Abstract of the thesis entitled

Japonifying the *Qin*:
The Appropriation of Chinese *Qin* Music in Tokugawa Japan

Submitted by

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This thesis traces connections between intellectual-political history and *qin* music in Tokugawa Japan. In particular, the ideological forces behind the efforts to merge Japanese *gagaku* with the Chinese *qin* launched by the Tokugawa bakufu around 1735-1738 are explored.

The Introduction describes the two main practices, notational transmission and oral transmission, which contributed to the long history of the uninterrupted tradition of Chinese *qin* music. Chapter I traces the transmission of *qin* music into Japan via the port of Nagasaki in the late seventeenth century, a process resulting in the adaptation of Chinese Zen priest Tōkō Shin'etsu's (1639-1695) repertoire and the abandonment of notational transmission in Tokugawa Japan. A close reading of Ogyū Sorai's (1666-1728) political philosophy constitutes Chapter II.

Much emphasis is placed on the Confucian fundamentalist's discourse on the Way, which informed his extensive studies of ancient *qin* scrolls transmitted to Japan from Tang China, as well as his criticism of the bakufu's ritual music in the last phase of his career. The final chapter demonstrates how Shōgun Tokugawa Yoshimune (1684-1751) reacted to Sorai's ideas, reconstructing the hitherto obscure bakufu initiative to remold *qin* music, with an aim to recount the process of gagaku-ization of the *qin* in Japan. Preceded by the Conclusion, two appendices provide inventories of Shin'etsu's repertoire and of *gaku-kin* music.

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis represents my own work, except where due acknowledgment is made, and that it has not been previously included in a thesis, dissertation or report submitted to this University or to any other institution for a degree, diploma or other qualification.

Signed . . . . . .

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INTRODUCTION

The *qin*, a type of zither, has long been considered China's pre-eminent musical instrument. Confucius is said to have played the *qin*, as well as the *se*, another form of zither. The latter had completely disappeared by the middle of the first millennium C.E., but the *qin* remained popular, especially among Confucian and Taoist circles, until around the downfall of imperial China at the turn of the twentieth century. Today the tradition is carried on by a small but dedicated group of connoisseurs. Throughout its long history, the *qin* was the musical instrument most prized by Chinese literati; they categorized it as one of their "four arts,"[1] collected it as an art object, related it to various aspects of Confucian thought, and built a complex ideology around the instrument as well as its repertoire. Hence, in his *The Lore of Chinese Lute*, Robert van Gulik aptly remarks that the *qin* "stands entirely alone, both in its character and in the important place it occupies in the life of the [Chinese] literary class."[2]

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[1] The "four arts" included *qin* playing, calligraphy, painting, and the board game *weiqi*, which is similar to the Japanese *go*.

[2] R. H. van Gulik, *The Lore of the Chinese Lute* (Tōkyō: Sophia University, 1940), 1. In the book, he called the *qin* a "lute", rather than a "zither" in order to convey to the general reader something of the cultural significance of this instrument and its music. He explains that since the word "lute" is associated by Westerners with poetry and refined enjoyment, it adequately suggests the atmosphere that surrounds the *qin*, while "psaltery," or "zither," cannot. However, from the perspective of organology, there can be no doubt that the *qin* is a form of zither.

The *qin* flourished in Japan from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, though the instrument might have been played there much earlier. According to van Gulik, the cultivation of *qin* was due mainly to the arrival in Japan, in 1677, of the Chinese Zen priest Tōkō Shin'etsu (1639-1695).[3] This thesis seeks to build a connection between the intellectual and political history of Tokugawa Japan, and *qin* music. In particular, the ideological forces behind the "gagakuization" of Chinese *qin* music launched by the Tokugawa bakufu around 1735-1738 are explored. Yet before examining the question of the transmission of *qin* music in Tokugawa Japan, some clarifications about the transmission of *qin* music in general are needed.

The *qin* tradition has been understood by conventional wisdom as an orally transmitted art. This view has been further shored up by its being proclaimed one of the Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO in 2003. Such an understanding, however, oversimplifies the very nature of *qin* music, and hence is only partially correct. Oral transmission is merely one of the two main practices that contributed to the long history of this uninterrupted tradition. At any point in the history of *qin* music, a great proportion of the existing notations remained dormant and was no longer alive

[3] See R. H. van Gulik, "The Chinese Lute in Japan," Appendix IV of *The Lore of the Chinese Lute*, 197-224. This is also by far the most convincing account regarding the question to what extent the *qin* was played in Japan before the arrival of the Zen priest.

within the orally transmitted repertoires. Traditionally, competent *qin* players who were not satisfied with the limitations of the orally transmitted repertoire would, however, confront the dormant notations and work out their own performing versions from them. *Dapu* 打譜 is the modern term describing this process, and the process has been extensively analyzed by various ethnomusicologists.[4] In this notationally transmitted process, there is no direct contact between the compiler of a dormant notation and the players who might inquire into it.[5]

In the Chinese Middle Ages,[6] notational transmission also involved recomposition, including significant modifications of any given notation. The interpretation of a dormant notation, and the conscious effort of a competent player to revise it under the banner of "collation" or "correction," often jointly gave birth to a new performing version. The result might well be understood as a new composition in the modern sense, and its deviations from the original notation might be well beyond the scope of *dapu* as understood by modern

[4] See, e.g., the studies by Bell Yung, "*Da Pu*: The Recreative Process for the Music of the Seven-String Zither," in *Music and Context: Essays in Honor of John Ward*, ed. Anne Dhu Shapiro (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1985), 370-383; and his "Not Notating the Notatable: Reëvaluating the *Guqin* Notational System," in *Themes and Variations: Writings on Music in Honor of Rulan Chao Pian*, eds. Bell Yung and Joseph Lam (Cambridge, Mass.: Dept. of Music, Harvard University, 1994), 45-58, etc.

[5] Most of the *qin* pieces are not attributed to any composer. The role played by a compiler often overlapped with that of a composer, see below.

[6] Roughly from A.D. 316, the date of the partition of north and south, following the nomad invasions, to the end of the Song dynasty in A.D. 1278.

researchers. Therefore, the disappearance of a notated *qin* piece from the orally transmitted repertoire might not be a problem at all; on the contrary, as long as the notation survived, its dormancy potentially contributed to the tradition's repertorial variety.

Qin tablature is a half-open notational system. The rhythmic details of a piece of *qin* music are left to the players' discretion in each and every known form of *qin* notation. Different performing versions of the same notation are thus not just understandable, but to be expected. In 1425, when prefacing the *qin* music collection *Shenqi Mipu* 神奇秘譜(literally, the Fantastic Secret Notation), Zhu Quan 朱權(1378-1448) confidently legitimized this interpretative diversity:

> Sometimes a piece may have different performing versions. This is because each *qin* player plays to express his own aspirations. He has an inborn individuality that is different from that of others. This individuality distinguishes him from the vulgarity of the great mass [of players]. …… This aspiration, based upon self-cultivation and refinement, is expressed through musical sound, develops through imagination, is communicated to the divinities, and harmonizes with the miraculous Way. All these in turn replenish one's own aspiration. Therefore, how uncompromisingly would he avoid following and copying the pre-existing versions of others in order to express his own ambitions! Each person has his own Way! Therefore most versions are different from others. If they are identical, they descend into vulgarity. If so, they would be extremely insignificant. 大概其操間有不同者，蓋達人之志也，各出乎天性，不同於彼類，不伍於流俗，不混於污濁，…… 其

涵養自得之志見乎徽軫，發乎遐趣，訴於神明，合於道玅。以快己之志也，豈肯蹈襲前人之敗興而寫己之志乎! 各有道焉！所以不同者。多使其同，則鄙也。夫細之甚也！[7]

The greatest difficulty when using notation rests in the decision-making process. There are no directions on phrasing or the quantitative values of time. In any *qin* handbook from the Middle Ages, the notational symbols are grouped into clusters and lined up in columns, similar to Classical Chinese prose. There are no punctuation marks in it, which means the player would be expected to be capable and versed enough to phrase the music, carry out detailed comparisons of all the possible rhythmic readings, and choose from among these various possibilities. While phrasing in literary prose is delineated by grammatical structure, the guidelines for performing *qin* notation are found in its inherent musical logic and its fingering patterns.

The Way of the *qin*, as Zhu Quan suggests in his preface of 1425, is handed down both orally and notationally:

If the music is taught, no tablature will be needed; if the tablature is given,

[7] Zhu Quan, ed., *Shenqi Mipu* 神奇秘譜, in *Qinqu jicheng* 琴曲集成, ed. Zhongyang yinyue xueyuan zhongguo yinyue yanjiusuo 中央音樂學院中國音樂研究所 and Beijing guqin yanjiu hui 北京古琴研究會 (Beijing : Zhonghua shu ju 中華書局, 1963), vol. 1, 70. The English quotation is an adaptation of a prior translation; see Georges Goormaghtigh and Bell Yung, "Preface of *Shenqi Mipu*: Translation with Commentary," *ACMR Reports* (Journal of the Association for Chinese Music Research) 10 (1997): 1-7.

the phrases will not be marked. 傳曲不傳譜，傳譜不傳句。[8]

This bifurcate transmission is well reflected by the contents and structure of the *Shenqi Mipu*. The sixteen pieces in volume one, which Zhu labeled "Celestial Airs of Antiquity," had survived as dormant notations and were no longer alive in the orally transmitted repertoire of the early fifteenth century. Therefore, in the original edition of the *Shenqi Mipu* engraved in Nanchang, their tablatures contain no phrase markings. Zhu published these dormant notations because he trusted the instrument's bifurcatetransmission tradition, and therefore was confident that the quiescent scores would one day come back to life. In the preface to the *Shenqi Mipu*, he remarks: "Those who are inspired will understand them (i.e., the music in volume one) without help."[9] Another thirty-four compositions, in which Zhu had received tutoring, constitute volumes two and three of the collection. The tablatures of these pieces contain phrase markings, directions for fingering, as well as indications of tuning and mode.

Zhu's expectation - his hope that inspired musicians would come to understand the sixteen unphrased pieces - proved correct. All later reprints of the *Shenqi Mipu* that survive till today have phrase markings for the sixteen "airs of antiquity." In Wang Liang's reprint, engraved in Beijing no later than 1522, a note

[8] Zhu Quan, ed., *Shenqi Mipu*, vol. 1, 70.
[9] Zhu Quan, ed., *Shenqi Mipu*, vol. 1, 70.

appears at the end of volume one:

> The last few pieces originally had no phrase marks. Over the past few days during my leisure hours, I mulled over their charms on my own, and accordingly inserted marks at the end of each phrase. Musicians, please take note. 前數曲舊譜無句點。近于暇日竊以私意詳其聲趣，點于句下。庶幾知音者察焉。[10]

Apparently, the inserted phrase marks represent the compiler's ruminations about the sixteen pieces in dormant notation.[11] Zha Fuxi (1895-1976), one of the most eminent *qin* connoisseurs of the twentieth century, provided a few apposite metaphors for such a process: "assembling the pearls from a broken necklace," "arranging furniture in a studio," and "sewing together pieces of fabric into a larger scroll."[12]

Re-examining the transmission of *qin* music in Tokugawa Japan, however, reveals a rather different scenario. Throughout the period, without the help from a teacher, few Japanese *qin* players were able to play directly from Chinese notations. Apparently, as we shall see, the majority of Japanese *qin* players never

[10] Zhu Quan, ed., *Shenqi Mipu*, vol. 1, 96.
[11] For more details about surviving editions of the *Shenqi Mipu* and the phrase marks in volume one, see Togao Ryoko 栂尾亮子, "*Zai Riben baocun de Quxian Shenqi Mipu chutan* 在日本保存的《臞仙神奇秘譜》初探," in *Chiba Guqin kao* 尺八古琴考, ed. Huang Datong 黃大同 (Shanghai: Shanghai yinyue xueyuan chubanshe 上海音樂學院出版社, 2005), 301-304.
[12] Zha Fuxi 查阜西, *Zha Fuxi Qinxue Wencui* 查阜西琴學文萃, ed. Huang Xudong 黃旭東 et al., (Hangzhou: Zhongguo meishu xueyuan chubanshe 中國美術學院出版社, 1995), 110.

even grasped the skills required to figure out this Chinese musical version of a jigsaw puzzle. In the following, we shall focus on Tokugawa Japan, and in particular the port of Nagasaki, to explore the musical ties between China and Japan in the early modern period, trying to answer the question: How was Chinese *qin* music transmitted to Tokugawa Japan?

CHAPTER I

A NAGASAKI IMPORT FROM CHINA

"Nagasaki," as Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666-1728) observed,

> is a place where the barbaric (= Japanese) and the civilized (= Chinese) associate, where ocean-sailing ships come to port; it is a port of a myriad goods and strange objects. In terms of the enthusiasm of our countrymen from the five directions to come together, abandoning their homes and coveting profit, it is the first place of Japan. 夫長崎，夷夏之交，海舶之所來集。萬貨環奇之湊，而我五方之民廢居射利者萃焉，爲甲于海內。[1]

1.1 The Port of Nagasaki and the Transmission of Music via Trading Contacts

After invading Korea from 1592 to 1598, Japan stepped away from the Sino-centric tributary system prevalent in East Asia. Throughout the Tokugawa era (1603-1868), there were no official relations between Japan and China. Japanese were not allowed to go overseas from the mid-1630s until the late 1850s under the bakufu's policy of *sakoku*. Chinese merchants, on the other hand, were permitted to visit Nagasaki, a trade port located in northern Kyūshū. For the Japanese, this was the only place of direct contact with China; while Chinese

[1] Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠, *Sorai shū* 徂徠集 (Tōkyō: Perikansha ぺりかん社, 1985), chap. 8, folio. 9r.

vessels typically came to Nagasaki toward the end of an extended voyage, sailing from Nanjing (Jiangsu Province), Shanghai, Quanzhou (Fujian Province), or Ningbo (Zhejiang province), etc. For example, when the Ming loyalist Zen priest Tōkō Shin'etsu (1639-1695) fled to Japan, he took a merchant ship that departed from Hangzhou in the eighth month of the fifteenth year of Kangxi (1676). Because of the ongoing maritime battles between the Manchu and Ming holdouts in Taiwan, his ship had to cast anchor for four months in the Zhoushan, an archipelago lies across the mouth of the Hangzhou Bay, before its final arrival at Nagasaki port in the first month of the fifth year of Enpō (1677). In short, Chinese vessels were able to move freely, with Nagasaki the northernmost port within a Chinese coastal trading area that covered the East China Sea and the South China Sea. The idea of Nagasaki in the Tokugawa period as the sole window open to the outside world in *sakoku* Japan, on the other hand, applied strictly to the residents of Japan.

Having said that, Chinese merchants' activities in Japan were absolutely confined to Nagasaki region. In Tōkō Shin'etsu's time, every Chinese vessel entering the port of Nagasaki was assigned a designated place of anchor within a particular ward of the city of Nagasaki. The Chinese resided in their ward which in turn provided them with food, received from them payment for residence and food stuffs, and distributed the Chinese profits from trade. Since Shin'etsu was a

Figure 1.1: Kōfuku-ji temple, *Kiyo Tōkan kōeki zu*, Kyōto University Library

Zen priest, the bakufu's restrictions placed on him personally were relatively loose. Upon arrival, Tōkō Shin'etsu stayed at the picturesque Kōfuku-ji temple (also called the Nanjing temple), one of the three main temples in Nagasaki funded by Chinese merchants (see Figure 1.1). It appears from his writings and

art works that Shin'etsu was a highly cultured monk, being at the same time an accomplished painter, poet,[2] seal engraver,[3] and player on the *qin*. His arrival to Japan was not intended to promote Chinese culture in Japan, but rather was part of a political scheme.[4] In the summer of 1679, the great Tokugawa Maecenas, Tokugawa Mitsukuni 徳川光圀(1628-1700), Lord of Mito, sent a messenger, Imai Kōsai 今井弘濟(1652-1689), to invite Tōkō Shin'etsu to come to Mito, his fief in Eastern Japan near Edo. Even though Mitsukuni was a leading member of the ruling Tokugawa clan, it took the bakufu three years to issue a special permit, allowing Shin'etsu to settle in Mito. And the catalyst of the permission was the death, in 1682, of Tokugawa Mitsukuni's Chinese adviser Zhu Shunshui 朱舜水 (1600-1682), himself a political refugee from Ming China. Otherwise, Tōkō Shin'etsu would have remained on the waiting list even longer.[5]

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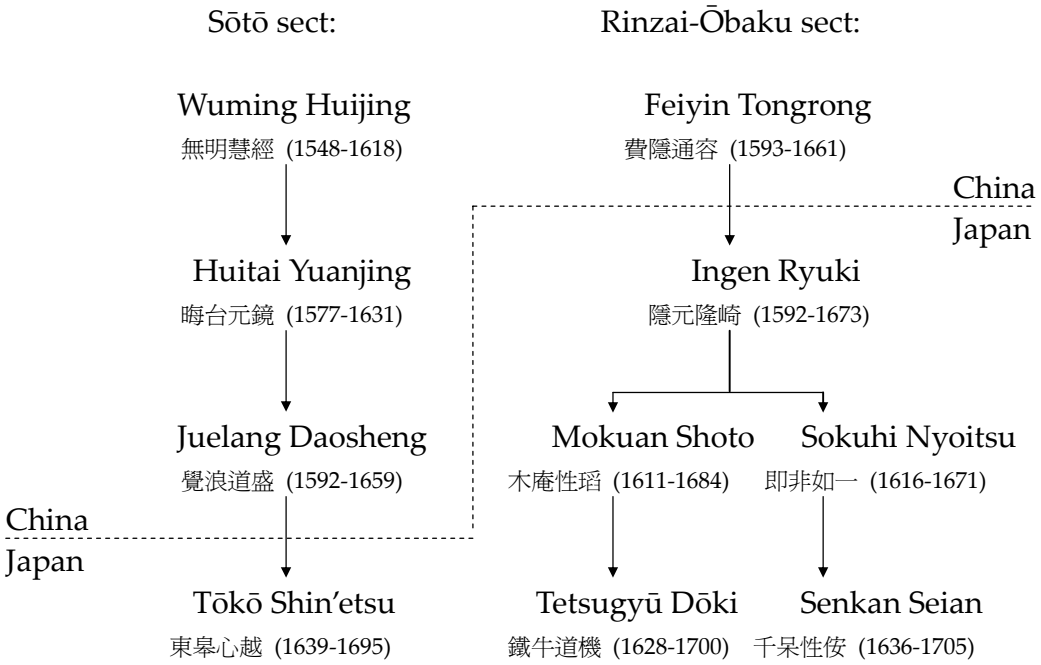
[2] For the most up-to-date anthology of Tōkō Shin'etsu's poems and prose, see Chen Zhichao 陳智超, ed., *Lü Ri gao seng Donggao xinyue shi wen ji* 旅日高僧東皋心越詩文集, (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe 中國社會科學出版社, 1994).

[3] For the collection of the impressions of seals by Tōkō Shin'etsu, see, e.g., R. H. van Gulik, ed., *Donggao yin pu* 東皐印譜, microfiche of the van Gulik collection, CH1480 (Leiden: Inter Documentation Company, 1984).

[4] For more details, see Wang Pengsheng 王梵生, "Preface," in *Ming mo yiseng Donggao chanshi jikan* 明末義僧東皋禪師集刊, ed. R. H. van Gulik (Chongqing: Shangwu yin shu guan 商務印書館, 1944), iii-xiii.

[5] For more details, see Sugimura Eiji 杉村英治, *Bōkyō no shisō Tōkō Shin'etsu* 望郷の詩僧東皋心越 (Tōkyō: Miki Shobō 三樹書房, 1989), 43-108; and the biography of Tōkō Shin'etsu in van Gulik, ed., *Ming mo yiseng Donggao chanshi jikan*, 7-11.

Table 1.1: Relevant Genealogies of the Sōtō and Rinzai Sects



In the intervening years, Shin'etsu had to bear the brunt of rivalries between different Sino-Japanese Zen sects. As a monk of the Chinese Sōtō 曹洞 sect, he was marginalized from the Rinzai-Ōbaku 臨濟黃檗 Zen orthodoxy in Japan. (For the relevant genealogies of the Sōtō and Rinzai sects, please see Table 1.1.) Twenty-four years before Shin'etsu came to Japan, around the year 1653, the Rinzai sect priest Feiyin Tongrong 費隱通容 (1593-1661) published his *Wu deng yan tong* 五燈嚴統, a stemma of Zen monks, in China. The content of *Wu deng yan tong* is almost identical with the *Wu deng hui yuan* 五燈會元, completed in 1252. One of the few differences between the *Wu deng yan tong* and the *Wu deng hui yuan* is that Feiyin listed the renowned Sōtō priest Wuming Huijing (1548-1618)

under the category of “Descendants of Unknown Lineage.” This action greatly humiliated Wuming Huijing’s Zen offspring. One of them, Juelang Daosheng 覺浪道盛(1592-1659), a grandpupil of Wuming Huijing, brought an accusation against Feiyin and put Feiyin on trial in China in 1654. The public tension that erupted in the aftermath between the Sōtō and the Rinzai is called “the great roars between the two main sects of the years 1654 and 1655 甲乙兩宗大哄” in Zen history. In the same year (1654), Tōkō Shin’etsu met Juelang Daosheng in Jiangsu and became his disciple. Since then, he was considered an enemy of the Rinzai sect. In 1659, the accuser Juelang Daosheng died. Two more years later, the accused Feiyin Tongrong also passed away. But the hostility between Sōtō and Rinzai remained. Shin’etsu was to be its sacrificial lamb in Japan.

In 1654, when Feiyin Tongrong was put on trial, one of his disciples, the Chinese Rinzai priest Ingen Ryuki 隱元隆崎 (1592-1673), went to Nagasaki with around thirty other Rinzai monks and artisans, including his disciple Mokuan, and founded the Ōbaku sect in Japan. Soon he had gained the attention of the abbot of the Myōshin-ji temple in Kyōto, Ryōkei (1602-1670), and shortly after that he was invited to Kyōto where he had repeated audiences with the retired emperor Gomizunō. Under the patronage of Shōgun Tokugawa Ietsuna, the Ōbaku sect established its head temple, Mampuku-ji 萬福寺, at Uji, near Kyōto, in 1661. In 1664, Mokuan replaced Ingen as the chief priest there. In 1671, he

established a second temple, Zuishō-ji 瑞聖寺, at Shirokane in Edo. Thereafter, Chinese monks dominated the Ōbaku sect. Until 1740, all Mampuku-ji abbots were Chinese from the parent temple in Fujian, China. Even the recitation of sutras at Mampuku-ji is said to retain traces of Fujianese pronunciation.[6]

Unlike Rinzai, the Sōtō sect's influence in Japan was limited. Prior to Shin'etsu, very few Sōtō priests had come to Japan. Tōkō Shin'etsu's arrival brought Japanese Sōtō monks the hope of unifying the sect. Therefore, the Japanese Sōtō monks were extremely enthusiastic upon hearing the news that Tōkō Shin'etsu had managed to make his way to Edo from Nagasaki. The Sōtō monks' happiness was matched by the Rinzai-Ōbaku sect's displeasure. To say no more, Tōkō Shin'etsu was a disciple of Juelang Daosheng, who had put their great Rinzai master Feiyin Tongrong on trial.[7]

To retaliate, the Fujianese and Japanese Rinzai monks, who entertained strong feelings against Tōkō Shin'etsu, tried their best to counteract the Zhejiangese Sōtō monk's plans. Upon Shin'etsu's arrival at Nagasaki port, the interpreter there, knowing that Tōkō Shin'etsu did not belong to the Rinzai sect

[6] Marius B. Jansen, *China in the Tokugawa World* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), 56.

[7] For more information on the Buddhism sectarianism in early Qing dynasty China, see Chen Yuan 陳垣, *Qing chu seng zheng ji* 清初僧諍記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju 中華書局, 1962).

but to the Sōtō, tried to persuade him to declare his status to be that of a Rinzai monk. Tōkō Shin'etsu never agreed, but the interpreter falsified Tōkō's statements since Shin'etsu was not literate in Japanese. This was brought to the attention of the Japanese Ōbaku monk Tetsugyū Dōki 鐵牛道機 (1628-1700),[8] then the abbot of Zuishō-ji in Edo, and of the Chinese Ōbaku monk Senkan Seian (1636-1705). According to a letter from Imai Kōsai's, the messenger from Mito, to Tōkō Shin'etsu,[9] Tokugawa Mitsukuni's negotiation with the bakufu first progressed smoothly and with efficiency. However, the happiness Sōtō pupils' spread by circulating the news ruffled the feathers of the Ōbaku sect. Tetsugyū Dōki used his influence on the bakufu to prevent Shin'etsu from coming to Edo. In order to appease the Ōbaku monks, Tōkō Shin'etsu wrote to the abbot of Zuishō-ji, Tetsugyū Dōki. The reply from Tetsugyū Dōki on the sixth day of the twelfth month of the seventh year of Enpō (1679) was an unconcealed point-blank attempt at dissuasion:

> Your letter of the twentieth day of the nineth month reached me on the fifth day of the twelfth month. I also received your gifts of a Chinese fan and a piece of painting on silk. Thank you. Moreover, I am grateful for your informing me of your plan to come to Mampuku-ji to celebrate the seventieth birthday of my master Mokuan, and to come to Edo to pay me a visit. Although your plan expresses feelings of friendship, I cannot accept it.

