also called Naikū.

¹⁴ Toyoukedaijingū is the official name for one of the two main sanctuaries of Ise Jingū where ToToyoke no Ōmikami is enshrined. It is also called Gekū.

Case 2: Adaptive Management

In this second case, Emperor Meiji's adaptive management to preserve kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku is examined by comparing the government's strategy. Emperor Meiji and the government shared the same goal, which was to continue the performance of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku, but their concerns and strategies were slightly different. To Emperor Meiji, the performance of kagura hikyoku at Ise Jingū in 1889 did not completely ensure the persistence of kagura hikyoku into the future. After 1889, while the government depended on the musical scores to preserve the tradition and was less concerned about shifting performers to court musicians and simplifying the music, Emperor Meiji placed a great importance upon the oral tradition, the complexity of the music and the details of its performance. He also wanted to restore the court nobles' status as performers of kagura hikyoku.

Emperor Meiji's intention was to prevent kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku from losing its core features: singing voicelessly, borrowing melodies, and the lead singer's prayer. Throughout the history of the songs, the musical and ritual content of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku had been exclusively passed down orally from a master to a disciple among court nobles. Emperor Meiji was aware of the limit of replacing the oral tradition with the musical scores without the court nobles' active involvement.

The Government's Strategy: Distortion or Reformation?

The Meiji government aimed to preserve the tradition of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku through the maintenance and safe-keeping of the musical scores, and through arrangements for the shift of performers from court nobles, who had for centuries been the only performers of these sacred songs, to court musicians of the Imperial Household Ministry. The danger of this shift was the potential distortion or loss of essential features of the performance of

kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku. The government sought to sustain the songs in their notated form but neglected to understand how the replacement of long-standing court noble performers by appointed court musicians could affect the performance nuances and threaten the essence of these sacred songs—and thus their continuity.

In February 1890, Prince Asahiko requested the performance of mikagura at Kannamesai at Ise Jingū for the Minister of the Interior.¹⁵ Kannamesai is the most ancient and important ritual among annual rituals held at Ise Jingū. Prince Asahiko's request was based on the idea that court rituals and major rituals held at Ise Jingū for which the emperor sends the imperial envoy such as this festival are identical in essence. On June 26, 1890, Tomotsuna Iwakura, Director of the Music Department, informed Grand Chamberlain Sanetsune Tokudaiji of Prince Asahiko's request when Iwakura responded to Tokudaiji's inquiry about kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku. In this statement, Tomotsuna Iwakura first explained what happened to kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku during the early Meiji period.

Even though this document is quite long, it is cited in its entirety here, since it shows the viewpoint of an influential official, Tomotsuna Iwakura. The statement is divided it into three sections. In the first section, Tomotsuna Iwakura summarized changes in terms of the agents of performance and of passing down kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku during the early Meiji period:

In responding to your [Tokudaiji's] inquiry about the matters of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku, I humbly state my opinion about it. Kagura [songs] used to be transmitted and performed by court nobles. After the Meiji Restoration, the hereditary occupations such as vocal music and musical instruments as well as the families of kagura songs were terminated. Ayanokōji, Itsutsuji and Ōhara, and a few more nobles were appointed to be performers of mikagura [in 1870]. Yet, soon [three years later in 1873], their appointment was ended. As for kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku, their manuscripts and musical scores that had been passed down among selected families were submitted [to the government], and court musicians who are skilled at the music would

¹⁵ “Mikagura-roku Meiji 3-Taishō 8 (Record on mikagura from 1870-1919), 11803.” Section of Meiji 23 (1890).

be allowed to learn them. In 1870, the music department was founded in the Grand Council of State, which set up different ranks of court musicians and governed all matters about the court music. It became a rule that court musicians were to perform the mikagura ritual.¹⁶

Tomotsuna Iwakura explicitly recognized the policy of the government about the change of performers of the mikagura ritual and kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku. The qualified performers of mikagura before the Meiji Restoration were exclusively court nobles, whereas this status of court nobles was re-organized in 1873, and court musicians began to perform the rite of mikagura.

Tomotsuna Iwakura continued to describe the performance of kagura hikyoku at Ise Jingū conducted during the previous year:

In October 1889, at Shikinen Sengū of Kōtaijingū and Toyoukedaijingū, the mikagura ritual and kagura hikyoku were performed for the first time. Fortunately, performers of mikagura and kagura hikyoku consisting of court nobles including Shigetomo Ōhara, Kinyasu Muromachi, and Arikazu Aynokōji as well as a court musician, who were all familiar with kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku. As it has been decided that kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku would be passed down to musically skilled musicians no matter whether they are court nobles or not, when there is no court noble who could perform kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku, there would be no other choice but to pass it down to court musicians to perform it when it is required. Even if there were no court nobles who could be passed down kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku, there are other court musicians present, and gagaku is sustained. Thus, mikagura as well as kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku will never die out.¹⁷

Tomotsuna Iwakura was aware that despite the policy that the skillful court musicians were allowed to learn kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku, they did not learn them when they were sent to Ise Jingū to perform mikagura in 1889. It was because the court nobles who had received kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku were still alive and so were chosen to perform kagura hikyoku. Tomotsuna Iwakura was not worried about the possible danger to the tradition, precisely because of the policy and of the existence of these court musicians. He, further, stated

¹⁶ Ibid., section of Meiji 23 (1890).

¹⁷ Ibid., section of Meiji 23 (1890).

the strategy, already mentioned, of sustaining kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku by preserving the musical scores:

Even if in the future, there was no one among the court nobles who know how to perform kagura hikyoku, there are the musical scores. When it is necessary, the most musically skillful court musician would be selected and be distributed the musical score of kagura hikyoku. In this way, whenever there is the imperial command, kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku could be performed under any situation without interruption. This time, Supreme Celebrant of Ise Jingū submitted the petition of performing the mikagura rite on the night after the ritual of offering sacred food. I request that this petition would be granted. After consulting with the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, I humbly submit my statement regarding the aforementioned matter of the request.
 [From] the Chief Official of the Music Department, Tomotsuna Iwakura
 [To] the Grand Chamberlain, Sanetsune Tokudaiji¹⁸

From the beginning to the end, Tomotsuna Iwakura centered his statement on kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku in terms of their performance, transmission, and musical scores. Although the performers of kagura hikyoku at Ise Jingū in 1889 were the qualified court nobles, Tomotsuna Iwakura anticipated that the future performers would shift to court musicians when there would be no court nobles who would be able to perform the sacred songs. In concluding, he expressed support for Prince Asahiko's request.

After his statement, Tomotsuna Iwakura made an additional comment. He wrote it in red ink, which suggests his keen attention. It is about the importance of the musical scores of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku in association with Ise Jingū:

Regarding the matter of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku, when there is nobody to pass the tradition down to, kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku will be sustained through the musical scores so that kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku will never become extinct. Concerning the matter of performing the rite of mikagura at the harvest festival at Ise Jingū, it will be granted. It has been instructed that whereas it is confirmed that kagura hikyoku is specially performed at Shikinen Sengū, kagura hikyoku will not be performed at the harvest festival at Ise Jingū. Sanetsune Tokudaiji delivered this to Supreme Celebrant of Ise Jingū. That is why I note this additionally.¹⁹

¹⁸ Ibid., section of Meiji 23 (1890).

¹⁹ Ibid., section of Meiji 23 (1890).

In the first half of this note, Tomotsuna asserted that maintaining the musical scores was the best way to avoid discontinuing kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku. He also emphasized the role of court musicians as future performers of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku. These two points are repeatedly found in his various official documents. In a word, this was the government's consistent strategy for sustaining the sacred song tradition.

The second half of this note shows the government's view regarding the appropriate rite for kagura hikyoku. While the mikagura ritual was regarded as appropriate at both Shikinen Sengū and the harvest festival, it is Shikinen Sengū that was approved for the performance of kagura hikyoku. As a result, the mikagura ritual without kagura hikyoku was established as part of the harvest festival in 1890. Along with the establishment of the annual performance of mikagura at the harvest festival, continuing the performance of kagura hikyoku at Shikinen Sengū was confirmed. Ise Jingū became an additional site, outside the imperial palace, for the performance of both mikagura and kagura hikyoku.

Although it was confirmed that kagura hikyoku would be regularly performed at Ise Jingū once every twenty years, which in turn would support the persistence of kagura hikyoku into the future, the government's strategy of depending on both the musical scores and court musicians (without the court nobles' involvement) might have led to the distortion of the tradition.

What would be Missing Without the Court Nobles' Involvement?

Kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku fall into the category of kagura songs but, as secret songs, they are unique. What separates kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku from other kagura songs are three elements: voiceless performance, hidden borrowed melodies from other selected kagura songs, and the lead singer's recitation of the prayer to Amaterasu Ōmikami. With these

elements, the performance functions as one of the most significant Shinto and imperial court rituals. These core elements can be understood by historical documents on kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku written by court nobles.

One of such documents formerly owned by the Ayanokōji Household provides information about those core elements, which both the Ayanokōji and the Jimyōin families had passed down orally, and exclusively to one another throughout the Edo period. No one outside those families knew how to perform these songs. The following excerpts from a manuscript written by Arinaga Ayanokōji (1792-1873)²⁰, offer evidence as to the unique elements. Arinaga wrote this when he received kagura taikyoku from Motonobu Jimyōin (1792-1855) on October 28, Tenpō 7 (1836). Its content is what the Ayanokōji and the Jimyōin families had transmitted to one another since the time of Aritoshi Ayanokōji (1419-1497), one of three central figures of my case studies in chapter 3:

Hikyoku “Hirume”

During the time of Aritoshi [Ayanokōji], “Yudate” was hikyoku and “Hirume” was taikyoku. It was decided at that time that “Yudate” was referred to as taikyoku and “Hirume” as hikyoku. The melody of “Hirume” is the same as the melody of “Sakaki.” “Hirume” should be sung voicelessly so that its melodies are inaudible. A pair of wood clappers is played with sound. The lyrics of “Hirume” that were passed down from Motosada [Jimyōin] to Toshikage [Ayanokōji]: the lead singer sings “*Ikabakari yoki waza shite ka,*” and the second singer sings “*Amateru ya hirume no kami o shibashi todomen*” respectively. Hikyoku is performed after the performance of “Hayauta” and before the performance of “Hoshi.” Before the performance of hikyoku, all performers leave their seats. Performers of hikyoku, who are the lead singer, the second singer, the *wagon* player, the flute player, and the *hichiriki* player, take their seats. The imperial envoy instructs the performance of hikyoku. After the performance of hikyoku, the lead singer moves in front of the bon fire and offers a prayer....²¹

²⁰ Arinaga was the head of the Ayanokōji family who performed kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku as the lead singer during the reigns of four Emperors: Kōkaku, Ninkō, Kōmei, and Meiji. He was one of three central figures of my case studies in chapter 4.

²¹ “‘Taikyoku Denju No Kakitsuke (Notes at the Time of Passing down Kagura Taikyoku),’ in Ayanokōji Kyūzō Gakusho (Musical Manuscripts Formerly Owned by the Ayanokōji Family), 761-1 [i]-63-93” Tenri, Japan, Tenri University Library.

This manuscript continues to document other kagura songs, the manner of playing a pair of wooden clappers, and so forth. This section ends by reporting that this content of this detailed message was received from Motosuke Jimyōin (1658-1714) to Toshimune Ayanokōji (1690-1770) on February Hōei 8 (1711). The following sentence of this manuscript reveals the melody of kagura taikyoku “Yudate”:

Taikyoku “Yudate”
 Its melody is the same as that of “Karakami.”
 This was received from Motosuke [Jimyōin] to Toshimune [Ayanokōji].²²

At the end of the manuscript, Arinaga wrote that all these notes were what had been passed down orally from Toshimune to Munetoki, from Munetoki to Toshisuke, from Toshisuke to Motonobu, and from Motonobu to Arinaga when Arinaga received the tradition of kagura taikyoku from Motonobu. Based on the aforementioned manuscript, the three unique elements of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku can now be summarized.

