

KWOK-WAI NG

## The *Wa*–*Kan* Configuration of Music Culture in Heian (794–1185) Japan: The Case of Chinese Music Theory

### ABSTRACT:

This article examines Chinese music theory as utilized in Japan during the Heian period; it scrutinizes that system's intricate configuration of *Wa* (Japanese) and *Kan* (Chinese) materials. Previous scholarship has yielded findings with significant implications for both the development and analysis of this *Wa*–*Kan* assemblage as it occurred in different aspects of Heian culture, but the assimilation of specifically Chinese music theory has not been investigated from this perspective. The present article describes how, through applying different types of conceptual frameworks in the discourse of the assimilation of Chinese music theory in Japan, Heian music culture exhibited a highly complex integration of *Wa* and *Kan* materials, which coexisted in both the theoretical and practical territories.

### KEYWORDS:

*Chinese music theory, Heian music culture, Wa-Kan assemblage, Tōgaku, Kuchizusami, Sango yōroku*

### INTRODUCTION

Over the past three or four decades, historical, literary and cultural studies have, to my way of thinking, demonstrated that in Japan between the eighth and the twelfth centuries no evident watershed demarcated two contrasting phases of cultural development. Yet, many scholars have argued that the first of these supposedly two phases comprised the period from the beginning of the Nara era (710–794) to the end of the ninth century, when the indigenous culture was consistently disregarded due to Japan's growing appreciation for and imitation of Chinese culture.<sup>1</sup> The second phase refers to part of the Heian era (794–1185), namely, from the tenth century to the last part

➤ Kwok-wai Ng, Dept. Cultural and Creative Arts, The Education U. of Hong Kong

RESEARCH FOR this article was made possible by the Start-up Research Grant (RG 52/2016–2017R) of The Education University of Hong Kong.

<sup>1</sup> The compilation of *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 (*Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves*) (8th–9th c.) is sometimes considered an exceptional case. As an anthology of about 4,500 pieces of Japanese

to the end. During this second phase, Japan is seen as having expressed a high level of consciousness of indigenous culture and self-identity, unlike what occurred during the first phase. It was concomitant with the relocation of many Chinese elements from Japan's cultural center to its periphery.<sup>2</sup> The terms *Tōfū bunka* 唐風文化 (Tang-style culture) and *kokufū bunka* 国風文化 (national-style culture) are customarily used to denote, respectively, the cultural milieu of these two phases.<sup>3</sup>

This notion is, however, posited on a false premise, popularized by certain Japanese cultural historians of the Meiji period (1868–1912) and from the early- to mid-twentieth century. They asserted that the Japanese imperial court's termination of its numerous official envoys to China in 894 directly triggered the change in cultural environment,<sup>4</sup> the result being that in the tenth century the indigenous forms of *Wa*, or *Yamato* 和, began to take absolute precedence over the foreign forms of *Kan* 漢 and *Kara* 唐. *Yamato*, the Chinese-style reading of which is *Wa*, was originally the name of a specific kingdom within the Japanese archipelago, and later come to be used as one of the several terms for the unified country as a whole.<sup>5</sup> *Kan*, which reads as “*Han*” in modern Mandarin, represents the Han dynasty (206 BC–AD 220) – the first great Chinese empire—or otherwise the Han ethnic group in China. In Japan, *Kan* is

---

poetry mostly from before the mid-8th c., it represents an early highpoint in Japanese literary culture. For the historical background of Japan's embrace of Chinese culture, see Tōno Haruyuki 東野治之, *Kentōshisen: Higashi Ajia no naka de* 遣唐使船, 東アジアのなかで (Tokyo: Asahi shinbunsha, 1999); and Zhenping Wang, *Ambassadors from the Islands of Immortals: China-Japan Relations in the Han-Tang Period* (Honolulu: U. Hawai'i P., 2005).

<sup>2</sup> Although the number of works that advocate this understanding of Heian culture is virtually innumerable, many have challenged the idea. See Nishimoto Masahiro 西本昌弘, “Tōfū bunka kara kokufū bunka e” 唐風文化から国風文化へ, in Ōtsu Tōru 大津透, Sakurai Eiji 桜井英治, Fujii Jōji 藤井譲治, Yoshida Yutaka 吉田裕, and Lee Sungsi 李成市, eds., *Iwanami kōza: Nihon rekishi* 岩波講座, 日本歴史 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2015) 5 (*kodai* 古代 5), pp. 139–80. This recent research sharply criticizes the undue accentuation of Chinese influences in the early-Heian period and the overemphasis of indigenous culture after the tenth century.

<sup>3</sup> Another expression, known as the *kokufū ankoku jidai* 国風暗黒時代 (the dark age of national culture), is sometimes used to indicate the cultural atmosphere of the first period. This term appears mainly in early studies of literary works; e.g., Kojima Noriyuki 小島憲之 titled his monumental series on Japan's early literature *Kokufū ankoku jidai no bungaku* 国風暗黒時代の文学 (Tokyo: Hanawa shobō, 1968–2002). For a recent publication that reconsiders the idea of *kokufū ankoku jidai*, see Kitayama Mitumasa 北山円正, Shinma Kazuyoshi 新聞一美, Takigawa Kōji 滝川幸司, Miki Masahiro 三木雅博, and Yamamoto Tokurō 山本登朗, eds., *Nihon kodai no “Kan” to “Wa”*: *Sagachō no bungaku kara kangaeru* 日本古代の“漢”と“和”, 嵯峨朝の文学から考える (Tokyo: Bensei shuppan, 2015).

<sup>4</sup> Gian-Piero Persiani, “China as Self, China as Other: On Ki no Tsurayuki's Use of the Wa-Kan Dichotomy,” *Sino-Japanese Studies* 23 (2016), p. 33.

<sup>5</sup> Kaori Chino, “Gender in Japanese Art,” Martha J. McClintock, Ikumi Kaminishi and Judith Stubbs, trans., in Joshua S. Mostow, Norman Bryson, and Maribeth Graybill, eds., *Gender and Power in the Japanese Visual Field* (Honolulu: U. Hawai'i P., 2003), p. 231.

also employed to refer to the people or culture of China as a whole.<sup>6</sup> *Kara* was originally the Japanese name for one of the countries in the southern half of the Korean Peninsula. With the opening of relations between Japan and the Sui (581–618) and Tang (618–907) dynasties in China, the term came to refer specifically to China and even things “foreign” in general.<sup>7</sup>

While it is clear that Japan’s cultural milieu in the Nara and early-Heian periods was, to a certain extent, different from that in and after the tenth century, an acute dichotomy between *Wa* and *Kan* was not a major attribute of Heian culture.<sup>8</sup> In contrast, the fundamental nature of this *Wa-Kan* relationship was not antithetical; in many cultural aspects, such as the literary world, Chinese and Japanese elements coexisted harmoniously throughout the whole Heian period.<sup>9</sup> Obviously, *Wa* did not replace *Kan*; moreover, *Kan*, far from slowly fading from view, continued to thrive as a fundamental element of Heian culture.<sup>10</sup> As a result, the Heian period was not characterized by some sort of binary opposition of Japan and China. Rather, it was a binary apparatus of attraction, integration, and overlay that synthesized and organized multiple forms of expression and production. It was from this profusion of mixed and juxtaposed elements that a *Wa-Kan* cultural assemblage became formed.<sup>11</sup> By “assemblage,” I am promoting the idea that these were not only a simple combination of Chinese and Japanese elements, but the surrounding situations involved different processes that variously eliminated, imbricated, and synthesized the elements into a conglomerated cultural entity. This article is a study of the sort of *Wa-Kan* aggregation just suggested, but taking off into the area specifically of music. It builds from the perspective of the way in which music assimilated specific elements. First, it argues for a reconsideration of a

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> One important reason that prompted a change in the consciousness of Chinese culture was that Japan’s appreciation of Chinese culture began to wane after the fall of the Tang dynasty. See Chino, “Gender in Japanese Art,” p. 22.

<sup>9</sup> Makoto Kurozumi, “Kangaku: Writing and Institutional Authority,” in Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki, eds., *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity and Japanese Literature* (Stanford: Stanford U.P., 2000), p. 209.

<sup>10</sup> Persiani, “China as Self, China as Other,” p. 33. Persiani developed this argument in accordance with Ivo Smits’s ideas. See Ivo Smits, “The Way of the Literati: Chinese Learning and Literary Practice in Mid-Heian Japan,” in Mikael Adolphson, Edward Kamens, and Stacie Matsumoto, eds., *Heian Japan, Centers and Peripheries* (Honolulu: U. Hawai’i P., 2007), pp. 105–28.

<sup>11</sup> Thomas LaMarre, *Uncovering Heian Japan: An Archaeology of Sensation and Inscription* (Durham and London: Duke U.P., 2000), p. 33; and Ivo Smits, “The Way of the Literati,” p. 109.

conventional historical account that sees a large-scale “music reform” of the mid-Heian period as having provoked a change of music culture from a *Han*-centered to a *Wa*-centered performing environment; next it provides an exemplification of the way a *Wa-Kan* assemblage worked in music culture during the Heian period, with reference to the even more specific case of music theory.

#### THE MISINTERPRETED *WA-KAN* DICHOTOMY AND ITS INFLUENCES ON NARRATIVES OF MUSIC HISTORY

Despite the ample availability of significant research that has illuminated the cultural history of Heian Japan, the idea that the cutting off in 894 of official diplomatic envoys to China constituted a definitive turning point for Japan’s cultural atmosphere still prevails in Japan. Nakayama Yoshiaki’s 中山良昭 *Surasura yomete maruwakari Nihonshi* スラスラ読めて丸わかり日本史 (*An Easy Reading and Understanding of Japanese History*), for example, is a general exposition of Japanese history published recently. It still considers that the cessation of said emissaries to China was an event that directly contributed to the development of a “national culture” in the tenth century.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, many popular books on Japanese history and, importantly, textbooks used in Japan’s primary and secondary schools have repeatedly maintained that the emergence of “national culture” in the Heian period was, in large part, associated with the termination of the envoys. The continuation of this erroneous idea has gone on without incorporating the results of excellent academic research.<sup>13</sup>

The consequences of this misunderstanding of a change in the cultural atmosphere of the Heian period should not be underestimated, since it has considerably affected the narrative of many aspects of Heian culture concerning its historical development. Music is no exception in this regard. The idea in question has exerted great influences on not only general books on music, but also scholarly publications. An early academic publication that is possibly influenced by it is Tanabe Hisao’s 田辺尚雄 (1883–1984) *Nihon fūzokushi kōza: Nihon ongakushi* 日本風俗史講座, 日本音楽史 (*Lectures on Japanese Customs: A History of Japa-*

<sup>12</sup> Nakayama Yoshiaki, *Surasura yomete maruwakari Nihonshi* (Tokyo: Shinsei shuppansha, 2012), p. 119.