[8] For further information of this Ōbaku abbot, see Ōtsuki Mikio 大槻幹郎, ed., *Tetsugyū Dōki zenji nenpu* 鐵牛道機禅師年譜, (Uji: Chyosyoin 長松院, 1990).
[9] Chen Zhichao, ed., *Lü Ri gao seng Donggao xinyue shi wen ji*, 68-69.

According to our country's laws, Chinese monks usually are not allowed to visit Edo. In the year before last, in order to pay priest Dokutan (1628-1706) a visit, [the Chinese] Ōbaku priest Nangen (1631-1692) came to Edo without consulting anyone before. The bakufu's response [to Dokutan's unsanctioned trip] was acrimonious and left no room for discussion. As a result, both Zuishō-ji and Kaifuku-ji were put on trial. As a result of the trial, the restrictions against any visits by Chinese monks to Edo without the bakufu's permission have been tightened. Should you come to my monastery, not only will you be put on trial, but the whole Zuishō-ji will also be punished. Furthermore, given that your residence permit is confined to the Nagasaki area, how could the local government allow you to leave unless you have a proper official reason? If you have a proper reason to come to Edo, then the Nagasaki Administrator should forward your request to the bakufu. Once you have obtained the bakufu's permission, it will be fine. Otherwise, your plan will not work. I surmise that you are not familiar with our country's laws and are wasting your time in this futile plan. Therefore I provide you with information about all these things in detail. [I] hope you will remain at your Kōfuku-ji temple in Nagasaki, and wait for your opportunity there quietly. Let us spare ourselves. 菊月念日所賜教諭，臘月五日，燈下熏讀，兼受唐扇絹畫之惠。謝謝不既。承諭臘月中將登黃檗，祝我木師老人稀誕，又來東都而扣敝室，是雖雅情，不能領謝；吾國制法，素禁唐僧濫入東都。前年黃檗南源和尚適謁遠勘獨湛和尚，徑來江城。公議嚴辣，事酷澀滯。因之瑞聖、海福二刹，共系官議。爾後法制，愈嚴重禁唐僧非有公許而來東都。公若來敝寺，則非但公系官議，瑞聖亦處同犯重禁之罪。况公是長崎住僧也，非有公事，官何以容許之乎？其或有事將入東都，長崎運使達之官府，親得公許而後來此，庶幾事無阻隔，不爾則恐不遂也。揆公未諳國法，徒動此念也。所以縷縷曉之而已。但希黃檗事畢，宜回東明，鎮重俟時，餘不敢贅。[10]

In the first month of the eighth year of Enpō (1680), aware of the increasing

[10] Chen Zhichao, ed., *Lü Ri gao seng Donggao xinyue shi wen ji*, 34-35.

pressures around him, Tōkō Shin'etsu went to Mampuku-ji at Uji to visit the Chinese abbot Mokuan for help. However, the effort was fruitless. It seems that even Dōki's teacher Mokuan was unable to mitigate the sectarian feelings among the Ōbaku sect. Moreover, to make matters worse, since Tōkō Shin'etsu's suggestion to visit Zuishō-ji in Edo was rejected by abbot Tetsugyū Dōki, in the fifth month of the same year, he had to go back to Nagasaki. Foreseeing further dangers on the horizonf, on the fifteenth day of the month, Tōkō Shin'etsu wrote his memorial on his experiences in Japan.[11] On the fourth day of the seventh month, Tōkō Shin'etsu was arrested by the Nagasaki Administrator and was put into jail. Tokugawa Mitsukuni, Lord of Mito, was well aware of the intrigues spun by the Ōbaku monks. In the seventh month of the next year (1681), Mitsukuni re-submitted his proposal on Shin'etsu to the bakufu and met with Shōgun Tsunayoshi in person. This time, Tokugawa Mitsukuni's request was granted by the new Shōgun and as a result, Shin'etsu was released in the autumn.

After Tōkō Shin'etsu's case, in 1689, in order to restrict contacts between Chinese and Japanese, a large residential area known as the *tōjin yashiki* (or *tōkan*) was constructed with a moat dug around it, and Chinese were henceforth compelled to reside within. Among the Chinese who came to port, the *tōjin yashiki* was depreciatingly dubbed the *tuku* (dirt storehouse). (See Figure 1.2, in

[11] Chen Zhichao, ed., *Lü Ri gao seng Donggao xinyue shi wen ji*, 89-91.

Figure 1.2: Port of Nagasaki, *Nagasaki-ko no zu* (1792), Nagasaki Prefecture

this bird's eye view of Nagasaki, the newly built Chinese residence is shown at the lower left corner. The fan shape small byland on the bottom right side of the painting is the Dutch residence.) Furthermore, from that year the number of vessels coming to Nagasaki was limited. Since this year, any *qin* enthusiast in Japan who might have wanted to receive instruction from someone other than Tōkō Shin'etsu in Mito, would have had to physically be in Nagasaki, get permission from the Nagasaki Administrator to visit the Chinese residence there in person, and locate a mentor among the merchants populating the compound,

a group of Chinese normally not too literate. Even if our hypothetical enthusiast would have been fortunate enough to meet any merchant-*qin*-amateur, their time for communication would have been extremely limited.

Only two cases of such kind are recorded. For example, in the colophon to his published *Kinzan kinroku* 琴山琴錄, Murai Kinzan 村井琴山 (1733-1815), a doctor of Chinese medicine who claimed to have received the only orthodox *qin* instruction from the Chinese lay person Pan Weichuan 潘渭川 remarks:

> The methods of the *qin* as now practiced in our country are all based upon the teachings of the two priests Shin'etsu and Mansō.[12] For the greater part, their methods are those used by the gauche people of the Ming and Qing periods. How could these two priests know the differences between the elegant and the vulgar? Therefore, I have never relished the way these two priests play the *qin*, and have been saddened by this for a long time. When traveling to Nagasaki, I accidentally met a Chinese called Pan Weichuan, and he taught me how to play the *qin*. 今海內琴法，皆出于心越、萬宗二僧之手，多是明清俗間之法也，二僧氏安知雅俗之分乎？余故不喜二僧氏之琴，竊嘆嗟久矣，嘗游長崎，邂逅于清人潘

[12] Soen Mansō 竺庵萬宗 (1696-1756) is a Chinese Rinzai priest born in Zhejiang. In 1723 he came to Nagasaki, and was appointed as the abbot of Kōfuku-ji in Nagasaki five years later. In 1734, he was promoted to the dignity of abbot and became the thirteenth abbot of the Ōbaku head temple Mampuku-ji at Uji. In 1746, his *qin* student Sato Mosai published a book on *qin* music, *Kokin-seigi*, to, for which Soen Mansō composed the preface. It is surmised that Shin'etsu and Mansō belonged to the same tradition; see Hieda Hirō 稗田浩雄, "Donggao xinyue qinpai shulue 東皋心越琴派述略," in *Chiba guqin kao* 尺八古琴考, ed. Huang Datong 黃大同(Shanghai: Shanghai yinyue chubanshe 上海音乐学院出版社, 2005), 287. For further information on Soen Mansō, please see Kishibe Shigeo 岸辺成雄, *Edo jidai no kinshi monogatari* 江戸時代の琴士物語 (Tōkyō: Yūrindō 有隣堂, 2000), 85-86, 218-220, and 303.

渭川者，偶受琴法手勢。[13]

Interestingly, though, the unpublished draft of *Kinzan kinroku* reveals something rather less fascinating: In the nineth month of the fifth year of Tenmei (1785), accompanied by the Nagasaki Administrator and Sino-Japanese interpreters, Murai visited Nagasaki's *tōjin yashiki*. There, Murai met the amateur player Pan Weichun. Pan showed him an antique *qin* acquired in Beijing. The instrument, with red lacquer and seal-script inscription on it, left a deep impression on Murai. Pan played the instrument for Murai. Through an interpreter, Murai asked Pan to teach the *qin* fingerings of both hands. Pan offered instructions on ten basic fingerings and two short pieces, *Nanfū* 南風 and *Sōrō* 沧浪. The whole process, according to Murai's unpublished draft, constituted only a "half-day" meeting. Although, after the meeting, Murai visited Nagasaki for a second time, Pan was not there anymore. Murai only purchased some silk *qin* strings in this second trip.[14]

The above comparison between the published and unpublished versions of the *Kinzan kinroku* is not intended to blame Murai for fudging the facts when revising his unpublished draft into its final form, but to demonstrate how difficult it was for any Edo period Japanese to acquire any new knowledge of *qin*

[13] R. H. van Gulik, *The Lore of the Chinese Lute* (Tōkyō: Sophia University, 1940), 208.
[14] Murai Kinzai, *Kinzan kinroku*, JP-Hh 327, vol. 3, folios. 22r-v.

music from the Chinese. The other case in point is that of the nun Kikusha 菊舍 (1753-1826). During her stay at Nagasaki in 1796, Kikusha was taught by the Chinese Fei Qinghu 費晴湖. Although, according to Nagasaki port records, Fei was a shipmaster, he was known to most Japanese Sinophiles as a refined Chinese painter and poet. His repeated ventures to Nagasaki were not solely for commercial sake, but also to search for the bones of his father Fei Zhengfu 費正夫, another shipmaster who had died unexpectedly in the coastal area of Satsuma and was buried there in 1765. Fei Qinghu's ship came to Japan in 1788, 1791, 1792, 1794, 1795 and 1796.[15] During his fourth trip to Nagasaki in 1794, on "Vessel number seven, in Kansei Six," Fei Qinghu requested the bakufu's assistance to search for his father's tomb. In 1795, fifty years after Fei Zhengfu's death in Satsuma, his son's desires were fulfilled at last, and the older Fei's bones brought back to and buried in China. After that, Fei's ship only visited Japan once more in 1796, during which time Kikusha received *qin* instruction from him. Given the short span that Chinese merchants were allowed to stay in Nagasaki, the tutelage that our nun could have received from Fei must have been very brief.

Van Gulik, misdirected by some Edo period pictures showing Chinese playing the *qin* in the context of a dinner party to the accompaniment of other

[15] Matsuura Akira 松浦章, *Edo jidai Tōsen ni yoru Nitchū bunka kōryū* 江戸時代唐船による日中文化交流 (Kyōto: Shibunkaku 思文閣, 2007), 159-160. Please note that the first four western equivalences of the Japanese year count given on page 160 are erroneous.

stringed instruments, drew the conclusion that those Chinese *qin* players were no real experts, for "such would certainly not thus offend against the rules for the *qin* player."[16] Indeed such kinds of ensembles never existed in history. Rather, music-making scenes of this kind were in fact invented by Japanese painters. The pictorial evidence that van Gulik offers in his monograph is a detail from a Japanese scroll kept at the library of Kyōto University. (See Figure 1.3a; and R. H. van Gulik, *The Lore of the Chinese Lute*, Appendix IV, Plate III.) Against the backdrop of a gathering held on the second floor of a building in the *tōjin yashiki*, this excerpt depicts a Chinese playing on the *qin.* He is being accompanied by his friends on a trichord, a mouthorgan, and a flute. The depiction is taken from a genre painting entitled *Tōkanzu*, meaning a drawing of the Chinese dwellings in Nagasaki. A close examination of a dozen *Tōkanzus* reveals that the original iconographical motive for such music-making scenes includes three Chinese amateurs playing the trichord, the mouthorgan, and the flute, but not the *qin* (see Figure 1.3b). Such a trio is suited for *minshingaku*, literally "music from the Ming and Qing China," a genre of Japanese chamber-music that has its origins in Chinese popular musical forms. Its instrumentation is based upon ensembles common in the Chinese Ming (1368-1644) and early Qing (1644-1911) eras.[17]

[16] R. H. van Gulik, *The Lore of the Chinese Lute*, 207.

[17] For the most updated account on the transmission of this musical genre, see Lee Ching-huei, "Roots and routes: A Comparison of *Beiguan* in Taiwan and *Shingaku* in Japan," (Ph.D. diss., University of Hawai'i at Manoa, 2007).

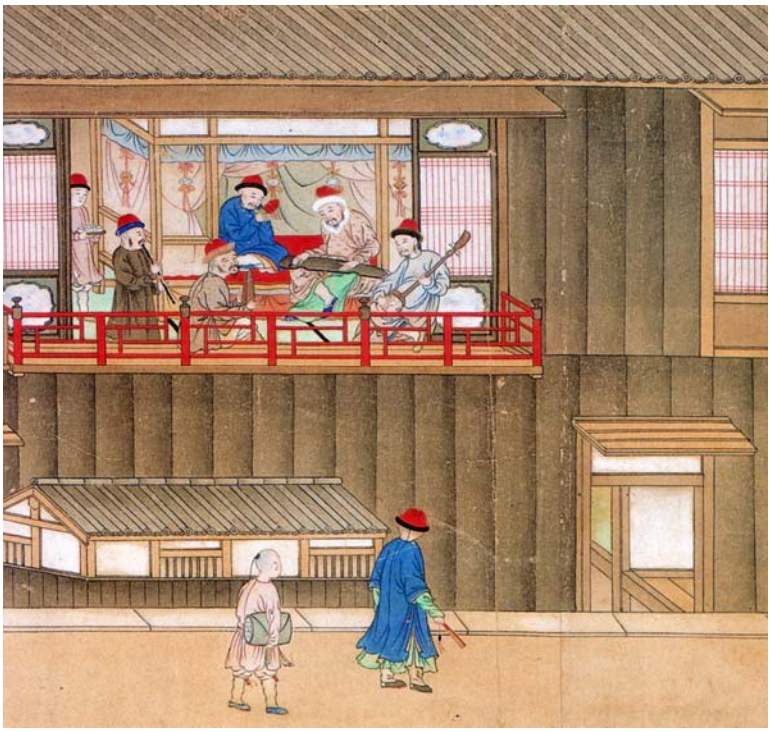


Figure 1.3a: Chinese residence, *Kiyo Tōjin yashiki zukei*, Kyōto University Library

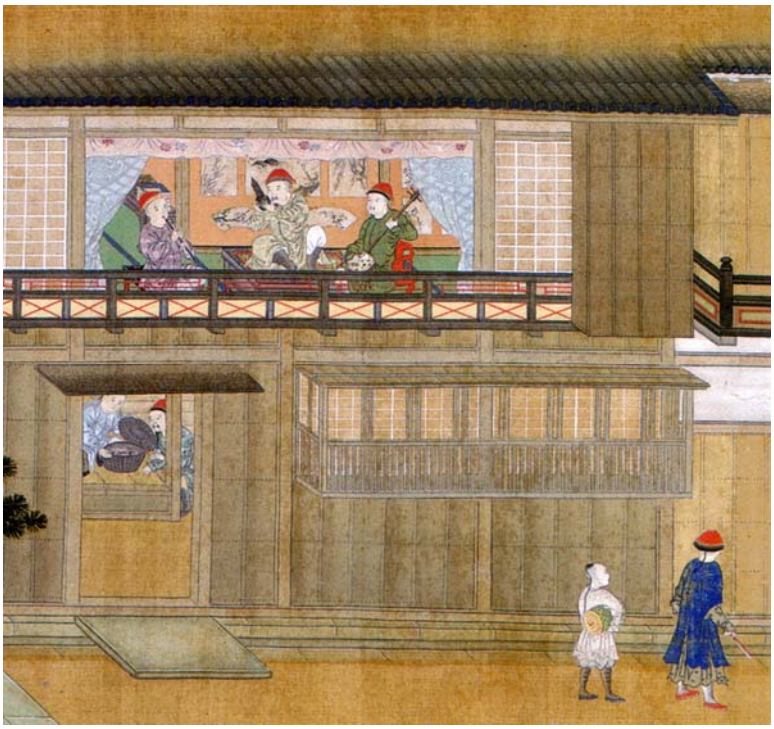


Figure 1.3b: Chinese residence, *Nagasaki zukan*, Suifu Meitokukai Shokokan Tokugawa Museum, Mito

Apparently, *qin* playing was integrated into the Japanese illustrations by *qin*-illiterate painters from the Tenmei (1781-1788) or Kansei (1789-1800) era, when anecdotes about doctor Murai and the nun Kikusha had spread and evolved, and when *qin* music had become a symbol of Nagasaki Chinese dwellings. (See R. H. van Gulik, *The Lore of the Chinese Lute*, Appendix IV, Plate II.)

The above review of the only two known cases seeks to explain why practically all of the *qin* players in Edo Japan were confined to Tōkō Shin'etsu's school. Moreover, some inferences about Edo Japan can be drawn from it: First, from 1689 onward, all Chinese in Nagasaki, including *qin* amateurs who occasionally passed through, were only allowed to stay within the *tōjin yashiki*. Japanese-Chinese contacts were strictly controlled by the bakufu. Second, when a Chinese offered musical instructions to a Japanese student, an interpreter might have been involved. Thirdly, no Chinese (layman) could stay in Japan for extended periods of time. Any continuous musical tutelage that would have required a considerable amount of time was therefore outside the realm of the practically possible. Notwithstanding the extraordinary experiences of doctor Murai and nun Kikusha, the assumption that Tōkō Shin'etsu is the main propagator of Edo *qin* music thus remains valid. In his monograph *The Lore of the Chinese Lute*, van Gulik aptly remarks: "Although the *qin* players of the

Confucianist school denied Buddhist priests the right to play the *qin*, now in Japan about half of the *qin* players were Buddhist priests, and Japanese *qin* tradition is founded upon the teachings of Shin'etsu, a Zen priest."[18]

1.2 Oral Transmission vs. Notational Transmission

When picturing the musical scene of Tokugawa *qin* playing, then we should look at its main propagator, Tōkō Shin'etsu, and his artistry, so as to know which aspect of Chinese *qin* music could possibly have been transmitted through him. Naturally, since he was the fountain head of Japanese *qin* playing, most Tokugawa Japanese cannot have been familiar with any *qin* music other than the one brought to Japan by him.[19] Besides overwhelming praise, no criticism, informed assessments, or even plain descriptions of his music has survived. This lack of historical evidence might be the reason why van Gulik, when addressing the issue of Shin'etsu, remarked: "It is difficult to ascertain whether Shin'etsu as a *qin* player, judging by Chinese standards, ranked as an expert. …… We had better leave the question of Shin'etsu's abilities as a *qin* expert undecided. That he

[18] R. H. van Gulik, *The Lore of the Chinese Lute*, 207.

[19] There are Japanese litertatues, both old and new, indicating the possibility of earlier tradiation(s) in the Heian period (794-1185). However, van Gulik has plausibly demonstrated that it was only with the arrival of Shin'etsu that the *qin* became really known in Japan. A few exceptions do not invalidate this argument: those were isolated cases that had no real influence on Japanese cultural life. See his *The Lore of the Chinese Lute*, 207.

was not one of the great Chinese musicians, however, appears from the fact that he left no important compositions of his own."[20]

Thus the artistic merits of the main propagator remain undecided, not to mention the cultural and musical background of Tokugawa *qin* practice in general. Hence, instead of focusing on the music, the principle thrust of prior research on Tokugawa *qin* music has rested on the creation of stemmata. In the second half of his monograph, Dutch Sinologue van Gulik offered us a "historical table of tradition," in which he listed thirty-four Japanese descendants from Tōkō Shin'etsu's school (i.e., *naiden* 內傳 players in his terminology), and two Japanese players who learnt the *qin* from Chinese lay people (i.e., *geden* 外傳).[21]

Although van Gulik only credited the *Kingaku denjū ryakkei*, the main body of his stemma and its annotation from page 211 to page 224 were in fact taken directly from the *Kansō kinwa* 閑叟琴話, a collection of essays on the *qin* compiled in 1813 by the late Tokugawa *qin* expert Shinraku Kansō 新樂閑叟(1764-1823). In van Gulik's own catalogue, now kept at the Sinological Institute of Leiden University, I found the entry *Kansō kinwa* 閑叟琴話 with the annotation in van Gulik's hand: "Japanese manuscript on the history of Chinese Lute in Japan."[22]

[20] R. H. van Gulik, *The Lore of the Chinese Lute*, 206.
[21] R. H. van Gulik, *The Lore of the Chinese Lute*, 207-224.
[22] R. H. van Gulik, "catalogue," NL-Lu 1, no folio number.

Kingaku denjū ryakkei is a section of the *Kansō kinwa.* After Shinraku Kansō, knowledge of successors among Shin'etsu's school was put to words again and again by the likes of Inoue Chiku'itsu 井上竹逸 (1814-1886),[23] and Nakane Shuku 中根淑 (1839-1913),[24] among others. The aim of Tokugawa *qin* players' stemmata of their musical lineage was to demonstrate the privileged genealogy they enjoyed.

Somewhat regrettably, the notion of creating stemmata of musical lineage in the vein of Shinraku Kansō remains the dominant practice of research in current *qin* scholarship. Most recently, historian and musicologist Kishibe Shigeo developed this family tree to a fascinating level. Inspired by van Gulik's "historical table" and his genealogical classification,[25] from the early 1980s onwards Kishibe has traveled throughout Japan in search of surviving antique *qin* instruments, and records of those who played the instrument and passed down its tradition from the Edo period to the present. The results of this quest can be seen in his most recent major publication, *Edo jidai no kinshi monogatari*,

[23] Inoue Chiku'itsu 井上竹逸, *Zuiken hitsuroku* 隨見筆錄, CA-Bc 1. Inoue Chiku'itsu (1814-1886) is a painter who learned *qin* playing from Toriumi Setsudō, see Kishibe Shigeo, *Edo jidai no kinshi monogatari*, 441-442.

[24] Nakane Shuku 中根淑, "Shichigenkin no denrai 七絃琴の伝来," in *Kōtei ibun* 香亭遺文, ed. Shinpo Banji 新保磐次 (Tōkyō: Kinkōdō Shoseki Kabushiki Kaisha 金港堂書籍株式會社, 1916), 442-456. Nakane Shuku (1839-1913), whose pseudonym Kōtei 香亭, is a writer.

[25] Kishibe Shigeo greatly admired and fully agreed with van Gulik's differentiation between Shin'etsu's descendants and other Japanese players who learnt the *qin* from Chinese laymen. See Kishibe Shigeo, *Edo jidai no kinshi monogatari*, 83.

literally, "Tales of the *qin* players of the Edo period". At the end of the essay collection, Kishibe published a series of stemmata entitled "Pedigree of Edo period *qin* studies."[26] Hundreds of Tokugawa *qin* players are listed in this musical genealogy. Moreover, in the book, anecdotes about them and the teacher-student lines of succession have been gathered and are discussed in geographical order. Kishibe believes that, by drawing these stemmata, a thorough understanding of Tokugawa *qin* music can be obtained.[27] His producing these stemmata were not meant to provoke any debate but, rather, to put an end to the enquiry of Japanese *qin* history inaugurated by van Gulik in the 1930s.

However, these stemmata are not only of dubious factual value, but, by removing the focus from other areas, may prevent us from gaining deeper insights into the many questions surrounding Japanese *qin* practice.