Voiceless performance

This document notes that kagura hikyoku is sung voicelessly. Kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku began to be voicelessly performed by Aritoshi Ayanokōji in the 15th century.²³ Multiple historical manuscripts on the program of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku note that they should be sung voicelessly. Moreover, not only singers but also players of the instruments of *wagon*, flute, and *hichiriki* should perform kagura hikyoku soundlessly. Voiceless performance does not mean that the performer should just move his mouth or sing the song in his head with his mouth closed. Actually, the lead singer sings physically in the same manner as he would for performing kagura songs. The critical difference is that he produces no vocalized sound; there is

²² Ibid.

²³ Fujii and Yoshioka, *Momozono tenno jitsuroku* (Veritable records of Emperor Momozono). Entry of November 13, Enkyō 4 (1747).

only breathing. In short, it is phonation that is absent. Historically, the actual way of silent performance was not written in the musical scores but was orally transmitted by a teacher. There are no songs other than kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku that are performed without phonation. The songs are so sacred that even the performers must not hear them. The method of voiceless performance makes kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku an ultimate offering to the Shinto deities and requires that they be learned from a teacher in detail and in person.

Borrowing the melodies from other kagura songs

The lyrics of the sacred songs were documented more often in historical manuscripts than was the music. In fact, information about the melodies is scant due to the interest in keeping the songs “secret” and sequestered. However, Arinaga Ayanokōji documented the music for future reference for his descendants and court nobles. He noted that the melody of hikyoku “Hirume” is borrowed from that of “Sakaki” while kagura taikyoku “Yudate” borrows the melody of “Karakami.” Both “Sakaki” and “Karakami” are among the main kagura songs among the 15-17 in total. Before the Meiji period, knowledge of the borrowed melodies had been passed down exclusively from the lead singer to the second singer prior to their performance of kagura hikyoku.

Such borrowing of melodies does not pertain to most kagura songs; only kagura hikyoku “Hirume” and kagura taikyoku “Yudate” feature borrowed melodies. In my view, this system of selecting familiar kagura song melodies for the texts of these most secret and sacred of songs was established in order to ensure the continued performance of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku. The familiarity of the song melodies enhanced the performer’s ability to remember them. Thus, in transmission of the song, the recipient or second singer would be ready immediately to perform the kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku. Any performer who had

mastered the kagura song repertoire was technically capable of singing kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku. This knowledge had to be taught orally and kept strictly secret.

Lead singer's prayer

Except for kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku, there are no other examples of a performer of music reciting a Shinto prayer. Otherwise, it is exclusively a priest's job to recite prayers. But the performance of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku includes the lead singer's prayer as a highlight. Another manuscript formerly held by the Ayanokōji family contains some relevant words of prayer:

[After singing kagura hikyoku,] the lead singer moves to the seat in front of the Shinto deity [Amaterasu Ōmikami] and bows twice. He offers a prayer of *tenka taihei* (May peace reign in the land of Japan 天下泰平) and *kōso gojūmyō gochōkyū* (May the imperial lineage endure long 皇祚 御寿命 御長久). The lead singer bows twice, stands up, and returns to his seat.²⁴

Historically, court nobles who were qualified to perform kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku had higher ranks at the imperial court and were in charge of court rituals. Therefore, it was appropriate for the lead singer to offer a prayer in behalf of the Emperor. This prayer made the performance of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku one of the most important Shinto rituals at the Imperial Palace Shrine. The manner and the words of prayer had to be passed down orally.

Throughout the history of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku, there was a custom that, after passing down the secret songs, the teacher would write a certificate of completion for his student, and the student would write a letter to the teacher as a kind of oath. There was a fixed pattern for the oath, which suggests how carefully and exclusively court nobles had passed down the tradition. This is the oath that the head of Jimyōin family took when he received the tradition of kagura hikyoku from the head of the Ayanokōji family on February 1, Kan'en 3 (1750):

²⁴ “‘Hikyoku gonshi rei (List of performances of kagura hikyoku),’ in Ayanokōji kyūzō gakusho (Musical manuscripts formerly owned by the Ayanokōji family), 761-1 [i]63-95” Tenri, Japan, Tenri University Library.

I have been fully passed down kagura hikyoku “Hirume.” I will not reveal it to anyone even to my son. If I should break my words, I take an oath that I will accept the divine punishment from all the Shinto deities prevailing in Japan.

[From] Munetoki Jimyōin

[To] Toshimune Ayanokōji²⁵

Kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku had been carefully controlled by these two families of grand masters of kagura songs throughout the Edo period. Needless to say, court musicians were never allowed to learn kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku.

Emperor Meiji acknowledged the role of court nobles who had handed down the essential feature of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku over the centuries. The Emperor moved to restore the court nobles’ oral tradition and their role as performers once the government was less concerned with such manners in the mid-Meiji period.

Emperor Meiji’s Adaptive Management

On May 1, 1893, Sanetsune Tokudaiji, the Grand Chamberlain of the Imperial Household Ministry, notified the Grand Master of Ceremonies of the Imperial Household Ministry “unofficially” of Emperor Meiji’s “wish” and “command” that the transmission of kagura to future generations be assured. Tokudaiji recorded these, in his diary, as the emperor’s own words:

Both kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku used to be passed down by hereditary court nobles who specialized in vocal court music. As the system of passing them on by hereditary noble families has been eliminated since the Meiji Restoration, I am afraid that the handing down kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku would eventually die out. For Shikinen Sengū of Jingū and for other occasions as well, the performance of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku will be required. Therefore, it is necessary to pass down both songs either to the descendants of

²⁵ “Kagura hoshikyoku hikyoku taikyoku denjūō tome (Records of certificates of passing down kagura hoshikyoku hikyoku taikyoku),” in Ayanokōji kyūzō gakushō (Musical manuscripts formerly owned by the Ayanokōji family), 761-1 [i]63-167” Tenri, Japan, Tenri University Library.

hereditary nobles or to court musicians who are especially skilled at gagaku while court nobles who hold kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku are still alive.²⁶

Emperor Meiji thought that the reformation had in some respects gone too far and that the principle of restoration should be more zealously applied than so far it had been at the Shinto rites of Ise Jingū and the imperial court. With this in mind, he not only expressed his concern but also gave instructions about how to preserve kagura hikyoku and to keep it alive. Emperor Meiji strongly supported the traditional way of passing down kagura hikyoku orally in person from one qualified court noble to another.

What action Sanetsune Tokudaiji took can be understood from an entry in his diary written twelve days later, dated on May 13, 1893:

The chief official of the music department Iwakura came to my office. His visit was for Emperor Meiji's unofficial command. Kagura taikyoku "Yudate" kagura hikyoku "Hirume": main part and second part. Iwakura consulted about sustaining these two songs. Last time, the families of the Ayanokōji and the Jimyōin were handed down [kagura hikyoku]. *Wagon* and flute [parts of kagura hikyoku] were passed down to the Muromachi. *Hichiriki* [part of kagura hikyoku] was passed down to a court musician. At that time of 1889, Shigetomo Ōhara received kagura hikyoku. There is a report from the Minister of the Navy that at the time of Shikinen Sengū that in 1889 Shigetomo Ōhara urgently received kagura hikyoku in order to perform it.²⁷

Tokudaiji and Iwakura discussed Emperor Meiji's command to sustain kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku. They mentioned the performance of kagura hikyoku at Shikinen Sengū in 1889 and recognized it as the site of transmission and performance of kagura hikyoku.

In the following month of June 1893, Tomotsuna Iwakura submitted an extensive statement to Sanetsune Tokudaiji. In the first half, he expressed his concerns in responding to the Emperor's command:

²⁶ Tokudaiji, "Tokudaiji Sanetsune nikki (Diary of Tokudaiji Sanetsune), C1-149 Copy 3463." Entry of May 1, 1893.

²⁷ Ibid. Entry of May 13, 1893.

Regarding the preservation of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku, there was the imperial command. The system of passing down kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku as a hereditary family profession was terminated in November 1870 after the Meiji Restoration. No matter whether the recipients of the songs are court nobles or not, it was decided that kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku will be passed down to skilled performers. Therefore, when there are no court nobles who are skilled at music, there is no other way but to pass down kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku to non-nobles. However, if we humbly consider the imperial command, kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku should be primarily passed down to court nobles whose hereditary profession was performing and passing down kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku.²⁸

Emperor Meiji and Iwakura shared the same goal—the survival of hikyoku—and their strategies were complementary. While Iwakura intended to preserve kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku in the form of the musical scores, he valued Emperor Meiji’s instruction that this tradition should be passed down in person from court nobles to their descendants. As far as Emperor Meiji was concerned, after twenty-three years had passed since the termination of the hereditary occupations in 1870, court nobles who had kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku transmitted to them were getting fewer and fewer.

On the other hand, Iwakura anticipated a possible threat to the persistence of kagura hikyoku in the future if the change in performers was not completed. He continues:

Yet, in the future if kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku are limited to being passed down to the descendants of court nobles, who used to inherit kagura, or skilled performers of court nobles, or if we leave the situation just as it is like now, it will not be possible at all to preserve kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku forever.²⁹

Iwakura was concerned about the possible decline of the tradition if the qualified performers of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku are not expanded to include court musicians as well as court nobles. What Emperor Meiji articulated was the ideal way to keep the tradition alive, while Tomotsuna Iwakura took action to ensure that a fully enforceable policy was put in place.

²⁸ “Mikagura-roku Meiji 3-Taishō 8 (Record on mikagura from 1870-1919), 11803.” Section of Meiji 26 (1893).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, section of Meiji 26 (1893).

Case 3: Emperor Meiji's Imperial Fund Distributed to Sustain the Tradition

Emperor Meiji's concern and command led in 1894 to the distribution of an imperial fund to the offspring of court nobles to ensure the transmission of kagura hikyoku. The Meiji government conducted the distribution and supervised the transmission in response to the Emperor's directive.

In the second half of his statement dated in June 1893, Tomotsuna Iwakura informed Sanetsune Tokudaiji of the policy of distributing the imperial fund to sustain kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku:

A temporal imperial fund may not fully serve the purpose to permanently sustain kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku. However, as there is the imperial command to preserve kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku, through following the precedent example of distributing the imperial grant to those court musicians who used to belong to the hereditary musician families in order to preserve the court music, the imperial fund for preserving kagura shall be distributed to the nobles of Kinmoto Muromachi, Arikazu Ayanokōji, and Motoaki Jimyōin, as well as Shigetomo Ōhara, who had been already passed down kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku. These court nobles are advised to work hard to sustain the tradition of the kagura music. While they teach their descendants, they should be aware of the potential danger of the decline of the tradition. Distribution of the imperial fund has been decided based on Emperor's aforementioned command. If holders of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku pass away, the imperial grant will be stopped and should be distributed to other court nobles who have already been passed down the tradition.³⁰

The precedent that Iwakura cited is a distribution of the imperial fund among court musicians conducted in 1884. (This distribution continued until 1965.)³¹ Tomotsuna Iwakura arranged a similar policy to preserve kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku in 1894. He concluded the statement:

I humbly request that my petition described above be accepted. Every year, the mikagura ritual is performed at the shrines of the Imperial Palace such as Kashikodokoro and Kōreiden [where the imperial ancestors are enshrined], and in the future, for the rite of transferring Amaterasu Ōmikami at Ise Jingū and for other occasions, kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku will be required to be performed. Therefore, I request to include the

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ See Tsukahara, *Meiji kokka to gagaku*, 197-98.

imperial fund in the budget category of preserving court music in order to preserve kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku.³²

Interestingly, after this extensive statement to Sanetsune Tokudaiji, Tomotsuna Iwakura added one sentence:

Additionally, regarding the matter of preserving kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku, if we do not limit the holders of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku to court nobles, even if we leave the system as it is of now, the tradition will not decline.³³

This addition bears again on Tomotsuna Iwakura's strategy. As the unified musical scores of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku were completed, whenever the performance of kagura taikyoku or kagura hikyoku is commanded, court musicians would be capable of performing it. By contrast, to Emperor Meiji, for whom court nobles were the best choice as performers, Tomotsuna Iwakura suggested that court musicians should learn and perform kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku from the musical scores.