<sup>13</sup> See Hayakawa Akio 早川明夫, “Kentōshi no teihai to kokufū bunka: kokufū bunka no jugyō ni okeru ryūiten” 遣唐使の停廃と国風文化, 国風文化の授業における留意点, *Bunkyo daigaku kyōiku kenkyūsho kiyō* 文教大学教育研究所紀要 15 (2006), pp. 55–63; and Persiani, “China as Self, China as Other,” p. 33.

nese Music).<sup>14</sup> Although Tanabe included no detailed discussion of the envoy-cessation matter, and avoided sensitive terms, such as *Tōfū bunka* and *kokufū bunka*, he distinctly pointed out that the tenth-century Engi-Tenryaku 延喜天曆 era should be viewed as a line of demarcation between two periods of Heian music history: the period of imitation, then the period of reconciliation.<sup>15</sup> Let us consider at this point the various general types of music performance. The music adopted by the Japanese from the continent consisted of several repertoires. Most of these pertained to Sui-dynasty and Tang-dynasty secular music, even embracing the influential musical elements and sounds that came into China from non-Chinese regions and kingdoms in the west. This overall group of secular music is known as *Tōgaku* 唐楽 (Tang music), which is still performed in Japan to the present day, albeit in a substantially altered form.<sup>16</sup> *Tōgaku*, together with the *Komagaku* 高麗楽 transmitted largely from the Korean Peninsula and Balhae, constituted two key genres of *gagaku* 雅楽 performed regularly at the Japanese imperial court.<sup>17</sup>

It is, however, necessary to note that the seemingly symmetrical balance between *Tōgaku* and *Komagaku* in *gagaku* performance is, in part, illusory: *Tōgaku* had explicit precedence over *Komagaku*.<sup>18</sup> If both dance and instrumental forms of performance are considered, the number of *Tōgaku* pieces in the *gagaku* repertoire notably outnumbers that of *Komagaku* by a factor of more than five to one.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, the music theory of the whole *gagaku* repertoire is based on that of China.<sup>20</sup>

According to Tanabe's description, the first period of Heian music history was characterized by abundant music performances imported from the continent, with a stagnant performing tradition of indigenous music. The second period, on the other hand, manifested a restoration

<sup>14</sup> Tanabe Hisao, *Nihon fūzokushi kōza: Nihon ongakushi* (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1929).

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., pp. 6–8.

<sup>16</sup> Kwok-wai Ng, "Orality and Literacy in the Transmission of Japanese *Tōgaku*: Its Past and Present," *Ethnomusicology Forum* 20.1 (2011), p. 33.

<sup>17</sup> The Chinese reading of the term *gagaku* is *yayue*, which refers to the ritual music performed mainly for imperial ceremonies in China. This repertoire of Chinese ceremonial music has never been adopted by the Japanese. In Japan, *gagaku* represents various types of imported and indigenous music performed at the court and Buddhist temples. As a result, the Japanese usage of the term *gagaku* (*yayue*) is, in a sense, a misnomer. See also Steven Nelson, "Gagaku: Its Past and Present," in Ōno Tadamaro 多忠磨, ed., *Gagaku no dezain: ōchō shōzoku no bi-ishiiki* 雅楽のデザイン, 王朝装束の美意識 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1990), p. 271.

<sup>18</sup> Steven Nelson, "Court and Religious Music (1): History of Gagaku and Shōmyō," in Alison McQueen Tokita and David Hughes, eds., *The Ashgate Research Companion to Japanese Music* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008), p. 36.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Steven Nelson, *Gagaku: An 'Important Intangible Cultural Property' of Japan, Video Commentary* (Tokyo: The Shimonaka Memorial Foundation, 2000) 2, p. 21.

of native performances of dance and music, as well as a synthesis of indigenous and foreign music.<sup>21</sup> His interpretation of the history and culture of music in the Heian period, therefore, accords closely with the misleading notion of the *Wa-Kan* dichotomy that was put forth, above.

The most consequential proposition that evolved from this idea is that a large-scale *gakusei kaikaku* 樂制改革, literally “reform of the music system,” was implemented in the ninth century and this became a key vehicle for the transition of musical culture from “imitation” to “reconciliation.” In this so-called *gakusei kaikaku*, many musical elements imported from the continent were simplified, altered and even discarded at a fairly rapid pace, leading to a momentous rearrangement of instrumentation and reduction of ensemble size.<sup>22</sup> These new arrangements, in other words, this reform, happened very quickly, according to Tanabe, also forming the basis of today’s performances in Japan.<sup>23</sup> Tanabe’s discourse on the *gakusei kaikaku* reform has had a remarkable influence on scholarly writings about Japanese music history over the past century. In *Nihon ongaku daijiten* 日本音楽大事典 (*Great Encyclopedia of Japanese Music*), for example, *gakusei kaikaku* is regarded as an important musical development of the Heian period, and the description of it in this encyclopedic work essentially corresponds to that in Tanabe’s monograph.<sup>24</sup> These discourses and writings have continued to retain significance in Japan.<sup>25</sup>

Recent research, however, has begun to question the account that the music transmitted from the continent to Japan was assimilated swiftly, as in a quick reform; this has included strong challenges to not only the significance but also the existence of a large-scale music reform in the Heian period, and that the notion may be based on legendary records and unanchored anecdotes of a much later period.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Tanabe, *Nihon fūzokushi kōza: Nihon ongakushi*, p. 8.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 125–26.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 126–27.

<sup>24</sup> See Gamō Mitsuko 蒲生美津子, “Nihon no gagaku: rekishi: gakusei kaikaku” 日本の雅楽, 歴史, 樂制改革, in Hirano Kenji 平野健次, Kamisangō Yūkō 上参郷祐康, and Gamō Satoaki 蒲生郷昭, eds., *Nihon ongaku daijiten* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1989), p. 408.

<sup>25</sup> For example, in spite of the fact that Fukushima Kazuo’s 福島和夫 and Sakurai Rika’s 櫻井利佳 roundtable paper “The Performance of Tōgaku (‘Tang Music’) in Eighth- and Ninth-Century Japan: Instrumentation and the Makeup of the Bureau of Music” delivered at the 20th Congress of the International Musicological Society (Tokyo University of the Arts, March 21, 2017) strongly criticized Tanabe’s use of *gakusei kaikaku* as a plagiarized and misinterpreted concept, the host of the opening concert of the congress, which I attended, still claimed that *gakusei kaikaku* was an important music reform implemented in the Heian period, whereby court music was considerably standardized.

<sup>26</sup> The term *gakusei kaikaku* was first used by Tōgi Sueharu 東儀季治 (under the pseudonym Tōgi Tetteki 東儀鉄笛) (1869–1925) in his handwritten monograph *Nihon ongakushi-kō* 日本

The most extensive research on historical *Tōgaku* was undertaken by the Tang Music Project. This was a research group supervised by Laurence Picken (1909–2007) at Cambridge University in the early 1970s and lasting for almost thirty years. Because a huge body of historical *Tōgaku* notations has survived in Japan, their project concentrated on transcription, aiming at an understanding of not only the sound of secular music performed in Sui-dynasty and Tang-dynasty China, but also the historical development of this group of secular music in Japan.<sup>27</sup> The Tang Music Project, together with the research papers published by its individual members, was referred to as belonging to the “Picken School.”<sup>28</sup>

An outgrowth of the former project has been discoveries pertinent to the historical development of *Tōgaku* in the Heian period; they hold that even though the music imported from the continent underwent simplifications and alterations during the course of its transmission in the Heian period, these modifications appeared gradually rather than expeditiously,<sup>29</sup> and more importantly, they were not the result of a

---

音楽史考 (*A Study of Japanese Music History*), the original complete manuscript having been lost. Recent studies of Tōgi's writings, however, demonstrate that in contrast to Tanabe's description, Tōgi describes *gakusei kaikaku* as merely a *densetsu* 伝説 (legend), of which early official historical treatises and reliable musical sources written in Japan include no detailed record. See Fukushima Kazuo, “Ongaku shigaku to Tōyō ongaku kenkyū: shutoshite Nihon ongaku ni tsuite” 音楽史学と東洋音楽研究, 主として日本音楽について, *Nihon ongakushi kenkyū* 日本音楽史研究 2 (1999), pp. 128–39; and Allan Marett, “Research on Early Notations for the History of *Tōgaku* and Points of Scholarly Contention in Their Interpretation,” *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 38 (2006), pp. 79–95.

<sup>27</sup> The research result of this project is presented in the seven volumes of *Music from the Tang Court*. See Picken et al., *Music from the Tang Court* (London: Oxford U.P., 1981 [vol. 1]; Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1985, 1986, 1987, 1990, 1997, 2000 [vols. 2–7]).