First of all, the separation between the hundreds of players from Tōkō Shin'etsu's school and several other Japanese who learnt the *qin* from Chinese laymen is meaningless. In the antetype of the stemma drawn by Shinraku Kansō in 1813, the underlying intention, I believe, was limited to defining the orthodox

[26] Kishibe Shigeo, *Edo jidai no kinshi monogatari*, 450-454.
[27] Kishibe Shigeo, *Edo jidai no kinshi monogatari*, 1.

lineages of the *qin* tradition in Japan; hence, no so-called *geden* player has been included. The genealogical classification between *naiden* and *geden* was introduced into Shinraku's stemma only when van Gulik recomposed it in 1937 and 1941. By dividing his "historical table" into two parts, van Gulik aimed to substantiate his "*naiden* vs. *geden*" theory. This theory suggested that the succession of teaching within which a player came to be situated pre-determined his attitude towards Tōkō Shin'etsu and his style of playing. That is, if his teacher came from the great tradition of Shin'etsu, then he must be a worshipper of Tōkō Shin'etsu, and vice versa. According to this view, Andō Seian, Murai Kinzai, and the nun Kikusha, who claimed to have been taught by Chinese laymen, were naturally on the opposite side of Shin'etsu. In Kishibe's pedigree, the number of Japanese *geden* players increased from three to five, as two pupils of the Chinese Rinzai priest Soen Mansō were added.[28] However, the substance of the *qin* teaching of Soen Mansō was deemed as similar to Tōkō Shin'etsu's by the Tokugawa player Murai Kinzai (1733-1815) and modern Japanese researchers as well.[29] According to the evidence I have presented in the prior section of the Chapter, Murai Kinzai and the nun Kikusha could have received instructions about *qin* playing from any Chinese residents in Nagasaki only very, very briefly indeed. A large part of their knowledge of the *qin*, therefore, must have been

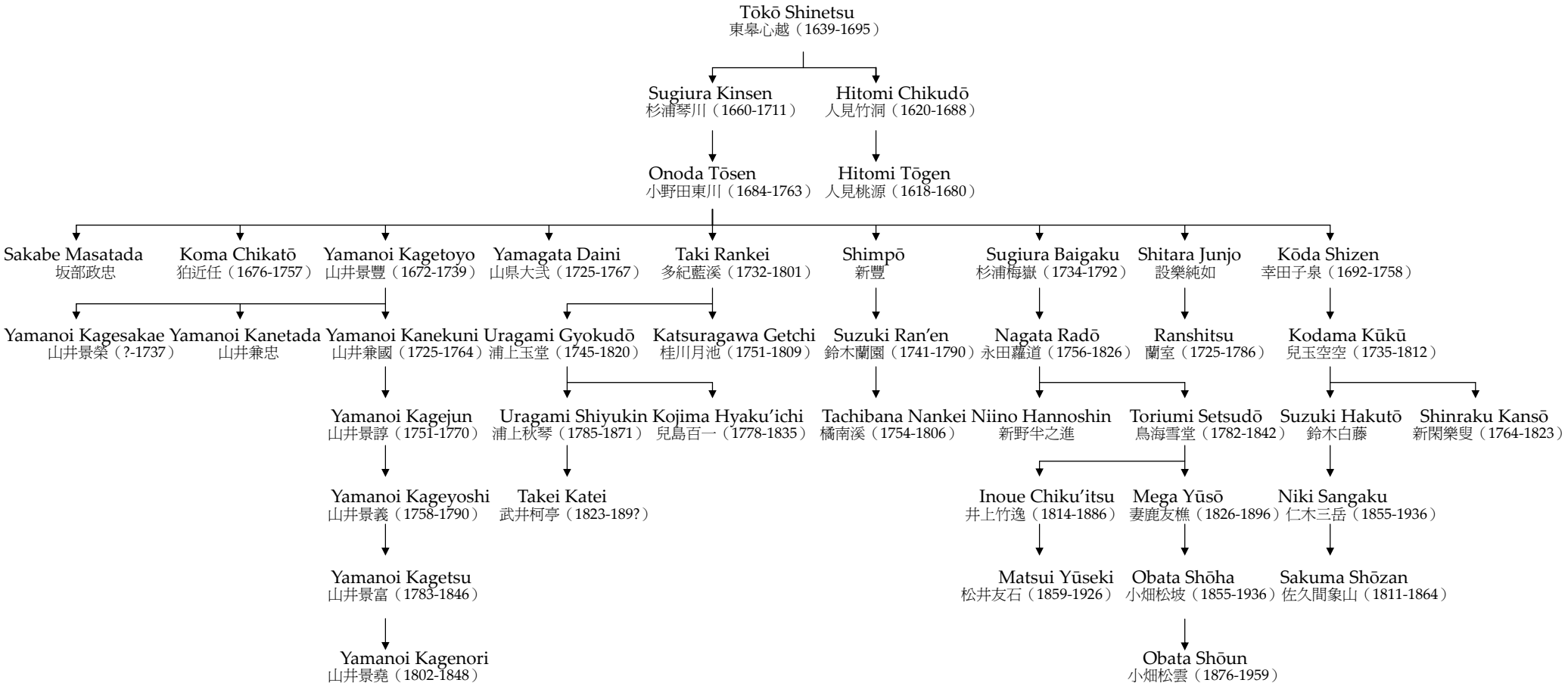
[28] Kishibe Shigeo, *Edo jidai no kinshi monogatari*, 451.
[29] As reported by Hieda Hirō, in his "Donggao xinyue qinpai shulue," 287.

gained through frequent contacts with other Japanese *qin* players (i.e., *naiden* players, to use van Gulik's terminology). As to Andō Seian is concerned, moreover, his presumed expertise on the *qin* was a story concocted by Murai Kinzai. When Murai included Shin'etsu's music in his handbook (Tōkō Shin'etsu nos. 10, 12, 23, 26, 39, 41, 45, 46 and 56),[30] he made up a story of nine notated *qin* pieces that were transmitted to him from the Ming loyalist and Confucian refugee Zhang Fei 張斐 via Zhang's Japanese friend Andō Seian. As a matter of fact, except some slight modifications, the nine pieces contained in Murai's handbook are almost identical with those found in the *Tōkō kinfu*. The similarity between Murai's music and Shinetsu's repertoire is not the result of chance, for among the nine pieces there is one written after a poem dedicated to Shin'etsu by his friend Zou Zhimo (Shin'etsu no. 39).[31] In short, no genuine *geden* players ever existed in Tokugawa Japan.

Consequently, van Gulik's genealogical classification scheme cannot be used to explain the dynamic change of music any longer. As we may infer from the above, Ogyū Sorai, Koma Chikatō, Yamanoi Kagetoyo, Yamagata Daini, and Uragami Gyokudō were perforce all trained by *naiden* players (see Table 1.2). But none of them was satisfied with Chinese music as transmitted via Shin'etsu. They

[30] For details of the nine pieces in Murai's handbook, see Kishibe Shigeo, *Edo jidai no kinshi monogatari*, 84-85.
[31] For more information on Zou, see below, section 2.3.

Table 1.2: Revised Pedigree of Tōkō Shinetsu's Tradition



all led *qin* music into directions different from Shin'etsu's. What informed this musical change? Is there any ideological force or political propaganda behind it? If so, how can we conceptualize the relation between the development of *qin* music and Tokugawa intellectual history? None of the questions raised above can be answered by solely musical enquiries, let alone by stemmata which presumptively might lay any conflict to rest.

In contrast with the wide dissemination of Shin'etsu's repertoire, which was copied and recopied throughout the intervening centuries, most of the musical literature of provenance other than Shin'etsu's has been neglected. Concentrated in the collections of the Imperial Household and the Tayasu-Tokugawa family, the majority of these sources have survived in unique copies. In van Gulik's time, none of them were accessible to scholars. Till now, more than eighty per cent of the source materials of provenance other than Shin'etsu's have been left untouched and therefore remain entirely unexplored. No inventory of them has ever been compiled aside from Uragami Gyokudō's handbook published in 1791.[32] The historical morphology of the Japanese *qin* tradition thus remains

[32] In early 1970, Kishibe Shigeo and Zhang Shibin managed to study the music of Uragami Gyokudō. Their efforts resulted in a paper written by Kishibe Shigeo, "Gyokudō kingaku seikan 玉堂琴楽清鑑," *Kobijutsu* 古美術 30 (1970): 63-68; and a recording of the two pieces from Uragami Gyokudō's handbook: *Ise no umi* 伊勢海, and *Waga koma* 我駒, played by Zhang. However, due to Zhang's unfortunate death in 1978, the collaboration has never been completed. Seven years later, art historian Stephen Addiss wrote a dissertation on the same artist: "Uragami Gyokudō: The Complete Literati Artist" (PhD diss., The University of

vague. Even for the well-documented repertories, the political background that might have informed any shifts with regard to the musical practice could not automatically be found in sources ostensibly devoted to music. In this respect, these stemmata, which positioned Ogyū Sorai, Koma Chikatō, Yamagata Daini, and Uragami Gyokudō as musical decedents of Tōkō Shin'etsu, are particularly misleading.

The difficulties faced by van Gulik and Kishibe is shared by us. Could we re-picture a past musical culture by "not only seeing clearly the evidence that survives, but imaginatively filling in the gaps where [direct written] evidence is missing?" [33] In order to break the impasse reached by hitherto accepted methodologies - as demonstrated by the cases of van Gulik and Kishibe Shigeo - and the resulting difficulty of interpreting documents and envisaging the processes of composition, transmission and codification from which Japanese *qin* music has presumably originated, we shall first compare Shin'etsu's repertoire with Chinese *qin* playing contemporaneous to him. Similarities and differences uncovered through this comparison will shed new light on the understanding of

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Michigan, 1977); for the Chapter on Gyokudō's music, see 52-217. In 1987, Addiss published his monograph: *Tall Mountains and Flowing Waters: The Arts of Uragami Gyokudō* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987), in which a revised discussion of Gyokudō's music can be found from page 29 to 48.

[33] Peter Jeffery, *Re-Envisoning Past Musical Cultures: Ethnomusicology in the Study of Gregorian Chant* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 120.

Shin'etsu's *qin* playing in a broader context.

All the music handed down from Shin'etsu are *qin* songs, none of them purely instrumental. Similar cases can be found on the continent in China, where many *qin* songs were published towards the end of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) - to name but a few: Gong Jing's collection of forty *qin* songs, printed in Nanchang no later than 1491;[34] Xie Lin's collection of thirty-six *qin* songs, printed in 1511;[35] Huang Longshan's collection containing fiftheen *qin* songs, printed in 1530;[36] Yang Biaozheng's collection printed in Nanjing in 1573 of sixty-eight songs,[37] and its 1585 revised edition of one hundred and five songs;[38] Zhang Tingyu's collection of seventy-two songs, printed in 1618;[39] Yang Lun's two sibling collections of a total of fourty-five *qin* songs printed in ca. 1609, and so

[34] Gong Jing 龔經, *Zheyin shizi qinpu* 浙音釋字琴譜, in *Qinqu jicheng* 琴曲集成, ed. Wenhuabu wenxue yishu yanjiuyuan yinyue yanjiusuo 文化部文學藝術研究院音樂研究所 and Beijing guqin yanjiu hui 北京古琴研究會(Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju 中華書局, 1981), vol. 1, 187-252.

[35] Xie Lin 謝琳, *Xie Lin taigu yiyin* 謝琳太古遺音, in *Qinqu jicheng*, ed. Wenhuabu wenxue yishu yanjiuyuan yinyue yanjiusuo and Beijing guqin yanjiu hui (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1981), vol. 1, 253-306.

[36] Huang Longshan 黃龍山, *Xinkan faming qinpu* 新刊發明琴譜, in *Qinqu jicheng*, ed. Wenhuabu wenxue yishu yanjiuyuan yinyue yanjiusuo and Beijing guqin yanjiu hui (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1981), vol. 1, 313-372.

[37] Yang Biaozheng 楊表正, *Zhengwen duiyin jieyao* 正文對音捷要琴譜真傳, 6 vols. National Science Library, Chinese Academy of Sciences, Beijing, call number:子 630/052/255381-6.

[38] Yang Biaozheng, *Chongxiu zhenchuan qinpu* 重修真傳琴譜, in *Qinqu jicheng*, ed. Wenhuabu wenxue yishu yanjiuyuan yinyue yanjiusuo and Beijing guqin yanjiu hui (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1982), vol. 4, 255-508.

[39] Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉, *Xinchuan lixing yuanya* 新傳理想元雅, in *Qinqu jicheng*, ed. Wenhuabu wenxue yishu yanjiuyuan yinyue yanjiusuo and Beijing guqin yanjiu hui (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1989), vol. 8, 167-338.

forth.[40] In the early Qing dynasty (1644-1911), the momentum of publishing song books continued: Zhuang Zhenfeng's collection containing eight *qin* songs was printed in 1664;[41] and Cheng Xiong's two sibling collections of a total of fourty-eight *qin* songs were printed no earlier than 1682.[42]

Close scrutiny of these songs reveals that the main portion of the Ming lyrics are in fact settings of pre-existing melodies, with the intention to make the instrumental repertoire more approachable. For example, all the music of Gong Jing's song collection published at the very end of the fifteenth century was taken directly form Zhu Quan's 1425 anthology of pure instrumental *qin* music the *Shenqi mipu*. The compiler Gong Jing freely admitted this musical borrowing in his preface. The lyrics are easy to read. These settings were made to popularize the exquisite art of the *qin*. As a result, in the late Ming period, lyrics settings for the *qin* gradually had become a new folk literature genre and *qin*-song

[40] Yang Lun 楊抡, *Taigu yiyin* 太古遺音, in *Qinqu jicheng*, ed. Wenhuabu wenxue yishu yanjiuyuan yinyue yanjiusuo and Beijing guqin yanjiu hui (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1981), vol. 7, 56-152, and 169-170; and his *Boya xinfa* 伯牙心法, in *Qinqu jicheng*, ed. Wenhuabu wenxue yishu yanjiuyuan yinyue yanjiusuo and Beijing guqin yanjiu hui (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1981), vol. 7, 153-165, and 171-217.

[41] Zhuang Zhenfeng 莊臻鳳, *Qinxue xinsheng xiepu* 琴學心聲諧譜, in *Qinqu jicheng*, ed. Wenhuabu wenxue yishu yanjiuyuan yinyue yanjiusuo and Beijing guqin yanjiu hui (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1994), vol. 12, 1-162.

[42] Cheng Xiong 程雄, *Songfeng ge qinpu* 松風閣琴譜, in *Qinqu jicheng*, ed. Wenhuabu wenxue yishu yanjiuyuan yinyue yanjiusuo and Beijing guqin yanjiu hui (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1994), vol. 12, 281-340; and his *Shuhuai cao* 抒懷操, in *Qinqu jicheng*, ed. Wenhuabu wenxue yishu yanjiuyuan yinyue yanjiusuo and Beijing guqin yanjiu hui (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1994), vol. 12, 341-372.

performances frequently appeared at such popular venues as tea shops, for example.[43]

As a reaction to the blossoming of *qin* songs, the renowned late Ming scholar and *qin* enthusiast Yan Cheng 嚴澂(1547-1625), son of former prime minister Yan Na 嚴訥(1511-1584) at the Ming court of the Jiajing regime, argued that *qin* melodies should be purely instrumental. In an essay attached to his own *qin* music collection, he remarked that singing got in the way of the delicate *qin* sounds.[44] Therefore, it goes without saying that the syllabic setting of *qin* songs – the setting of one character for each note – is not desirable to Yan at all. Yan Cheng's handbook *Songxianguan qinpu*, in which he strongly opposed the singing tradition, was first engraved in 1614. But soon afterwards, half of its woodblocks were destroyed during the late Ming wars. Its 1656 revised edition became widely disseminated among *qin* players, however.

In order to avoid the extremely embarrassing critique of being shallow and vulgar, after the publication of Yan Cheng's handbook, in particular its revised edition, early Qing dynasty (1644-1911) *qin* musicians reversed the process of

[43] Zha Fuxi, *Zha Fuxi Qinxue Wencui*, 301.
[44] Yan Cheng 嚴澂, "Qinchuan huipu xu 琴川彙譜序," in his *Songxianguan qinpu* 松絃館琴譜, in *Qinqu jicheng*, ed. Wenhuabu wenxue yishu yanjiuyuan yinyue yanjiusuo and Beijing guqin yanjiu hui (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1989), vol. 8, 158-159.

song making: Instead of composing lyrics to well known *qin* melodies, players became inclined to work out musical versions of classical literary texts. These literary products, differing greatly from their Ming counterparts, were delicate works written by the ancients or by eminent contemporary scholar-officials in the Classical language and style. Quite a number of them were addressed directly to the musician who composed the music. Moreover, since these works were constituted by various types of classical poetry conforming to definite patterns, words frequently inserted outside the melodic form prescribed in a poem of the Ming dynasty, such as *dina*, were not allowed anymore. Elegant though they were, these *qin* songs were now completely detached from commoners. By publishing them, a *qin* player communicated only with literati, and this is how he got his fame and publicity. So, the function of *qin* songs, or song book publishing, diverged fundamentally from the Ming to the early Qing period.

When Tōkō Shin'etsu came to Japan in 1676, he brought with him three of the above-mentioned song books: Yang Lun's (1609) and Zhang Tingyu's (1618) of the Ming dynasty, and the then newly published Qing dynasty handbook complied by Zhuang Zhenfeng (1664). Moreover, among the six *qin* handbooks he brought to Japan in total, there was the two-volume printed edition of Yan Cheng's handbook. Later on, Tōkō Shin'etsu even helped his Japanese pupil

Hitomi Chikudō to read Yan's handbook.[45] It seems reasonable to surmise that Shin'etsu was well informed regarding Yan Cheng's critique of the singing tradition. If he was ever trained in the pure instrumental tradition as Yan was, then, it would be absurd for Shin'etsu to abandon completely what he had learned on the continent and to develop in Japan a singing tradition which was totally new to him and was deemed by Yan as socially low and vulgar. The only reasonable interpretation for the fact that all the music handed down from Shin'etsu are songs, and none of it purely instrumental, is as follows: On the continent, Tōkō Shin'etsu was mainly, perhaps even exclusively, trained in the singing tradition. His basic skill in *qin* music must have been confined to *qin* songs.

If we compare Shin'etsu's anthology as compiled by his descendent pupils with the song books from the Ming and Qing, we find that, Shin'etsu's music is part of the later end of the ongoing Ming-Qing tradition of *qin* songs, with Zhuang Zhenfeng's collection of 1664, and Cheng Xiong's collection of ca. 1682 being its closest relatives.[46]

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[45] See Hitomi Chikudō's letter to Tōkō Shin'etsu, Chen Zhichao, ed., *Lü Ri gao seng Donggao xinyue shi wen ji*, 250.

[46] Kikkawa Yoshikazu 吉川良和, "Minshin kōsetsu kinha to Nihon no Edo kingaku 明清江浙琴派と日本の江戸琴楽," in *Nitchū bunka ronshū: tayō na kakudo kara no apurōchi* 日中文化論集: 多様な角度からのアプローチ, ed. Kanagawa Daigaku Jinbungaku Kenkyūjo 神奈川大学人文学研究所 (Tōkyō: Keisō Shobō 勁草書房, 2002), 48-68.

The focus of *qin* songs rests in singing rather than playing. One reason for this observation was perhaps the fact that lyrics appended to *qin* melodies were always very word intensive. Syllabic setting of lyrics left no room for left-hand ornaments and nuances. For each character, there is only one note. Therefore, the artistry of *qin* song relies on the singing technique. Although it is said that singing is the most archaic form of the *qin* tradition - Confucius is said to have played the *qin* while singing the poems from the *Shijing*, the Book of Odes[47] -, the core of the Ming-Qing *qin* tradition, the most complex solo instrumental tradition to develop on the East Asian Continent in the past millennium, was not contained in it. This might be the reason that upon reviewing the musical art of Shin'etsu, van Gulik remarked: "Basing my opinion upon the tunes preserved in the *Tōkō-kinfu*, I was inclined to think that he was but a mediocre performer. For in this handbook only very simple and much abbreviated lute melodies are given; they lack all the grandeur of real *qin* music."[48]

However, simple melody can be touching. For an individual Zen priest, this is quite enough. Whether a player might build his own performing version based on the complicated notation of a certain instrumental piece was well beyond

[47] Even in the Ming and Qing, foremost among the *qin* song anthologies come late musical versions of some odes from the *Shijing*.
[48] R. H. van Gulik, *The Lore of the Chinese Lute*, 206.

Shin'etsu's business. But for a school of players isolated from the motherland of *qin* music, this became a fatal problem: Notational transmission had never been introduced into Japan, and consequently any effort to build a tentative reading of unstudied notations would not meet well-prepared ground. Throughout the Tokugawa period, without the help from a teacher, none of the Japanese *qin* players was skilled enough to play directly from the notation, work out its rhythm, and build up a performing version. Under such circumstances, any oral transmission was bound to become monopolistic.

This reading is not only supported by the fact that, throughout the period 1677-1732 all the music practiced by Japanese players was confined to Shin'etsu's repertoire, but also verified by the correspondence between Shin'etsu and his *qin* disciple Hitomi Chikudō (1620-1688), a Confucian scholar in the service of the Lord of Mito.[49] In his letter to Shin'etsu on the nineteenth day of the ninth month of the third year of Tenna (1683), Hitomi acknowledged the receipt of two notated pieces from his master and earnestly asked for his personal instruction on the music:

It is my great honor to receive your gift – two notated pieces of *qin* music.

[49] For further information on the relation between Tōkō Shin'etsu and Hitomi Chikudō, see Ōba Takuya 大庭卓也, "Hitomi Chikudō to Tōkō Shin'etsu: Chikudō den no ichikoma 人見竹洞と東皐心越: 竹洞伝の一齣," *Gobun kenkyū* 語文研究 82 (1996): 25-37.

However, without your oral instruction, I cannot grasp the true meaning of the music, but merely read the score and pluck the strings. Therefore, I am looking forward to your arrival at Mito. 且辱二譜之惠，多幸多幸。然不得口傳手授，則不到其真，徒以觀譜撫弦爲適耳，故俟飛錫歸府矣。[50]

In the same letter Hitomi mentioned another song composed by Shin'etsu himself. Again, he mentioned that Shin'etsu's oral instruction was indispensable:

Regarding the piece *Xi chun cao* [Tōkō Shin'etsu no. 49],[51] all the fingerings are well practiced [by me = Hitomi]. Is it now the right moment to receive your oral instruction in order to grasp the essence of the music? 如《熙春操》，弄指既熟，猶得口授手傳則可窺其妙乎？[52]

In the summer of 1682, Hitomi Chikudō reported his progress to Shin'etsu, and asked for Shin'etsu's instruction again:

I have been occupied by official work over the past few months. But whenever there was a short break, I studied the *qin*. My ability in playing the pieces *Xi chun cao* [Tōkō Shin'etsu no. 49] and *Da zai yin* [Tōkō Shin'etsu no. 9] is proficient, while of the piece *Si xian cao* [Tōkō Shin'etsu no.7] practice so far is not enough. Regarding *Ou lu wang ji* [Tōkō Shin'etsu no. 3], I only play it according to the notation. As for the rhythmic subtleties, they can only be grasped through your oral instruction. Therefore, I am keen to welcome you at Mito. 僕數月來日日有官事勤勤紛冗，小暇則抱琴學之。《熙春操》、《大哉行[引]》稍熟，《思賢操》猶未至熟，如《忘機》乃隨譜弄之，然至緩急疾徐，非

[50] Chen Zhichao, ed., *Lü Ri gao seng Donggao xinyue shi wen ji*, 166.
[51] For further information of the piece, please see the numbered entry in Appendix A.
[52] Chen Zhichao, ed., *Lü Ri gao seng Donggao xinyue shi wen ji*, 166.

口授則不得其妙矣，故仰俟來府。[53]

However, based on the same correspondence between Shin'etsu and Hitomi Chikudō, van Gulik argued:

> On the other hand we have a letter of Hitomi Chikudō to Shin'etsu (cf. *Tōkō-zenshū*, II, leaf 44), from which it appears that Shin'etsu advised him to use the well-known Ming handbook *Sung-hsien-kuan-ch'in-pu* [= *Songxianguan qin pu*]; this would imply that Shin'etsu taught his advanced students on the basis of this handbook - which is by no means an easy one. Therefore it would seem that the handbook that bears Shin'etsu's name, the *Tōkō-kinfu*, only represents the tunes that Shin'etsu taught to beginners. For advanced students did not need a special handbook: they could use the great Chinese *ch'in-pu*.[54]

Among the seventeen letters between Hitomi Chikudō and Shin'etsu assembled by Asano Fuzan 浅野斧山 in his edition of Shin'etsu's writings,[55] only one mentioned the handbook *Songxianguan qinpu*.[56] Before translating this letter, let me quote two other sources to complete the background picture.

At first, Hitomi Chikudō came into contact with *Guanju*, a *qin*-song notation

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[53] Chen Zhichao, ed., *Lü Ri gao seng Donggao xinyue shi wen ji*, 251.
[54] R. H. van Gulik, *The Lore of the Chinese Lute*, 206
[55] Tōkō Shin'etsu, *Tōkō zenshū* 東皐全集, ed. Asano Fuzan 浅野斧山 (Tōkyō: Ikkatsusha 一喝社, 1911), vol. 2, folios. 44v-55r.
[56] Tōkō Shin'etsu, *Tōkō zenshū* 東皐全集, vol. 2, folio. 46v; see also Chen Zhichao, ed., *Lu Ri gaoseng Donggao xinyue shi wen ji*, 255.

kept in a Chinese handbook available to Hitomi, and requested Shin'etsu's help:

> As I happened to ponder the thought that all the three hundred pieces kept in the *Book of Odes* were sung by the ancients, I came across the ten-section piece *Guanju*. But its ancient lyrics were contaminated by later insertions. Moreover, I would like to have access to the music version of the [other] ten poems preserved in the same chapter entitled *Zhou Nan* of the *Book of Odes*, but they are so difficult to acquire. …… My teacher, I believe you must have received good education on the poetry of Zhou when you were young. If your pronunciation is not of the Henan standard, then might it be the official one of Nanjing? On bended knees, I beg you to work out the music version of the [other] ten poems kept in the *Zhou Nan* chapter at your leisure. Your good deeds [of preparing the music] will no doubt be praised throughout ages. 偶想古人于三百篇無不弦歌，方今觀有《關雎》十段，其辭以他言語雜之，更思得《周南》十篇諧音而難得之。……料知老師幼時得《周詩》名家之傳也。若非河南之正音，則南京之官音也乎？伏請暇日以《周南》十篇爲十段諧音，則千古之一佳事也。[57]

The *qin*-song *Guanju* appears in no less than fifty-one handbooks throughout the history of the *qin* tradition on the continent.[58] The only ten-section song that predates the death of Hitomi Chikudō, so that he could possibly have come across with, is the one preserved in the 1618 Ming handbook *Lixing yuanya*.[59] It seems that Shin'etsu did follow Hitomi's request and proceeded to revise and

[57] Chen Zhichao, ed., *Lü Ri gao seng Donggao xinyue shi wen ji*, 251.
[58] Zha Fuxi 查阜西, ed., *Cun jian guqin qupu jilan* 存見古琴曲譜輯覽 (Beijing: Renmin yinyue chuban she 人民音樂出版社, 1958), 11.
[59] Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉, *Xinchuan Lixing yuanya* 新傳理性元雅, in *Qinqu jicheng*, ed. Wenhuabu wenxue yishu yanjiuyuan yinyue yanjiusuo and Beijing guqin yanjiu hui (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1989), vol. 8, 240-243.

abridge the score kept in the Ming handbook. Although the notation of Shin'etsu's new version does survive to today, its colophon reads:

> The original version of the notated piece *Guanju*, copied on the right, is too lengthy, because its compiler has failed to grasp the subtlety of the original poem. I hereby rearrange its lyrics [one character missing] and the gist of the poem is thus regained. [One character missing] is it because the lyrics from the Jiangsu and Zhejiang regions have been contaminated by insertions alien to the original poem? The song is now reduced to five sections. Musicians please point out my mistakes. Noted by Tōkō Chū, the Monk 右《關雎》之曲，蘩文者[音?]冗，未悉其本然之妙耳。今因特協章句于首□得斯旨也。□吳浙之操有譜文以它詞夾雜之乎？茲裁成五段，而俟知音俯詳正焉。東皋杜多儔拜跋 [60]

Shin'etsu taught this version to Hitomi Chikudō. Then Hitomi Chikudō wrote the letter van Gulik referred to in the passage quoted above:

> I was free in the recent several days. The piece *Guanju* was well practiced. Therefore I picked up the handbook *Songxianguan qinpu* and played another version of *Guanju* from the Wu area that was contained in it. I feel it is particularly elegant and interesting. But since my teacher has not been back yet, again and again, I look forward [to your arrival]. 僕頃日無事，《關雎》之操稍熟，故又執《松弦譜》操吳音《關雎》，特有清趣。更以師之未歸，時時瞻望耳。[61]

[60] Chen Zhichao, ed., *Lü Ri gao seng Donggao xinyue shi wen ji*, 246-247.
[61] Chen Zhichao, ed., *Lü Ri gao seng Donggao xinyue shi wen ji*, 255.