Sanetsune Tokudaiji's diary shows the outcome in an entry of February 20, 1894:

It is decided that the imperial grant of a hundred *yen* will be distributed as a study fund to the families that inherited kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku—Tomoaki Jimyōin, Kinmoto Muromachi—during next five years from this year of Meiji 27 [1894] in order to preserve hikyoku. Ayanokōji has already passed down the kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku to Ōhara. During this period, they have to ardently learn the art of the music. I will notify Kinmoto Muromachi of this appointment. Arikazu Ayanokōji will notify Jimyōin of this, for Jimyōin lives in Kyoto. I will notify Shigetomo Ōhara of his appointment as deputy mentor. I will notify Junior First Rank Ōgimachi of his appointment as Kinmoto Muromachi's mentor to teach him the music.³⁴

Thus, within less than a year after Emperor Meiji's unofficial command was delivered to Tokudaiji, the policy was finally enforced in 1894. The imperial bounty was to be distributed to selected descendants of court nobles for five years. In 1894, Arikazu Ayanokōji was forty-five years old; Shigetomo Ōhara was forty-six; Tomoaki Jimmyōin was thirty; Kinmoto Muromachi

³² "Mikagura-roku Meiji 3-Taishō 8 (Record on mikagura from 1870-1919), 11803." Section of Meiji 26 (1893).

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Tokudaiji, "Tokudaiji Sanetsune nikki (Diary of Tokudaiji Sanetsune), C1-149 Copy 3463." Entry of May 1, 1893.

was twenty-six; Ōgimachi was seventy-five. It was not too late to transmit kagura hikyoku to the next generation.

The emperor's intervention shows how seriously he took his role as the head priest of Shinto and descendant of the tutelary goddess. As he understood it, his role was to sustain the peace and independence of the country by ensuring that kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku would continue to be offered to Amaterasu Ōmikami. Kagura hikyoku had long been the emperors' most intimate prayer and their ultimate offering to the goddess.

Performances of Kagura Hikyoku After 1889

For five years, beginning in 1894, the policy of distributing the imperial fund among court nobles in order to ensure the oral transmission of the sacred songs was a success. As a result, kagura hikyoku was sustained without any interruption during the transitional period from the second half of the Meiji period to the early Shōwa period. While there are records of performances of kagura hikyoku after the mid-Meiji period, there is no record of performance of kagura taikyoku after Meiji Restoration. The following list gives the performances of kagura hikyoku during the transitional period.³⁵ Although example 1 is not a performance of kagura hikyoku, as it demonstrates the importance of court nobles during the Meiji period, it is included in the list. This list also shows that the performers were gradually shifted from court nobles to court musicians. The names of court nobles are underlined by the author while the names not underlined are those of court musicians:

(1) Meiji 33 (1900) Irregular Shikinen Sengū, Kōtaijingū
Performers of the mikagura ritual: Shigetomo Ōhara, Kinmoto Muromachi,
Arikazu Ayanokōji, Suenaga Tōgi, Shiba Fujitsune. Arikazu Aynokōji was sick
and refrained from performing mikagura.³⁶

³⁵ The author created the list based on different sources.

³⁶ "Mikagura-roku Meiji 3-Taishō 8 (Record on mikagura from 1870-1919), 11803." Section of Meiji 33 (1900).

(2) Meiji 42 (1909) Shikinen Sengū, Ise Jingū,
Lead singer: Shigetomo Ōhara; Second singer: Tomoaki Jimyōin; *Wagon*: Kinfuji Muromachi; Flute: Kuzufusa Shiba; *Hichiriki*: Suenaga Tōgi³⁷

(3) Taishō 4 (1915) Enthronement ceremony, Shunkōden (the Imperial Palace Shrine for Amaterasu Ōmikami in Kyoto)
Lead singer: Shigetomo Ōhara; Second singer: Tomoaki Jimyōin; *Wagon*: Kinfuji Muromachi; Flute: Kuzufusa Shiba; *Hichiriki*: Toshiyasu Tōgi³⁸

(4) Showa 3 (1928) Enthronement ceremony, Shunkōden (the Imperial Palace Shrine for Amaterasu in Kyoto)
Lead singer: Shigeakira Ōhara; Second singer: Tadashige Shiba; *Wagon*: Kinfuji Muromachi; Flute: Hirotora Sono; *Hichiriki*: Sueisa Abe³⁹

(5) Showa 4 (1929) Shikinen Sengū, Ise Jingū
Performers of kagura hikyoku: Tadashige Shiba, Toichiro Sono, Tadayuki Ōno, Hisatsune Ōno, Tokiyoshi Bunno, Tadayasu Ōno⁴⁰

This list illustrates four important points in terms of the court nobles' role. First, as example 1 shows, Shikinen Sengū was irregularly held in 1900 due to the damage caused by a fire. Shikinen Sengū, performed at irregular intervals, was conducted along the same lines as the regular rite, and the mikagura ritual was held. However, kagura hikyoku was not performed at the irregularly scheduled rite. Nonetheless, court nobles were sent to conduct the mikagura ritual, and court musicians were sent to assist them.⁴¹ This is indicative of the Emperor Meiji's and the government's regard for court nobles as the most highly qualified performers of kagura songs for Shikinen Sengū of Ise Jingū.

Second, the policy of distributing the imperial fund to selected court nobles was successful. Emperor Meiji's purpose was to sustain the oral traditional and the court nobles' performance. In 1909, Shigetomo Ōhara served as the lead singer of kagura hikyoku while

³⁷ Ibid., section of Meiji 42 (1909).

³⁸ Ibid., section of the Taishō 4 (1915)

³⁹ Naikaku tairei kiroku hensan iinkai, *Shōwa Tairei Yōroku (The record of enthronement ceremony of Emperor Shōwa)* (Tokyo: Naikaku tairei kiroku hensan iinkai, 1931).

⁴⁰ "Shōwa yonen Osaka Asahi Shimbunkiji (Article of Asahi Newspaper of Osaka in 1929)" (Osaka Asahi newspaper, 1929), Ise, Jingū Bunko.

⁴¹ "Mikagura-roku Meiji 3-Taishō 8 (Record on mikagura from 1870-1919), 11803." Entry of September 23, 1900.

Tomoaki Jimyōin served as the second singer at Ise Jingū. Both of them were recipients of the imperial bounty and performed kagura hikyoku again in 1915. Shigetomo Ōhara was a mentor of Tomoaki Jimyōin, and their performances of kagura hikyoku in 1909 and 1915 were a fruitful result of the policy. These two performances sustained the continuity of hikyoku during the second half of the Meiji period and into the Taishō period.

Third, the lead singers and the players of *wagon* until 1928 were all the descendants of the families of court nobles specializing in kagura songs and the *wagon*. The Ōhara and Muromachi families were just two examples of families that preserved the tradition of kagura songs and kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku, with the Ōhara family serving at the imperial palace as performers, and the Muromachi family sustaining the tradition of *wagon* over several centuries as their hereditary occupations. Suetsune Yotsutsuji (1447-1524) was a part of the Muromachi family and performed as the lead singer of kagura songs during the Warring States period. “Muromachi” was the original family name of the Yotsutsuji and, after the Meiji Restoration, they reverted to their original family name. This family’s descendants continued to play kagura hikyoku on the *wagon* in 1889, 1909, 1915, and 1928. This means that despite the government’s policy to terminate the court nobles’ hereditary occupations in 1870, the shift of performers of the lead singer and the *wagon* player of kagura hikyoku did not happen for the next fifty-eight years. The lead singer and the *wagon* player are the most important among the five performers of kagura hikyoku. During this transitional period, the status of the Ōhara and the Muromachi were acknowledged as the most qualified to perform kagura hikyoku. These court nobles’ performances met Emperor Meiji’s ideal.

Fourth, the performers of kagura hikyoku had completely shifted from court nobles to court musicians in Shōwa 4 (1929). All five performers of kagura hikyoku were court musicians

of the Imperial Household Agency. Especially noteworthy is that the chief court musician Tadashige Shiba served as the second singer of kagura hikyoku in 1928. He must have served as the lead singer in 1929. Although there is no official document showing the oral transmission of kagura hikyoku from Shigeakira Ōhara to Tadashige Shiba, it can be assumed that by sitting with the lead singer and serving as the second singer in 1928, Shiba could observe the lead singer's stylized manner and way of singing kagura hikyoku voicelessly and his reciting of the prayer during actual performance.⁴² Thus, the shift took as long as six decades after 1870, but it went smoothly, without distorting the essence of kagura hikyoku.

Unified Musical Scores of Kagura Taikyoku and Kagura Hikyoku

Before Emperor Meiji delivered his command to preserve kagura hikyoku, Tomotsuna Iwakura had planned to preserve it in writing—in the form, that is of a musical score, rather than oral transmission—in order to ensure its continuation. While Tomotsuna Iwakura's plan became effective after the complete shift of performers in Shōwa 4 (1929), during the transitional period from Meiji 22 (1889) through Shōwa 3 (1928), oral transmission in person played a great part. I would like to describe the interplay between the musical score and the traditional way of orally passing down the music during this transitional period.

During the early Meiji period, based on the submitted manuscripts and musical scores of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku, the government assembled the first unified score of kagura taikyoku. This musical score was passed down from Arinaga Ayanokōji to his grandson Arikazu, by the government's instruction, as early as in 1871. At that time, one of the government's documents (*Gosatadome*, 1871) stated that the creation of the unified score of kagura hikyoku

⁴² Throughout the Edo period of the early seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, prior to the performance of kagura taikyoku or kagura hikyoku, when the second singer had not been passed down the knowledge, the lead singer taught the song in demand and gave a certificate of being its holder to the second singer. It is likely that Shigeakira Ōhara passed down kagura hikyoku to Tadashige Shiba in 1928.

would take longer than expected.⁴³ Because of the inaccessibility to documents on the transmission of the unified score of kagura hikyoku, its specific time of creation is unknown.

What can be said is that according to the *Gakkyoku sentei roku from Meiji 3 to Taishō 4* (Record of selected repertoire of music from 1870 to 1915, committed to writing in 1889), housed at the Imperial Archives in Tokyo, among the names of kagura songs to be selected to preserve these names are included at the end of the list of kagura songs: “Kagura taikyoku ‘Yudate’ Kagura hikyoku ‘Hirume.’”⁴⁴ In other words, in 1889 both kagura taikyoku “Yudate” and kagura hikyoku “Hirume” were officially selected to be preserved at the department of gagaku, and their unified scores existed by 1889. When kagura hikyoku was extended and performed at Shikinen Sengū at Ise Jingū in October 1889, the unified score of kagura hikyoku had already been made.