<sup>28</sup> David W. Hughes, “The Picken School and East Asia: China, Japan and Korea,” *Ethnomusicology Forum* 19.2 (2010), p. 233. To name but a few examples of the research conducted by the members of this group, see Jonathan Condit, “Differing Transcriptions from the Twelfth Century Japanese Koto Manuscript Jinchū-Yōroku,” *Ethnomusicology* 20.1 (1976), pp. 87–95; Allan Marett, “Tunes Notated in Flute-Tablature from a Japanese Source of the Tenth Century,” *Musica Asiatica* 1 (1977), pp. 1–59; idem, “Hakuga no Fufu no shokifuhō ni tsuite” 博雅笛譜の諸記譜法について, Mitani Yōko 三谷陽子, trans., *Gagakukai* 雅楽界 54 (1978), pp. 171–87; idem, “Tōgaku: Where Have the Tang Melodies Gone, and Where Have the New Melodies Come From?” *Ethnomusicology* 29.3 (1985), pp. 409–31; idem, “In Search of the Lost Melodies of Tang China: An Account of Recent Research and Its Implications for the History and Analysis of Tōgaku,” *Musiology Australia* 9 (1986), pp. 29–38; idem, “Research on Early Notations for the History of Tōgaku and Points of Scholarly Contention in Their Interpretation,” pp. 79–95; Rembrandt Wolpert, “The Five-Stringed Lute in East Asia,” *Musica Asiatica* 3 (1981), pp. 97–106; idem, “A Ninth-Century Score for Five-Stringed Lute,” *Musica Asiatica* 3 (1981), pp. 107–135; idem, “The Mensural Notation of Rhythmic Modes, in String and Wind Parts of Tōgaku, in the Twelfth, Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries,” in Laurence Picken et al., eds., *Music from the Tang Court* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1987) 4, pp. 117–33; and Elizabeth Markham, *Saibara: Japanese Court Songs of the Heian Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1983).

<sup>29</sup> Marett, “Research on Early Notations for the History of Tōgaku and Points of Scholarly

large-scale music reform.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, compared to the dramatic transformation of music that occurred between the end of the twelfth century and the present day, the changes observed in the melodies performed throughout the Heian period were relatively conservative.<sup>31</sup>

While some researchers have pointed out that the changes observed in the *Tōgaku* melodies performed during the Heian period were highly associated with the “Japanization” of Chinese culture,<sup>32</sup> or were part of the process of making the received Chinese traditions the Japanese’s own,<sup>33</sup> the assimilation of Chinese secular music has not been thoroughly explored in the light of the Sino-Japanese cultural milieu of the Heian period. In other words, previous scholarship on *Tōgaku*, including that of the Tang Music Project, focuses on the change of musical sound rather than the cultural implications of these changes. In fact, studies concerning the cultural implications of the development of *Tōgaku* in Japan are relatively limited, and they are centered on the restoration and standardization of the repertory in the late-nineteenth century, investigating how the standardization of *gagaku* conducted by the imperial court was in accordance with the notion of building a national or immutable imperial symbol in Japan after the Meiji Restoration.<sup>34</sup>

## BASICS OF CHINESE MUSIC THEORY

First of all, the reason why I concentrate here on music theory, per se, as a means of examining the *Wa-Kan* congruence in Heian music, instead of on the actual melodies performed in China and Japan, deserves an explanation. While a large number of historical notations have survived in Japan in the form of manuscript copies, there exists only one reliable Chinese source that contains the notation of secular music performed in Tang China. This is the *Dunhuang pipa pu* 敦煌琵琶譜

---

Contention,” pp. 83–84.

<sup>30</sup> Watanabe Shin’ichirō 渡辺信一郎, *Chūgoku kodai no gakusei to kokka: Nihon gagaku no genryū* 中国古代の楽制と国家, 日本雅楽の源流 (Kyoto: Bunrikaku, 2013), p. 334.

<sup>31</sup> Maret, “Research on Early Notations for the History of Tōgaku and Points of Scholarly Contention,” p. 84.

<sup>32</sup> Nelson, *Gagaku: An ‘Important Intangible Cultural Property’ of Japan*, p. 20; and Nelson, “Court and Religious Music (1),” p. 39.

<sup>33</sup> Maret, “Research on Early Notations for the History of Tōgaku,” p. 84.

<sup>34</sup> See Tsukahara Yasuko 塚原康子, *Meiji kokka to gagaku: dentō no kindai, kokugaku no sōsei* 明治国家と雅楽, 伝統の近代化・国楽の創成 (Tokyo: Yūshisha, 2009); Terauchi Naoko 寺内直子, *Gagaku no kindai to gendai: keishō, fukyū, sōzō no kiseki* 雅楽の近代と現代, 継承・普及・創造の軌跡 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2010); and Ng, “Orality and Literacy in the Transmission of Japanese Tōgaku.”

(*The Lute Score from Dunhuang*), compiled before 933; it is now preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (catalogue numbers P. 3539, P. 3719, and P. 3808). In addition to a strong scholarly contention on the meanings of some notational signs and symbols that obstructs the overall decipherment of the notation, a comparative study between the music suggested by this source with that found in historical Japanese scores is further complicated by the fact that *Dunhuang pipa pu* records only twenty-five musical pieces, and most of them cannot be found in Japanese sources.<sup>35</sup>

The case of music theory is different: detailed explanations and crucial information regarding music theory are available in both Chinese and Japanese sources. *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 (*Assembled Essentials of Tang Government*) (ca. 961), for example, is a Chinese source that quotes detailed explanations of musical modes. *Kuchizusami* 口遊 (*Fun with Recitation*) (970) and *Sango yōroku* 三五要錄 (*Essential Records for the Lute*) (compiled before 1192) are examples of Japanese sources that, on the other hand, provide invaluable information on the music theory of historical *Tōgaku*. More importantly, a study of Chinese music theory against the background of a complex *Wa-Kan* assemblage of Heian culture may lay the foundations for further investigation of the entire *Tōgaku* repertory in the larger context of the assimilation of Chinese culture.

Before turning to a detailed discussion of the adaptation of Chinese music theory in Japan, let us review very briefly the shape of music theory in China. It consists of three main components: a set of step-wise related tones, a set of fixed pitches, and a rationalized system of keys, or modal species, for forming scale-related tunes for performance. In a sense, the relative tones work like the *solfege* system in Western music, and they form musical scales for performance. The *kyū/gong* 宮; *shō/shang* 商; *kaku/jue* 角; *chi/zhi* 徵; and *u/yu* 羽 tones are regarded as the principal ones because they, in the sequence specified above, are the tones that form the anhemitonic pentatonic (five-tone) scale “do–re–mi–sol–la”: the tones, as a series of note-steps, do not include any half-steps (semitones).<sup>36</sup> A heptatonic scale (a seven-tone scale) can be generated by adding two auxiliary tones to the pentatonic series: *henchi/bianzhi* 變徵 and *henkyū/biangong* 變宮 are two common auxiliary tones discussed aesthetically or explained practically in a variety of Chinese

<sup>35</sup> For a review of research pertinent to *Dunhuang pipa pu*, see Chen Yingshi 陳應時, *Dunhuang yuepu jieyi bianzheng* 敦煌樂譜解譯辨證 (Shanghai: Shanghai yinyue chubanshe, 2005), pp. 170–227.

<sup>36</sup> Here, terms that were commonly used in Japan and China will first be romanized in Japanese, followed by the Chinese romanization. For the sake of convenience, however, when the terms reappear, I only provide the Japanese romanization.

sources, dating back to late antiquity. Because *henchi* and *henkyū* are a half-step (semitone) lower than their neighboring *chi* and *kyū* tones, respectively, the heptatonic series formed using *kyū* as the first tone, namely the series “*kyū-shō-kaku-henchi-chi-u-henkyū*,” will resemble the structure of the Lydian scale (W–W–W–h–W–W–h) in Western music theory, or, as many students of the latter know it via the *solfege* system of spoken and sung articulation—“do–re–mi–fi (or sharpened fa)–sol–la–ti.”<sup>37</sup>

Likewise, the system of pitches in Chinese music is similar to that of Western art music, in which an octave consists of twelve named pitches.<sup>38</sup> It is important to note that in China, the absolute value of these pitches (and the material means for producing them) varied from dynasty to dynasty, and sometimes from genre to genre.<sup>39</sup> Because the heptatonic series, indicated above, can be generated on each of these twelve pitches in order to produce the twelve *kin/yun* 均, which is a concept that resembles that of “key” in Western art music, and each of the seven tones in a heptatonic series can be taken as the final to form a modal species, there are thus a total of eighty-four (12 x 7) possible combinations of key and modal species.<sup>40</sup> Theoretically, each of these combinations can be regarded as a mode.

In practice, however, Chinese musicians used a much smaller set of keys, modal species, and modes for the performance of secular music. The Chinese compendium *Tang huiyao* records an edict promulgated

<sup>37</sup> “W” refers to the music interval of a whole step (whole tone), and “h” represents an interval of a half step (semitone). The heptatonic scale explained here, which is commonly known as the *zhengshengdiao* 正聲調, is a typical form of scale written in many Chinese historical and musical treatises. This is also the theoretical scale that regularly appears in Japanese sources, such as *Sango yōroku*. Scales in other forms have emerged in China since the 3d c. AD or even earlier. For example, Xun Xu 荀勗 (d. 289) created a set of flutes that could be used to play modes generated from three different forms of heptatonic scale. For a detailed study of Xun Xu and his flutes, see Howard L. Goodman, *Xun Xu and the Politics of Precision in Third-Century AD China* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

<sup>38</sup> There is much evidence that the names of the twelve pitches were developed in China no later than the 6th c. BC. See Yingshi Chen, “Fundamental Theories of Chinese Traditional Music in Ancient Writings,” trans. Qinru Zhou, *Journal of Music in China* 1 (1999), p. 61. The calculation method to generate these twelve pitches is known as *sanbun son’eki-hō/sanfen sunyi fa* 三分損益法, a method that is similar to Pythagorean tuning and known and written about independently in Chinese sources from as early as about the second century BC. Many publications on music theory and tunings include a thorough discussion of Pythagorean tuning and equal temperament. See, e.g., William A. Sethares, *Tuning, Timbre, Spectrum, Scale* (London: Springer, 2005). The intervals between the pitches formed using the method are slightly, but significantly, different from those generated using the method of equal temperament in Western art music.