It is quite clear from this letter that Shin'etsu never advised his advanced student in how to use the well-known Ming handbook *Songxianguan qinpu*. Consequently, the above translated letter cannot be used as evidence for the Japanese having gained the ability to use the Chinese handbook independently. On the contrary, it demonstrates that even for the most Sinophile disciples, Shin'etsu had to nourish their musical comprehension of every piece individually. Of course, there are plenty of elegant excuses for the Japanese players' indispensable reliance on oral instruction. For instance, Hitomi Chikudō ever wrote to Shin'etsu that in his collection of *qin* handbooks, "there are a few woodblock editions" imported from China via book trade,[62] but he never used them, because he was "worrying that a one-stroke deviation in the notation might result in a thousand-mile mistake."[63] Therefore, the duty of demonstrating the correct phrasing, teaching a tasteful interpretation, making any revisions if necessary, and quite often the burden of simplifying the original Chinese notation, remained with Shin'etsu. It is worth noting that all these complicated processes were simply put under the term "collation" by Hitomi.

At many occasions in the correspondences, Hitomi Chikudō asked Shin'etsu

[62] The first printed Japanese *qin* handbook appeared in 1746, fifty-eight years after the death of Hitomi Chikudō.

[63] See Hitomi Chikudō's letter to Shin'etsu, on the 23rd day of the intercalary month of the third year of Tenna (1683): "余譜間有鏤板之本，然更疑有一畫之差，則謬操音于千里乎？" In Chen Zhichao, ed., *Lü Ri gao seng Donggao xinyue shi wen ji*, 165.

to adapt selected Chinese pieces from various Chinese song books, such as the *Taigu yiyin* (ca. 1609) or the *Qinxue xinsheng* (1666). A few examples are translated here:

> In order to prepare a tracing copy of your notation, I put a sheet of oilpaper on the new version of *Yan luo pingsha* (Tōkō Shin'etsu no. 31). There is no phrasing mark in the third section. Therefore, I present you with the original notation together with my tracing copy. Please proofread and correct them. Thank you. Comparing with the previous version (Tōkō Shin'etsu no. 37?), with the replacement of subsections, the tune of the new version became more subtle while its fingering got simplified. Oh, except for my erudite master, who else should achieve this? Thanks a lot.《雁落平沙》之新調，以油箋摸之。第三段無句，與謄本共呈之，以污乙覽，逾勞訂正，則惟幸。與前譜幷校，則段換調妙而指法稍易，非師之精古音，何能到此乎？感仰感仰。[64]

In another letter Hitomi Chikudō asked:

> In the handbook *Taigu yiyin*, there is a piece called *Gui qu lai ci* (Tōkō Shin'etsu no. 11). I tried to play it, but found no beautiful melodies in it. [Might this be because] the ancients made the music without any deep thoughts? …… My master, it will be nice if you can, in your spare time, correct the old notation and adapt it into a new piece. What do you think about it? 《太古遺音》有《歸去來》之譜，彈之未看其妙處。古人偶作其譜，乃不覃思乎？……請師得閑日改正古譜而爲新調之絕妙，則幸甚，盛意如何？[65]

[64] Chen Zhichao, ed., *Lü Ri gao seng Donggao xinyue shi wen ji*, 167.
[65] Chen Zhichao, ed., *Lü Ri gao seng Donggao xinyue shi wen ji*, 167.

A similar request can be found in the following quotation:

> I tried to collate Zhuang Diean's *Lan ting*,[66] but my fingering is not fluent enough [for the task]. And besides, my master is far from me, so I cannot hear the secret of this subtle piece. 又校蝶庵《蘭亭》之操，惟嘆指法未熟也，况夫與師杳阻，不能聞妙曲之秘。[67]

In the above translated letters, "the secret" of *qin* music can be acquired only through oral instruction. In this sense, notation was, for Tokugawa *qin* players, no more than an aide-memoire for fingering. In contrast, the Chinese understanding of *qin* notation during the Ming dynasty was certainly beyond this. As we know from Zhu's own confession, the sixteen pieces in volume one of Zhu Quan's 1425 handbook *Shenqi Mipu*, which Zhu labeled "Celestial Airs of Antiquity", were no longer in the orally transmitted, actively played repertory of the early fifteenth century. But Zhu still published them. He did so because competent *qin* players could "decipher" the notation, work out the rhythm of its music, and produce their own performing versions. For Chinese, the way of *qin* has always been that: "If the music is taught, there is no need to give the tablature; if the tablature is given, the phrases will not be marked."[68] When trying to decipher the notation,

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[66] Here, *Lan ting* refers to the *qin* piece *Lin he xiu qi*, printed in Zhuang' handbook *Qiu xue xin sheng xie pu*, vol. 2, folios. 61r-63r. For a facsimile of the notation, see *Qinqu jicheng*, ed. Wenhuabu wenxue yishu yanjiuyuan yinyue yanjiusuo and Beijing guqin yanjiu hui (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1994), vol. 12, 91-91.

[67] Chen Zhichao, ed., *Lü Ri gao seng Donggao xinyue shi wen ji*, 256.

[68] Zhu Quan, ed., *Shenqi Mipu*, vol. 1, 70.

one may come to one's own unique rhythmic solutions, change the fingering, and even recompose the melody. All these treatments of the source, from a modern *qin* players' point of view, may seem audacious. But from traditional *qin* players' point of view, they were perfectly natural. As I demonstrated elsewhere, on the continent, re-composition had become a part of the *qin* music practice since the early seventh century at the latest.[69] In the manuscript Tōkyō, Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan TB 1393, the early Tang scribe B added his own composition into the body of the prior *qin* player's work while scraping off the characters of the original from that scroll (cols. 30, 204 and 205, for instance). Tōkyō scribe B's creative impulses thus led to some re-composition of the music. But this recomposing process, as physically reflected in the manuscript, is no different from any textual revision, since the full-ideogram notation employed in that manuscript is actually a kind of Chinese descriptive prose. As evident from the notation, Tōkyō scribe B discarded some texts and added his new insertions. By the editorial standards of the Chinese Middle Ages, Tōkyō scribe B carried out his personal collation of the notation. When Tōkyō scribe B added his own composition into the pre-existing notation, he was treating music as literature. This might be the reason why, in the above translated letters, the duty of phrasing, interpreting, revising, and simplifying of notation were all simply

[69] See Yang Yuanzheng, "Early *Qin* Music: Manuscript Tōkyō, Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan TB1393 and Manuscript Hikone, Hikone-jō Hakubutsukan V633" (MPhil thesis, The University of Hong Kong, 2005), 10-15.

referred as collation, or correction.

For Shin'etsu's Japanese musical descendants, notational transmission has never been legitimized as a proper means to develop the tradition further. Even faint suggestions of musical individuality led to strong disapproval and censure. For instance, Kikuchi Kan 菊池貫, in his preface to the 1797 edition of *Tōkō kinfu*, states in a similar tone as Zhu Quan:

> If one's own attainment has the first priority, any succession of teaching, though valuable, is needless, because individuals' attainments come from heavenly inspiration, not from teachings. If one only clings to the teaching he received, and dare not to change them, can he be viewed as artistic? This is the reason that our master (= Tōkō Shin'etsu) will not prefer [to cling to the teaching]. 夫琴之貴師承固善，然獨得妙詣不待他求，蓋……以天授，而非以人授也。若徒守師承，不知其化，又何風韵之有？是師之所以不取也。[70]

When conducting archival work on an Edo manuscript of *qin* miscellanea kept at the Hikone Castle, I found a cynical response written in red into the margins of Kikuchi Kan's preface, which reads as follow:

> This is, however, a bigotry [that I cannot agree with]. If the individuals' attainment comes from heavenly inspiration, not from teachings, then one

[70] Kusano Onkei 草野溫卿 et al. ed., *Tōkō kinfu* 東皐琴譜, in *Nihon kingaku sōsho* 日本琴學叢書, no. 5, ed. Sakata Shinichi 坂田進一 (Tōkyō: Tōkyō kinsha 東京琴社, 1986). For more bibliographic information, see Appendix A.

can establish one's own school of *qin* play. In that case, why take the trouble to print the notation of Tōkō Shin'etsu and present it to those who share the same hobby? Moreover, how can he know that our master (= Tōkō Shin'etsu) will not prefer [to cling to the teaching]? 按此一節，究竟執拗。若果以律而合以天授則不依師授別爲一家可也，何更刻此譜周貽同好？不知越師之所不取，何以知之？[71]

At another occasion, the erudite player Inoue Chiku'itsu 井上竹逸 (1814-1886) pointed out that the preface was actually drafted by Ichinokawa Meian 市野迷庵 (1746-1826) on Kikuchi Kan's behalf. For Inoue, the "forged preface" was "sheer fraud" perpetrated by Ichinokawa Meian. "If the transmission is based on musical logic and heavenly inspiration, then there is no need to teach anymore." Therefore, what Ichinokawa wrote was nothing but "deliberate cheating."[72]

Abandoning notational transmission resulted in the unavoidable degeneration of *qin* music, the evolutionary decline of playing skills with a corresponding loss of the repertoire. From the first generation players, such as Sugiura Kinsen, to the second generation Onoda Tōsen (see Table 1.2), the repertoire decreased in its diversity and the amount of pieces performed was reduced significantly from fifty-six to forty-seven pieces. In his later years, the repertoire was again condensed by Onoda Tōsen to sixteen pieces (Tōkō Shinetsu

[71] See *Kinfu* 琴譜, JP-Hh 325, no folio number.
[72] See Inoue Chiku'itsu, *Zuiken hitsuroku*, CA-Bc 1, no folio number.

nos. 10-13, 23, 26, 32, 34, 35, 39, 41, 45, 46, 51 and 56) plus one secret piece (Tōkō Shinetsu no. 61). All these happened within one hundred years of Tōkō Shinetsu's arrival to Japan. In the late eighteenth century, some fourthgeneration players, such as Uragami Gyokudō (1745-1820), were only taught two or three short pieces. Therefore, the most eminent two of the fourthgeneration players – the Confucian scholar in the service of the bakufu, Kodama Kūkū (1735-1812), and Ranshitsu (1725-1786), the abbot of Shinryū-ji in Edo – were keen to exchange their teachings of Shin'etsu's music (see Table 1.2) to increase their repertoire I presume.[73]

Bearing in mind that in the period 1677-1732, most of the Japanese players were confined to the oral transmission of Shin'etsu's repertoire, we are going to explore, in the next section, its constitutive elements. The information uncovered by such an analysis should generate the materials needed in order to permit us to flesh out our understanding of the nature and tendencies prevalent among these Tokugawa *qin* players.

1.3 The Composition of Shin'etsu's Repertoire and the Compilation of the *Tōkō kinfu*

[73] Kishibe Shigeo, *Edo jidai no kinshi monogatari*, 342.

No direct evidence from Tōkō Shinetsu's own writing shows that he ever intended to compile an anthology of *qin* music. The compilation of the *Tōkō kinfu* from the very beginning was a joint venture undertaken by a group of Confucian scholars surrounding the Tokugawa bakufu. Hitomi Chikudō, who consciously stimulated Shinetsu's musical creativity by requesting his advice and purposefully collected his music, was a Confucian scholar working for the "tent government" as scholastic adviser. And, Sugiura Masamoto (1660-1711, style name: Kinsen),[74] who compiled and prefaced the first and most complete edition of the *Tōkō kinfu* during the Hōei period (1704-1710), was a highranking hatamoto samurai who was in charge of the protection of Edo Castle. (Table 1.3 shows how deeply Sugiura was engaged in the editorial process.) The other four prefaces to the *Tōkō kinfu* were written by Hayashi Hōkō 林鳳岡 (1706), Hitomi Tōgen 人見桃源 (1707), Hayashi Hōkō 林葛井, and Fukami Shin'emon 深見新右衛門.[75] All these people were Confucians closely associated with the Tokugawa regime.

[74] A style name, sometimes also known as a courtesy name, is a given name to be used later in life.

[75] Fukami Shin'emon also went by the name Fukami Sadatsuna 深見貞恒 and used the styles Gentai 玄岱 and Tenki 天漪 was well; since he was the grandson of the Chinese Gao Shoujue, he was known also as Gao Xuandai 高玄岱. In 1709, the sixth year of Hōei, on the recommendation of Arai Hakuseki, he had been elevated from the ranks of the Chinese interpreters to that of a scholar-in-residence in Edo.

Table 1.3: List of Tōkō Shinetsu's Music with Dated Preambles or Colophons

No.	Title	Annotated by	Date
1	*Gao shan*	Tōkō Shinetsu	1674
		Tōkō Shinetsu	1688
2	*Liu shui*	Tōkō Shinetsu	1685
3	*Ou lu wang ji*	Tōkō Shinetsu and Chu Xuzhou	1673
9	*Da zai yin*	Tōkō Shinetsu	1687
20	*He chong xiao*	Tōkō Shinetsu	1694
21	*Nan pu yue*	Tōkō Shinetsu	1694
22	*Fei qiong yin*	Tōkō Shinetsu	1694
23	*Yao fang yin*	Tōkō Shinetsu	1686
25	*Shi jiao yin*	Sugiura Masamoto?	1710
27	*Jin guan yin*	Tōkō Shinetsu	1674
49	*Xi chun cao*	Tōkō Shinetsu?	ca. 1680
50	*Si qin yin*	Tōkō Shinetsu	1684
		Sugiura Masamoto	?
51	*An pai qu*	Tōkō Shinetsu	1689
		Sugiura Masamoto	1710
52	*Haruno*	Sugiura Masamoto	1710
53	*Fuji*	Sugiura Masamoto	1710
54	*Yamasato*	Sugiura Masamoto	1710
55	*Yamasakura*	Sugiura Masamoto	1710

Instead of assembling a new comprehensive edition of the *Tōkō kinfu*, as Japanese musicologists have done on several different occasions,[76] the aim of the present section is to make use of the bibliographical and textual data drawn from the principal historical editions of the *Tōkō kinfu* and to interpret afresh the history and transmission of each *qin* piece from Shinetsu's teaching onward. The transmission of *qin* pieces is not a wholly random process, by which some pieces happen to succumb to destruction and neglect, while others miraculously happen to escape those fates. On the contrary, *qin* pieces were transmitted in Tokugawa Japan only because someone wanted to play them, or at least to obtain a copy of them as a valuable collector's item. If no one is interested in taking that kind of trouble with a particular piece of music, its chances of survival through the centuries are strikingly diminished, which clearly means that transmission over long periods of time reflects, or at least suggests, an equally long series of positive value judgments. The failure of later times to deliver most of the *qin* pieces from Shinetsu's teaching to us through normal means of transmission is not a matter of chance, but rather the consequence of a number of profoundly interesting changes in attitude, which may in turn be subject to scholarly

[76] See Sakata Shinichi 坂田進一, "Tōkō kinfu idou ichiran uikou 東皐琴譜異同一覽初稿," in his *Chouyou reiyo shū* 重陽零餘集 (Tōkyō: Tōkyō kinsha 東京琴社, 1985), 5-11; and Fukushima Kazuo 福島和夫, *Kingaku shiryōten kaidai mokuroku* 琴樂資料展解題目錄 (Tōkyō: Ueno Gakuen Nihon Ongaku Shiryōshitsu 上野学園日本音楽資料室, 1988), 11-14. For further information on the various manuscript copies and woodblock editions, see, e.g., Kishibe Shigeo, *Edo jidai no kinshi monogatari*, 166-167, 262-265, and 331-336.

investigation. In other words, continued transmission implies continued appreciation. Based on the bibliographical references collated under each title in Appendix A, we can therefore observe from what time a *qin* piece from Shinetsu's teaching fell out of fashion and favor. Moreover, we may (if in a somewhat speculative form) attempt to seek out the ideological reasons behind the fates undergone by the various pieces. The enterprise of uncovering such kind of information will sharpen our picture on the attitudinal changes and the historical developments undergone by *qin* playing in Edo Japan.

Five main historical editions compiled from 1710 to 1827 were consulted for this purpose.

1. The first edition of the repertoire of Tōkō Shinetsu entitled *Tōkō kinfu* 東皋琴譜, henceforth *Sugiura*, was compiled by Sugiura Kinsen 杉浦琴川 (1660-1711) in Edo during the Hōei period (1704-1710). Containing the notation of fifty-seven pieces (Shin'etsu nos. 1-56, and 58), this edition is the largest repertoire of Shinetsu's compiled during the Tokugawa period. However, it has never been published. Only manuscript copies were disseminated among Tokugawa *qin* players. Now, Sugiura's original is lost, only several incomplete manuscripts copied from this edition survive. Nevertheless, Inoue Chiku'itsu 井上竹逸 (1814-1886), who witnessed Sugiura's original in the late nineteenth

century, recorded the contents of the edition in his *Zuiken hitsuroku* in great details.[77] According to Inoue, Sugiura's original consists of three chapters plus one introductory section and one appendix. The introductory section contains prefaces written by bakufu Confucians Hayashi Hōkō 林鳳岡 (1706), Hitomi Tōgen 人見桃源 (1707), Hayashi Fujii 林葛井, Kō Gentai 高玄岱, and Sugiura Kinsen himself (1710), commandments of *qin* playing, notes on the use of a book, a treatise on fingering and tuning, and a short review of the modes from the traditional Chinese cosmological viewpoint. The first chapter contains the notation of seven pieces in *gong* mode. The second chapter contains the notation of twenty-four pieces in *shang* mode. The third chapter contains the notation of nineteenth pieces in *jue*, *zhi*, *yu*, and *shangjue* modes. Its appendix contains the notation of seven pieces of *qin* songs in Japanese.

At least two incomplete manuscript copies of this first edition survive to today: One is Manuscript Tōkyō, Kokubungaku Kenkyū Shiryōkan 501-1, an early eighteenth century manuscript copy of *Sugiura* in three volumes measuring 254×177 mm. and containing 164 folios altogether. The front cover bears the title "Tōkō kinfu 東皐琴譜[*Qin* Score of Tōkō]." The red inscription on the recto of the first folio read "[From] the former collection of Kōda Shizen (1692-1758) 幸田子泉舊藏," which, judging from the style of calligraphy, was presumably written by

[77] Inoue Chiku'itsu, *Zuiken hitsuroku*, CA-Bc 1, no folio number.

the hand of Kōda's *qin* disciple Kodama Kūkū 兒玉空空. Two stamps of the Tahan Bunko in Edo appear on the same page. The exlibris of Kodama Kūkū can be found near the end of the manuscript. The first volume consisting of 43 folios contains the notation of seven pieces in *gong* mode. The second volume consisting of 73 folios contains the notation of twenty-four pieces in *shang* mode. The last volume consisting of 48 folios contains notation of nineteenth pieces in *jue*, *zhi*, *yu*, and *shangjue* modes. However, the appendix and prefaces by Hayashi Hōkō, Hitomi Tōgen, Hayashi Fujii, and Kō Gentai were not included in this manuscript.

The other incomplete copy of *Sugiura* is Manuscript Tōkyō, Kokubungaku Kenkyū Shiryōkan 501-2. It is a late nineteenth century manuscript in three volumes measuring 265×193 mm. and containing 183 folios altogether. The front cover bears the title "Tōkō kinfu 東皐琴譜[*Qin* Score of Tōkō]." The paper for making manuscript was pre ruled. An inscription "Getchi shoya zō 月池書屋藏 [Kept in the Library of Getchi]" was printed on each folio. It was copied for Katsuragawa Hoshū 桂川甫周 (1751-1809, pseudonym: Getchi), the doctor of Dutch medicine personally attendant on the Shōgun at the end of the Edo period.[78] The first volume consisting of 86 folios contains the complete

[78] For further biographical information on Katsuragawa Hoshū and his family, see Imaizumi Genkichi 今泉源吉, *Rangaku no ie Katsuragawa no hitobito* 蘭学の家桂川の人々 (Tōkyō: Shinozaki Shorin 篠崎書林, 1965).

introductory section and the notation of six pieces in *gong* mode. The second volume consisting of 69 folios contains the notation of twenty-four pieces in *shang* mode. However, the copy of the third chapter stopped at the piece Shin'etsu no. 42. As a result, the third volume consisting of 28 folios contains only twelve pieces in *jue* and *yu* modes.

2. According to Inoue, when Onoda Tōsen 小野田東川 (1684-1763), a grandpupil of Shin'etsu, taught the *qin* music to Kōda Shizen in his early years, Onoda revised *Sugiura* to a new edition in eight chapters containing forty-seven pieces, henceforth *SugiuraC*. Eleven pieces contained in *Sugiura*, Shin'etsu nos. 2, 3, 7, 27, 30, 31, 37, and 52-55, were discarded from *SugiuraC*, and one new piece Shin'etsu no. 59 was added to *SugiuraC*.[79] The edition was only disseminated in manuscript copies until 1994, when a facsimile of a copy in the former collection of Katsuragawa Hoshū was published.[80] Unfortunately, the editor of the facsimile was not aware that the third volume of the set, which contained Shin'etsu nos. 25, 26, 28, 29, 32-36, and 38, was missing from that copy. Nevertheless, a complete manuscript copy of this edition prepared in 1792 can be found in the descriptive catalogue of the exhibition entitled "music materials

[79] Inoue Chiku'itsu, *Zuiken hitsuroku*, CA-Bc 1, no folio number.

[80] Tōkō Shinetsu 東皋心越, *Hewen zhu qinpu* 和文注琴譜, in *Qinqu jicheng*, ed. Wenhuabu wenxue yishu yanjiuyuan yinyue yanjiusuo and Beijing guqin yanjiu hui (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1994), vol. 12, 163-237.

from the Rakusaidō collection" held at the Research Archives for Japanese Music, Ueno Gakuen College. This manuscript on display consists of eight volumes measuring 233×157 mm. and containing 171 folios altogether. The front book cover bears the title "Kin fu 琴譜[*Qin* Sore]." The first volume consisting of 25 folios contains the notation of seven pieces in *gong* and *shang* modes (Shin'etsu nos. 4-6, 8-9, and 56). The second volume consisting of 28 folios contains the notation of five pieces in *shang* mode (Shin'etsu nos. 11-15). The third volume consisting of 26 folios contains the notation of eight pieces in *shang* mode (Shin'etsu nos. 16-23). The fourth volume consisting of 20 folios contains the notation of eight pieces in *shang*, *jue*, and *zhi* modes (Shin'etsu nos. 24-26, 28, 29, and 32-34). The fifth volume consisting of 20 folios contains the notation of six pieces in *yu* mode (Shin'etsu nos. 35, 36, and 38-41). The sixth volume consisting of 25 folios contains the notation of seven pieces in *yu* mode (Shin'etsu nos. 42-47, and 58). The seventh volume consisting of 15 folios contains the notation of five pieces in *shangjue* and several other modes (Shin'etsu nos. 48-51, and 59). The eighth volume consisting of 22 folios contains the notation of one single piece in *gong* mode (Shin'etsu no. 1). Neither the introductory section nor the appendix of *Sugiura* was copied in *SugiuraC*.[81]

3. One decade after the death of Onoda Tōsen, the first woodblock edition of

[81] Fukushima Kazuo, *Kingaku shiryōten kaidai mokuroku*, 10-15.