The next performance of kagura hikyoku after 1889 took place at Shikinen Sengū of Ise Jingū in 1909. The government’s official record shows that the unified score of kagura hikyoku was distributed to the five selected performers: Lead singer: Shigetomo Ōhara; Second singer: Tomoaki Jimyōin; *Wagon*: Kinfuji Muromachi; Flute: Kuzufusa Shiba; *Hichiriki*: Suenaga Tōgi.⁴⁵

The performance of kagura hikyoku in 1909 is marked by the complementary contributions of the oral tradition and the musical score. Upon distributing the scores of each part of vocal, *wagon*, flute, and *hichiriki*, the government instructed Shigetomo Ōhara to teach kagura hikyoku to Tomoaki Jimyōin, and instructed Tomoaki Jimyōin to learn kagura hikyoku from

⁴³ “Gosatatodome Meiji 3-12 (Official documents on imperial messages 1870-79), 11987.” Section of Meiji 4 (1871).

⁴⁴ “Gakkyoku sentei roku from Meiji 3 kara Taishō 4 (Record of selected repertoire of music from 1870 to 1915), 26589.”

⁴⁵ “Mikagura-roku Meiji 3-Taishō 8 (Record on mikagura from 1870-1919), 11803.”

Shigetomo Ōhara on September 31, 1909.⁴⁶ Historically, the lead singer passed down kagura hikyoku to the second singer prior to the performance. Both this oral tradition and the unified musical score were, in two complementary ways, effective in sustaining kagura hikyoku, without losing its core features into the future.

When the performance of kagura hikyoku was decided upon for the enthronement ceremony in Taisho 4 (1915), among the five selected performers of kagura hikyoku four were the same performers as those in 1909. They were Shigetomo Ōhara, Tomoaki Jimyōin, Kinfuji Muromachi, Kuzufusa Shiba. Only the *hichiriki* player was different in 1915. In the same document, it is recorded that this *hichiriki* player received the musical score of kagura hikyoku to perform in 1915.⁴⁷ As there is no record that the other four performers of kagura hikyoku received its musical score again in 1915, it is likely that these four performers had kept the same musical score of kagura hikyoku with them since 1909.

The same document evidences that at least both the lead singer and the flute player who performed in 1909 and 1915 had the musical score of kagura hikyoku, even after their performance in 1915. The government's notices were sent to them. First, on July 20, 1918, the Board of Ceremonies sent a notice to Fujitsune Shiba: "We request the former chief court musician, Fujitsune Shiba, to return the score of kagura hikyoku for the flute, which had been given before." Fujitsune Shiba retired in 1918, and upon his retirement, he was asked to return the musical score of kagura hikyoku for the flute. In other words, he had kept it since 1915 or possibly even since 1909. Within three days, Fujitsune Shiba returned the musical score, which

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

is recorded in the same document: “The musical score of kagura hikyoku for the flute was surely returned by the former chief court musician, Fujitsune Shiba, on July 23, 1918.”⁴⁸

Similarly, in 1919, the Board of Ceremonies sent a notice to Shigeakira Ōhara: “We request you to return the musical score of hikyoku for the lead singer, which was given to earl Shigetomo Ōhara in September 1909.” As Shigetomo died in 1918, the notice was sent to his son Shigeakira. It is clearly stated in the same document that Shigetomo did receive the musical score of kagura hikyoku in September 1909. This means that he kept it even after the performance of kagura hikyoku in 1909 and until his death. Considering the fact that his son Shigeakira performed kagura hikyoku as the lead singer in 1928, it is likely that Shigeakira had received kagura hikyoku from his father before Shigetomo died in order to prepare for the future performance while the musical score was still under the Ōhara’s possession.

During this transitional period, the court nobles who taught and learned kagura hikyoku orally in person performed it repeatedly. Also, the unified scores of kagura hikyoku for vocal, the *wagon*, the flute, and the *hichiriki* were completed, and the performers became the holders of kagura hikyoku until they passed away or retired from the Imperial Household Ministry. Both the court nobles’ oral tradition and the musical scores sustained the performance of kagura hikyoku without distorting it. Those who performed repeatedly must have revised the musical scores of each part and added notes for future performers so that the musical scores would primarily function to fully provide the core features. In other words, the Emperor Meiji’s adaptive management and the government’s preparation for the worst functioned as complementary strategies for attaining the same goal of continuing the performance of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku into the future.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

Conclusion

After the Meiji Restoration in 1868, kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku were not performed during the first half of the Meiji period. In 1889, Emperor Meiji sent court nobles to perform kagura hikyoku at Shikinen Sengū of Ise Jingū. This became the first performance of kagura hikyoku during the Meiji period, twenty-one years after its onset. Four years after this performance, in 1893 Emperor Meiji expressed his concern about the danger of the decline of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku and commanded that kagura hikyoku be passed down to descendants of the appropriate court nobles. While Tomotsuna Iwakura had a plan to preserve kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku in the form of the musical scores, Iwakura and Tokudaiji first followed the imperial order. As a result, the government distributed imperial fund to selected descendants of the relevant court nobles for five years. This policy was fruitful. During the transitional period, kagura hikyoku was performed at Ise Jingū in 1909 and 1929, and at the Imperial Palace Shrine in 1915 and 1928.

This transitional period is marked by the gradual shift of performers of kagura hikyoku from court nobles to court musicians of the Imperial Household Agency. Since the complete shift in 1929, kagura hikyoku has been passed down mainly by means of its musical score. Kagura hikyoku is no longer taught orally in person. Today, all performers of kagura hikyoku receive the musical score of their part a short period prior to the performance and have to return it immediately after the performance. It is strictly forbidden for them to talk about the score even with other court musicians. Moreover, as court musicians retire as civil servants at the age of sixty-five, there is no guarantee that a previous second singer would be able to serve at the next performance of kagura hikyoku. Therefore, all selected performers of kagura hikyoku have to understand how to perform by the musical score. Tomotsuna Iwakura's strategy to preserve

kagura hikyoku in the form of the musical score and by court musicians has been effectively practiced.

Still, the traditional way of learning kagura songs was not lost. Emperor Meiji's instruction to restore the traditional way of oral transmission during the mid-Meiji period was effective in completing the shift of performers without simplifying the music of kagura hikyoku. And, moreover, the oral tradition has not been lost. When court musicians of the Imperial Household Agency learn kagura songs today, all kagura songs, excluding kagura hikyoku, are orally taught in person without the musical scores. After mastering kagura songs by ear, court musicians are allowed to look at the musical scores. Therefore, by the time a court musician is appointed to sing kagura hikyoku, he is able to fully understand the content of the musical score and deliver the complexity of the music through voiceless singing.

Of greatest significance is that the performance of kagura hikyoku was never interrupted. This sacred, secret, and silent song has been successfully sustained for a millennium while retaining its essential features as a continuing expression of homage from the Emperor to Amaterasu Ōmikami. The actions of three agents—Emperor Meiji, Ise Jingū, and the government—collaboratively sustained the continuity of kagura hikyoku, a process that can be understood as a successful demonstration of adaptive management, the capacity to embrace the presence of external turmoil but to rise above it in order to maintain its place in Shinto sacred ritual.

Indeed, kagura hikyoku encountered changes such as the shift of performers, the decrease of the number of the kagura secret songs, and the manner of transmission, but its function has survived as central to the Emperor's prayer for the well-being of the people in Japan. At the 62nd Shikinen Sengū held in Ise Jingū in 2013, the 125th and current emperor sent twelve court

musicians to Ise Jingū, and five of them performed kagura hikyoku as the imperial homage to Amaterasu. Kagura hikyoku is highly resilient. Kagura hikyoku will be performed at the 63rd Shikinen Sengū in 2033 and at the enthronement ceremony for the 126th emperor. Along with the continuity of the imperial lineage, efforts will be expended, as they have been, historically, to sustain the performance of kagura hikyoku into the future.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

The emperor's principal task is to conduct Shinto rituals according to the court ritual calendar and other selected significant ceremonies, doing so in order to pray to Amaterasu Ōmikami and the Shinto deities (kami) for the well-being of the people, society, and nature of Japan. As significant Shinto rituals, the performance of mikagura, kagura hikyoku, and kagura taikyoku is required by the Emperor at the rites of coronation at the Imperial Palace Shrine, Shikinen Sengū of Ise Jingū, and at the site of the withering trees of Kasuga Taisha Shrine. Historically, those selected families of court nobles had passed down kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku to court nobles inside and outside their own families. Although the Ōnin War (1467-77) destroyed the musical scores, court attires, and musical instruments of the court nobles, and disrupted as well some of the family lines, strenuous efforts were made in pursuit of their task to assist the emperor in the maintenance of Shinto rituals. The interruption of the imperial rituals had the potential to lead to negative effects on the people, the country, and the emperor, but the court nobles managed to perform kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku without fail throughout centuries. They sustained the musical scores, the hidden knowledge of the melodies, the procedure of the silent performance, and Shinto prayers. In short, multiple agents consisting of the emperors, court nobles, court musicians, priests of Ise Jingū and Kasuga Taisha Shrine, and officials of the government collaborated together not only because conducting the rituals was their primary duty but also because they believed in the effect of the rituals to empower Amaterasu Ōmikami.

This dissertation has demonstrated the formation of the resilient characteristics of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku over the centuries that constitute the historic eras of medieval and modern Japan. Central to the effort is an understanding of the strategies and motives of the

multiple agents—emperors, court nobles, hereditary musicians, the officials of the Meiji government, and the priests of Ise Jingū—who have sustained the most sacred and secret Shinto ritual music since the twelfth century. The concept of resilience, originally introduced, defined, and described in the field of ecology, fits well in this study of the continuity of the kagura secret songs. Resilience is not only “the capacity to absorb shocks and still maintain function” but also “concerns the capacity for renewal, re-organization and development, which has been less in focus but is essential for the sustainability discourse.”¹ The kagura secret songs represent both aspects of resilience. Kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku have survived by absorbing unexpected historic events and changes, restoring the interrupted noble family, and re-organizing the traditional way of transmission.

Importantly, kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku have never lost their key features of the emperor’s prayer and the silence of voiceless performance, so valued by Shinto aesthetics. Kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku have been kept alive and intact despite the two great crises in Japanese history that are documented within this dissertation, and thus exhibit resilience to a very great degree. Titon emphasizes the importance of adaptive management to the sustainability of a music culture, and asserts that “Adaptive management is succeeding in strengthening resilience and decreasing vulnerability in social groups facing undesirable change.”² It is during the historic Japanese crises that kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku showed great resilience through the strategies of multiple agents; this can be understood as successful adaptive management of these sacred songs which are central to Shinto ritual.

In the face of the first crisis during the Warring States period, from the fifteenth through the early seventeenth centuries, kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku were sustained by emperors

¹ Carl Folke, “Resilience: The Emergence of a Perspective for Social–ecological Systems Analyses,” *Global Environmental Change* 16, no. 3 (2006), 253.

² Titon, “Sustainability, Resilience, and Adaptive Management for Applied Ethnomusicology,” 158.

and court nobles in a modified manner of transmission. Traditionally, the head of the Ayanokōji family was authorized to transmit kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku to other court nobles and to perform them as the lead singer. However, due to the 91-year interruption of the Ayanokōji's family line and the disturbance of other family lines like the Jimyōin, court nobles such as Takayasu Washino'o, his father Suetsune Yotsutsuji, and Yukinaka Itsutsuji sustained the traditions of these songs. After the end of the Warring States period, the Ayanokōji family was restored, and the Jimyōin family was able to prevent the discontinuity of the family line through the support of other court nobles. The restoration and support of the emperors and the nobles can be best understood as practices of adaptive management. As a result, these agents never failed in fulfilling their task to continue the performances of the court rituals under any and all circumstances.