<sup>39</sup> Steven Nelson, “Pitch, Scale and Mode in Early Gagaku and Shōmyō,” *Nihon ongakushi kenkyū* 8 (2012), p. 43.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

at the Tang court in 754.<sup>41</sup> This edict lists the names of pieces performed at the court in fourteen groups classified by mode. Thirteen of the modes noted in the edict are named quite precisely with key and modal species.<sup>42</sup> Of these thirteen modes, ten were given an alternative name, and judging from the total number of musical pieces listed in each modal heading, these ten were possibly more popular than the others and more regularly played by Chinese musicians.<sup>43</sup> Evidence from early Japanese sources indicates that these ten popular modes, together with many of the musical pieces that were performed using these modes, were transmitted to Japan between the seventh and the ninth centuries.<sup>44</sup>

The above explanation is confined to the technical domain of Chinese music theory. Researchers of Chinese music are well aware that there also exists a philosophical domain in which music theory is interpreted in the context of a culture of reasoning, ethics, and aesthetics. Chinese philosophical ideas exerted an enormous influence over the functions and roles of music in ancient China. In the teachings of Confucianism, for example, music is not an independent art form, but an important component of the universe, as well as a foundation of a properly ordered society.<sup>45</sup> As a result, in ancient Chinese writings, music is substantially connected with an array of natural, philosophical and social phenomena in the form of analogies. For instance, the concept of *wuxing* 五行 (Five Phases) is often embedded in the explanation of music theory in Chinese treatises. The aforementioned five tones *kyū*, *shō*, *kaku*, *chi* and *u* are correlated to the Five Phases, as well as to other natural, social and cultural phenomena (see below for examples). The key function of these analogies is to emphasize the orthodoxy of those principal tones in the overall world of performance and, as well, their connection to various categories of the human world.<sup>46</sup> While some historical and musical records state that these analogies had to be evinced in the sounds, sights, and dances of ritual music performed at the Chinese imperial court, it is unlikely that they had any musical significance regarding the performance of secular music by ordinary musicians in China.

<sup>41</sup> Wang Pu 王溥, *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1955), pp. 615–18.

<sup>42</sup> Nelson, “Pitch, Scale and Mode in Early Gagaku and Shōmyō,” p. 43.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 44.

<sup>45</sup> Frederick Lau, *Music in China: Experiencing Music, Expressing Culture* (New York: Oxford U.P., 2008), p. 118.

<sup>46</sup> Chen, “Fundamental Theories of Chinese Traditional Music in Ancient Writings,” p. 57.

CHINESE MUSIC THEORY IN HEIAN JAPAN:  
AN ANALYSIS OF ITS *WA-KAN* ASSEMBLAGE

To explore the assimilation of Chinese music theory in Heian Japan in the context of the *Wa-Kan* dialectic, I propose an analytical framework of which the core idea is “self-fashioning,” a major concept propounded by Atsuko Sakaki in her study of the Sino-Japanese polarity in Japanese literature,<sup>47</sup> and subsequently used by other scholars in the study of other aspects—with the notable exclusion of music—of Japanese culture.<sup>48</sup> Sakaki has demonstrated, with different literary examples written at different periods of time, that the study of the *Wa-Kan* dialectic has generally speaking shaped a certain explication of the mutual entanglement of Chinese and Japanese elements. By this means, the Japanese are seen as having demonstrated a discursive self-fashioning process,<sup>49</sup> namely a constantly reconfigurable and adaptable presentation of “Chineseness” and “Japaneseness” that serves multiple purposes.<sup>50</sup> Although Sakaki has also exemplified four binary metaphors that specify Japan’s perceptions of China using a variety of literary works,<sup>51</sup> the analysis of this article will not be conducted in accordance with these metaphors because the concepts embedded in them, which illuminate the *Wa-Kan* polarity of literature, do not entirely conform to the case of music theory. Rather, while focusing on the notion of self-fashioning, this section will make reference to Chino Kaori’s 千野香織 (1952–2001) idea of a “double-layered binary structure of Kara and Yamato,” which offers a conceptual framework to understand the allocation of Chinese and Japanese cultural elements in Heian Japan.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Atsuko Sakaki, *Obsessions with the Sino-Japanese Polarity in Japanese Literature* (Honolulu: U. Hawai‘i P., 2006), pp. 1–2. Sakaki’s research was greatly inspired by the work of Mieke Bal, *Double Exposures: The Subject of Cultural Analysis* (New York and London: Routledge, 1996); and idem, *Quoting Caravaggio: Contemporary Art, Preposterous History* (Chicago: U. Chicago P., 1999).

<sup>48</sup> See, e.g., Melissa McCormick’s research, introduced later in this article, for the application of this concept in the study of historical texts and images.

<sup>49</sup> Sakaki, *Obsessions with the Sino-Japanese Polarity*, pp. 11–13.

<sup>50</sup> Wiebke Denecke, review of Atsuko Sakaki’s *Obsessions with the Sino-Japanese Polarity in Japanese Literature* in *China Review International* 14.2 (2007), p. 367.

<sup>51</sup> These four metaphors are “China as foreign and exotic” (as opposed to the domestic and indigenous Japan), “China as intellectual, conceptual and abstract” (as opposed to the sentimental, spontaneous and material Japan), “China as masculine” (versus Japan’s feminine) and “China as traditional and rigid” (versus the modern and variable Japan). See Sakaki, *Obsessions with the Sino-Japanese Polarity*, pp. 4–5.

<sup>52</sup> See Chino, “Gender in Japanese Art.” Chino used this concept to elaborate on art culture and gender issues in Heian Japan. It is, however, not my intention to imply that the attributes of Heian music are identical to those in these two areas of culture. I employ Chino’s conceptual framework merely to facilitate the understanding of the *Wa-Kan* assemblage of music theory in Heian Japan.

In addition, I will touch on the thought framework and observations of other researchers that specify the *Wa-Kan* assemblage of Japanese culture, including those proposed by David Pollack, Thomas LaMarre, Melissa McCormick, Wiebke Denecke and Gian-Piero Persiani.

David Pollack's examination of Japanese culture, despite being considerably criticized,<sup>53</sup> has laid the foundations for research into the *Wa-Kan* dialectic by holding the view that the "Chineseness" of Japanese culture should be conceived from the perspective of the Japanese through their comprehending what they see as essentially "Chinese."<sup>54</sup> Thomas LaMarre's study on the visual register of Heian texts further addresses the complex relationship between the *Wa* and *Kan* cultures in Japan, maintaining that their relationship is far more complicated than an exhibition of two individual and antithetical binaries. Instead, they have to be perceived as a *Wa-Kan* aggregation, in which the two forms of culture are simultaneously differentiated and coordinated in a zone of indeterminacy.<sup>55</sup>

Melissa McCormick alludes to Sakaki's concept of self-fashioning in her investigation of Japan's mediation of China by analyzing the painting *Murasaki Shikibu Ishiyama mōdezu* 紫式部石山詣図 (*Murasaki Shikibu at Ishiyamadera*) (1560). She indicates that the ambiguous boundaries between the *Wa* and *Kan* elements observed in Japanese culture are sometimes an intended result of the Japanese themselves, primarily for the purpose of accommodating their own agenda.<sup>56</sup> Wiebke Denecke further explores and tests the conception of mutual entanglement or discursive self-fashioning by scrutinizing the cultural reception processes of Japan, advocating that these processes are undertaken in the light of active and creative appropriations of its "reference culture," namely that of China.<sup>57</sup>

In compliance with the aforesaid concepts and perceptions, together with the ideas of "exclusion" and "hierarchization" (terms that are discussed, below) that are constantly employed in the study of Ja-

<sup>53</sup> See Herman Ooms's review of David Pollack's *The Fracture of Meaning: Japan's Synthesis of China from the Eighth through the Eighteenth Centuries* in *HJAS* 49.1 (1989), pp. 266–82.

<sup>54</sup> David Pollack, *The Fracture of Meaning: Japan's Synthesis of China from the Eighth through the Eighteenth Centuries* (Princeton U.P., 1986), pp. 3–4.

<sup>55</sup> LaMarre, *Uncovering Heian Japan*, pp. 48–49.

<sup>56</sup> Melissa McCormick, "Purple Displaces Crimson: The Wakan Dialectic as Polemic," in Dora C. Y. Ching, Louise Allison Cort and Andrew M. Watsky, eds., *Around Chigusa: Tea and the Arts of Sixteenth-Century Japan* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 2017), p. 185.

<sup>57</sup> Wiebke Denecke, *Classical World Literatures: Sino-Japanese and Greco-Roman Comparisons* (New York: Oxford U.P., 2014), pp. 10–15.

pan's assimilation of Chinese culture,<sup>58</sup> this section attempts to elucidate not only the changes that can occur in music theory, but also the implications of these changes in the context of the specific cultural milieu of Heian Japan. I will show with different examples that the development and assimilation of Chinese music theory in Japan underwent a comprehensive self-fashioning exercise that initially involved intricate procedures of exclusion and relocation of Chinese cultural elements, which were concomitantly accompanied by Japan's creative appropriations of the imported culture, and that the assimilation eventually generated some integrated products in which the differentiation of *Wa* and *Kan* cultures was rather indeterminate.

The information in *Kuchizusami* and *Sango yōroku* will form the basis of the following discussion.<sup>59</sup> Minamoto no Tamenori 源爲憲 (d. 1011) compiled *Kuchizusami* initially for a seven-year-old aristocrat Matsuo-gimi 松雄君 (later known as Fujiwara no Sanenobu 藤原誠信, 964–1001),<sup>60</sup> the eldest son of Fujiwara no Tamemitsu 藤原爲光 (942–92).<sup>61</sup> As a personal handbook that encompassed basic information on a variety of topics with which a very young aristocrat had to be acquainted, the fundamental knowledge written in *Kuchizusami* was summarized in 283 sets of short sentences or phrases known as *kyoku* 曲, so that the boy could easily memorize the information through constant recitation.<sup>62</sup> In view of its conciseness and educational function, there is good reason to assume that the information here is important, reliable, and accurate. This concise encyclopedic compendium became highly popular among the aristocracy, and was eventually employed as a general educational text, which also served as the basis for other late Heian-period educational compendia and literary works.<sup>63</sup> Although the original version of *Kuchizusami* has been lost, a manuscript copy

<sup>58</sup> See, for example, Persiani, "China as Self, China as Other."

<sup>59</sup> A large number of Japanese treatises compiled in and after the Heian period touch on the music theory imported from China. *Kuchizusami* is chosen as a key reference source because it was a significant encyclopedic compendium compiled in the late tenth century, when the assimilation of Chinese culture reached its apogee. *Sango yōroku* is important because this late-Heian period source consists of a detailed discussion of modes, from which the music theory utilized in a period when numerous aspects of Chinese culture had been comprehensively "Japanized" can be ascertained.