Tōkō kinfu was published by Suzuki Ran'en 鈴木蘭園 (1741-1790) in Kyōto in 1772, henceforth *Suzuki*. This one-volume small printed edition measuring 193×158 mm. contains the notation of fifteen pieces (Shin'etsu nos. 5,10, 12, 20, 26, 32, 34, 40, 43, 45, 47, 50, 57, 58, and 60) and a preamble by Suzuki dated in 1771. Several copies survived in Peking National Library and libraries of Kokugakuin Daigaku, Tōkyō, and Harvard-Yenching Institute.[82]

4. The second woodblock edition of *Tōkō kinfu* was compiled by Kusano Onkei 草野溫卿 and Kikuchi Kan 菊池貫 (?-1847) and carved in 1797, henceforth *Kusano*. Measuring ca. 228×155 mm., this is a one-volume printed copy of the edition that Onoda Tōsen used to teach students in his late years.[83] It consists of the notation of sixteen pieces (Shin'etsu nos. 10-13, 23, 26, 32, 34, 35, 39, 41, 45, 46, 51, 56, and 60), brief description of fingering, and a preface written by Kikuchi Kan. Inoue Chiku'itsu 井上竹逸 (1814-1886) pointed out that the preface was actually drafted by Ichinokawa Meian 市野迷庵 (1746-1826).[84] Copies of this edition can be found in The Kano Collection, Tōhoku University Library, Sendai, Tōkyō University Library, and Gakushauin Daigaku, Tōkyō.[85]

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[82] For a facsimile of this edition, see Suzuki Ran'en 鈴木蘭園, ed. *Tōkō kinfu* 東皐琴譜, in *Qinqu jicheng*, ed. Wenhuabu wenxue yishu yanjiuyuan yinyue yanjiusuo and Beijing guqin yanjiu hui (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1994), vol. 12, 239-253.

[83] Inoue Chiku'itsu, *Zuiken hitsuroku*, CA-Bc 1, no folio number.

[84] Inoue Chiku'itsu, *Zuiken hitsuroku*, CA-Bc 1, no folio number.

[85] For a facsimile of this edition, see Kusano Onkei et al. ed., *Tōkō kinfu*, in *Nihon kingaku sōsho*, no. 5, ed. Sakata Shinichi.

5. The third and last woodblock edition of *Tōkō kinfu* was compiled by Kojima Hyaku'ichi 兒島百一 (1778-1835) in early nineteenth century, henceforth *Kojima*. Measuring ca. 230×146 mm., the handbook in three volumes contains the notation of a total of forty-six pieces (Shin'etsu nos. 4-6, 8-26, 28, 29, 32-36, 38-43, 45-51, and 56-60). A prefaced was added by calligrapher Nukina Kaioku 貫名海屋 (1778-1863). A colophon dated 1827 by Kojima can be found at the end of the book. This edition is the easiest to obtain. Copies of this edition are kept in Sinological institute, Leiden University, Tōkyō University Library, Harvard-Yenching Institute, etc.[86]

In the current study, they are referred chronologically as editions α (= Sugiura), β (= SugiuraC), γ (= Suzuki), δ (= Kusano), and ε (= Kojima).[87] Among the repertoire of Tōkō Shinetsu's school, sixty pieces in total were assembled by the compilers of the five editions analyzed. The notations of the same piece found in different editions are identical.

A total of eleven *qin*-songs appeared only once among the five editions. They

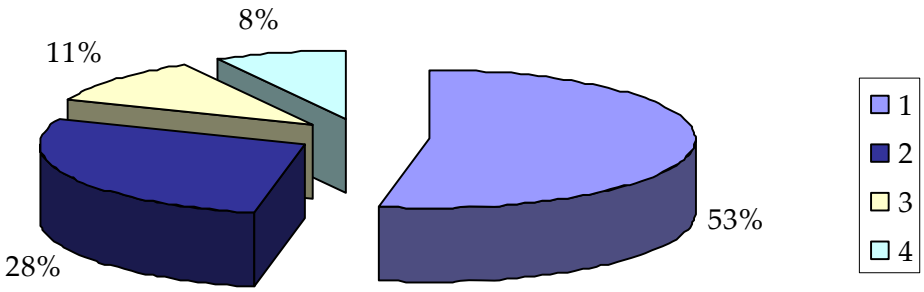
[86] For a facsimile of this edition, see Kojima Hyaku'ichi 兒島百一 ed., *Tōkō kinfu* 東皐琴譜, in *Nihon kingaku sōsho* 日本琴學叢書, no. 6, ed. Sakata Shinichi 坂田進一, 3 vols. (Tōkyō: Tōkyō kinsha 東京琴社, 1993).

[87] For the sigla of these editions, see Appendix A

are: Tōkō Shin'etsu nos. 2[α]; 3[α]; 7[α]; 27[α]; 30[α]; 31[α]; 37[α]; 52[α]; 53[α]; 54[α]; and 55[α]. Four songs appeared twice among the five editions: Tōkō Shin'etsu nos. 1[α, β]; 44[α, β]; 57[γ, ε]; 59[β, ε]. Twenty-five songs appeared three times: Tōkō Shin'etsu nos. 4[α, β, ε]; 6[α, β, ε]; 8[α, β, ε]; 9[α, β, ε]; 14[α, β, ε]; 15[α, β, ε]; 16[α, β, ε]; 17[α, β, ε]; 18[α, β, ε]; 19[α, β, ε]; 21[α, β, ε]; 22[α, β, ε]; 24[α, β, ε]; 25[α, β, ε]; 28[α, β, ε]; 29[α, β, ε]; 33[α, β, ε]; 36[α, β, ε]; 38[α, β, ε]; 42[α, β, ε]; 48[α, β, ε]; 49[α, β, ε]; 56 [β, δ, ε]; 58 [β, γ, ε]; 60 [γ, δ, ε]; Fiftheen songs appeared four times: Tōkō Shin'etsu nos. 5[α, β, γ, ε]; 11[α, β, δ, ε]; 13[α, β, δ, ε]; 20[α, β, γ, ε]; 23[α, β, δ, ε]; 34[α, β, δ, ε]; 35[α, β, δ, ε]; 39[α, β, δ, ε]; 40[α, β, γ, ε]; 41[α, β, δ, ε]; 43[α, β, γ, ε]; 46[α, β, δ, ε]; 47[α, β, γ, ε]; 50[α, β, γ, ε]; 51[α, β, δ, ε]; and five songs appeared in all the five editions: Tōkō Shin'etsu nos. 10[α, β, γ, δ, ε]; 12[α, β, γ, δ, ε]; 26[α, β, γ, δ, ε]; 32[α, β, γ, δ, ε]; and 45[α, β, γ, δ, ε]. It is worth noting that two songs - Tōkō Shin'etsu nos. 61 and 62 - have never been included in any of the abovementioned editions of *Tōkō kinfu*.

The average rate of a song being included in the analyzed editions is 2.89. Therefore, if a song appeared in the above mentioned editions for more than 2.89 times, we may infer that it was appreciated above average by the Tokugawa *qin* players, and vice versa. Based on this, a tentative analysis of the genre composition acceptability of Shinetsu's repertoire may be seen below.

Table 1.4: Genre Composition of Tōkō Shinetsu's Repertoire



1: Classical poetry 2: Ming-style poety 3: Contemporaneous poetry 4: Japanese poetry

The repertoire comprises *qin* songs based on four kinds of texts: Ming-style poetry in Chinese; Chinese classical poetry in Chinese; contemporaneous poetry in Chinese; and Japanese poetry in Japanese (see Table 1.4). Among them, settings of well-known Chinese literary works were most popular among Tokugawa *qin* players. Sung versions of thirty-two Chinese ancient poems constitute 53% of the whole repertoire. Their occurrence in the editions analyzed is as follows : Tōkō Shin'etsu nos. 5[α, β, γ, ε]; 6[α, β, ε]; 8[α, β, ε]; 9[α, β, ε]; 10[α, β, γ, δ, ε]; 11[α, β, δ, ε]; 12[α, β, γ, δ, ε]; 13[α, β, δ, ε]; 14[α, β, ε]; 15[α, β, ε]; 16[α,

β, ε]; 17[α, β, ε]; 18[α, β, ε]; 19[α, β, ε]; 20[α, β, γ, ε]; 21[α, β, ε]; 22[α, β, ε]; 23[α, β, δ, ε]; 24[α, β, ε]; 26[α, β, γ, δ, ε]; 32[α, β, γ, δ, ε]; 33[α, β, ε]; 34[α, β, δ, ε]; 35[α, β, δ, ε]; 36[α, β, ε]; 38[α, β, ε]; 41[α, β, δ, ε]; 43[α, β, γ, ε]; 45[α, β, γ, δ, ε]; 51[α, β, δ, ε]; 58[β, γ, ε]; and 59[β, ε]. The average rate of songs of ancient Chinese poetry to be included in the analyzed editions is the highest (3.59).

Songs of Chinese poetry composed by Tōkō Shin'etsu himself (e.g., Shin'etsu no. 50) and his contemporaries – Chu Xuzhou (Shin'etsu no. 25),[88] and Zou Zhimo 鄒祇謨 (Jinshi degree in 1658,[89] Shin'etsu nos. 39, 40 and 42), etc. - were also widely spread among the Japanese of the Tokugawa period. There are seven settings of Chinese Qing dynasty poems in the corpus, and their occurrences in the analyzed editions are listed as below: Tōkō Shin'etsu nos. 4[α, β, ε]; 25[α, β, ε]; 39[α, β, δ, ε]; 40[α, β, γ, ε]; 42[α, β, ε]; 49[α, β, ε]; and 50[α, β, γ, ε]. The average rate of contemporaneous Chinese poems included in the analyzed editions is almost as high as that of Classical Chinese poetry settings (3.43).

In the above two categories, although many of the poems were composed in lines of equal length, a considerable number of *ci* poems follows metres of

[88] See Hitomi Chikudō's letter to Tōkō Shin'etsu, 166. For further information on Chu Xuzhou, see Chen Zhichao, ed., *Lü Ri gao seng Donggao xinyue shi wen ji*, 170, 172 and 252.
[89] Jinshi is a Chinese degree that granted to successful candidates in the highest imperial examinations.

irregular length. For example, the piece *Chun ci* 春詞 [Song of Spring], set to the tune *Yi Wangsun* 憶王孫[The Prince Recalled] (Tōkō Shin'etsu no. 43), follows the pattern of 7-7-7 / 3-7:

萋萋芳草憶王孫，	Qī qī fāngcǎo yì wángsūn,
柳外樓高空斷魂。	Liǔ wài lóu gāo kōng duàn hún.
杜宇聲聲不忍聞。	Dùyǔ shēng shēng bù rěn wén.
欲黃昏，	Yù huánghūn,
雨打梨花深閉門。	Yǔ dǎ líhuā shēn bì mén.

Luxuriant grass reminds me of my roving mate.
In vain my heart breaks in willow-shaded tower high.
"Better go home!" How could I bear the cuckoo's cry!
The evening is growing late,
the rain beats on pear blossom, I shut up the gate.[90]

Qin songs in the Ming style, that is settings of exoteric lyrics to pre-existing *qin* melodies, lost favor among Tokugawa Japanese. Although the seventeen songs in Ming style occupied 28% of Tōkō Shin'etsu's musical corpus, nine of them were never published in any of the three printed editions. Therefore, the average rate of Ming-style songs included in the analyzed editions is limited to 2.00, considerably below the reference norm. Their occurrences in the all five analyzed editions are: Tōkō Shin'etsu nos. 1[α, β]; 2[α]; 3[α]; 7[α]; 27[α]; 28[α, β,

[90] Translated by Xu Yuanchong, see his *Selected Poems and Pictures of the Song Dynasty* (Beijing: China Intercontinental Press, 2005), 128.

ε]; 29[α, β, ε]; 30[α]; 31[α]; 37[α]; 44[α, β]; 46[α, β, δ, ε]; 47[α, β, γ, ε]; 48[α, β, ε]; 56 [β, δ, ε]; 60[γ, δ, ε]; and 61.

In contrast to the above, the correspondence between Tōkō Shin'etsu and Hitomi Chikudō from 1680 to 1688 reveals rather a different picture: Most of the pieces Shin'etsu taught to his early Japanese students were those of the Ming style. Among the fourteen pieces mentioned in these correspondences, eight compositions are Ming-style songs (Tōkō Shin'etsu nos. 1, 2, 3, 7, 27, 31, 37 and 56), while only six pieces (Shin'etsu nos. 9, 11, 25, 49, and another two pieces from Chinese handbooks for which Shin'etsu adaptations did not survive) were music set to pre-existing literary works of the Classical period and contemporary.[91] Moreover, although most of the works in Tōkō Shin'etsu's repertoire are adaptations from other collections, the notation of four pieces - Shin'etsu nos. 11, 59, 60 and 61 - was taken directly from Yang Lun's 1609 song book without any revision. As we know, Yang's music was one of the models of Ming-style songs.[92] Therefore, Shin'etsu's uncritical borrowing of Yang's music and his Japanese followers' steadfast lack of appreciation of the same group of settings indubitably reflect different value judgments.

[91] See Chen Zhichao, ed., *Lü Ri gao seng Donggao xinyue shi wen ji*, 132, 165-167, 250-251, and 255-256.
[92] See above, section 2.2.

The most infrequently played pieces are those sung in Japanese. They are: Tōkō Shin'etsu nos. 52[α]; 53[α]; 54[α]; 55[α]; and 62. The Japanese lyrics of these songs belong to *waka*, a special genre of Japanese poetry. Their average rate of appearance is 0.8, far below the reference norm of 2.89. Moreover, throughout the Tokugawa period, none of them appeared in the printed editions. The aforementioned figures suggest that, Tokugawa *qin* players considered the Japanese songs barely worthy of learning, contrary to their extreme enthusiasm with the Chinese songs.

Why these Japanese songs were even found in a Chinese Zen priest's repertoire? How did these Japanese songs come into being and enter the musical corpus of Shin'etsu? What kind of ideological forces informed this adaptation of *qin* music? And why were these songs ignored by most later Tokugawa *qin* players?

In the first edition of the *Tōkō kinfu* compiled by Sugiura Masamoto (1660-1711), there is a short preamble prepared particularly for the Japanese songs (Shin'etsu nos. 52-55). In the preamble, composed in the winter of 1710, fifteen years after Shin'etsu's death, Sugiura raised the question of "why *qin*

versions of *waka* poetry were prepared 和歌者胡爲諧入琴調耶,"[93] and went on to provide the reason :

> In former days, except when practicing Zen Meditation, our Master (=Tōkō Shin'etsu) learned the spoken language of the Japanese. These pieces were his favorite poems whose meaning he appreciated most. He loved the ancient lofty style in them, and therefore composed musical versions of these pieces. In former times, [the Tang dynasty Chinese eminent writers] Wang Wei (701-761) and Li Bai (701-763) were deeply touched upon hearing [the Japanese poet] Abe Nakamaro's song *Mikasa no yama*.[94] There must be a reason [for the Chinese appreciation of Japanese songs]! Today, the literary works attached to these *qin* melodies are borrowed from the *Hyakunin isshu* compiled by Fujiwara Teika (or Sadaie, 1162-1241). 昔師禪寂之外，口學和語，殊吟賞斯等曲而能通其意趣。絕愛高古之風，竟寄而對音。昔在王維、李白于晁衡聞其三笠山之歌而感吟，亦有因哉！今配琴調者，即藤原定家所撰之《百人一首》也。[95]

The *Hyakunin isshu* is a *waka* anthology. In the early Tokugawa period, *waka* were certainly not a fashionable genre. Newly created *haikai no renga* featuring the *hokku* as the opening verse were the genre then favored. This tendency remained intact until Ogyū Sorai discovered from the verso of the Hikone scroll

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[93] See the manuscript copy of the *Tōkō kinfu* compiled by Sugiura Masamoto, JP-Ts 501-2, no folio number.

[94] Abe Nakamaro 阿倍仲麻呂(c. 698–c. 770) was a scholar, administrator, and *waka* poet in the Nara period. He went to China in 717. In China he passed the civil-service examination and rose to the position of Tang's Governor-General of Vietnam, a post he held for six years from 761-767. Of his literary work he is famous for *Mikasa no yama*, a poem filled with intense longing for his home in Nara.

[95] See the manuscript copy of *Tōkō kinfu* compiled by Sugiura Masamoto, JP-Ts 501-2, no folio number.

that ancient Japanese chants were all made of *waka*.[96] Subsequently, a series of debates on the nature, function, and aesthetics of *waka* and its relationship with the state was carried out among Kada Arimaro 荷田在満 (1706-1751), Tokugawa Munetake 徳川宗武 (1716-1771), and Kamo Mabuchi 賀茂真淵 (1697-1769).[97] *Waka* originally encompassed a number of different styles, of which the two main types are *tanka*, the short poem, and *chōka*, the long poem. Let us now look at one of the *waka* poems selected by Shin'etsu to get a feeling of the literary atmosphere such *waka*-ized *qin* music might elicit. The piece *Haruno* (Tōkō Shin'etsu no. 52) written by Emperor Kōkō 光孝天皇 (830-887) of the early Heian period is a typical *tanka*:

君がため	Kimi ga tame
春の野に出でて	Haru no no ni idete
若菜つむ	Wakana tsumu
わが衣手に	Waga koromode ni
雪はふりつつ	Yuki wa furi tsutsu

It is for your sake

[96] See Yang Yuanzheng, "Early *Qin* Music: Manuscript Tōkyō, Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan TB1393 and Manuscript Hikone, Hikone-jō Hakubutsukan V633," 84-86.

[97] See Peter Nosco, "Nature, Invention, and National Learning: The Kokka hachiron Controversy, 1742-46," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 41:1 (1981): 75-91. In the late Edo period, the *waka* acquired new friends outside courtly circles. Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801), the great resuscitator of traditional Japanese literature, attempted to revive *waka* as a way of engendering a traditional feeling expressed in a genuinely Japanese way. He wrote *waka*, and *waka* became an important form to his followers, the Kokugaku scholars.

That I walk the fields in spring,
Gathering green herbs,

While my garment's hanging sleeves
Are speckled with falling snow.[98]

As another example, here is Abbot Gyōson's poem *Yama-zakura*,[99] on a solitary cherry tree (Tōkō Shin'etsu no. 55):

もろともに	Morotomo ni
哀れと思へ	Aware to omoe
山桜	Yama-zakura
花より外に	Hana yori hoka ni
知る人もなし	Shiru hito mo nashi

On a mountain slope,
Solitary, uncompanioned,
Stands a cherry tree.

Except for you, lonely friend,
To others I am unknown.[100]

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[98] The English quotation is an adaptation of a prior translation; see Clay MacCauley, *Hyakunin-isshu and Nori no hatsu-ne: Literal Translations into English with Renderings according to the Original Metre* (Yokohama: Kelly and Walsh, 1917), 30-31.

[99] Daisōjō Gyōson 大僧正行尊 (1055-1135) was a grandson of Prince Atsuakira. After training at Onjo-ji Temple, he wandered through many regions. He was a proponent of Tendai sect Buddhist blessings and prayers, becoming a monk in service of the emperor and later the Major Archbishop.

[100] The English quotation is an adaptation of a prior translation; see Clay MacCauley, *Hyakunin-isshu and Nori no hatsu-ne: Literal Translations into English with Renderings according*

These Japanese poems pursuing the highly refined exptression of loneliness seem to have resonated with nostalgia for the Chinese priest Shin'etsu. Similar feelings can be found in the delicate works of Yamabe Akahito 山辺赤人 (Shin'etsu no. 53), and Minamoto Muneyuki 源宗于 (Shin'etsu no. 54). In fact, all the four *waka* pieces picked up by Shin'etsu are *tanka*. They all consist of five units (treated as separate lines in the Romanization and translation), usually with the following pattern: 5-7-5 / 7-7. The 5-7-5 is called the upper phrase, and the 7-7 is called the lower phrase. This form, defined by units of irregular lengths, is comparable to the Chinese *ci* poetry, whose importance in Tōkō Shin'etsu's music has been demonstrated earlier in this chapter.

However, Japanese *qin* players' attention was focused on the Chinese poems, not those in Japanese. Since the *qin* music adopted by the Japanese is a vocal tradition, its study pre-supposed a solid knowledge of the Chinese language, both written and spoken. By the early Heian period (794-1185), the way of reading Chinese poems changed, gradually shifting from reading more or less in the Chinese way to a special Japanese way of reading Chinese texts. This process known as *kambun kundoku* 漢文訓讀 (Chinese read in the Japanese manner) took the form of giving the Chinese characters their Japanese reading and adding

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to the Original Metre, 132-133.

marks know as *wakun* 和訓 to indicate the order in which the Chinese words should be read in Japanese.[101] Tsukishima pointed out that if another writing system had already existed in Japan no doubt conventional translation would have occurred instead.[102] In this process the linear order of the original Chinese words is transformed in accordance with Japanese syntax. Therefore, when printing a Chinese poem, which Japanese readers normally were incapable of vocalizing, various reading marks were used.

Nevertheless, as the lyrics of the Chinese *qin* melodies could only be sung in the Chinese way, the Japanese *qin* player, when wishing to accompany his playing by singing, had to learn how to vocalize the lyrics in their Chinese pronunciation. Therefore, in Japanese handbooks for the *qin*, it is the Chinese pronunciation, not *kundoku* transposition marks, that was added to the characters of the text in *katakana*.[103] Most of the printed editions of *Tōkō kinfu* contain *katakana* recording the Chinese pronunciation of the lyrics. Figure 1.4 shows the piece *Ziye wuge* in the earliest printed version of the *Tōkō kinfu*, Suzuki Ran'en's

[101] For more details on *kambun kundoku*, see, e.g., Sydney Crawcour, *An Introduction to Kambun* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1965); and Judy Wakabayashi, "The Reconceptionization of Translation from Chinese in 18th-century Japan," in *Translation and Cultural Change: Studies in History, Norms, and Image-projection*, Benjamins Translation Library Vol. 61, ed. Eva Hung (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Pub. Co., 2005), 121-144.

[102] Tsukishima Hiroshi 築島裕, *Heian jidai kuntenbon ronkō: okoto tenzu, kana jitaihyō* 平安時代訓點本論考: ヲコト點圖・假名字體表 (Tōkyō: Kyūko Shoin 汲古書院, 1986), 45.

[103] *Katakana*, one of the two phonetic syllabaries developed in Japan around the nineth century; the other was *hiragana*.

1772 edition, which will be used as a representative example to discuss the Japanese *qin* notation because of its standard layout that have been employed by most of the *naiden* players throughout the Tokugawa period. Aside from the notation proper, which occupied cols. 4, 6, and 8, five other kinds of information are given on the folio.

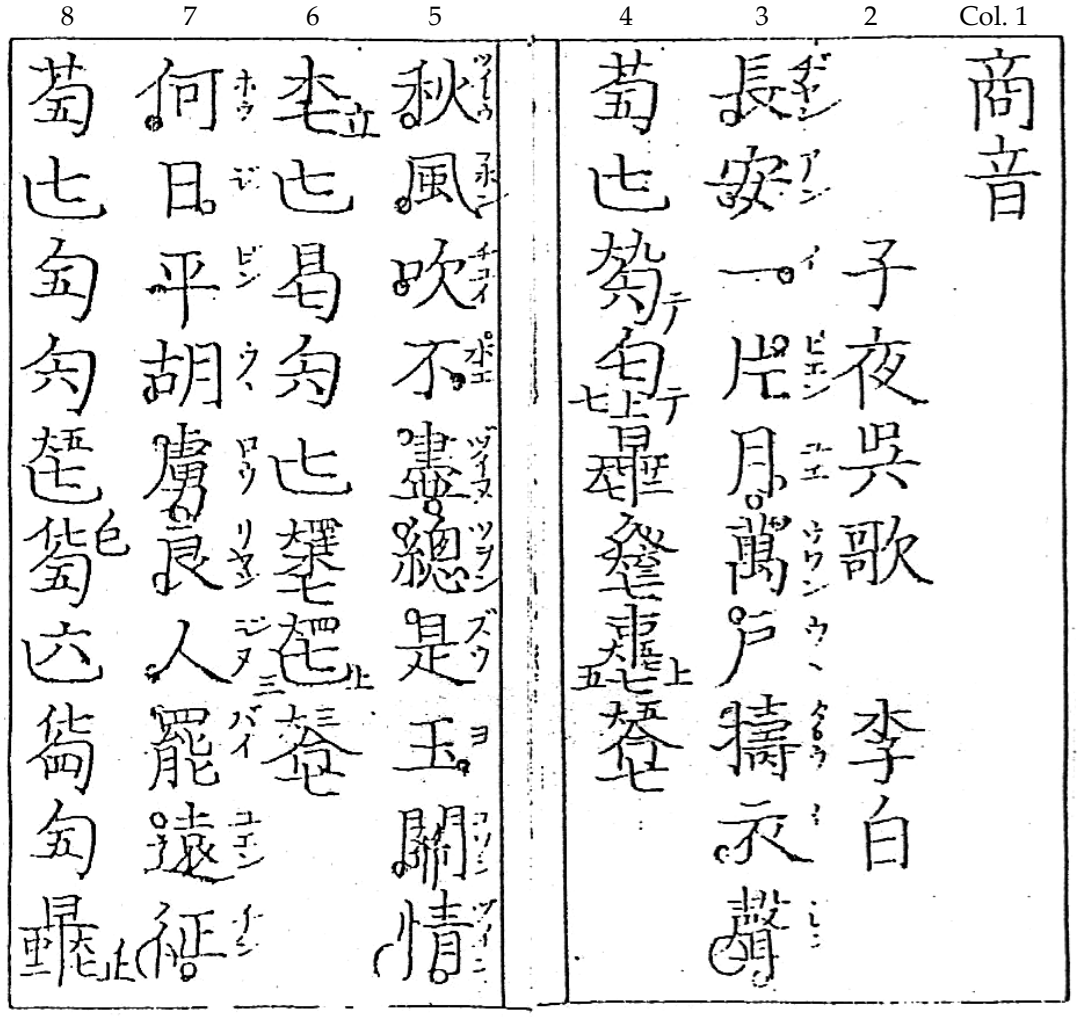

Figure 1.4: Tōkō Shin'etsu no. 12, Suzuki edition, folios. 15r-v

1. The two characters in column 1 indicate the mode of the composition. Such a modal name defines the the tuning of the *qin* and, to some extent, the modal pattern of the music. The seven strings are tuned accordingly, although actual pitches (in terms of frequencies) are not prescribed. The piece presented in Figure 1.4 is in Chinese *Shangyin*, or *Shang* mode.