The second crisis occurred at the time of modernization following the Meiji Restoration in 1868. Due to the urgent necessity of building a modern nation in order to maintain peace and independence of the country, the Meiji government and Emperor Meiji sought to enhance the modernization and westernization of Japan while also sustaining the essential features of traditional practices that included the kagura songs, kagura taikyoku, and kagura hikyoku. The significant change that kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku faced was the termination of the hereditary occupations of court nobles as performers of the songs, which resulted in the shift of agency in the transmission of the kagura songs, kagura taikyoku, and kagura hikyoku. Through the Meiji government's instruction, performers of the kagura songs were shifted from court nobles to court musicians of the music department of the Imperial Household Agency. This shift decreased the vulnerability of kagura songs as the continuity of the songs would no longer be dependent upon the family line of the selected noble families.

While the shift of performers of the kagura songs from the nobility to court musicians was completed during the early Meiji period, the shift of performers of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku took much longer. In fact, the shift transpired across the Meiji and Taishō periods (1868-1912), and was finally completed in Shōwa 4 (1929). During this transitional period, Emperor Meiji explicitly showed his concern that kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku would likely discontinue and instructed the government to take action to preserve the songs. In response to the Emperor's edict, the government established a policy to distribute imperial funds to selected descendants of the court nobles in order to sustain the tradition without distorting it. Emperor Meiji played an integral role in sustaining kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku as a living practice, and his work to do so can be understood as successful adaptive management. In the two historic crises of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku during the Warring States period and the modern period, the emperors were the central agents who promoted adaptive management of the songs.

When Emperor Meiji initiated the performance of kagura hikyoku as part of the rites of renewal at Ise Jingū in 1889, Jingū priests were honored to have the performance, as they had long recognized the common thread of the imperial court rituals and the Jingū rituals. Rituals of both venues are dedicated to the tutelary deity of Japan, Amaterasu Ōmikami, to whom the emperor prays for the peace and prosperity of the country. The additional performance of kagura hikyoku at Ise Jingū strengthens the resilience of kagura hikyoku and sustains the continuity of the song to this day.

There is an aspect that might be regarded as a decline of the kagura songs, at least from the viewpoint of the number of the secret songs that were retained for performance. Over the centuries, the kagura secret songs decreased in number from three to two, and then from two to

one. Before the Meiji Restoration in 1868, there had been three secret songs: “Miyabito,” “Yudate,” and “Hirume.” By 1889, the music department of the Imperial Household Agency preserved only “Yudate” and “Hirume.” In practice, only “Hirume” is actually performed today, as “Yudate” has not been performed since the period of the Meiji Restoration. The decision had been made by the Meiji government to continue the regular performance of “Hirume,” due to its direct link to Amaterasu Ōmikami and the sacred mirror (an important component of the imperial regalia).

On the other hand, revival of the other two secret songs is possible in the future, as their musical scores have been preserved at the Imperial Household Agency. The unified musical score of kagura taikyoku “Yudate” was completed during the Meiji period. The Kasuga Taisha Shrine continues to be the venue for the sacred music ritual,³ and it is too early now to judge whether there is a diminishing number of performances of “Yudate.” Across the millennium, the tradition of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku has fluctuated greatly in terms of transmission and performance, however, what matters most is that kagura hikyoku “Hirume” persists and functions without any break until today. There is every reason to expect that the song will continue into the future. The present 125th emperor conducts Shinto rituals at the Imperial Palace as the head priest of Japan, just as did the preceding 124 emperors, praying for peace and prosperity of Japan. There is every reason to expect that kagura hikyoku will be performed at the enthronement ceremony of the 126th emperor, and at the 63rd Shikinen Sengū of Ise Jingū in 2033.

³ Kasuga Taisha Shrine, e-mail message to author, October 7, 2014. Kasuga Taisha Shrine restored the annual sacred music ritual in 1995 after the priests of the shrine had learned all kagura songs, except the secret songs, from court musicians of the Imperial Household Agency. Since then, the priests perform the sacred music ritual for a night every fall. It is a hidden ritual and not open to the general public.

As this dissertation is a first attempt to analyze primarily kagura hikyoku from an ethnomusicological perspective in Japan and the West, further research is warranted. For example, while Schippers' concept of key five domains of sustainability⁴—"systems of learning music; musicians and communities; contexts and constructs; infrastructure and regulations; and media and the music industry"—is useful in examining the music ecology of kagura hikyoku, the objective of this research has not been to test Schippers' key five domains. As a future project, the musical ecology of kagura hikyoku may be further established by applying Schipper's concept and comparing the five elements of kagura hikyoku with his concept in order to develop the understanding of the resilience, the sustainable future of kagura hikyoku, and adaptive management.

Furthermore, this dissertation does not include analysis of kagura hikyoku during the Edo period (1615-1868). This was a very stable period when Japan was finally united and governed by the Tokugawa bakufu. Kagura hikyoku did not face any sort of crisis during this time; however, comparing the resilience of kagura hikyoku between the periods of instability and stability would provide a fuller picture and illuminate the resilient system of kagura hikyoku.

Although this dissertation focuses on mainly kagura hikyoku "Hirume," two other kagura secret songs—"Miyabito" and "Yudate"—had been performed for centuries before the Meiji Restoration and are also important. Examining their resilience by exploring why these two secret songs have discontinued after the Meiji Restoration is important to understand the sustainable future of kagura hikyoku.

A fourth approach of future research is the silence of music in various religious contexts. This could be explored by comparing genres with societal factors, religious beliefs and ritual

⁴ Schippers and Grant, *Sustainable Futures for Music Cultures: An Ecological Perspective*; Huib Schippers, *Facing the Music: Shaping Music Education from a Global Perspective* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

practices. The silent performance of music sounds like an oxymoron, but it is often associated with values of sacredness and the worship of deities. A silent performance method was established for kagura hikyoku around the fifteenth century in Japan and continues today. While similar examples are scarce, other examples of exhibiting the value of silence in music exist in Indian yoga philosophy and in an anecdote of Confucius. A distinguished scholar of ancient Sanskrit epics, Professor Alfred Hildebeitel responded to my inquiry about similar examples to the silent performance:

In response to your questions I know of no silent singing to a deity in an Indian temple, but in Stuart Blackburn's book (titled something like *Beyond the Drama House*⁵) he describes a Rama temple in Kerala where the entirety of a long Ramayana performance is done with no other audience than Rama [the seventh avatar of the Hindu god Vishnu].⁶ Also, private Vedic recitation can be done silently, and is called *svadhyaaya*. *The Laws of Manu* has many rules about it. You could read Patrick Olivelle's translation.⁷

The topic of the absence of audience raised by Blackburn's research is common with the performance of kagura hikyoku. Comparing the common feature of kagura hikyoku such as the absence of audience, silent performance, secrecy, and performative expression of the divine across music cultures will be fascinating.

Lastly, a socio-ecological approach to the resilience of Shinto and the imperial lineage would provide clues to an adaptive management system that would sustain kagura hikyoku into the future. In a broader perspective, resilience can be viewed as a Japanese cultural trait, because it is not only kagura secret songs that are resilient; waka, noh, and the tea ceremony are also examples of resilient traditions in Japan. In my opinion, the root of the resilience of Japanese society is the enduring imperial line of one dynasty. We can learn how to keep musical cultures

⁵ Stuart H. Blackburn, *Inside the Drama-House: Rama Stories and Shadow Puppets in South India* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1996).

⁶ This is to say that the oldest Sanskrit epic, the Ramayana, is performed for the spiritual presence of Vishnu or Rama, but without the presence of an audience.

⁷ Alfred Hildebeitel, e-mail message to author, December 20, 2015.

in other part of the world, from the historic periods of activity in Japan in their preservation of kagura secret songs. It might be effective to link music with religious forms, or one of Schippers' five key domains, "contexts and constructs," which are the underlying values and attitudes setting musical directions. For the imperial lineage is the *raison d'être* of kagura secret songs, and the underlying values are Japanese people's reverence to the emperor's primary role as the head priest and the emperor's commitment to pray for the people and the country. In this way, the imperial line of one dynasty has endured in Japan for more than two millenniums, and kagura hikyoku has been offered as the emperor's serenade to Amaterasu Ōmikami in the same manner since the twelfth century.

Postlude

One of the major challenges that I faced in completing this work was to understand the viewpoints of historic figures. I often had heated discussions with the Jingū priest who helped me to decipher historical manuscripts. When I read the manuscripts of the Meiji government about the secret songs, for example, I said to the priest, “It must have been disastrous for those court nobles whose families had been performing kagura secret songs for centuries, when the Meiji government terminated their hereditary occupations.” The priest emphatically responded, “I don’t think so. Arinaga and the other court nobles who served in the Meiji government committed themselves to creating unified scores of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku, and they tried to sustain the tradition with a strong sense of responsibility. You should not judge their feelings based on your own current perspective.” In the end, I realized that my interpretation was influenced by my own nostalgic feelings about the fact that kagura songs, kagura taikyoku, and kagura hikyoku are no longer performed by court nobles today. The priest suggested that I might try to understand historic figures from their own perspectives. Doing so has not been easy for me, because knowing the historical outcomes, I also unknowingly have tended to see the past through the lens of the present.

As another example, I offered my comments to the same priest on the fate Shikinen Sengū in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: “The vicennial [occurring once every 20 years] renewal at Ise Jingū was discontinued during the Warring States period. Is that right?” He asked me back: “Do you really assume that the Jingū priests of that period thought that Shikinen Sengū was discontinued?” I did not understand what he was trying to say and replied, “Yes, because after 1462, Shikinen Sengū of Kōtaijingū was not conducted until 1585. Similarly, after 1434, Shikinen Sengū of Toyoukedaijingū was not conducted until 1563. In each case, there was a

discontinuity of more than a century.” He countered, “No, it’s not like that. The priests during that period conducted Karidono Sengū [the rite of repair]¹ and made their utmost efforts to try to conduct Shikinen Sengū. Therefore, in their mind, they never thought the ritual was discontinued. The priests did not know what would happen after their lives, as they simply tried to sustain the tradition under difficult situations. You should avoid casually uttering the word ‘discontinuity’ without paying attention to their efforts and to the views of these priests. Otherwise, your ‘historical’ study could end up becoming a study of contemporary people’s views.” In short, understanding historical figures and their challenges from the inside is crucial. Hence this contemporary priest has been engaged for years in reading diaries and manuscripts written by priests of the pre-modern period. And I have noticed that he sustains not only the traditions of Ise Jingū but also tries to carry on the feelings about which he has read of particular priests from centuries past.

One day, in September 2016, the priest who was helping me handed me a copy of an essay and explained, “This is a recently published essay written by the current daigūji [supreme priest] of Ise Jingū.² He precisely describes the essence of the Jingū rituals and the preceding priests’ efforts.” The daigūji is a member of the imperial family, as have been the preceding supreme priests of Ise Jingū. He was an engineer and C.E.O. of an information-technology company and became supreme priest in 2007, at the age of sixty-two. Unlike the rest of the Jingū priests who begin serving at Ise Jingū in their early twenties, the supreme priest usually arrives in his late fifties or early sixties and learns manners and rituals from the senior priests. In other words, the current daigūji had not been an expert on Shinto before he came to Ise Jingū.

¹ Karidono Sengū is a rite of transferring the sacred mirror from the main sanctuary building to the temporary built one in order to repair the main sanctuary building. The Jingū priests conducted it four times at Kōtaijingū between 1462 and 1585, and eight times at Toyokedaijingū between 1434 and 1563.