<sup>60</sup> Hanawa Hokiichi 塙保己一, ed., *Zoku gunsho ruijū* 続群書類従, vol. 32, *jō* (shang) (Tokyo: Gunsho ruijū kanseikai, 1926), p. 61.

<sup>61</sup> Okada Mareo 岡田希雄, "Kuchizusami wa shōryakuhon ka" 口遊は抄略本か, *Kokugo kokubun* 国語国文 6.9 (1936), p. 93.

<sup>62</sup> While *kyoku* literally means "song," there is no evidence that the *kyoku* in *Kuchizusami* can be sung.

<sup>63</sup> Marian Ury, "Chinese Learning and Intellectual Life," in Donald H. Shively and William

written in 1263 has survived. All copies of *Kuchizusami* made at a later date are based on or related to this early manuscript, which is now preserved in the Shinpuku-ji 真福寺 Bunko (Archives of the Shinpuku Temple) in Nagoya.<sup>64</sup> In addition to this manuscript, I have consulted an annotated typographic version compiled by the Yōgaku-no-kai 幼学の会 because the thirteenth-century manuscript contains some scribal errors.<sup>65</sup>

In *Kuchizusami*, the chapter devoted to music is titled “Ongaku-mon” 音楽門 (“Gateway to Music”), which, according to Kuroda Akira’s 黒田彰 analysis, consists of a total of sixteen *kyoku*.<sup>66</sup> *Kyoku* 1, 2, 3, 12, and 13 are confined to the discussion of music theory, whereas *kyoku* 4 to 11 comprise information about musical instruments. *Kyoku* 14, 15, and 16 introduce the names of significant musical pieces from the *Tōgaku* and other musical repertoires. Table 1, below, shows the five *kyoku* in “Ongaku-mon” that consist of descriptions or explanations of music theory and modes, after the annotated typographic version compiled by the Yōgaku-no-kai.

---

H. McCullough, eds., *The Cambridge History of Japan, Volume 2*: *Heian Japan* (New York: Cambridge U.P., 1999), p. 348.

<sup>64</sup> Kuroda Akira 黒田彰, “Kuchizusami-kō: Kuchizusami wa shōryakuhon ka zokuchō” 口遊放, 口遊は抄略本か続貂, in Yōgaku-no-kai 幼学の会, ed., *Kuchizusami chūkai* 口遊注解 (Tokyo: Benseisha, 1997), p. 3.

<sup>65</sup> Yōgaku-no-kai, ed., *Kuchizusami chūkai*. Yōgaku-no-kai, literally “society of early education for children,” was a research group the members of which engaged actively in the study and annotation of literary works that concerned childhood education in China and Japan.

<sup>66</sup> Kuroda, “Kuchizusami-kō,” pp. 12–18.

Table 1. Kyoku 1, 2, 3, 12 and 13 in the “Ongaku-mon” of Kuchizusami

Source: Information here obtained from Yōgaku-no-kai ed., *Kuchizusami chūkai* (cited n. 64), pp. 226–28. “K” (left column) refers to the Kyoku numbers in “Ongaku-mon.”

| K  | ORIGINAL TEXT                                                        | ENGLISH TRANSLATION                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|----|----------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1  | 宮商角徵羽 謂之五音                                                           | <i>Kyū, shō, kaku, chi,</i> and <i>u</i> are known as the five (relative) tones.                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| 1  | 今案 宮 一越調准君                                                           | In the light of current interpretation, <i>kyū</i> , (associated with) the mode <i>ichikotsuchō</i> / <i>yiyyuediao</i> , is equivalent to (the status of) “emperor.”                                                                                                                      |
| 1  | 商 平調 准臣                                                              | <i>Shō</i> , (associated with) the mode <i>hyōjō</i> / <i>pingdiao</i> , is equivalent to (the status of) “ministers.”                                                                                                                                                                     |
| 1  | 角 雙調 准民                                                              | <i>Kaku</i> , (associated with) the mode <i>sōjō</i> / <i>shuangdiao</i> , is equivalent to (the status of) “ordinary people.”                                                                                                                                                             |
| 1  | 徵 黃鐘調 准事                                                             | <i>Chi</i> , (associated with) the mode <i>ōshikichō</i> / <i>huangzhongdiao</i> , is equivalent to (the status of) “social affairs.”                                                                                                                                                      |
| 1  | 羽 盤涉調 准物                                                             | <i>U</i> , (associated with) the mode <i>banshikichō</i> / <i>panshediao</i> , is equivalent to (the status of) “things.”                                                                                                                                                                  |
| 2  | 春 雙調 東 木音                                                            | Spring is (connected with) the mode <i>sōjō</i> (which also represents the) direction of east and the sound of “wood.”                                                                                                                                                                     |
| 2  | 夏 黃鐘調 南 火音                                                           | Summer is (connected with) the mode <i>ōshikichō</i> (which also represents the) direction of south and the sound of “fire.”                                                                                                                                                               |
| 2  | 秋 平調 西 金音                                                            | Autumn is (connected with) the mode <i>hyōjō</i> (which also represents the) direction of west and the sound of “metal.”                                                                                                                                                                   |
| 2  | 冬 盤涉調 北 水音                                                           | Winter is (connected with) the mode <i>banshikichō</i> (which also represents the) direction of north and the sound of “water.”                                                                                                                                                            |
| 2  | 中央 一越調 土音<br>亦謂之五音                                                   | The mode <i>ichikotsuchō</i> (represents) the center and the sound of “earth.” These are also known as the five (relative) tones.                                                                                                                                                          |
| 3  | 宮商角徵羽變徵變宮<br>謂之七音                                                    | <i>Kyū, shō, kaku, chi, u, henchī,</i> and <i>henkyū</i> are known as the seven (relative) tones.                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| 3  | 今案 五如上                                                               | In the light of current interpretation, the five (relative tones) are those indicated above.                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| 3  | 變徵當上无調                                                               | <i>Henchī</i> is equivalent to the mode <i>kamimuchō</i> .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| 3  | 變宮當下无調                                                               | <i>Henkyū</i> is equivalent to the mode <i>shimomuchō</i> .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| 12 | 一越調 平調 雙調<br>黃鐘調盤涉調 大食調<br>謂之六調子                                     | <i>Ichikotsuchō, hyōjō, sōjō, ōshikichō, banshikichō,</i> and <i>taishikichō</i> / <i>dashidiao</i> are known as the six modes.                                                                                                                                                            |
| 13 | 一越調 一越性調<br>涉(沙?)陀調 平調<br>性調 乞食調 道調<br>雙調 黃鐘調水調<br>盤涉調 大食調<br>謂之十二調子 | <i>Ichikotsuchō; ichikotsuseichō</i> / <i>yiyyuxingdiao; sadachō</i> / <i>shatuodiao; hyōjō; seichō</i> / <i>xingdiao; kotsujikichō</i> / <i>qishidiao; dôchō</i> / <i>daodiao; sōjō; ōshikichō; suichō</i> / <i>shuidiao; banshikichō; and taishikichō</i> are known as the twelve modes. |

*Exclusion in the Practical Territory*

The concept of exclusion conceives of a process of selecting certain Chinese materials that had to be excluded from the Japanese cultural realm; it has been used in studies of the assimilation of Chinese culture in Japan for at least half a century.<sup>67</sup> In the Heian period, exclusion was not a simply a rejection of uncongenial Chinese materials. Such a statement underestimates, on the one hand, the intricacies of exclusion in the practical territory of cultural assimilation, and, on the other hand, fails to address the relocation process within the theoretical territory of such uncongenial materials. In the case of music theory, the practical territory refers to the materials that were actually used by the Japanese in the formation of modes for their performance of music. The theoretical territory covers mainly the conceptual descriptions or interpretations of modal theory imported from China, many of which were not applied in music performances in Japan – for example, the analogies in the philosophical domain of music theory, as discussed in the previous section.

Let us first consider the exclusion concept, as it occurs in practical territory, where two forms of self-fashioning are observed. The first form concerns the exclusion of a complete Chinese system, despite its substitution by a Japanese mechanism that delivers a similar function. The second form is a “partial” exclusion that removes only a portion of cultural or abstract ideational material in a Chinese system, followed by an insertion of new, Japanese-designed conceptions or interpretations in order to consolidate its meaning or function. The ultimate goal of these two forms of self-fashioning is the formation of an integrated *Wa-Kan* product, or system, that echoes the needs of the Japanese at a particular time and within a specific environment.

As explained previously, the technical layer of Chinese music theory comprises a set of relative tones, a set of named pitches, and a system that generates modal species or modes using relative tones and pitches. It is clear from table 1 that the system of relative tones is introduced in *kyoku* 1 and 3. In addition, *kyoku* 1, 2, 12, and 13 altogether contain a total of twelve modal names or modal headings, most of which are identical to the alternative names noted in *Tang huiyao*.<sup>68</sup> It

<sup>67</sup> For example, one of the key features of Japan’s assimilation of Chinese culture indicated by Ivan Morris is the rejection of uncongenial Chinese elements; Morris, *The World of the Shining Prince: Court Life in Ancient Japan* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1964), p. 8. Recently, Gian-Piero Persiani has utilized this concept to elucidate Ki no Tsurayuki’s 紀貫之 (d. 945?) strategic othering of *Kan* to define and exalt *Wa*; “China as Self, China as Other,” p. 38

<sup>68</sup> *Tang huiyao*, pp. 616–18. In the third *kyoku* of the “Ongaku-mon” (see table 1), the meanings of the terms *kamimuchō* and *shimomuchō*, which do not appear in *Tang huiyao*, are enig-

is, however, evident that the Chinese-named twelve pitches, as well as the system that generates modal species or modes, are excluded in the music chapter (“Ongaku-mon”) of *Kuchizusami*. While it is reasonable to assume that a thorough discussion of modal generation is outside the scope of *Kuchizusami* because it is only a boy’s handbook (discussed above), an exploration of the exclusion may hint at a much stronger explanation. As can be discerned from table 2, below, an introduction of the system of named pitches would have been accomplished by listing the names of the twelve pitches in the form of a simple and short *kyoku*, but this was not included in “Ongaku-mon.”