2. The first four characters in column 2 are the title of the song, which reads *Ziye wuge*, literarily an autumn midnight folk song from the Wu region. And the last two characters in the same column read Li Bai, the name of the poet. Most *qin* music is not attributed to any composer. Therefore, a piece of *qin* song was normally referred to by the author of its lyrics, as demonstrated in column 2. This practice often leads to musicologists' misunderstanding, since in music of western provenance this place would be saved for the composer instead.[104]

3. The main text in columns 3, 5, and 7 is the lyric. This folk-song style verse consists of six units with the following pattern: 5-5 / 5-5 / 5-5. At the end of each poetic line, there is a circle serving as phrase mark. A diplomatic transcription of the first unit is offered in the first line of Table 1.5.

[104] See, e.g., Xu Jian 許健, *Qinshi chubian* 琴史初編 (Beijing: Renmin yinyue chubanshe 人民音樂出版社, 1982), *passim*.

Table 1.5: Phonetic Spelling and Tonal Indications in Lyric Columns

長	安	一	片	月。
チャン	アン	イ	ピエン	ユエ
chan	an	i	pien	yue
				
even	even	entering	departing	entering

4. On the right hand side of each lyric column, there is *katakana* transliteration recording the Chinese pronunciation of every character into the Japanese syllabary. Phonetic symbols of the first unit are copied in the second line of Table 1.5. The third line is their Romanization, although that is done very loosely.

5. For each Chinese character in the lyric, there is a small circle added at one of several possible corners indicating its tone. If the circle is located at the bottom left corner, it refers to the even tone (i.e., the first and second tones in modern nomenclature), the top left corner refers to the rising tone (i.e., the second tone in modern nomenclature), the top right corner refers the departing tone (i.e., the fourth tone in modern nomenclature), and the bottom right corner, the entering tone (one of the four tones in classical Chinese pronunciation, but was discarded from the standard mandarin, although it

still retained in certain dialects). Line four in Table 1.5 shows the tone-circle location of the first unit and Line five offers the tonal meanings that these circle signify.

The last two kinds of information conveyed through a phonetic and tonal apparatus are unique characteristics of the *Tōkō kinfu*. The lyric part, including the phonetic spelling and the tonal indications, occupies more than half of the notational area and would, for obvious reasons, never be found in any handbooks printed in China. Moreover, all the linguistic annotations were engraved into the body of the notation. They were not inserted by hand when the music was taught, but solidified in woodblock with the tablature itself and constituted an organic part of the notation. Since the East Asian process of printing by facsimile woodcuts, in which the original handwritten copy is pasted face down on the block to be engraved, made the bond between the manuscript and the final printed version far more intimate than was the case in Western typographic printing,[105] we may suppose that similar efforts were made in Japanese *qin* players manuscripts.

[105] As pointed out by Lucille Chia, in her *Printing for Profit: The Commercial Publishers of Jianyang, Fujian* (*11th-17th Centuries*) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Centre, 2002), 42.

Figure 1.5: Tōkō Shin'etsu no. 10, copied by Mori Kinseki

In a beautiful, late manuscript copy of sixteen compositions from the *Tōkō kinfu* prepared by the Meiji period *qin* player Mori Kinseki 森琴石 (1843-1921), we find the tablature part was all copied in red ink. In the lyrical columns, the lyrics and their phonetic spellings were written out in black ink while, in contrast, the tonal signifier and phrasing marks were emphasized in red solid dots (see Figure 1.5). This suggests that in early manuscripts of *Tōkō kinfu*, both the

phrasing marks and tonal signifiers might also have been written in red. When engraved in a woodblock, these solid red dots would have been converted into big and small black circles. (Please compare Figure 1.5 with Figure 1.4.) In a word, great effort was made to record the Chinese way of singing the poetry, so that the Japanese Sinophiles could sing the songs in as purely Chinese a way as possible. It goes without saying that thus the text became meaningless to the average Japanese hearers. However, as evident from the distribution of the notational area and from introducing the *katakana* phonetic spelling and tonal indications, this is exactly what Tokugawa players intended to do.

In a letter to Tōkō Shinetsu, his Japanese student asked what accent of Chinese Shinetsu spoke: "If your pronunciation is not of the Henan standard, then might it be the one of the official Nanjing?"[106] Some others even went to Nagasaki port to learn "authentic" Chinese pronunciation from the Chinese residents there. For instance, during his stay at Nagasaki, a fourth generation *qin* player of Tōkō Shinetsu's school, Tochō 杜澂 (1748/49?-1816), managed to learn the Chinese way of singing the poetry from a Chinese there, Gong Yunrang (style name: Xunzhai). Thus he could accompany his playing with idiomatic Chinese singing.[107]

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[106] See Chen Zhichao, ed., *Lu Ri gaoseng Donggao xinyue shi wen ji*, 251.

[107] See Kishibe, *Edo jidai no kinshi monogatari*, 128, Mimura Seisaburō 三村清三郎, "Goteki sensei Tochō den 五適先生杜澂傳," *Shoen* 書菀 1:10 (1937): 31-37; and his "Goteki sensei

Tokugawa Sinophiles were interested in *qin* playing because it was a part of the Chinese life as they imagined it. The music of the Chinese *qin* is based upon principles fundamentally different from those underlying Japanese music. The entire beauty of the *qin*, for these Tokugawa Sinophiles, therefore, rested completely on its Chineseness. This observation fits well with the players' own assessment. In his *Dankin* 談琴, Matsui Ren 松井廉 (1857-1926, style name: Yūseki) remarks:

> From of old, the *qin* music of national songs has never become popular in the world. Sugiura Kinzen's effort on *waka* …… is [one of these efforts in vain]. It is because *qin* players are Confucians, not *gakunins*. Confucians like [Chinese] poetry, not national songs. For those who master the national songs, there are *koto* and *biwa* ready to accompany the songs. There is no need for them to play the *qin*. Therefore, efforts to compile the *qin* version of the national songs are all wasted in vain. After all, it is better to follow the old saying: "To transmit and not to invent, to believe in and to be devoted to antiquity." 古來以國語蒙琴音皆不遂行于世。琴川之于和歌……是也。蓋奏琴者不在伶人而在儒家。儒家喜詩而不喜邦歌。善唱邦歌者，古來自有箏及琵琶在，固不要琴也。是以邦歌譜皆屬作者徒勞，畢竟不如"述而不作，信而好古"也。[108]

This fetishizing of Chinese culture is well reflected in a conversation between Tōkō Shinetsu's disciple Hitomi Chikudō and the Korean military attaché Hong

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kinden setsu 五適先生琴傳說," *Shoen* 書菀 2:1(1938): 27-30.

[108] Matsui Ren, *Dankin*, CA-Bc 2, vol.1, folio. 17v.

Se-t'ae 洪世泰 (1653-1725, pseudonym: Ch'angnang). A Korean embassy was sent to Japan in the second year of Tenna (1682) to celebrate Tsunayoshi's becoming the fifth shogun of the Tokugawa shogunate. The bakufu scholar-official Hitomi conversed with the Korean on the twenty-fourth day of the eighth month as follows:

Chikudō: This time in the retinue, is there any Korean musical official who can play the *qin*? (Chikudō showed Sōrō the Chinese *qin*.)

Ch'angnang: There are musical officials who can play the [*hyôn*] *kêm*. But its structure differs slightly form the Chinese *qin*.

Chikudō: There is a Chinese priest, Shin'etsu, who has been naturalized to our country. He is good at *qin* playing. He came from a temple at West Lake. ……Have you ever heard anything about Shin'etsu? The beautiful scenic spots of West Lake are innumerable. …… I have an itch to travel to West Lake with you and Shin'etsu, and play the *qin* there. I hope this priest could come to our state to compose the *Kishun sou*, so that I can mail you a copy of the music another day.

Ch'angnang: How long ago did the master come to Japan? Did you know him long?

Chikudō: Three or four years ago he came.

Ch'angnang: Although you have never been to China, you have plenty of opportunities to communicate with the Chinese. Therefore, you are different from us, who have very limited outlooks like a frog living at the bottom of a well.

Chikudō: His surname is Jiang. He is the offspring of the famous Jiang Yu of the Han dynasty!

Ch'angnang: If he is the true descendant of this virtuous ancient man, then [the priest is] certainly most deserving of worship!

余　曰：此行貴邦伶官，有鼓琴者乎？(與中國之琴。)

滄浪曰：伶官有彈琴者，與中國之制小异。
余　曰：中國僧心越者，投化敝邦，善琴大妙，是西湖僧也。……足下其有聞于心越者乎？
又　曰：西湖景勝，不可枚舉，……如游中國，恨不與足下携心越，鼓琴于西湖之上。
又　曰：惟希此僧來敝邦作《熙春操》，他日備電覽耳。
滄浪曰：此人何時耶，抑有前期耶？
余　曰：三四年前偶來耳。
滄浪曰：足下雖不在中國，數與中國之人相對，异于我輩井蛙之物也。
余　曰：此人謂蔣氏，乃漢蔣詡之裔也。
滄浪曰：果古賢之後裔，則尤可貴也。[109]

Throughout the conversation, the Chinese instrument was displayed, the home temple of Shin'etsu at West Lake was mentioned with great admiration, even the particular Chinese Han Dynasty ancestor in the lineage of Shin'etsu was shown off in front of the overseas visitor. Maybe at that moment Chikudō was too excited to play the *qin*, or alternatively, he was not fluent enough with the music and, therefore, missed the opportunity. In any case, it seems evident that music is of minor importance in comparison with the cultural meanings surrounding the instrument.

To conclude, Tōkō Shinetsu's repertoire is not identifiable with a combination of all the historical editions of *Tōkō kinfu*. The West Lake priest, as the main

[109] For the complete text of the conversations recorded by Hitomi, see his *Hitomi Chikudō shi bunshū* 人見竹洞詩文集(Tōkyō: Kyūko Shoin 汲古書院, 1991), 515-539.

propagator of *qin* music in Japan, might have brought with him from the Chinese continent all sorts of *qin* traditions, ranging from purely instrumental to exoteric songs; the reception of each tradition in Japan, however, relied on the Japanese's own anticipation construction, imagination of Chinese culture. The *qin*, as van Gulik remarks, "was too typically Chinese ever to become really a part of Japanese life."[110] Nevertheless, to be "truly" Chinese, Tokugawa players made their choice among the various possibilities imported via Nagasaki, and, meanwhile, redefined the Chineseness of the instrument. The numerous historical editions of the *Tōkō kinfu* manifest a series of Tokugawa Japanese speculations about Chineseness, a reshaped *qin* repertoire highly charged with Japanese initiative, as well as a naturalized tradition in which the notational transmission discussed in the Introduction has no place.

[110] R. H. van Gulik, *The Lore of the Chinese Lute*, 209.

CHAPTER II

REDISCOVERING THE MUSIC OF THE SAGES

In 1683, the fifth Shōgun, Tokugawa Tsunayoshi 徳川綱吉(1646-1709), revised the first article of the Rules Governing the Military Households. The new text read: "Learning and military skill, loyalty and filial piety must be promoted," thus emphasizing the importance of learning for government.[1] In 1690, Tsunayoshi built a Confucian shrine at Yoshima in Edo and calligraphed the words "The Palace of Perfection" in Chinese characters, to be displayed at the shrine. The following year he promoted the Neo-Confucian scholar Hayashi Hōkō to junior fifth rank and made him minister for higher learning (*daigaku no kami*).[2] He also assembled the daimyō, hatamoto, and Confucian scholars and lectured them personally on the Confucian Classics. Last but not least, Tsunayoshi promoted and sponsored debates between Confucian scholars.[3] Thus, Confucian ideology obtained a position of prestige that was unprecedented in

[1] Kurozumi Makoto 黒住真, *Kinsei Nihon shakai to Jukyō* 近世日本社会と儒教(Tōkyō: Perikansha ぺりかん社, 2003), 98-108, in particular, 108.

[2] Hayashi Hōkō 林鳳岡(formerly Nobuatsu, 1644-1732), is a grand son of Hayashi Razan (1583-1657) and also a Neo-Confucianist, see below, Table 2.1, Shushi gakuha.

[3] For a discussion on the relationship between the Hayashi School and the Tokugawa bakufu, see, e.g., Robert L. Backus, "The Relationship of Confucianism to The Tokugawa Bakufu as Revealed in The Kansei Educational Reform," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 34 (1974), 104-114. For the situation of Confucianism in this period, see, e.g., Tetsuo Najita, "Intellectual Change in Early Eighteenth-Century Tokugawa Confucianism," *Journal of Asian Studies* XXXIV (1975): 931-944.

feudal Japan.

Meanwhile, starting from the Genroku period (1688-1704), a vibrant urban culture characterized by a rapidly expanding commercial economy developed in the Japanese principal cities of Edo, Kyōto, and Ōsaka. The concentration of creative skills in these large metropoles is closely related to the growth in the economic power of businessmen. Ōsaka merchants defined Genroku popular culture. The *bunraku* puppet theatre and *kabuki* theatre developed into a high dramatic art form with the works of the playwrights Chikamatsu Monzaemon 近松門左衛門(1653-1725) and Takeda Izumo 竹田出雲(1691-1756). In the visual arts, the *ukiyo-e* wood-block prints (literally, pictures of the floating world) of Hishikawa Moronobu (1618-1694) rank among the earliest masterpieces of the genre. Generally speaking, the Genroku period set the standards for an urban culture that continued to flourish throughout the Tokugawa period. Therefore, although the Genroku years literally refer to the period 1688-1704, the vibrant "Genroku culture" remained influential throughout the two successive imperial reigns, i.e., the Kyōhō (1716-1735) and the Genbun (1736-1740) eras.

"Spring in Edo, not a day goes without a whole jar of wine being sold out."[4]

[4] Quoted in Maruyama Masao 丸山眞男, *Nihon seiji shisō shi kenkyū* 日本政治思想史研究 (Tōkyō: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai 東京大学出版社, 1985), 118.

Free of the rigid codes that restricted samurai, townsmen could delve into the dazzling variety of pursuits offered by Genroku culture. But, when we turn our eyes from the forestage, the concentration of the samurai in castle-towns and the division of the country into separate feudal territories were weakening the foundations of Tokugawa feudal society. With the distinction of political control from the real usufruct of land, the essential characteristic of feudalism began to fade out. Moreover, the spread of Genroku culture to the samurai class aggravated this contradiction. By the time the eighth Shōgun, Yoshimune (1684-1751, r.1716-1745), reigned, maintaining the Tokugawa rule and the bakufu governing structure had become a major challenge to the Shōgunate regime.

At this critical moment, Ogyū Sorai (1666-1728), the most influential Confucian scholar of the entire Tokugawa period, returned to serve the bakufu.[5] As early as the early Kyōhō years (1716-1735), Sorai had criticized *bunraku* puppets and *kabuki* theatre, two representatives of Genroku popular culture, as being inferior in moral qualities, blamed the pre-existing ritual music of the Tokugawa bakufu for its waste of the financial resources of the nation, and carried out a series of studies on the *gagaku* and *qin* musics. Quite often, these efforts are understood as Sorai's revolt against the mercantilistic culture of his

[5] His first period of service was under the regime of Shogun Tsunayoshi. Sorai gained access to Tsunayoshi through his patron, Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu (1658-1714).

day,[6] and it is presumed that they have nothing to do with his antagonistic attitude towards the neo-Confucians, let alone his political agenda in response to the ongoing economic and political failings of the time.

Nevertheless, close scrutiny reveals that Sorai consciously applied Confucian teachings to political issues through his music projects. Sorai should be viewed as the greatest political thinker of Tokugawa Japan not because of his booklets on political matters, or, more precisely, on bakufu daily administration. Rather, in Sorai's mind, politics occupied such supreme priority that this warranted him bending Confucian doctrines, compromising moral values, and distorting historical facts. Sorai was awesome in this regard not because of his expertise in Chinese philology, or his detailed administrative suggestions made in his treatises *Seidan* and *Taiheisaku*,[7] but due to his ability cunningly to manipulate existing facts and present them in a manner that was convincing to his contemporaries. In short, Sorai himself was absolutely conscious of the political implications of his music studies, both within Japan and without.

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[6] See, e.g., Yoshikawa Kōjirō 吉川幸次郎, "Sorai-gaku an 徂徠学案," in *Ogyū Sorai* 荻生徂徠, ed. Yoshikawa Kōjirō et al. (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1973), 706.

[7] Sorai composed the *Seidan* 政談[Political Discourses] and *Taiheisaku* 太平策[Plan for an Age of Great Peace], at the request of the shōgun Yoshimune. In which Sorai offered his own ideas about how to reform Tokugawa Japan so as to solve many of the social, political, and economic problems which plagued the samurai world.

The Tokugawa bakufu was dominated by the neo-Confucian scholar Arai Hakuseki during the Shōtoku era (1711-1715). Sorai was then probably disappointed in many ways: his patron, Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu, no longer reigned, his opponent, Arai Hakuseki, was at the foreground of the political platform, and, perhaps most importantly, Sorai's planned reform of the Shogunal rituals was dismissed. Yet our Confucian politician was not owed to be easily discouraged. Through Irie Jakusui, Sorai tried to sell his reform proposal to the retired Emperor Reigen (1654-1732) in Kyōto.[8] For Sorai, no matter wherein the project could be launched, Edo or Kyōto, the sagely reform of music and rituals must be carried out. According to his own evaluation, in comparing the ideological power embodied in his musical treatise, his philological work such as *Yakubun sentei*, was merely something suitable for private school children.[9]

However, the series of music projects designed by Sorai in the last phase of his life, stretching from the Shōtoku (1711-1715) to the Kyōhō era (1716-1735), and articulating his unique position within the Confucian turmoil, have been completely removed from western and Japanese researchers' scope of vision. In contrast with the abundances of research devoted to every one of Sorai's non-music works, *Yakubun sentei*, *Seidan*, *Taiheisaku*, etc, his music papers merit

[8] For more details, see below, section 2.4.
[9] See below, section 2.3.

very little to no attention in the field of Tokugawa intellectual history. Yoshikawa Kōjirō stated in his "Sorai gakuan," a paper on Sorai's biography and his collected works, that he had not had the chance to examine Sorai's music treatise *Gakuritsu-kō* thoroughly, though the work's title was at least mentioned.[10] In his *Studies in the Intellectual History of Tokugawa Japan*, Maruyama Masao examined Sorai's life and the far-reaching impact of his disagreements with the neo-Confucians. Masao also took a glimpse at Sorai's complete oeuvre and exclaimed that it embraced almost every aspect of culture in an "encyclopaedic fashion:"[11] there were not only discourses on traditional Confucian Classics, military science, law, history, literature, but also essays on music. Apparently, Maruyama was confused by the inclusion of music projects in Sorai's output. For him and for many of his colleagues in the field of Japanese philosophy and political history, though music can be viewed as "a fragment of the Way," since Sorai said that the Way of the Sage is absolutely and concretely universal, but these extraordinarily detailed investigations of music really had nothing to do with the art of "maintaining order in the state and peace in the world." In order to resolve this contradiction, Maruyama invented his own terminologies – the "private" and "public" aspects of Sorai's philosophical system – and explained the reason of the existence of Sorai's music research as follows:

[10] Yoshikawa Kōjirō, "Sorai-gaku an," 706.
[11] Maruyama Masao, *Studies in the Intellectual History of Tokugawa Japan*, trans. Mikiso Hane (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1974), 101.

> His elevation of the sages to an otherworldly level had aroused an interest in the nature of individual things, which surged forth like a tidal wave threatening to sweep away Sorai's original object. His elevation of the Way above all dispute led to an unexpected split in the goal he attributed to learning.[12]

In Maruyama's book, the idea of the private-and-public dichotomy in Sorai's philosophical system is reiterated, expanded, and eventually integrated into Maruyama's big narrative on Sorai's role in the disintegration of Tokugawa Confucianism and its impact on National Learning. If Maruyama is correct, he has offered a key to decipher how the Japanese successfully retracted from Chinese Confucian philosophy on their way to modernization. Maruyama might be correct in saying that Sorai's music research was merely "an unexpected split in the goal he attributed to learning," which constituted Sorai's "acquisition of an extensive knowledge of facts and total inclusiveness."[13] But, before completing our enquiry into the nature and function of Sorai's music treatises, let us listen to Sorai's own discourse on the Way and his own assessment of his musical enterprises.

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[12] Maruyama Masao, *Studies in the Intellectual History of Tokugawa Japan*, 101-102.
[13] Maruyama Masao, *Studies in the Intellectual History of Tokugawa Japan*, 102.

2.1 Sorai's Discourse on the Way

In the early years of Kyōhō (1716-1735), when writing to Yamagata Shūnan 山県周南(1687-1752),[14] Sorai stated with pride and delight:

> Generally, when it comes to the categories of morality, benevolence, knowledge, rituals, righteousness, respect, nature, Heaven's decree, mind, feelings, illustrious virtues, the Mean, and the four forces of life and nature, later generations have lost the meaning of all these terms. And the reason [they have done so] is that they do not know the ancient words. Therefore, I have written the *Benmei* 辨名[Discourse on the Terminology] in one volume. One cannot exhaust the Way with one word; the teaching of the Four Classics during the later generations is not clear. Therefore, when later Confucians created their Way, it was not the Way of the Early Kings or Confucius. Therefore, I have written the *Bendō* 辨道[Discourse on the Dao] in one volume. I have been ill for a long time without [much recuperation]. Since chance may have it that I will suddenly disappear like early morning dew, I took up the brush in my better moments and wrote these volumes. I slaved away and worked without rest. These works are almost finished. This is to say, their [final] review is not yet finished. This [task] is in the hands of a handful of my students. Ah, a thousand years and more after Confucius's death, the Way has come down to our day and is for the first time made clear! How could it have been due to my strength alone? It was Heaven that ordered it. Even if I die, my fame, thanks to these works, will not wane. Because of them,

[14] Based on its content, the letter has been tentatively dated in the year 1717. See Olof G. Lidin, *The Life of Ogyū Sorai: A Tokugawa Confucian Philosopher*, Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies monograph series no. 19, (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1973), 103; Hiraishi Naoaki 平石直昭, *Ogyū Sorai nenpu kō* 荻生徂徠年譜考(Tōkyō: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1984), 125-126. Yamagata Shūnan, one of Sorai's devoted student, through whom Sorai's kobunji ideas spread across the West of Japan.