² Naotake Takatsukasa, “Ise Jingū daigūji ooini kataru (Narrative of the Supreme Priest of Ise Jingū),” *Bungei Shunjū*, August 2016, 136–47.

The daigūji describes in the essay what he had learned about the Jingū rituals after his arrival. The priest who showed me the essay specifically pointed out the daigūji's explanation of "best effort." Based on his expertise as an engineer, the daigūji distinguishes between the important concept of "best effort" and that of "maximum effort." The daigūji's words and the priest's additional comments speak not only to their personal feelings, but also to the intentions of the priesthood of Ise Jingū across the centuries. The daigūji compared the Jingū priests' shared belief to these engineering concepts and pointed out their common thread:

I have learned that the priests of Jingū have continued to sustain traditions with a belief that, even though they may be unable to accomplish certain aspects of the rituals during their time, as long as they exert their utmost efforts, the traditions would continue unabated. In the field of engineering, there are concepts of "maximum effort" and "best effort." While the extreme concept of "maximum effort" implies that failure to meet the absolute standard of value means zero, the concept of "best effort" implies that making the utmost and best effort is most important. In engineering, if we apply the former, we would be unable to produce anything. Like engineers, the Jingū priests have valued the latter.

The priest continued with an anecdote: "We prepare the divine treasures for the vicennial renewal. It is natural that we want to procure those of the highest quality. However, when it is not possible to do that, we do not have the choice to stop procuring them. We invariably procure them. As the daigūji said, doing our utmost effort is essential." I have understood that "best effort" means producing as efficiently as possible within reasonable limits, as opposed to the theoretically possible "maximum effort" that might demand an unrealistic use of resources. The daigūji then goes on to disclose the essence of Ise Jingū:

What we should never change is our invisible essence, which is a universal prayer for the well-being of the people and the nation. This essence of the Jingū rituals has never changed over millennia. In order to sustain this essence, the other material aspects of the traditions keep being updated. Even if we become unable to continue certain things, we can always restore them when technologies develop or society changes in the future. I understand that this principle is true to both the fields of science and religion.

The priest then commented, “The main point is whether you put forth your best efforts. If the most ideal choice is not available or impossible, then seek for the second best one, because the rituals must be conducted without fail.” The daigūji offers as an example, the preparations for Shikinen Sengū. Regardless of the circumstances, the priests are responsible for conducting this grand ritual of renewal every twenty years:

The priests are under pressure similar to businessmen who have to sustain good product quality, meet delivery deadlines, and so forth. Because of this, the Jingū priests have needed a way of thinking that helps them to survive today, which differs from compromise. It is striking that Japanese people have nurtured this idea of valuing flexibility from long ago.

After reading the essay and listening to the priest, I said to him: “I understand the importance of devoting yourself to a continuation of the tradition of Jingū and making a concentrated effort. This principle also applies to me. I was often tempted to give up writing about the kagura secret songs whenever I faced my limit as an outsider to the actual practices. But though I am still in the process of learning, I should aim to complete my work based on what I have understood up to this point in time. It is my responsibility to do so, as an ethnomusicologist who has gained access to this tradition and to the insights of numerous experts. I will complete this process.” The priest confirmed my understanding with a smile.

I can see, now, why the priest told me that there was no “discontinuity” of Shikinen Sengū during the Warring States period, despite a gap of more than a century between the performance of Shikinen Sengū rituals. The point is not the gap but, rather, that the priests never gave up the prospects of performing these rituals again. Their commitment and efforts to continue are evident throughout the Warring States period. This is an example of the Jingū priests’ common belief, as the daigūji explained, that “even though they may be unable to

accomplish certain aspects of the rituals during their time, as long as they exert their utmost efforts, the traditions would continue unabated.”

Shikinen Sengū has been variously interpreted: as a lesson on death and rebirth, from a Buddhist viewpoint; as expressing the unity of ying-yang from a Taoist perspective; or, from a shrine priest’s point of view, as an evocation of the eternal youth of Amaterasu Ōmikami. But however one chooses to interpret the ritual, we may surely assume that through the performance of Shikinen Sengū, the essence of Ise Jingū—to offer “a universal prayer for the well-being of the people and the nation”—has never changed. Shikinen Sengū sustains the unbroken bond between the Emperor and the imperial kami, as also that between the Emperor, the Japanese people, and their land. As the kagura hikyoku is the Emperor’s serenade to Amaterasu Ōmikami, there is every reason to believe that it will continue to be offered, in silence, at Shikinen Sengū for many centuries to come.

Terms

Amaterasu Ōmikami 天照大御神: The imperial ancestor and the Japanese tutelary deity, known as the Sun Goddess. Amaterasu Ōmikami was formerly worshiped in the Imperial Palace, but Emperor Sujin, the tenth emperor, decided to move the sacred mirror in which the spirit of Amaterasu Ōmikami is believed to reside in order to worship her more respectfully. Emperor Suinin, the eleventh emperor, ordered his princess, Yamatohime no mikoto, to seek the most appropriate place to enshrine the sacred mirror. She eventually decided on the current location of Ise Jingū.

Daigūji 大宮司: Supreme priest of Ise Jingū. Among Shinto priests in Japan, only Ise Jingū has this position. The daigūji is appointed from the imperial family members or the highest rank of former court noble families. The current daigūji is Naotake Takatsukasa who was appointed in 2007.

Daijōsai 大嘗祭: One of the most important rituals related to the enthronement ceremony. It is the first Niinamesai after the enthronement, and the new emperor offers the newly harvested rice to Amaterasu Ōmikami.

Gagaku 雅楽: The Japanese imperial court music and dance with origins in the ancient performing arts of the Asian mainland as well as musical traditions native to Japan. Gagaku was completed in its artistic form by about the 10th century. Native style songs and dances are mainly performed as Shinto ceremonial music at the Imperial Palace.

Hichiriki 篳篥: Japanese oboe and one of two main melodic musical instruments in gagaku music.

Ise Jingū 伊勢神宮: Officially Jingū, the most revered Shinto shrine in Japan, dedicated to Amaterasu Ōmikami. It is written in the *Nihonshoki*, Chronicles of Japan, that about two thousand years ago, Amaterasu Ōmikami journeyed with Yamatohime no mikoto through the country in search for her eternal resting place. Deeply impressed by the beautiful ocean, abundant nature, and mild climate, the goddess chose the land of Ise. It consists of 125 shrines including the two main sanctuaries and 14 affiliated shrines closely connected with the two main sanctuaries.

Kagurauta 神楽歌: Ancient Japanese ritual songs dedicated to the Shinto deities and one genre of the native style songs of gagaku. A set of all kagurauta or kagura songs is performed at the sacred music ritual.

Kagura hikyoku 神楽秘曲: One of the kagura songs which became a secret song during the twelfth century. Its title is “Hirume.” Historically, this was performed at the three-night mikagura, or the sacred music ritual at the Imperial Palace Shrine.

Kagura taikyoku 神樂大曲: One of the kagura songs which became a secret song during the twelfth century. Historically, this was performed at the seven-night mikagura, or the sacred music ritual, at Kasuga Taisha Shrine.

Kannamesai 神嘗祭: The most important annual ritual held in mid-October at Ise Jingū. This is the ritual of offering newly harvested rice to Amaterasu Ōmikami.

Kashikodokoro 賢所: The Imperial Palace Shrine where Amaterasu Ōmikami is enshrined. Before the Meiji Restoration in 1868, this was called Naishidokoro.

Kasuga Taisha 春日大社: Kasuga Taisha Shrine was founded in 768 in Nara, the national capital at the time in order to protect the capital and the well-being of the Japanese people. Not only the main shrine but also the mountain in the background has also been the object of worship. Kagura taikyoku had been performed at the seven-night sacred music ritual at Kasuga Taisha Shrine.

Kōtaijingū 皇大神宮: The main sanctuary of Ise Jingū where Amaterasu Ōmikami is enshrined. It is also called Naikū.

Mikagura 御神樂: The sacred ritual music consisting of the performance of a set of all kagura songs and dances. The full-scale mikagura, which takes several hours, is conducted only at the Imperial Palace Shrine, while the next-longest mikagura is held at Ise Jingū.

Naishidokoro 内侍所: The Imperial Palace Shrine where Amaterasu Ōmikami is enshrined. The name of the Naishidokoro was changed to the Kashikodokoro after the Meiji Restoration.

Norito 祝詞: Shinto prayer recited by a priest during a ritual.

Saishu 祭主: Head priestess unique to Ise Jingū. Before World War II, the saishu had been male, while after World War II, a female imperial family member has served Ise Jingū as the saishu. The saishu is appointed according to the will of the emperor from the imperial family members.

Shikinen Sengū 式年遷宮: Vicennial renewal held at Ise Jingū. Emperor Tenmu ordered its performance in the seventh century. A new building with the same dimension as the current one is constructed at the adjacent land, and the highlight of Shikinen Sengū is the transferal of the sacred mirror by senior priests to the newly built inner sanctum from the old one.

Toyokedaijingū 豊受大神宮: One of the two main sanctuaries of Ise Jingū. Toyouke no Ōmikami is enshrined. It is also called Gekū.

Toyouke no Ōmikami 豊受大御神: The enshrined deity of Toyokedaijingū. During the reign of Emperor Yuryaku (r. 456-79), the twenty-first emperor, Toyouke no Ōmikami was enshrined in Ise Jingū.

Yojōden 四丈殿: The open-structured building located in the ground of the inner sanctum of the two main sanctuaries. The sacred music ritual is held here.

Wagon 和琴: The Japanese zither. It is considered to be the most sacred musical instrument with the connection with the Shinto deities. The large red-lacquered wagon, called *tobi no ono onkoto*, is offered to Amaterasu Ōmikami as one of the items of the divine treasures at Shikinen Sengū. Wagon is the only instrument that accompanies kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku.

Bibliography

- Abe, Suehisa. “Gakka kuden jitsuroku (Veritable records of oral transmissions of the hereditary musician families),” 1943. Tokyo. Tokyo University of Arts.
- . *Gakkaroku* (Records of hereditary music families). Tokyo: Nihonkoten zenshū kankōkai, 1935.
- Abe, Suemasa. *Gagaku ga wakaru hon: Sennen no gake ga tsutaeru gagaku no sekai* (Understanding gagaku: a millennium of gagaku transmitted by hereditary musician family). Tokyo: Tachibana Shuppan, 1998.
- . *Gagaku hichiriki sennen no hiden* (Hichiriki of gagaku: The secret tradition of a millennium). Tokyo: Tachibana Shuppan, 2008.
- . *Gagaku kaisō* (Recollection of gagaku). Tokyo: Kamomīrusha, 2013.
- “Arinaga Ayanokōji. Ayanokōji Arinaga nikki 1 Meiji 2. 9. 15 yori 12. 28 itaru (Diary of Arinaga Aynokōji vol.1 from September 15, 1869 to December 28, 1869),34252,” Tokyo. Kunaichō shoryōbu (Imperial Household Archives).
- Averbuch, Irit. *The Gods Come Dancing : A Study of the Japanese Ritual Dance of Yamabushi Kagura*. Ithaca, NY: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 1995.
- Beck, Guy L. *Sonic Theology: Hinduism and Sacred Sound*. Studies in Comparative Religion (Columbia, S.C.). Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1993.
- Berkes, Fikret, and Carl Folke. “Linking Social and Ecological Systems for Resilience and Sustainability.” In *Linking Social and Ecological Systems: Management Practices and Social Mechanisms for Building Resilience*, edited by Fikret Berkes, Carl Folke, and Johan Colding, 1–25. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Carr, James Revell. *Hawaiian Music in Motion : Mariners, Missionaries, and Minstrels*. Urbana, Chicago: Urbana, Chicago : University of Illinois Press, 2014.
- “Dajōruiten (Records from the Cabinet of the Meiji government), Series 1, Vol. 32,” Tokyo, Japan. National Archives of Japan.
- “Dajōruiten (Records from the Cabinet of the Meiji government), Series 1, Vol. 46,” Tokyo. National Archives of Japan.
- “Enkyō yonen naishidokoro sankayo no mikagura hikyoku no ki (The Record of three-night mikagura at the Imperial Palace Shrine in 1747) in Ayanokōji kyūzō gakusho (Musical manuscripts formerly owned by the Ayanokōji family),761-1 [i]63-66,” Tenri, Japan. Tenri University Library.
- Folke, Carl. “Resilience (Republished).” *Ecology and Society* 21, no. 4 (2016).
- . “Resilience: The Emergence of a Perspective for Social–ecological Systems Analyses.” *Global Environmental Change* 16, no. 3 (2006): 253–67.
- Fujii, Jōji, and Masayuki Yoshioka. *Gohanazono tennō jitsuroku* (Veritable records of Emperor Go-Hanazono). Vol. 85–87. Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 2009.