*Table 2. The Twelve Named Pitches in Chinese Music Theory*

| TWELVE<br>PITCHES | CHINESE<br>READING | JAPANESE<br>READING |
|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| 黃鐘                | <i>huangzhong</i>  | <i>kōshō</i>        |
| 大呂                | <i>dalü</i>        | <i>tairyo</i>       |
| 太簇                | <i>taicou</i>      | <i>taisō</i>        |
| 夾鐘                | <i>jiazhong</i>    | <i>kyōshō</i>       |
| 姑洗                | <i>guxian</i>      | <i>kosen</i>        |
| 仲呂                | <i>zhonglü</i>     | <i>chūryo</i>       |
| 蕤賓                | <i>ruibin</i>      | <i>suihin</i>       |
| 林鐘                | <i>linzhong</i>    | <i>rinshō</i>       |
| 夷則                | <i>yize</i>        | <i>isoku</i>        |
| 南呂                | <i>nanlü</i>       | <i>nanryo</i>       |
| 無射                | <i>wuyi</i>        | <i>bueki</i>        |
| 應鐘                | <i>yingzhong</i>   | <i>ōshō</i>         |

We must turn to our other source. *Sango yōroku*, which is a twelve-scroll collection of tablature notations for the four-stringed lute compiled by Fujiwara no Moronaga 藤原師長 (1138–1192) in the late-Heian period, provides important insights into the background against which the whole Chinese system of twelve named pitches is sometimes neglected or excluded in modal discussions in Heian sources. The whereabouts of the original of *Sango yōroku* is unknown, but two early, reliable manuscript copies of the thirteenth- to early-fourteenth centuries have survived. The manuscript that I have consulted is the early-fourteenth-

---

matic. Although they sound like modal names, they barely appear in Chinese sources. However, *kamimu* and *shimomu* (with the suffix “-chō 調,” literally “mode,” omitted) were used in a new set of pitch names developed in Japan. (This is discussed, below.)

century *Kikutei-ke* 菊庭家 (*The Kikutei Family*) copy, which is preserved by the Kunaichō Shoryōbu 宮内庁書陵部 (Archives and Mausolea Department of the Imperial Household Agency) in Tokyo.

Of the twelve scrolls of *Sango yōroku*, the first two include detailed descriptions of modal structures, lute tunings, and music theory.<sup>69</sup> I will set aside the first scroll at the moment and concentrate on the second one. It illustrates a total of eight forms of tuning for the lute, each of which is supplemented with some tuning preludes and short pieces that allow the performers to confirm the pitches of a tuning. To facilitate the performers' understanding of the tunings, Moronaga indicated the pitches of the open strings, together with the pitches of some fret positions, with reference to the pitches produced from the transverse flute. This is feasible because the transverse flute is an instrument whose pitches were considered more fixed than those produced by the fretted lute, and a standard flute has been used for the performance of *Tōgaku* in Japan since around 830 (or earlier) onward.<sup>70</sup> Because the practice of using a standard flute continued for almost three centuries before the compilation of *Sango yōroku*, there can be little doubt that the flute used by Moronaga to specify the lute tunings was a standard flute.

Furthermore, the compiler specified the structure of the common modes by pointing out the corresponding pitch of the relative tones in each mode according to the pitches of the tuned open strings and fret positions, which were previously signified by the pitches produced from the flute. The mechanism concerning the derivation of the pitches of each mode and tuning has been rigorously explained in previous research, and therefore it will not be discussed here again.<sup>71</sup> The following figure briefly exemplifies how a tuning named *henpukōjō* 返風香調 can be obtained by referring to the pitches produced from the flute, and how the pitches of the relative tones of the modes *sōjō* 雙調 and *suichō* 水調 are specified by the open strings and fret positions after applying the *henpukōjō* tuning to the lute.

<sup>69</sup> The other scrolls mainly consist of musical pieces written in tablature notation.

<sup>70</sup> Allan Maret, "Hakuga's Flute Score," Ph.D. diss. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University, 1976), p. 71.

<sup>71</sup> See Endō Tōru 遠藤徹, *Heianchō no gagaku: kogakufu ni yoru Tōgakyoku no gakyūteki kenkyū* 平安朝の雅楽, 古楽譜による唐楽曲の楽理的研究 (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō, 2005); and Terauchi Naoko, *Gagaku no rizumu kōzō: Heian jidai sue ni okeru Tōgakyoku ni tsuite* 雅楽のリズム構造, 平安時代末における唐楽曲について (Tokyo: Daiichi shobō, 1996).



scroll of *Sango yōroku* points to the deduction that the comprehension of modal structure in Japan was conducted via a direct perception of the pitches produced from the musical instruments. This method of using a standard musical instrument to specify the pitches in a mode was apparently a Japanese (*Wa*) mechanism employed to replace the Chinese (*Kan*) system of named pitches. This was also the reason why the Chinese system of named pitches became insignificant in the practical territory of Heian music.

Exclusion also occurs in the system of relative tones, but this is a kind of partial exclusion. In the Heian period, the exclusion that occurred in the adaptation did not necessarily signify the abandonment of a complete system; it could be a partial repudiation of theory embedded in an aspect of Chinese culture. The distinctive feature of the Japanized system of relative tones, discussed below, not only demonstrates the intricate self-fashioning characteristics of exclusion, but also provides evidence that in Heian Japan a thorough understanding of the Chinese method of generating modes was not necessary.

As some researchers of *Tōgaku* notations have already ascertained from the modal theory explained in the second scroll of *Sango yōroku* and from other late-Heian sources, the fundamental elements of the Chinese system of relative tones—that is, the names, the sequence of the tones, and their role as indicators of relative pitches—were preserved by the Japanese. However, an important function of this system in China, namely the formation of modal species using each of the relative tones as the final of a modal series, was disregarded in the late Heian period.<sup>72</sup> In China, each of the relative tones, in particular the five principal tones, could be designated as the final (first note) of a modal series in order to generate modal species with different structures. For example, the modal series of which its final is *kyū* resembles the structure of a Lydian scale (W–W–W–h–W–W–h), whereas the modal series with *shō* as its final is identical to that of the Mixolydian scale (W–W–h–W–W–h–W). By the same token, the modal series formed by choosing the *kaku*, *henchi*, *chi*, *u* and *henkyū* tones as the final will manifest different structures.

Nevertheless, the Japanese were not much concerned with this important function of relative tones. In fact, they developed a simpler method to articulate the modal structures by labeling all of the finals of the modes as *kyū*. For example, in *Sango yōroku*, the theoretical structure of the mode *taishikichō* 大食調 (E–F#–G#–A–B–C#–D) is

<sup>72</sup> See, e.g., Endō, *Heianchō no gagaku*.

identical to that used in Tang China.<sup>73</sup> In Chinese treatises, this mode is regarded as a *shō* mode, in which the relative tone of its final is *shō*. Consequently, the sequence of the seven relative tones of this mode is “*shō-kaku-henchi-chi-u-henkyū-kyū*.” In spite of its *shō* modal structure, however, *Sango yōroku* indicates that the final of this mode is *kyū*, and the sequence of the seven relative tones is “*kyū-shō-kaku-henchi-chi-u-henkyū*.” Here the Japanese utilized this series to describe the structure of all of the modes, treating it like the system of degree names (tonic, supertonic, mediant, etc.) used in Western art music, and taking no account of the fact that many of these modes did not exhibit a Lydian or *kyū* structure. Whether this partial exclusion of the functions of relative tones, as Steven Nelson has suggested, was the result of Japan’s deliberate “Lydianization” of modal structure,<sup>74</sup> or was an intended negligence of the principal function of the system of relative tones, still, the core function of relative tone could be excluded because actual pitches produced from the musical instruments took absolute precedence over other theoretical materials in comprehending and determining the structure of a mode.

Another noteworthy feature of this partial exclusion is that it involves, as Wiebke Denecke has suggested, a creative appropriation and acculturation of the reference culture (China) by the younger culture (Japan).<sup>75</sup> The new interpretation of relative tones that resembles the role of naming the different degrees in Western music theory, together with a new set of named pitches (discussed later), may be regarded as a kind of Japanese “creation” that constellates both *Wa* and *Kan* ideas and materials. A possible purpose of this constellation was to devise ways of laying claim to a pristineness that could give Japan a sense of independence from the reference culture.<sup>76</sup> This is an important objective or agenda of Japan’s assimilation of Chinese culture that some previous research has failed to recognize. Indeed, research carried out to date on the adaptation of Chinese music in Heian Japan has tended to concentrate on explaining what elements were eliminated in the original Chinese system, arguing that simplification and abandonment were the main characteristics evinced in Japan’s assimilation of Chinese music.<sup>77</sup> Such discourse ignores the creative process, resulting in

<sup>73</sup> See Steven Nelson, “Issues in the Interpretation of Notation for East Asian Lutes (Pipa/Biwa) as Preserved in Scores of the Eighth to Twelfth Centuries,” *Nihon ongakushi kenkyū* 8 (2012), p. 32.

<sup>74</sup> Nelson, “Pitch, Scale and Mode in Early Gagaku and Shōmyō,” p. 46.

<sup>75</sup> Denecke, *Classical World Literatures: Sino-Japanese and Greco-Roman Comparisons*, p. 5.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 299.

<sup>77</sup> See, for example, the case of *gakusei kaikaku* in Tanabe’s *Nihon fūzokushi kōza*.

merely detecting the “ellipses” that might cause the younger culture to appear deficient.<sup>78</sup> As has been shown in the preceding analysis, while some configurations in the Japanized system of music theory are not as complex and meticulous as those in the original Chinese setting, the result is anything but deficient.

*The Relocation of Chinese Elements within Theoretical Territory*

The complexity of assimilation of Chinese culture in the Heian period also lies in Japan’s perception of the functions of the adopted Chinese culture in the areas of practice and theory. Chino Kaori uses the term “*yakuwari buntan* 役割分担,” or “apportionment of roles,” to refer to this differentiation of functions.<sup>79</sup> Even though the Chinese system of named pitches might not have had significance in articulating the structure of tunings and modes, it did not completely vanish. On the contrary, the Japanese were fully aware of the system because the Chinese-named pitches occasionally appeared in the texts of Japanese treatises written in and after the Heian period, such as *Sango yōroku* (see below). This paradoxical existence of Chinese-named pitches within the discourse of music theory in Heian Japan can be explained through an investigation of the self-fashioning process that demonstrates how Chinese culture is located or relocated in the theoretical territory.