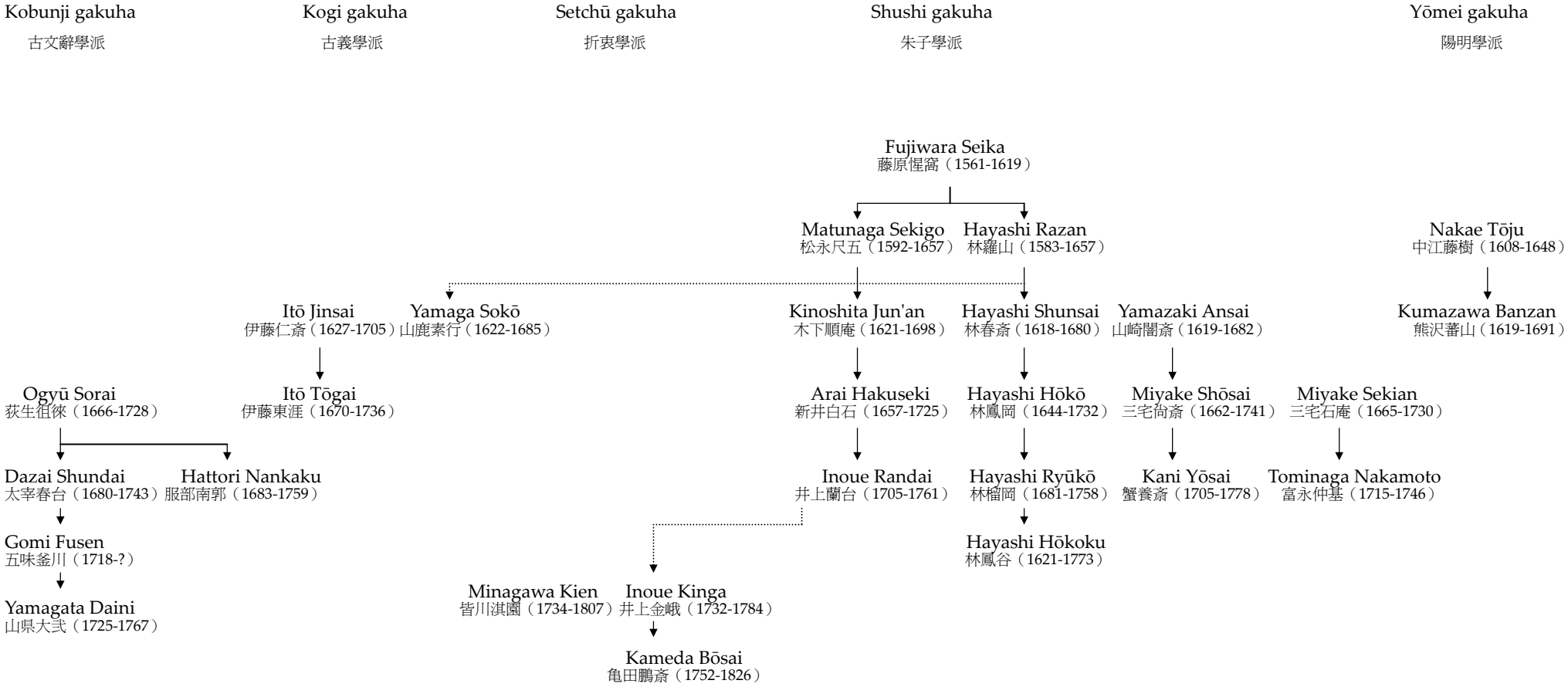
even though I am ill, I am not ill; I am happy [because of my work] and I forget my sorrows. 凡所謂道德、仁智、禮義、恭敬、性命、心情、明德、中庸、元、亨、利、貞之類，後世皆失其字義，亦不知古言故也。作《辨名》一卷。道也者，不可以一言而盡之矣。後世四經之教不明矣，故後儒之以爲道者，非先王孔子之道焉。作《辨道》一卷。不佞疾久不□，恐一旦溘朝露以沒也，故疾少間，援筆著之篇，吃吃不已。其書垂成，但校讎未終功，是在二三子耳。嗚呼！不佞之力哉？天之命也。不佞藉是而死，不朽矣。是不佞雖疾不疾，樂以忘憂者爲耳。[15]

The last sentence is quoted verbatim from the seventh chapter of *The Analects*, which tells of Confucius's contentment in obtaining the Way. By criticizing that the later generations, i.e., the Neo-Confucians, have lost the true meaning of all the principle philosophical terms, the letter voiced Sorai's excitement about his obtaining the Way successfully and escaping the Neo-Confucian world view, and thus also the Hayashi tradition dominant in Japan at the time (see Table 2.1, col.1 Kobunji gakuha and col. 4 Shushi gakuha).[16]

For Sorai, the Way is neither the order of nature, nor a metaphysical Way, as proclaimed by the Neo-Confucians, but a creation, an artifact of the ancient Sage Kings. In his *Tōmosho* 答問書[Letters in Answer to Questions], he suggested that the Neo-Confucians' misunderstanding of the Way led to their inability to

[15] Ogyū Sorai, *Sorai shu shui* 徂徠集拾遺 (Tōkyō: Perikansha ぺりかん社, 1985), 404-405.
[16] Similar understandings can be found in Noguchi Takehiko 野口武彦, *Ogyū Sorai: Edo no Don Kihōte* 荻生徂徠: 江戸のドン・キホーテ(Tōkyō: Chūō Kōronsha 中央公論社, 1993), 162; Olof G. Lidin, *The Life of Ogyū Sorai: A Tokugawa Confucian Philosopher*, 104; and Hiraishi Naoaki, *Sorai nenpu kō*, 125-126.

Table 2.1: Sketch stemma of Tokugawa Confucian Philosophy



distinguish between the natural and the normative orders. According to Sorai, since the original initiators of the Way as accepted by Confucian philosophy were Yao and Shun, and Yao and Shun were human rulers, the Way of the Sages is exclusively a way of governing.[17] The Way is neither the "principle of affairs and things and what should be," nor the "Way of heaven, earth and nature." It is simply the mean of exercising sovereign authority in the provinces and the realm that the Sages established. In *Bendō*, he further explained the artificial nature of the Way:

> The Way of the ancient Sage Kings was created by the ancient Sage Kings [themselves]. It is not the natural way of heaven and earth. The fact is that the ancient Sage Kings, by virtue of their intelligence and perspicacity, received the Mandate of Heaven and ruled the world. Single-mindedly, they considered it their duty to bring peace and contentment to the world. Thus by exhausting their spiritual strength and using to the limit their mental capacities, they produced this Way in order to have people in later ages act in accordance with it. How could Heaven and Earth by themselves have possessed it? 先王之道，先王所造也，非天地自然之道也，蓋先王以聰明睿知之德，受天命，王天下，其心一以安天下爲務，是以盡其心力，極其巧知，作爲是道，使天下後世之人由是而行之，豈天地自然有之哉？[18]

[17] In Confucianism, the term Ancient Sage Kings refers to the most ancient and legendary political rulers, Fu Xi, Shen Nong, and Huang Di, as well as the rulers of the (oldest) Three Dynasties, Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, Wu, and the Duke of Zhou.

[18] Ogyū Sorai, *Bendō* 辨道, in *Ogyū Sorai* 荻生徂徠, Nihon shisō taikei 日本思想大系, vol. 36, ed. Yoshikawa Kōjirō 吉川幸次郎, Maruyama Masao 丸山真男, et al. (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1973), 201.

The Way, according to Sorai, is a creation of the ancient Sage Kings. This Way, however, is not the product of one individual, but the fruit of the intelligence of a whole score of sages. Therefore, it is not the *a priori* possession of one individual, but the standard of the myriad. Furthermore, it is not an abstract entity, but a concrete way for managing the world and pacifying the people. Consequently, the Way is not singular, but pluralistic. Its essential features included rituals, music, punishments, and policies, with rituals and music being its most important components. The pluralistic nature and the various possible forms of expression of the Way were examined by Sorai in his *Benmei*:

> The Way is a comprehensive term, referring to what should be followed. Since the early Sage Kings of antiquity created this term so that later generations would follow it in their conduct, we, too, should follow it in our actions. Being comparable to a pathway that people follow during a journey, it is therefore called "the way." Because it embraces concepts such as filial piety, brotherly deference, humaneness, ritual principles, rituals, music, penal laws, and government, the "Way" was therefore called a "comprehensive term." The Early Kings were sages. Some passages thus refer to "the Way" as "the Way of Early Kings"; yet others call it "the Way of the Sages." Since honest people generally regard it their duty to follow the Way, some passages call it "the Way of honest people." Confucius transmitted it, and Confucians often defend it. The Way is therefore [also] known as "Confucius's Way" or "the Confucian Way." They are all the same indeed. 道者統名也，以有所由言之。蓋古先聖王所立焉，使天下後世之人，由此以行而已，亦由此以行也。譬諸人，由道路以行，故謂之道。孝悌仁義以至于禮、樂、刑、政，合以名之，故曰統名也。先王，聖人也，故或謂之先王

之道，或謂之聖人之道。凡爲君子者務由焉，故亦謂之君子之道。孔子之所傳，儒者守焉，故謂之孔子之道，亦謂之儒者之道，其實一也。[19]

Thus, at its extreme, the Way could be interpreted as a collection of various kinds of statecraft. Sorai believed that there is no such thing as the Way apart from rituals, music, law enforcement, and political administration. Rituals and music, in Sorai's discourse, sometimes can fully represent the Way. For instance, in *Bendō*, he states:

> The Way of the Early Kings was in ancient times called "the Art of the Way" and what it meant were rituals and music. Confucians of later eras, however, avoided using the term "art" and were critical of it. Shouldn't they observe that the Early Kings, in their reign, managed to make people of the world advance toward goodness day by day without being conscious [of it], and in their teaching, managed to make scholars foster their knowledge day by day and attain their virtues month by month without themselves being aware of it. This was what "the Art of the Way" meant. The Master of Music values the Four Arts. Each spring and autumn he teaches by means of the *Book of Rites* and the *Book of Music*; in winter and summer he teaches by means of the *Book of Odes* and the *Book of History*. Such was the case [with regard to the Art of the Way]. As for [the Neo-Confucian] concepts [developed] in later eras, such as "investigating things and exploring the principles" and "bringing oneself to contentment and harboring reverential thoughts," they are certainly not bad concepts. It is just in their unscholarliness that the Neo-Confucians failed to incorporate the Art [of the Way], and in their dealing with things, they did

[19] Ogyū Sorai, *Benmei* 辨名, in *Ogyū Sorai* 荻生徂徠, Nihon shisō taikei 日本思想大系, vol. 36, ed. Yoshikawa Kōjirō 吉川幸次郎, Maruyama Masao 丸山真男, et al. (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1973), 210.

not treat antiquity as their teacher, but desired to raid it and abruptly claim possession of it[s knowledge]. It can be said that this was done by force. 先王之道，古者謂之道術，禮樂是也。後儒乃諱術字而難言之，殊不知先王之治使天下之人日遷善而不自知焉，其教亦使學者日來其知月成其德而不自知焉，是所謂術也。樂正崇四術，春秋以教禮樂，冬夏以教詩書，是之謂也。如後世所謂格物窮理，克治持敬，其意非不美矣，只其不學無術，事不師古，欲襲而取之，騐有諸已，可謂强也。[20]

Among the various arts of the Way, then, the most important ones to Sorai are rituals and music. In his annotations to Confucius's *The Analects*, i.e., the *Rongochō* 論語徵 [Critical commentaries of Confucian's *The Analects*], Sorai emphasizes:

Ultimately, there must be factual matters that constitute the Way of the Early Kings. These are music and rituals. 大抵先王之道，必有事焉，禮樂是也。[21]

Sorai claimed his understanding of the Way is identical with that of the Han Confucians. It is believed by some later Confucians that Confucius's teaching was preserved authentically in Han Confucianism, of which Kong Anguo was a leading figure. In Kong's annotation to *The Analects*, Sorai found a congenial voice:

[20] Ogyū Sorai, *Bendō*, 206.
[21] Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠, *Rongochō* 論語徵, in *Ogyū Sorai zenshū* 荻生徂徠全集, ed. Imanaka Kanshi 今中寬司 and Naramoto Tatsuya 奈良本辰也 (Tōkyō: Kawade Shobō Shinsha 河出書房新社, 1978), vol. 2, 490.

> Inveighing against the sound of stringed instruments and singing at Wu Cheng, Confucius had pronounced his ox-knife analogy, followed by Zi You's quoting him about the gentleman and the small man being instructed in the Way.[22] The [both sayings] illuminate [the essence of the Way]. Kong Anguo commented on [the meaning of] the Way and remarked that it pertained to rituals and music. The ancient words [about the Way] had not been lost in the hands of the Han Confucians! 武城弦歌，孔子有牛刀誚，而子游引君子小人學道可見已。孔安國注道謂禮樂也，古時言語漢儒猶不失其傳哉！[23]

The Way, on the one hand, as an all-embracing term, encompassing music, rituals, law enforcement, and political administration – generally all the concrete principles that the legendary Sage Kings established; on the other hand, however, it brings all principles together under one single designation. This designation was to rule, exercise, and enforce sovereign authority in Japan. So far we have discovered that the essence of the Way in Sorai's philosophy is political in nature. But why could Sorai, a mid-Tokugawa Confucian of low rank, dare to even think of redefining the core concept of Confucianism and invent his own politically-oriented interpretation?

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[22] The first three sentences of this quote are taken from Book VII, *The Analects.* The whole story reads: The Master went to Wu Cheng. There he heard the sound of stringed instruments and singing. The Master broke into a smile and said, "Surely you don't need to use an ox-knife to kill a chicken." Zi You answered, "Some time ago I heard from you, Master, that the gentleman instructed in the Way loves his fellow men and that the small man instructed in the Way is easy to command." The Master said, "My friends, what Yen says is right. My remark a moment ago was only made in jest." See D. C. Lau, trans., *The Analects* (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1979), 143.

[23] Ogyū Sorai, *Bendō*, 201.

2.2 The Sages Redefined

Sorai believed that the Way was created by the Sages. Accordingly, the term "Sage" is nothing but the collective term for those who created the Way. Those who contributed to codifying the Way in rituals, music, law enforcement, and political administration were all rulers of antiquity: Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, Wu, and Zhou. Thus the Sages are the ancient political leaders who established the Way, and therefore, for Sorai the sages are identical with the Early Kings of Chinese history. A Sage should not be gauged by his moral values, but by the political achievements he invented. The Ancient Sages are sages because of the rituals and music they established, rather than the fact that they were endowed with irreproachable virtue. "The sages, too, are no more than human beings. Men's virtues differ with their natures. Even sages are not identical in their virtues. But we call these men sages because of what they invented," as Sorai put it.[24]

Sorai's interpretation departs from conventional Confucian philosophy, which regards the state as a moral institute and its monarch as a moral leader. Therefore, in conventional Confucianism only a moral sage can be a real king. Mencius (ca. 372-289 B.C.) portrays this ideal as having existed in an idealized

[24] Ogyū Sorai, *Benmei*, 218.

past. According to him, there was a time when the moral sage Yao (supposed to have lived in the twenty-fourth century B.C.) was emperor. When he was old, he selected a younger sage, Shun, whom he had taught how to be a ruler, so that at Yao's death, Shun became emperor. Similarly, when Shun was old, he again selected a younger sage, Yu, to be his successor. Thus a vision of the transfer of power by one moral sage to the next flowed down through the ages. If a sage becomes a king, his government is called a kingly government. According to Mencius and later Confucians, there are two kinds of government. One is that of the sageking, the other is that of the military lord. These are completely different in kind. The government of a sageking is managed through moral instruction and education; that of a military lord is conducted through force and compulsion. The power of the kingly government is moral, and that of the military government physical. In this regard, Mencius says:

> He who uses force in the place of virtue is a military lord. He who is virtue and practices human-heartedness is a sageking. When one subdues men by force, they do not submit to him in their hearts but only outwardly, because they have insufficient strength to resist. But when one gains followers by virtue, they are pleased in their hearts and will submit of themselves as did the seventy disciples to Confucius. 以力假仁者霸，以德行仁者王。以力服人者，非心服也，力不贍也。以德服人者，中心悅而誠服也，如七十子之服孔子也。[25]

[25] The English quotation is an adaptation of a prior translation; see James Legge, trans., *The Chinese Classics* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), vol. 2, 196-197.

This distinction between sageking and military lord has always been maintained by later Confucian philosophers. Together with the sage-king theory, a belief existed that the ruler held his position by the authority of Heaven's command, or mandate. In practice, the mandate was understood as applying to a family or dynasty, but according to the strictest interpretation of the theory it was granted to each individual ruler because of his personal virtue. Hence, again, the legitimacy of a ruler rested on his morality. Moreover, the mandate-of-Heaven theory was used to justify dynastic changes: the successful founding of each new dynasty and the preservation of the *status quo* until it was in turn violently upset. Following these theories, Confucians believed that if a king is not flawless in his virtue, then he must govern in the way of a military lord. A military lord's government would not receive the mandate of Heaven, so it is destined to be overthrown. To survive in the days of imperial China, Confucians seemed to have found a way to legitimize the existence of contemporaneous regimes through the theoretical frameworks of the concepts of Heaven's Mandate and the Way of the Sagekings. Therefore, under the umbrella of Confucianism, despite diverse interpretations of Confucius's text throughout Chinese history, certain themes recur. One of them is "sageliness within and kingliness without." That is to say, in a gentleman's inner sageliness, he accomplishes spiritual cultivation; in his kingliness without, he functions in society. And since the character of the sage

is, according to Chinese tradition, one of sageliness within and kingliness without, the task of Confucianism is to enable a man to develop this kind of character. Therefore, what Confucianism discusses is what the Chinese Confucians describe as the Way of sageliness within and kingliness without.[26]

In terms of the politics of Japan contemporaneous with Sorai's time, we might say that the Tennō-centered government in Kyōto was a kingly government which represented the mandate of Heaven, moral authority, and the cultural legacy of the past, while the bakufu government in Edo was that of a military lord who reigned through terror and physical force.

But speaking from the bakufu's side, Sorai denied the differences between sageking and military lord. Starting with an inquiry into the Way, Sorai's lengthy *Benmei* ends with a discourse on sageking and military lord, in which Sorai proclaims that the ancients made no distinction between the two and that Confucius never condemned military lords. According to Sorai, the differences between true kings and military lords in each epoch are merely their respective

[26] It is not necessary that the sage should be the actual head of the government in his society. From the standpoint of practical politics, for the most part, the sage certainly has no chance of being the head of the state. The saying "sageliness within and kingliness without" means only that he who has the noblest spirit should, theoretically, be king. As to whether he actually has or has not the chance of being king, is immaterial. See, for example, Fung Yu-lan, *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, ed. Derk Bodde (New York: Macmillan, 1948), 3-12.

rankings. For Sorai, the Spring and Autumn hegemonies were not inferior to true kings in virtue; they differed from the Early Kings only in that "they strongly emphasized the importance of achieving profit and benefits," therefore, "did not use the rituals and music in governing."[27]

In his version of Confucianism, Sorai found the specific means to bolster the foundations of Tokugawa rule, namely, that the Shōgun should institute the kind of music and rituals that accord with his de-facto position as ruler of the realm. The underlying political notion of Sorai's series of philosophical arguments is that if the bakufu use the proper rituals and music in governing, it converts itself from a military government to a kingly government; and sage-hood is thus obtained by the Tokugawa family. As a result, the final source of political authority and legitimacy would shift from Kyōto to Edo. Meanwhile, by contributing to the legitimization of the Tokugawa Shōgunate, the superiority of Sorai and of his sect of Confucianism, the Kobunji gakuha, were to be secured in the land.

2.3 Sorai's *Gagaku* Studies

Few of Sorai's writings on *gagaku* pre-dated the Kyōhō era, and apparently

[27] Ogyū Sorai, *Benmei*, 255.

this led Yoshikawa Kōjirō to suggest that Sorai started learning *gagaku* in his forties.[28]

Sorai claimed that Japanese *gagaku* music had preserved the ancient Chinese music traditions, which had been largely lost in their homeland after the mid-Tang period. This conviction led him, together with his disciples, to embark on the study of *gagaku*. In a letter written in the second year of Kyōhō (1717), Sorai stated that the gatherings with his disciples were always full of musical pleasure. They tried out the wind instruments, such as the *shō*, *fue*, and the Chinese vertical flute *xiao*, and played the string instruments together. Sorai believed that, among all the *gagaku* instruments, the Tokugawa playing of the *shō* was closest to its Heian prototype.[29] No wonder a considerable part of his correspondence focused on the mouthorgan. In a letter to one disciple, Sorai noted that after a three-day lapse of practice on the *shō*, he felt stuffy, because he could not get the gloomy feeling off through blowing.[30] In another letter he recorded an embarrassing scene: "How gracious it is to play the phoenix *shō*!

[28] Yoshikawa Kōjirō, "Sorai-gaku an," 706.

[29] This might be a natural result after a comparison between the Tokugawa tablature and *Shinsen shō-teki-fu*, a mouth-organ score of the late thirteenth century completed in 1303. A similar understanding was reached by modern musicologists; see, for instance, Laurence Picken, "Tunes Apt for T'ang Lyrics from the *Shō* Partbooks of Tōgaku," *Essays in Ethnomusicology: A Birthday Offering for Lee Hye-ku* (Seoul: Korean Musicological Society, 1969), 401-420.

[30] Ogyū Sorai, "letters to Andō Tōya," in *Sorai shu* 徂徠集 (Tōkyō: Perikansha ぺりかん社, 1985), chap. 21, 12r.

However, the sound of my playing often scares my cat."[31]

Sorai's inquiry into the performance practice of *gagaku* gave rise to another great interest of him, the study of ancient musical sources. For instance, in a letter to Andō Tōya,[32] Sorai asked for some special brushes for writing regular script, because he wanted to make a neat copy from a set of ancient *gagaku* anthology of mouthorgan music.[33] Towards the end of his life, Sorai devoted more and more effort to the collection and collation of early *gagaku* sources.[34]

In the tenth month of the third year of Kyōhō (1718), Sorai collated the *gagaku* anthology *Kokin-kyōroku* 胡琴教録, literally, a treatise on a barbarian string instrument.[35] The barbarian string instrument in the title refers to the *biwa*. It is an anonymous treatise. Yet since Fujiwara Moronaga's (1137-1192) teaching is quoted in its text, its completion date should be no earlier than the early Kamakura period.[36] The Hayashi family's two-volume manuscript copy of Sorai's

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[31] Ogyū Sorai, "letters to Takami Sōkyū," in *Sorai shu*, chap. 22, 15v.
[32] Andō Tōya 安藤東野(1682?-1719, style name: Tōheki) is a disciple of Sorai.
[33] Ogyū Sorai, *Sorai shu*, chap. 21, folios. 3v-4r.
[34] Ogyū Sorai, *Sorai shu*, chap. 20, folios. 12r-v.
[35] For more bibliographical information on the anthology, see Kishibe Shigeo Hakushi Koki Kinen Shuppan Iinkai 岸辺成雄博士古稀記念出版委員会, ed., *Nihon koten ongaku bunken kaidai* 日本古典音楽文献解題(Tōkyō: Kōdansha 講談社, 1987), 140.
[36] Fujiwara Moronaga 藤原師長 is the undisputed musicological giant of his day. He performed, collected and edited the most extensive compendia of court song, courtly dance music, and Buddhist chant notations, many of which are still at the basis of performances at the Imperial Court of Japan today.

collated edition of this treatise is now kept in the National Diet Library.[37] From Sorai's colophon to the edition,[38] Sorai might have borrowed the source manuscript from Momijiyama *gagakunin* Yamanoi Kagetoyo 山井景豐 (1672-1739) and let his disciple Hattori Nankaku (1683-1759) copy the text in the summer of the third year of Kyōhō (1718) for his collation in the following autumn.

On the sixth day of the sixth month of the twelfth year of Kyōhō (1727), Sorai was entrusted by the Tokugawa bakufu to collate the *gagaku* anthology *Sango-chūroku* 三五中錄,[39] a compendium of *biwa* music in twelve volumes compiled by Fujiwara Takatoki 藤原孝時(1189/90-1266) and ostensibly based on the earlier collection *Sango-yōroku* 三五要錄.[40] According to the bakufu's records, the copy Tokugawa Yoshimune obtained was originally kept in the Yoshimizu-in, the place among the mountains of Yoshino where Emperor Godaigo (1228-1339) set up the Southern Court after he had fled from the capital.[41] Currently, the

[37] Call number 199-150, see Naikaku Bunko 內閣文庫, *Naikaku Bunko kokusho bunrui mokuroku* 內閣文庫國書分類目錄(Tōkyō: Naikaku Bunko 內閣文庫, 1961-62), vol. 1, 369.

[38] Morishita Yōji 森下要治, "Naikaku bunko zō kokinkyōroku ni tsuite 內閣文庫蔵『胡琴教録』について," *Kokubungakukō* 国文学攷 147 (1995): 32-33.

[39] See *Yūtoku in jikki* 有德院御實紀, in *Shintei zōho Kokushi taikei* 新訂增補國史大系, ed. Kuroita Katsumi 黑板勝美(Tōkyō: Kokushi Taikei Kankōkai 國史大系刊行會, 1933-1934), vol. 45, chapter 24, 430; and Ōba Osamu 大庭脩, ed. *Kyōhō jidai no Nitchū kankei shiryō* 享保時代の日中關係資料 (Suita-shi: Kansai Daigaku Shuppanbu 關西大學出版部, 1986-1995) vol. 3, 40.

[40] For more bibliographical information on the anthology, see Kishibe Shigeo Hakushi Koki Kinen Shuppan Iinkai, ed., *Nihon koten ongaku bunken kaidai*, 167.

[41] By claming the Sacred Treasures that he had handed over to the Ashikaga being counterfeit, Godaigo started the Period of Northern and Southern Courts in which the Northern Dynasty in Kyōto and the Southern Dynasty in Yoshino faced off against each other. It is worth noting that Emperor Go-Daigo planned to overthrown the Kamakura

National Diet Library houses two scrolls of the *Sango-chūroku* from the Tokugawa Shogunal library Momijiyama Bunko. Both are identical in their contents, and are duplicates of the second volume of the anthology collated by Sorai. One of the two scrolls was prepared in the Kyōhō era.[42] The other might have been the exemplar for the reproduction of the Kyōhō scroll.[43] Meanwhile, Eta Harich-Schneider also recorded a copy of the *Sango-chūroku* prepared earlier in the same year of Kyōhō. It was, she purports, copied by the *gakunin* Uzumasa Hirōō, Lord of Hizen, in the second month of twelfth year of Kyōhō (1727).[44] From the evidence presented above, it seems more than reasonable to surmise that, in the year 1727, the rediscovery of the *Sango-chūroku* among the musical scrolls kept at the Yoshimizu-in in Yoshino must have drawn considerable attention from the bakufu (otherwise, they would not have ordered its collation), from *gakunin*,[45] and from Confucian scholars including Ogyū Sorai.

Shogunate, and had his eye set on an imperial dictatorship like that of the emperor of China. He wanted to imitate the Chinese in all their ways and become the most powerful ruler in the East.

[42] Call number 特 3-15, see Naikaku Bunko, *Naikaku Bunko kokusho bunrui mokuroku*, vol. 1, 368.

[43] Call number 特 3-16, see Naikaku Bunko, *Naikaku Bunko kokusho bunrui mokuroku*, vol. 1, 368.