- . *Gokomatsu tennō jitsuroku* (Veritable records of Emperor Go-Komatsu). Vol. 82–83. Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 2009.
- . *Momozono tennō jitsuroku* (Veritable records of Emperor Momozono). Vol. 117–119. Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 2006.
- “Gakkyoku sentei roku from Meiji 3 to Taishō 4 (Record of selected repertoire of music from 1870 to 1915), 26589,” Tokyo. Kunaichō shoryōbu (Imperial Household Archives).
- Garfias, Robert. *Gagaku : The Music and Dances of the Japanese Imperial Household*. New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1959.
- . *Music of a Thousand Autumns : The Tōgaku Style of Japanese Court Music*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.
- . “The Sacred Mi-Kagura of the Japanese Imperial Court.” *Selected Reports: Publication of the Program in Ethnomusicology of the University of California at Los Angeles* 1, no. 2 (1968): 150–78.
- . *The Togaku Style of Japanese Court Music*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of California, Los Angeles, 1966.
- Gomazuru, Junshi. “Jingū no saishi (Rituals of Ise Jingū).” In *Jingū meiji hyakunen-shi* (One hundred years of Jingū history from the Meiji period), Vol. 1, 265–317. Ise: Jingū Bunko, 1987.
- . “Senzen sandaino shikinen sengū (Shikinen Sengū during the reigns of the three emperors).” In *Jingū meiji hyakunen shi* (One hundred years of Jingū history from the Meiji period), Vol. 1, 435–522. Ise: Jingū bunko, 1987.
- Gosakuramachi tennō jitsuroku* (Veritable records of Emperor Go-Sakuramachi). Vol. 120–123. Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 2006.
- “Gosatatodome Meiji 3-12 (Official documents on imperial messages 1870-79), 11987,” Tokyo. Kunaichō shoryōbu (Imperial Household Archives).
- Gosūkōin. *Kanmon nikki* (Kanmon diary), Vol. 1-7. Tokyo: Kunaichō Shoryōbu (Imperial Household Archives), 2002.
- Hanawa, Hokinoichi. *Gunsho ruiju* (Collections of historical documents). 19 (*Kangenbu Kemaribu Takabu Yugibu Inshokubu*). Tōkyō: Yagishoten, 2013.
- Hanawa, Hokinoichi, and Tōshirō Ōta. *Zoku gunsho ruiju* (Collections of historical documents continued), 19-1 *Kangenbu*. Tokyo: Yagishoten, 2013.
- Harich-Schneider, Eta. *A History of Japanese Music*. London: Oxford University Press, 1973.
- . *Rōei*. Tokyo: Sophia University Press, 1965.
- . *The Rhythmical Patterns in Gagaku and Bugaku*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1954.
- Harutomi, Mibu. *Harutomi sukune-ki* (Diary of Harutomi Sukune). Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1971.
- Hatakake, Masahiro. *Nihon kokka ni totte Jingū towa nanika* (What is Ise Jingū to the Japanese nation?). Ise: Ise Jingū Sūkeikai, 1997.

- “‘Hikyoku gonshi rei (List of performances of kagura hikyoku),’ in Ayanokōji kyūzō gakusho (Musical manuscripts formerly owned by the Ayanokōji family), 761-1 [i]63-95,” Tenri, Japan. Tenri University Library.
- “‘Hikyoku hirume kyoku (The kagura secret song 'Hirume'),’ in Kagura hikyoku denju shorui (Manuscripts on transmissions of the kagura secret songs), 199-0442, no.11,” Tokyo, Japan. National Archives of Japan.
- Hironari Inbe. *Kogoshui: Gleanings from Ancient Stories*. Edited by Genchi Katō and Hikoshirō. Hoshino. Tokyo: Zaidan-Hōjin-Meiji-Seitoku-Kinen-Gakkai Meiji Japan Society, 1926.
- “‘Hirume fu narabi hiki (The musical score of “Hirume” and the secret notes),’ in Ayanokōji kyūzō gakusho (Musical manuscripts formerly owned by the Ayanokōji family), 761-1 [i]63-293,” Tenri, Japan. Tenri University Library.
- Historiographical Institute of the University of Tokyo. “Ayanokōji Arikazu sashidashi (Document written by Arikazu Ayanokōji), 00059840,” Tokyo. Historiographical Institute of the University of Tokyo.
- Hokama, Shuzen. “Ryūka yonjūshū no nōto (The Crown Prince’s notebook about the Okinawan poems).” *Shokun!*, 2008, 252–54.
- Honda, Yasuji. *Honda Yasuji Chosakushū : Nihon no dentō geinō* (Collected works of Yasuji Honda: Japanese performing arts). Tōkyō: Kinseisha, 1993.
- Iijima, Kazuhiko. *Kodai kayō no shūen to hen’yō* (The end and transformation of the ancient songs and ballads). Tōkyō: Ōfū, 2007.
- Imai, Ikuo, Takeshi Ishimura, Hiroyasu Wakasugi, and Ressei Zenshū Hensankai. *Kōshitsu bungaku taikai* (Compendium of imperial literature). Fukkokuban. Tōkyō: Meicho Fukyūkai, 1979.
- Japan. Kunaichō. *Meiji tennō ki* (Annals of Emperor Meiji). Vol. 1–13. Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1968.
- “Jimyōin (Genealogy of the Jimyōin), 155-0001,” Tokyo. National Archives of Japan.
- Jingū shichō. “Kotaijingū kagura hikyoku sōkō hōkoku gosaimon (the Emperor’s address to report performance of kagura hikyoku to a deity recited by an imperial envoy),” in Jingū Rinjisai Noritobun, 1mon, 6866,” Ise. Jingū Bunko.
- . “Meiji nijūni-nen sengū shosai norito-bun (Shinto prayers composed for the rituals related to Shikinen Sengū held in 1889).” In *Jingū shinji kōshō hoi*, Vol. 2. Ise: Jingū Bunko, 2010.
- . “Mikanagi Kiyonao ōden (Biography of Kiyonao Mikanagi).” In *Jingū shinji kōshō kōhen* (Study on Jingū Rituals), vol.3. Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2007.
- Jonathan McCollum, and David G. Hebert, eds. *Theory and Method in Historical Ethnomusicology*. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2014.
- “Kagura hikyoku denjū shorui (Manuscripts of transmitting kagura hikyoku), 199-0442,” Tokyo. National Archives of Japan.

- “Kagura hoshikyoku hikyoku taikyoku denjujō tome (Records of certificates of passing down kagura hoshikyoku hikyoku taikyoku),’ in Ayanokōji kyūzō gakushō (Musical manuscripts formerly owned by the Ayanokōji family), 761-1 [i] 63-167,” Tenri, Japan. Tenri University library.
- “Kagura saibara soson irai no den (People to whom kagura and saibara have been transmitted), 199-0442, No 6,” Tokyo. National Archives of Japan.
- “Kagura taikyoku hikyoku, 199-0442, 0007,” Tokyo. National Archives of Japan.
- Kamata, Jun’ichi. “Sengyo go no mikagura ni tsuite (About the sacred music ritual held after the rite of transferring the sacred object at Ise Jingū),” *Kōgakkan shigaku*, 22 (2008): 53–71.
- . *Sokuirei daijōsai heisei tairei yōwa* (The enthronement ceremony of Emperor Akihito). Heisei Tairei Yōwa. Tōkyō: Kinseisha, 2003.
- “Kasugasha nanakayo mikagura ki, Bunkyū 2 (Record of the seven-night mikagura at Kasuga Taisha Shrine in 1862), 516-287,” Tokyo. Kunaichō shoryōbu (Imperial Household Archives).
- “Kasugasha nanakayo mikagura no ki (Record of the seven-night sacred music ritual at Kasuga Taisha Shrine), 516-177,” Tokyo. Kunaichō shoryōbu (Imperial Household Archives).
- Kawade, Kiyohiko. *Daijōsai to kyūchū no matsuri* (Daijōsai and imperial court rituals). Tokyo: Meicho Shuppan, 1990.
- . *Saishi gaisetsu* (A survey of Shinto rituals). Tokyo: Gakuseisha, 1978.
- “Keiō yonen mikagura hikyoku ikken (The sacred music ritual of 1868),’ in Ayanokōji kyūzō gakushō (Musical manuscripts formerly owned by the Ayanokōji family), 761-1 [i] 63-100,” Tenri, Japan. Tenri University library.
- Kobori, Kunio. *Ise Jingū no kokoro, shikinen sengū no imi* (Ise Jingū’s essence and meaning of Shikinen Sengū). Kyoto: Tankōsha, 2011.
- “Kōbun-roku, Meiji 3, Vol. 79, Kanoe-uma May-July (Collections of the Meiji government’s documents in 1870), Vol. 79, May-July,” Tokyo. National Archives of Japan.
- Kōgakkan University. *Kunishinnō gyōjitsu* (Records of Prince Kuni). Ise: Kōgakkan University, 2013.
- “Kōtaijingū Gishikichō (Register of ceremony of Kōtaijingū).” In *Shintō taikai jingū hen* (Compendium of Shinto, Volume on Jingū), 1:3–188. Tokyo: Shintō Taikai Hensankai, 1979.
- Kubota, Jun, and Yoshinobu Hirata. *Go shūi wakashū* (Gleanings from later collection of Japanese poetry continued). Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1994.
- Kubota, Jun, Tsuneyo Terashima, and Gotoba. *Gotoba-in gyoshū* (The collection of former Emperor Go-Toba’s poems). Tōkyō: Meiji Shoin, 1997.
- Kunaichō Shoryōbu. *Fushiminomiya kyūzō gakusho shūsei* (The entire set of collections of musical manuscripts formerly owned by the Fushiminomiya imperial family), 2. Tokyo: Meijishoin, 1995.