Chino Kaori’s concept of “double-layered binary structure” provides an appropriate platform for us to understand this apportionment of roles, or the (re)location of Chinese culture. The first layer of this binary structure comprises two categories: the Yamato and Kara categories.<sup>80</sup> Yamato refers to the identity or culture that the Japanese chose for and practiced by themselves in Japan. Regardless of the use of the word Yamato – a word with a strong indigenous implication – the Yamato category covered not only indigenous but also Chinese cultures.

Essentially, Yamato represented a practical territory where indigenous traditions and assimilated foreign cultures coexisted. By contrast,

<sup>78</sup> For an explanation of this concept, see Denecke, *Classical World Literatures: Sino-Japanese and Greco-Roman Comparisons*, p. 13.

<sup>79</sup> Chino’s research was first published in the form of a Japanese-language article, “Nihon bijutsu no jendā” 日本美術のジェンダー, in the journal *Bijutsushi* 美術史 136 (1994). An English translation, “Gender in Japanese Art,” appeared originally in the journal *Aesthetics* 7 (1996). For this article, I have consulted a reprint of the latter in *Gender and Power in the Japanese Visual Field* (see n. 5, above) together with a reprint of the Japanese version in *Chino Kaori chosakushū* 千野香織著作集 (Tokyo: Brücke, 2010). The term “*yakuwari buntan*” is used in the Japanese version (p. 525), and the translation “apportionment of roles” is found in the English reprint (p. 22).

<sup>80</sup> Here I follow Chino’s practice of using the terms Kara and Yamato in capitalized and non-italicized forms without putting them in quotation marks.

the Kara category embraced the advanced Tang or *Kan* culture prevalent in the continent, of which the Japanese simply maintained a strong consciousness.<sup>81</sup> The Japanese probably regarded the Chinese-named pitches as an advanced system of Chinese culture that deserved this strong consciousness. Despite its removal from the practical Yamato category, it was preserved in the theoretical Kara category. In such a context, practicality could never be the only factor that determined whether or not an aspect of Chinese culture ought to be preserved in Japan. Chinese culture that was very significant in its homeland, but with little or even no practical function in Japan, might also be highly acknowledged. Chino has argued that Japan's endeavor to preserve some Chinese cultural elements in the Kara category that were deemed very significant and emblematic in China could be understood as a kind of "*kyōhaku kannen* 強迫観念" (obsession) of the highly developed civilization on the continent.<sup>82</sup>

The first two scrolls of *Sango yōroku* evidently exemplify this concept. As suggested in the above discussion, the second scroll of *Sango yōroku* consists of explanations of modes and tunings for practical use, and they are specified by the actual pitches produced from the transverse flute. The first scroll, on the other hand, is devoted to modal discussions and tunings that were no longer, or probably had never been, utilized in Japan. The Chinese system of named pitches appears in the first, but not the second, scroll.

The first scroll begins with an introductory passage that explains the background to the reduction of the number of lute tunings in Japan, underpinning the substantial illustration of only eight forms of practical tunings given in the second scroll of the compilation. This introductory passage is followed by a section known as *biwa senkyū-hō/pipa xuangong fa* 琵琶旋宮法 (method for shifting keys on the lute) that elucidates a set of twelve tunings, each of which is used to perform the modes generated from one of the twelve keys in Chinese music theory. The tunings explained in the *biwa senkyū-hō* section are likely associated with the conception and mechanism of *senkyū/xuangong* 旋宮, or "key shifting," illustrated in *Gakusho yōroku/Yueshu yaolu* 樂書要錄 (*Essential Records of Music Treatises*) (late-seventh century), a Chinese musical treatise imported to Japan in the first half of the eighth century.<sup>83</sup> *Senkyū*

<sup>81</sup> Chino, "Gender in Japanese Art," pp. 24–25.

<sup>82</sup> Chino, "Nihon bijutsu no jendā," p. 526.

<sup>83</sup> For details, see Hazuka Keimei 羽塚啓明, "Gakusho Yōroku kaisetsu" 樂書要錄解説, *Tōyō ongaku kenkyū* 東洋音楽研究 2.2 (1940), pp. 1–12; and idem, "Kōi Gakusho Yōroku" 校異樂書要錄, *Tōyō ongaku kenkyū* 2.4 (1942), pp. 15–25.

is one of the basic modal concepts in Chinese music, which generally denotes a technique of changing the keys without changing the scalar structure of the modes.<sup>84</sup>

In the *biwa senkyū-hō* section, the pitches of the open strings and fret positions of each tuning are signified by the Chinese names of the twelve fixed pitches. While there is no verifiable concrete evidence that Fujiwara no Moronaga copied the *biwa senkyū-hō* directly from Chinese sources during the course of his compilation of *Sango yōroku*, two approaches employed to illustrate the tunings in the *biwa senkyū-hō* section logically corroborate the claim that it is of Chinese origin. Firstly, the explanation of tunings is provided with reference to all of the three main components of Chinese music theory: the relative tones, the named pitches, and the keys. Secondly, the tunings are presented in a way that reflects the ritual-cosmological theory of the monthly rotation of musical modes, which is one of the distinctive modal features of ritual or sacrificial music in China.<sup>85</sup> Still, each tuning given in the *biwa senkyū-hō* section is further supplemented with a short passage in which pitches produced from the transverse flute are utilized again to provide an alternative elucidation of the structure of a tuning. These short passages, on the other hand, were likely compiled by Moronaga himself.

Moronaga's inclusion of *biwa senkyū-hō* in *Sango yōroku* might have been an intended juxtaposition of important Chinese elements within the theoretical territory with those in the practical territory: the *biwa senkyū-hō* in the first scroll versus the assimilated lute tunings in the second scroll. Conforming to Chino's conception, in the first two scrolls of *Sango yōroku*, Moronaga probably wanted to, on the one hand, demonstrate Japan's awareness of significant and sophisticated forms of Chinese musical culture (in the Kara category), and, on the other, highlight the specific features and accomplishments of the Japanized Chinese music theory and lute tunings (in the Yamato category).

This division of functions can also be contemplated in the light of Gian-Piero Persiani's concept of "hierarchization," which denotes an approach by which the Japanese regard the *Kan* tradition as an authoritative model for the presentation and elucidation of their *Wa* tradition

<sup>84</sup> Chen, "Fundamental Theories of Chinese Traditional Music in Ancient Writings," pp. 66–67.

<sup>85</sup> Joseph Lam, "There Is No Music in Chinese Music History': Five Court Tunes from the Yuan Dynasty (AD 1271–1368)," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 119.2 (1994), p. 179.

in a more accredited manner.<sup>86</sup> In *Sango yōroku*, the concepts of *senkyū* and the *biwa senkyū-hō* presented in the first scroll of *Sango yōroku* may serve as this authoritative precedent or model for the practical tunings explained in the second scroll. It is, however, important to note that this hierarchization exists only in the conceptual layer, and implies no absolute binarism between the *Wa* and *Kan* traditions. Indeed, the presentation of China's cultural ideas and concepts within the theoretical realm before the explanation of Japan's practical systems does not result in an acute continental-native or positive-negative dichotomy since these two spheres have different functions and roles.<sup>87</sup>

#### *Other Examples of Arbitrary Self-fashioning*

The *Wa* and *Kan* cultural elements in Heian Japan are sometimes entangled to such an extent that their assimilation manifests a strong sense of arbitrariness.<sup>88</sup> This section discusses two more specific features of the Japanized music theory wherein such an arbitrary arrangement or rearrangement of Chinese materials is present, in the process revealing puzzling or even inaccurate designations of Chinese elements in a Japanese setting. The first feature concerns the analogies of modes. The second feature pertains to the development of a new system of pitch names. Between them, these two features demonstrate a highly synthesized configuration of *Wa* and *Kan* elements such that their coordination or differentiation is rendered fairly indeterminate.

Although, in China, the relative tones are constantly presented and explained together with some analogies, modes or modal names, in particular the alternative names for secular music, are seldom likened to analogies in discussions of music theory. In the "Ongaku-mon" section of *Kuchizusami*, however, modal names are presented with some analogies. For example, the mode *ichikotsuchō* 一越調 is likened to the idea of "emperor" in the first *kyoku*, and is further associated with the concepts of "center" and "earth" in the second *kyoku* (see table 1, above). Furthermore, each of the five important modes introduced in the first *kyoku* is associated with a relative tone (see *kyoku* 1 in table 1). While it could be concluded that the relative tone linked to each mode denotes the final of that mode used in China, a study of the structure of the modes explained in Chinese sources reveals that this is not necessarily the case. For example, in *Tang huiyao*, *hyōjō* 平調 is an *u* modal

<sup>86</sup> Persiani, "China as Self, China as Other," p. 44.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Sakaki, *Obsessions with the Sino-Japanese Polarity*, p. 178.

species, and therefore the final of this mode is the *u* tone.<sup>89</sup> In *Kuchizusami*, however, *hyōjō* is associated with the *shō* rather than the *u* tone (see *kyoku* 1 in table 1).

One may, then, assume that the relationship between the five modes and the five relative tones depends on the pitch of the final of each mode because, as just explained above, in Heian Japan pitches took absolute precedence over other theoretical materials in the interpretation of modes. This is, however, not completely true either. The information given in the second scroll of *Sango yōroku* allows us to ascertain the theoretical structure of the five important modes introduced in the first *kyoku* of “Ongaku-mon.” The finals of *ichikotsuchō*, *hyōjō*, *sōjō*, *ōshikichō* 黃鐘調, and *banshikichō* 盤涉調 are D, E, G, A and B, respectively. The information given in the first *kyoku* indicates that *ichikotsuchō*, the final of which is D, is associated with the *kyū* tone, *hyōjō* (E) with the *shō* tone, *sōjō* (G) with the *kaku* tone, *ōshikichō* (A) with the *chi* tone, and *banshikichō* (B) with the *u* tone. A discrepancy can be observed if one studies the interval relationship of the pitches and the relative tones. This discrepancy is that the pitch of *kaku*, which is a major third (do-mi) above the *kyū* tone (D), should be F# instead of G. The alignment of the *sōjō* (G) with the *kaku* tone is, therefore, somewhat unreasonable and arbitrary. It is unlikely that the Japanese lacked awareness of this discrepancy, owing to the fact that in the Heian period the Japanese chiefly depended on the actual pitches of the modes to identify and comprehend the modal structures. Perhaps the Japanese performers had no option but to associate the *sōjō* with the *kaku* tone because none of the common *Tōgaku* modes used in the Heian period began with the pitch F#. At any rate, such unreasonable alignment of materials demonstrates the arbitrariness of Japan’s self-fashioning process as it formed an assembled *Wa-Kan* cultural product.

Turning now to the development of a new set of pitch names in Japan, while these began to appear in sources compiled after the tenth century,<sup>90</sup> no currently known or available Japanese source includes an explicit description of the background and reasons for the emergence of this set of pitch names. Table 3, below, shows the twelve names in this pitch set, of which five were named after the most common modes that used that pitch as its final, by omitting the suffix “-*chō*” when the

<sup>89</sup> *Tang huiyao*, p. 617.

<sup>90</sup> For example, the appearance of the terms *kamimu(chō)* and *shimomu(chō)* in the third *kyoku* of the “Ongaku-mon” of *Kuchizusami* implies that these Japanese pitch names, or at least the two pitch names *kamimu* and *shimomu* (see table 3), might have emerged in around the late-10th c.

name of the mode is composed of three Chinese characters.<sup>91</sup> These five common modes are identical to the aforementioned *ichikotsu(chō)* (D), *hyōjō* (E), *sōjō* (G), *ōshiki(chō)* (A) and *banshiki(chō)* (B). The Japanese first adopted them from China as modes for the performance of *Tōgaku* in Japan, but eventually they made reference to the pitch of the final of these modes to signify the fixed pitches in an octave. Such practice of using modal names to indicate fixed pitches was not usual in China. Given the fact that this new set of pitch names is an aggregation of original Chinese (the modal names), assimilated Chinese (the utilization of Chinese modal names as indicators of Japanese pitches) and indigenous (the other seven pitch names created by the Japanese) materials,<sup>92</sup> it serves as a typical example of a highly complex constellation of *Wa* and *Kan* materials that involves the previously-discussed Japanese creative process.

*Table 3. A New Set of Named Pitches Developed in Japan*

| NEW<br>PITCH<br>NAMES | JAPANESE<br>ROMANIZATION   | ANALOGOUS<br>WESTERN<br>NAMES |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 壹越 (一越)               | <i>Ichikotsu</i>           | D                             |
| 斷金                    | <i>Tangin</i>              | D#                            |
| 平調                    | <i>Hyōjō</i>               | E                             |
| 勝絶                    | <i>Shōzetsu</i>            | F                             |
| 下無 (下无)               | <i>Shimomu</i> (see n. 90) | F#                            |
| 双調 (雙調)               | <i>Sōjō</i>                | G                             |
| 鳧鐘                    | <i>Fushō</i>               | G#                            |
| 黄鐘                    | <i>Ōshiki</i>              | A                             |
| 鸞鏡                    | <i>Rangei</i>              | A#                            |
| 盤涉                    | <i>Banshiki</i>            | B                             |
| 神仙                    | <i>Shinsen</i>             | C                             |
| 上無 (上无)               | <i>Kamimu</i> (see n. 90)  | C#                            |

One may formulate a hypothetical narrative of the development of this set of Japanese pitch names with reference to how the structures of

<sup>91</sup> Nelson, "Pitch, Scale and Mode in Early Gagaku and Shōmyō," p. 44.

<sup>92</sup> The pitch names *tangin*, *shōzetsu*, *shimomu*, *fushō*, *rangei*, *shinsen*, and *kamimu*, albeit pronounced in *on'yomi* (Japanese versions of Chinese readings) form and written in *kanji* (Chinese characters), cannot be found in any Chinese treatises that discuss music.

modes and tunings are explained in the second scroll of *Sango yōroku*, which clearly shows that the pitches produced from musical instruments were the key source of information in terms of comprehending the structures of practical modes and tunings in the late-Heian period. This also means that in order to understand the modes and tunings in this context, a profound knowledge of musical instruments, as well as the meanings of the symbols or signs that indicate the fingerings of these instruments, is essential. In other words, only musicians or people with a musicological background can apprehend the structures of modes and tunings using this method. Thus, the most logical but non-verifiable hypothesis of forming this set of new pitch names is that the Japanese discovered the inadequacies or disadvantages of using the actual pitches produced from the musical instruments to elucidate the structure of modes for readers without considerable knowledge of music. As a result, they created a new set of pitch names whereby a more straightforward method of specifying the twelve pitches could be employed. The reason for not (re-)using the Chinese system of named pitches remains enigmatic. Perhaps because the Chinese system had been allocated to the theoretical territory for so long of a period that the Japanese preferred not to bring it back to the practical territory. Another persuasive explanation is that this new set of pitch names is an example of how the Japanese pursued their independence from the reference culture through the creation of a highly integrated *Wa-Kan* product, keeping some Chinese elements in order to maintain its authority while treating it as a new Japanese system by inserting indigenously-made materials.

Such independence can also be delineated in the light of the concept in the second layer contained within Chino's idea of "double-layered binary structure," which exists only in the Yamato category of the first layer. This Yamato category encompasses not only the indigenous culture developed in Japan, but also the Tang or foreign culture adopted and adapted in Japan. The former becomes the culture of "Yamato-within-Yamato," whereas the latter is "Kara-within-Yamato."<sup>93</sup> They are not separated divisions, but represent two tendencies at opposite ends of a spectrum because they were designed to coexist.<sup>94</sup> The most important feature in this spectrum is that as the newly adopted Chinese cultural elements were assimilated, they became gradually equated with

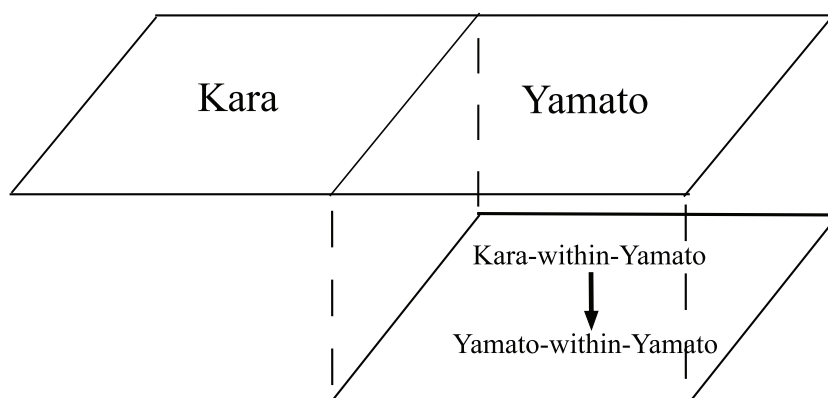
<sup>93</sup> Chino, "Gender in Japanese Art," pp. 24–25.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

the indigenous culture, and they then shifted, conceptually, from the category of “Kara-within-Yamato” to the category of “Yamato-within-Yamato,”<sup>95</sup> thereby attaining a sense of independence from the reference culture. The new set of pitch names can be regarded as a perfect example of this shift. Notwithstanding the remarkable Chinese (*Kan*) elements in this set of pitch names, it is now commonly regarded as a Japanese (*Wa*) product in some publications on Japanese music.<sup>96</sup> Figure 2 is an illustration of Japanized Chinese music theory, using Chino’s concept of a “double-layered binary structure of Kara and Yamato.”

*Figure 2. An Interpretation of Japanized Chinese Music Theory in the Light of Chino Kaori’s Concept of a “Double-Layered Binary Structure of Kara and Yamato”*

Source: Author’s figure based on information in Chino, “Gender in Japanese Art” (cited n. 5).



The first layer of the binary structure is the top plane, showing Kara vs. Yamato. On the left of it, Kara is a *theoretical territory* where the Japanese maintained a strong consciousness of important Chinese (foreign) culture prevalent on the continent, such as the Chinese system of named pitches and the *biwa senkyū-hō* in the first scroll of *Sango yōroku*. On the top right is Yamato, a *practical territory* where both adapted Chinese (Kara-within-Yamato) and indigenous (Yamato-within-Yamato) cultures coexisted.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>96</sup> For example, see Ono Ryōya 小野亮哉, ed., *Gagaku jiten* 雅楽事典 (Tokyo: Ongaku no tomosha, 1989), p. 13. This encyclopedia indicates that the Japanese pitch names are “*koyū no namae* 固有の名称 (native or indigenous names),” which were “newly” (*aratani* あらたに) formed by the Japanese after learning the system of twelve named pitches in China. As can be discerned from my preceding analysis, the description is misleading.

The second layer of the binary structure is the right part of the bottom plane, showing Kara-within-Yamato vs. Yamato-within-Yamato. This area consists of Heian-period cultures that evinced hybrid *Wa-Kan* constituents, for example, the “Japanized” system of relative tones and the new set of Japanese pitch names.

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS

Even though the music theory utilized in the Heian period consisted of an array of Chinese (*Kan*) elements, the essence of Japanized Chinese music theory was not characterized merely by an enrichment of the Japanese (*Wa*) elements through proximity to Chinese precedent.<sup>97</sup> A scrutinization of the complex music theory that hybridized different *Wa* and *Kan* elements has revealed the fact that the assimilation which occurred in the Heian period also involved thorough, self-fashioning processes of creation and appropriation on the part of the Japanese that corresponded to their own agenda.

It has been more than half a century since the *Tōgaku* melodies written in historical Japanese scores were transcribed and studied from a technical perspective that focused on tracing the degree of their resemblance to the sound of Chinese secular music. By conceiving of the *Tōgaku* as a Japanese music repertory that exhibited a hybrid *Wa-Kan* configuration, rather than examining it solely as a surviving Chinese music repertory in a foreign land, the study of Heian music theory in the context of the *Wa-Kan* dialectic explored in this article opens up a new research approach to the investigation of the historical *Tōgaku* tradition in Japan.

<sup>97</sup> McCormick, “Purple Displaces Crimson,” p. 206.