- Kunaichō shoryōbu (Imperial Household Archives). “Naishidokoro karidono honden togyo narabini mikagura (Mikagura held at the time of transferal of the sacred mirror to the temporary sanctuary and the main sanctuary), 512-173, 512-174,” Tokyo. Kunaichō shoryōbu (Imperial Household Archives).
- Lancashire, Terence. *Gods' Music : The Japanese Folk Theatre of Iwami Kagura*. Wilhelmshaven: Florian Noetzel, 2006.
- Malm, William P. *Traditional Japanese Music and Musical Instruments. New Ed.* Nihon Dentō Ongaku Shūsei. Tokyo; New York: Kodansha International, 2000.
- Matsuki, Motohiko. “Meiji yonenno jingū gokaisei (Jingū reformation in 1871).” In *Jingū Meiji hyakunen-shi* (One hundred years of Jingū history from the Meiji period), 131–54. Ise: Jingū bunko, 1987.
- Meiji, Emperor of Japan. *Meiji tennō gyoshū* (The collection of Emperor Meiji's poems). Tōkyō: Monbushō, 1922.
- “Meiji Njūnin Gosengū kyōen waka (Waka poetry dedicated to the renewal ceremony of Ise Jingū in 1889), 3555,” Ise. Jingū bunko.
- “Message from His Majesty The Emperor,” August 8, 2016.
<http://www.kunaicho.go.jp/page/okotoba/detailEn/12#41>.
- “Mikagura-roku Meiji 3-Taishō 8 (Record on mikagura from 1870-1919), 11803,” Tokyo. Kunaichō shoryōbu (Imperial Household Archives).
- Mikanagi, Kiyonao. “Kannamesai gyoyū kōjitsu (Study on the ritual music of Kannamesai).” In *Jingū shinji kōshōzenpen* (Studies on Jingū rituals), vol.1, 759–84. Tōkyō: Yoshikawa koubunkan, 2006.
- Mishima, Akiko. *Tennō, shōgun, jige gakujin no Muromachi ongakushi (History of music of the emperors, shogunate, and hereditary musicians of low rank during the Muromachi period)*. Kyōto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2012.
- Mori, Kiyondo. *Mikotonori* (Imperial edicts). Tokyo: Kinseisha, 2002.
- “‘Mototaka kyō shimeshi sōrō kagura ryōkyoku (Two kagura secret songs passed down by Mototaka Jimyōin),’ in Kagura hikyoku denju shorui (Manuscripts on transmissions of the kagura secret songs), 199-0442, no.15,” Tokyo. National Archives of Japan.
- Naikaku tairei kiroku hensan iinkai. *Shōwa tairei yōroku* (The record of enthronement ceremony of Emperor Shōwa). Tokyo: Naikaku tairei kiroku hensan iinkai, 1931.
- “Naishidokoro rinji mikagura ichie (Mikagura specially held at the Imperial Palace Shrine), 514-60,” Tokyo. Kunaichō shoryōbu (Imperial Household Archives).
- “Naishidokoro sankaya rinjimikagura dome (The court document about three-night mikagura specially held at the Imperial Palace Shrine), 355-23,” Tokyo. Kunaichō shoryōbu (Imperial Household Archives).
- Nakamoto, Mahito. *Kyūtei mikagura geinou-shi* (History of the sacred musical ritual at the Imperial Palace). Tokyo: Shintensha, 2013.
- Nakanishi, Masayuki. *Jingū shikinen sengū no rekishi to saigi* (History of Shikinen Sengū and rituals of Ise Jingū). Tōkyō: Kokusho Kankōkai, 2007.

- Nelson, Kristina. *The Art of Reciting the Qur'an*. [New ed.]. Cairo ; New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2001.
- Nishikawa, Masatami. "Jingū godōza mondai (Issue of transferring the sacred mirror from Jingū to the Imperial Palace)." In *Jingū meiji hyakunen shi* (One hundred years of Jingū history from the Meiji period), 1, 157–75. Ise: Jingū Shichō, 1987.
- Perl. *Peace and Mind: Civilian Scholarship from "Common Knowledge"*. Edited by Jeffrey M. Perl. Aurora, Colorado: Davies Group Publishers, 2011.
- Perl, Jeffrey M. "Irenic Scholarship and Public Affairs: A Report on the Skidmore Conference." *Common Knowledge* 12, no. 1 (2006): 1–12.
- "Saibara sōden no seijō (The certificate of taking an oath of not revealing the received tradition of saibara) in Ayanokōji kyūzō gakusho (Musical manuscripts formerly owned by the Ayanokōji family), 761-1 [i]63-180," Tenri, Japan. Tenri University Library.
- Sakuramachi tennō jitsuroku* (Veritable records of Emperor Sakuramachi). Vol. 115–116. Tōkyō: Yumani shobō, 2006.
- Sanjōnishi, Sanetaka. *Sanetaka kō ki* (Diary of Sanetaka Sanjōnishi), Vol. 1-13. Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1979.
- Sassa, Atsuyuki. *Kiku no gomoshō to kaenbin: "himeyuri no tō" "Ise Jingū" ga moeta "Shōwa 50-nen"* (Himeyuri memorial tower and Ise Jingū aflame in 1975). Tōkyō: Bungei Shunjū, 2009.
- Schippers, Huib. *Facing the Music: Shaping Music Education from a Global Perspective*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Schippers, Huib, and Catherine Grant, eds. *Sustainable Futures for Music Cultures: An Ecological Perspective*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Shelemay, Kay Kaufman. "'Historical Ethnomusicology': Reconstructing Falasha Liturgical History." *Ethnomusicology* 24, no. 2 (1980): 233–58.
- Shimazu, Norifumi. *Jingū gagaku no dentō* (Gagaku tradition of Ise Jingū). Ise Jingū Sūkeikai sōsho; 20. Ise: Ise Jingū Sūkeikai, 2015.
- "Shin montei roku: Arinaga no dai; Tenpō gonen yori (The new list of disciples of Arinaga Ayanokōji from 1834) in Ayanokōji kyūzō gakusho (Musical manuscripts formerly owned by the Ayanokōji family), 761-1 [i]63-144," Tenri, Japan. Tenri University Library.
- "Shōwa yonen Osaka Asahi shimbunkiji (Article of Asahi Newspaper of Osaka in 1929)." Osa Asahi newspaper, 1929. Ise. Jingū Bunko.
- Steven M. (Steven Michael) Friedson. *Dancing Prophets: Musical Experience in Tumbuka Healing*. Chicago Studies in Ethnomusicology. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Stuart H. Blackburn. *Inside the Drama-House: Rama Stories and Shadow Puppets in South India*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1996.

- “Taikyoku denju no kakitsuke (Notes at the time of passing down kagura taikyoku),’ in Ayanokōji kyūzō gakusho (Musical manuscripts formerly owned by the Ayanokōji family), 761-1 [i]63-93,” Tenri, Japan. Tenri University Library.
- “Taikyoku hikyoku denju azukarisōrō chūko iraino nintei (The list of names of figures who received the tradition of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku), 199-0442, No 10,” Tokyo. National Archives of Japan.
- “Taikyoku hikyoku denju rei (The list of transmissions of kagura taikyoku and kagura hikyoku) in Ayanokōji kyūzō gakusho (Musical manuscripts formerly owned by the Ayanokōji family), 761-1 [i]63-70,” Tenri, Japan. Tenri University Library.
- Takatsukasa, Naotake. “Ise Jingū daigūiji ooini kataru (Narrative of the Supreme Priest of Ise Jingū).” *Bungei Shunjū*, August 2016, 136–47.
- Terauchi, Naoko. *Gagaku no “kindai” to “gendai”*: *Keishō, fukyū, sōzō no kiseki* (Gagaku from the modern to contemporary periods: Transmission, popularization, and a path of creativity). Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2010.
- Titon, Jeff Todd. “Sustainability, Resilience, and Adaptive Management for Applied Ethnomusicology.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Applied Ethnomusicology*, edited by Svanibor Pettan and Jeff Todd Titon, 157–95. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Tōgi, Toshiharu. *Gagaku hyōbyō* (Boundlessly wide gagaku). Shohan. Saitama-ken: Yūshin Bunko, 2002.
- . *Gagaku shin’in: tenjō no mai, uchū no gaku* (Sublime gagaku: dance of the heavens and music of the universe). Shohan. Saitama-ken: Yūshin Bunko, 1999.
- “Tōin Sanehiro shinji hikyoku Aritoshi e denjūjō utsushi (A copy of the certificate that Sanehiro Tōin transmitted kagura hikyoku to Aritoshi Ayanokōji), 199-0442, No 4,” Tokyo. National Archives of Japan.
- Tokudaiji, Sanetsune. “Tokudaiji Sanetsune nikki (Diary of Tokudaiji Sanetsune), C1-149 Copy 3463.” Tokyo. Kunaichō shoryōbu (Imperial Household Archives).
- Toyonaga, Satomi. *Chūsei no tennō to ongaku* (The medieval emperors and music). Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2006.
- Tsukahara, Yasuko. *Meiji kokka to gagaku: dentō no kindai/ kokugaku no sōsei* (The Meiji nation and gagaku: modernization of tradition and the creation of a national music). Tōkyō: Yūshisha, 2009.
- . *Meiji yonen Shiba Fujitsune nikki: Honkoku kaidai* (Diary of Fujitsune Shiba in 1871: A reprint and explanatory notes), Research Report of Grants –in-Aid for Scientific Research by Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, 2011.
- Urita, Michiko. “Kagura hikyoku hirume no rekishi: Sōgaku, sōden, and saishi (Kagura secret song ‘Hirume’: Performance, transmission, and ritual from a historical perspective).” *Nihon Kokushi Gaku* (Journal of National History of Japan) 5 (2014): 61–75.
- . “Kagura hikyoku no tokuchō: Jingū shikinen sengū no mikagura no gi to sokui rei go kensho mikagura no gi o hikakushite (Kagura hikyoku: Comparing the mikagura rites

- held at the Shikinen Sengū of Ise Jingū and at the enthronement ceremony of the Imperial Palace Shrine.” *Nihon Kayō Kenkyū* (Studies on Japanese Ballads and Songs) 55 (2015): 63–73.
- . “Otoga kanaderu minzoku no kokoro: Indo kara Jingū gagaku eno tabi (Valued sounds of two musical cultures: My journey from North Indian classical music to the Japanese imperial court music of Ise Jingū).” *Mizugaki* 215 (Spring 2010): 19–31.
- . “Punitive Scholarship: Postwar Interpretations of Shinto and Ise Jingū.” *Common Knowledge* 21, no. 3 (2015): 484–509.
- . “Transreligious and Intercommunal: Hindustani Music in Classical and Contemporary North India.” *Common Knowledge* 22, no. 2 (2016): 190–206.
- Wade, Bonnie C. *Imaging Sound: An Ethnomusicological Study of Music, Art, and Culture in Mughal India*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
- Washino’o, Takayasu. *Nisuiiki* (Nisui diary). Vol. 1–4. Tōkyō: Tōkyō : Iwanami Shoten, 1989.
- Wilson, Shawn. “Guest Editorial: What Is an Indigenist Research Paradigm?” *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 30, no. 2 (2007): 193–195.
- Yanagiwara, Motomitsu. *Sagan* (Diary of Motomitsu Yanagiwara); Zushoryō sōkan. Kunaichō shoryōbu (Imperial Household Archives of Japan), 1994.
- . *Zoku shigūshō* (History books written by Motomitsu Yanagiwara in the 18th Century), Chūhen. Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2007.
- . *Zoku shigūshō* (History books written by Motomitsu Yanagiwara in the 18th Century), Kōhen. Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2007.
- . “Zokushigūshō, Vol. 20, No. 259-227,” Tokyo. Kunaichō shoryōbu (Imperial Household Archives).
- “‘Yotsutsuji Sanenaka e Aritoshi yori taikyoku denjūō utsushi (A copy of transmission of the Japanese zither part of kagura taikyoku from Aritoshi Ayanokōji to Sanetaka Yotsutsuji),’ in Kagura hikyoku denjū shorui (Manuscripts on transmissions of the kagura secret songs), 199-0442,0002,” n.d. Tokyo. National Archives of Japan.
- “Yudate fu (The musical score of ‘Yudate’) in Ayanokōji kyūzō gakusho (Musical manuscripts formerly owned by the Ayanokōji family),761-1 [i]63-295,” 1836. Tenri, Japan. Tenri University Library.