[44] However, Harich-Schneider never mentioned the source of her description, see Eta Harich-Schneider, *A History of Japanese Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 274.

[45] The Imperial musicians are popularly called the *gakunin*. In Tokugawa period, for performance at his own palaces, temples and shrines, Shōgun only relies on Momijiyama *gakunin*, a group of musicians who were placed under Shogunal patronage and named after the section of Edo castle, where they were housed, see below section 3.1.

Sorai's interest in the musical sources from Yoshimizu-in informs his way of viewing history. While the Nara and Heian periods were ages of resplendence, thanks to the influence of rituals and music from China, all the glories of the past had faded after Emperor Godaigo retreated to Yoshino from Kyōto in the reign of the Ashikaga family.[46]

Clearly, what Sorai searched for was early *gagaku*, his imagined authentic descendent of Chinese music before the Muromachi wars. In Sorai's discourse on the Way, the closest association with rituals as a means used by the sages to bring order to society was music. Evidence of the ritual music created by the sages is said to have been preserved in the so-called *Yuejing* 樂經[Classic of Music], a book that was lost a long time ago, if indeed it ever existed. The absence of concrete knowledge of the music created by the sages thus confirmed a significant break in China with the Way of antiquity. Picking up on this sore point, a number of Japanese Confucians argued that although the music of the sages had disappeared in China, it could be found preserved in the archaic musical forms of the Japanese court. For instance, the renowned Confucian scholar from the Yōmei school, Kumazawa Banzan (1619-1691), argued in his *Shūgi gaisho* 集義外

[46] This mid-Tokugawa attention to the Kamakura music source *Sango-chūroku*, an anthology of string music derived from the *Sango-yōroku*, may help us to explain the evident parallels between the *biwa* version of the present-day standard score of modern *gagaku*, the *Meiji-sentei-fu*, and the late Heian source *Sango-yōroku*.

書 that the musical instruments and their performing techniques used by the sages had been preserved as late as the Qin (221-206 B.C.) and the Han (202 B.C.-220 A.D.) in China, at which time they had been introduced to Japan. Thenceforward, the music of the ancients disappeared in China, but, according to Banzan, it was preserved in Japan. He went as far as to opine that should a wise ruler appear in China in later ages, he would come to Japan to study the music of the ancients.[47]

Sorai, in defending Japan's musical orthodoxy, maintained Kumazawa's argument that the music of the sages survived only in Japan, as evidenced in a letter written to Irie Jakusui: "The music of the Zhou and Han exist only in our Eastern Country."[48] In a letter to Yabu Shin'an, however, he slightly modified this view by stating that it was difficult to determine from which type of music *gagaku* had derived: that of the Xia, Shang, and Zhou, of the Qin and Han, or of the Wei, but there certainly was, Sorai held, some genuine refined music in *gagaku*.[49] It is this understanding that informed his early work on Sino-Japanese music temperament, *Gakushō*. In Sorai's theory, a monarch inheriting the sagely music from antiquity would also be bequeathed the Way of the Sage Kings.

[47] Kumazawa Banzan 熊澤蕃山, *Shūgi gaisho* 集義外書, in Inoue Tetsujirō 井上哲次郎 and Kanie Yoshimaru 蟹江義丸, ed., *Nihon rinri ihen* 日本倫理彙編 (Tōkyō: Ikuseikai 東京育成會, 1901-1903) vol. 2, 289.
[48] Ogyū Sorai, *Sorai-shū*, chap. 26, folios. 11r-v.
[49] Ogyū Sorai, *Sorai-shū*, chap. 23, folio. 7r.

Hence, if one of the two political centers, i.e., Edo and Kyōto, could demonstrate its ability to revive sagely music, then its political legitimacy over the other centre would be secured; at the same time, Japan would take the place of China and become the centre in the civilized-barbaric world order.

When his Neo-Confucian opponent Arai Hakuseki dominated the intellectual stage of the Tokugawa bakufu in the Shōtoku era (1711-1715) and his hope of the planned reform of Shogunal ritual was put on ice, Sorai even tried to sell his musical proposal to the retired Emperor Reigen. In his reply to Irie Jakusui in the fourth year of Shōtoku (1714), Sorai emphasized the political importance of his music projects:

> Your previous letter said that you wanted to present my work *Yakubun sentei* to the Sentō imperial palace [= the retired Emperor Reigen]. The contents of that book are merely something murmured for family-school kids. How dare you offend his Majesty's prestige [by presenting him such a work]? I have compiled a book on music. The principle underpinning of the work is that the music of the Zhou and Han eras survives in our East [= Japan]. How about giving it a try? What do you think? 前書言。足下欲以《譯筌》[=《譯文筌蹄》] 上仙洞。是乃家塾中教童子語。何以上干天威。而能無惶恐邪。不佞向輯樂書。所爲娓娓弗已者。實爲周漢之音存于吾東方故也。足下試一方便。如何如何。[50]

[50] Ogyū Sorai, *Sorai shu*, chap. 26, folio. 11v.

For Sorai, no matter where the project could be launched, be it Edo or Kyōto, the reform to revive sagely rituals and music to legitimize a monarch's sovereignty was an imperative to be carried out. It is in this particular moment that Sorai came into contact with two important scrolls on *qin* music.

2.4 Sorai's *Qin* Studies

During the Kyōhō era, by trying his hands on *qin* studies, Sorai's music research attained a new level of sophistication. A few clues for the dating of Sorai's discovery of the two *qin* scrolls, the manuscript Tōkyō, Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan TB1393 (henceforth the Tōkyō manuscript, see Figure 2.1), and the manuscript Hikone, Hikone-jō Hakubutsukan V633 (henceforth the Hikone manuscript, see Figure 2.2),[51] are given by himself. Sorai first mentioned the Tōkyō manuscript in a preface to a group of four four-verse poems, composed by him and addressed to Irie Jakusui, which reads:

> Irie Jakusui 入江若水(1671-?) has already moved to Heian (= Kyōto). His desire to come to the east, though mentioned in his letters several times, has not been put into action so far. The four pieces of *zekku* poems are to urge him [to act upon his wish]. [The poems were written] at the time when I

[51] For a codicological description of the Hikone scrolls, see Yang Yuanzheng, "Scribal Practice within the Earliest Scroll of *Qin* Treatises: Manuscript Hikone, Hikone-jō Hakubutsukan V633," *Ongakugaku* (Journal of the Musicological Society of Japan) 53, no. 1 (2007): 69-85.

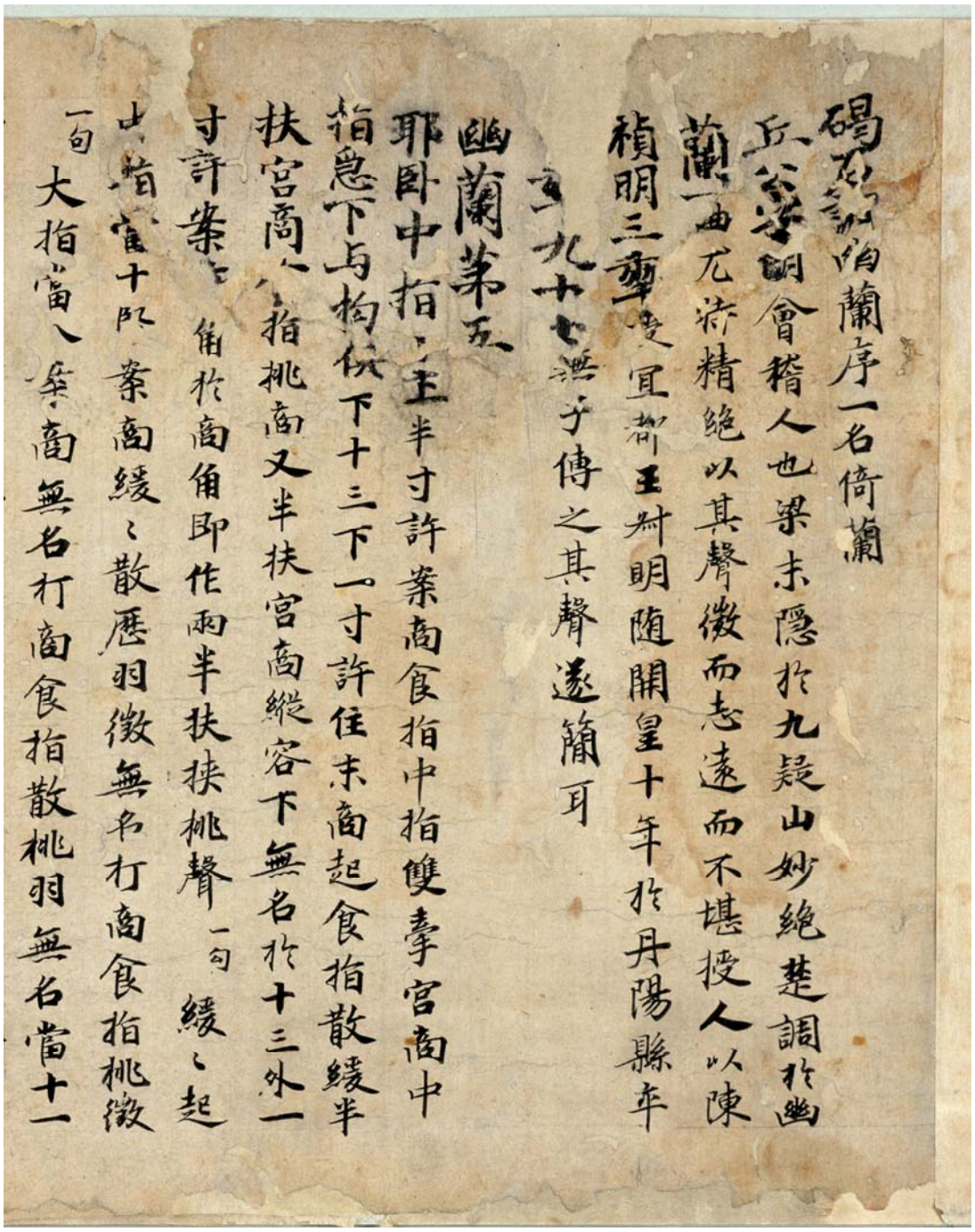

Figure 2.1: JP-Th TB1393, cols. 1-12

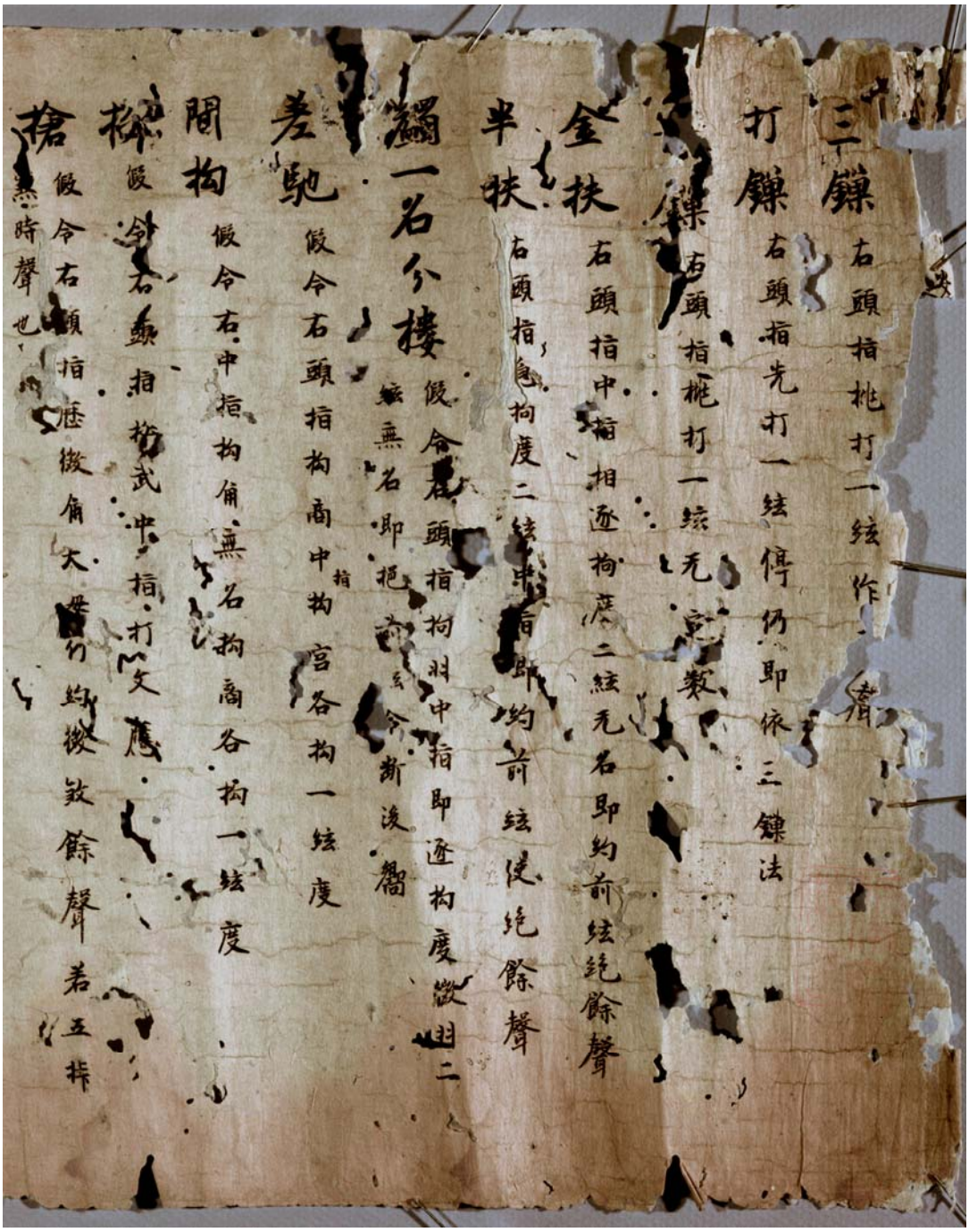

Figure 2.2: JP-Hh 633, cols. 7-16

acquired a score of the old melody: *Iran* 猗蘭 (=*Yūran*, the Tōkyō manuscript)[52]. 江子徹已移居平安。書來欲東者屢已而不果也。絕句四章促之。時予得猗蘭古曲。[53]

According to the biographic information provided by modern scholarship, Irie Jakusui moved to Kyōto in the first year of Kyōhō (1716).[54] If so, Sorai's poem must have been composed either in or after that year. Another description of his examination of the *qin* scrolls appears in his fourth letter to Yabu Shin'an 藪震庵 (1689-1744), in the late spring of 1720:

[I] have paid Koma Chikahiro a visit. The *qin* scroll [entitled] *Iran* is owned by his family. I borrowed and read it. 嘗訪諸狛近寛。渠家有猗蘭琴譜。予借而覽之。[55]

A similar account can be found in Sorai's preface to his work *Shūfūrakushō* 秋風楽章:

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[52] The beginning title of the Tōkyō manuscript "*Youlan*/ *Yūran* in *Jieshi* mode, another name *Yilan*/*Iran* 倚蘭" gives this variant. It is worth mentioning that Sorai, in a first tendentious act of falsification, consistently named the *qin* piece *Yilan*/*Iran* 猗蘭, a title commonly referring to a composition by Confucius, instead of *Youlan*/*Yūran* 幽蘭 or the title variant given in the Tōkyō manuscript *Yilan*/*Iran* 倚蘭, in order to highlight the authentic quality of the Tōkyō manuscript. See Yang Yuanzheng, "Early *Qin* Music: Manuscript Tōkyō, Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan TB1393 and Manuscript Hikone, Hikone-Jō Hakubutsukan V633," 9 and 81-82.

[53] Ogyū Sorai, *Sorai shu*, chap. 6, folios. 5r-v.

[54] Hiraishi Naoaki, *Ogyū sorai nenpu kō*, 103.

[55] Ogyū Sorai, *Sorai shu*, chap. 23, folio. 10r.

> Tsuji Chikahiro, the hereditary musician from the Capital (= Kyōto), keeps the manuscripts *Iran* (= the Tōkyō manuscript) and *Yōshihō* (= the Hikone manuscript), which were bestowed on the family by Gomizunō-tennō (1596-1680, r. 1611-1629), in separate scrolls. [He] let me read and explain [their contents] in Japanese. 京師伶工辻伯州家藏。後水尾院所賜猗蘭琴譜及用指法各一卷。使余閲之且為和解。[56]

Koma is a branch of the Tsuji *gakunin*, therefore, Tsuji Chikahiro and Koma Chikahiro are the same person. According to the late eighteenth-century genealogy *Jige kaden*, Koma Chikahiro passed away in the twelfth month of the fifth year of Kyōhō (1720).[57] Therefore, it is reasonable to surmise that Sorai's contact with the two scrolls happened sometime between 1716 and 1720, at least two years before Sorai's completing his treatise on *qin* music, *Kingakutaiishō* (literally, the gist of *qin* study) in the fourth month of the seventh year of Kyōhō (1722).

In the third of the four poems mentioned above, Sorai made a direct link between the music preserved in the two ancient scrolls and the Way of the Sages. The poem reads:

I have played the *qin* for so long,

[56] Ogyū Sorai, *Shūfūrakushō* 秋風楽章, JP-Td 160, folio. 1r.
[57] Mikami Kagefumi 三上景文, *Jige kaden* 地下家傳, in *Nihon Koten Zenshū* 日本古典全集, ed. Masamune Atsuo 正宗敦夫 (Tōkyō: Nihon Koten Zenshū Kankōkai 日本古典全集刊行會, 1937-1938), vol. 2, chap. 11, 535.

But very few people can understand the true meaning of the *qin* piece
Flowing Water like you (=Irie Jakusui).
Regarding the immortal significance in my discourse of the Way,
who will join me to enjoy the savor of the *qin* piece *Solitary Orchid*?

为知流水似君稀，久拂朱絃理玉徽。
倘问千秋吾道意，猗蘭一曲与谁归？[58]

In the first two lines of the poem, Sorai, in order to depict his intimate relation with Irie Jakusui, quoted the story of the *qin* player Boya and his friend Ziqi, a pair of bosom friends recorded in the *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋[Master Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals] in ca. 235 B.C.[59] The last two lines show clearly Sorai's notion that the music *Solitary Orchid* as recorded in the newly discovered scroll embodies the invaluable Way of Sages. Therefore, the poem can be viewed as Sorai's own confession of the ideological motives that informed his research on the two *qin* scrolls. It is this intention that directed him to set the lyric *Yilan*, a poem that is ascribed to Confucius (551 B.C. – 479 C.E.), to the melody *Yūran*, i.e., *Solitary Orchid*, preserved in the Tōkyō manuscript. In Sorai's eyes, the verses of the pre-Qin sage represented the orthodox version of the ancient Sage Kings' Way.

[58] Ogyū Sorai, *Sorai shu*, chap. 6, folio. 5v.
[59] For an English translation of the relevant part of the *Lüshi chunqiu*, see, e.g., John Knoblock and Jeffrey Riegel, trans., *The Annals of Lü Buwei* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 308.

Figure 2.3: JP-Tn 63-1, vol. 58, folios. 1r-v

In the interest of his *qin* studies, Sorai contacted *qin* players in person and listened to their music,[60] borrowed from them the Ming *qin* treatise *Qinjing* 琴經 [Classic of the *Qin*] and made manuscript copies (see Figure 2.3). In another poem, entitled "On the second day of the mid-Autumn festival, viewing the treatise *Classic of the Qin* with the accompaniment of fellow scholars of our coterie 中秋翌日同人集攜攬古琴經," he reinforced the ideological power of the notation *Yūran* by revealing his willingness to make the music resonate again throughout the Tokugawa regime:

[60] See, e.g., Ogyū Sorai, *Sorai shu*, chap. 2, folio. 1r.

The music handed down from Confucius still exists,
After thousands of years, only our coterie is aware of it.
There might be a lot of difficulties in its transmission to us,
But, the predestined rediscovery must accord with the Way.
The moon is bright on the day of the mid-Autumn festival,
The *Solitary Orchid* [= *Iran*, i.e. the poem attributed to Confucius] is the poem that belongs to the men of virtue.
If it is possible,
I wish we can play together the music of the *Solitary Orchid* [=*Youlan*, i.e. the *qin* piece], which must be most pleasing to the heart.

闕里遺音在，千年吾黨知。
流傳天或厄，遇合道無疑。
明月中秋夜，幽蘭君子詩。
賞心猶可及，願共理朱絲。[61]

This poem, possibly composed between his viewing of the two scrolls and the compilation of his *Kingakutaiishō* in 1722, marked the initiation of Sorai's research on the contents, and more importantly, the philosophical symbolism and political significance of the two scrolls. Sorai's untiring inquiries resulted in his *qin*-related works, *Yūranpushō* 幽蘭譜抄[The Score of *Yūran*], *Yūrankyoku* 幽蘭曲 [The Melody of *Yūran*], and *Kingakutaiishō* 琴學大意抄[The Gist of *Qin* Study].

Judging from their contents, *Yūranpushō* might be the first effort among the

[61] Ogyū Sorai, *Sorai shu*, chap. 2, folios. 17r-v.

series of inquiries on the *qin* that Sorai embarked on during the Kyōhō era. Chapter one of *Yūranpushō* is identical to the complete text of the Tōkyō manuscript with Sorai's own red vertical lines marked on the side of the columns. The function of these lines is to distinguish the instructions of the two hands from the original full-ideogram notation, which are difficult to understand. If the texts belong to the left-hand instructions, then the line will be drawn on the left of the column, and on the right for those belonging to right-hand instructions. The second chapter is a conflation of the three treatises preserved on the recto of the Hikone manuscript. The third and fourth chapters consists of thirty-three illustrations, drawn by Sorai, of the *qin*-playing techniques mentioned in chapter two, together with his suggestions for the tuning required for the piece *Yūran*.

As the second step in Sorai's excursion into the scholarship of the *qin*, *Yūrankyoku* sets the Chinese poem *Yilan/Iran* 猗蘭 to the full-ideogram *qin* notation *Yulan/Yūran*, with red horizontal lines separating the playing instructions for the left hand from those for the right, and with red characters denoting the corresponding absolute pitches (see Figure 2.4). Most of the notational area was now occupied by the text of the poem, since it was ascribed to Confucius; while the original full-ideogram notation had to be only nested

together on the left-hand side of the lyrics in a much smaller script.[62]

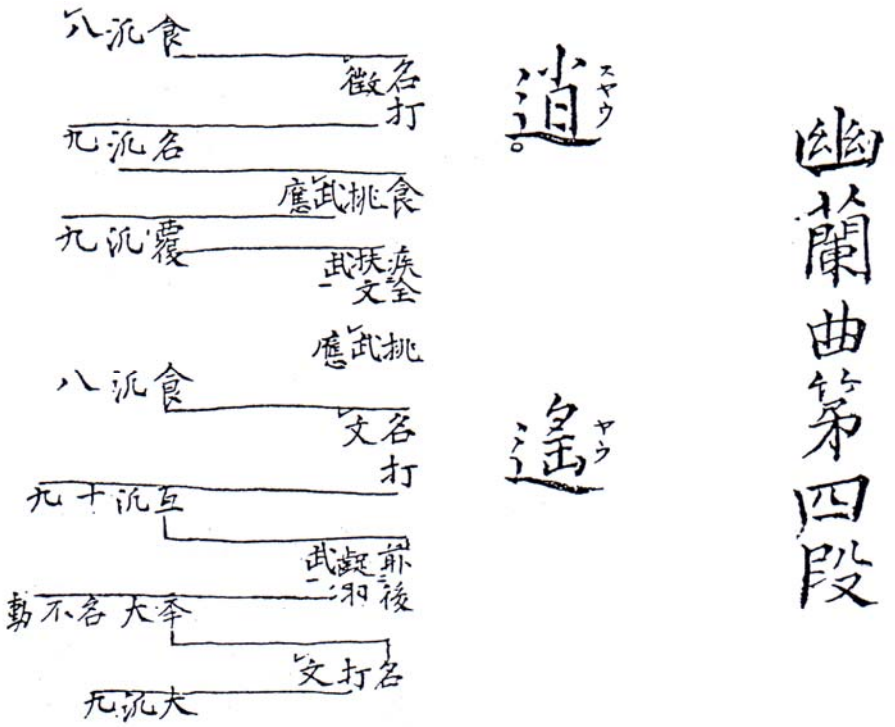

Figure 2.4: JP-Tp 1, folio. 24r

Sorai's understanding that the two aforementioned scrolls preserved the music of Confucius was rephrased in his *qin* treatise *Kingakutaiishō*. The most widely disseminated version of the *Kingakutaiishō* is a short pamphlet made up of seventeen sections, covering many aspects of the scholarship of the *qin*, namely origins and history (sections 1-3), organological terminology and important *qin*

[62] For a tentative reading of Sorai's transcription of the music, see Yamadera Mikiko 山寺美紀子, "Kin no saiko no gakufu Kessekichō Yūran daigowo meguru 琴の最古の楽譜『碣石調幽蘭第五』をめぐる," in *Gaku wa raku nari. 2, Chūgoku ongakuronshū, kogaku no fukugen* 楽は楽なり. 2, 中国音楽論集, 古楽の復元, ed. Akegi Shigeo 明木茂夫 (Tōkyō: Kōbun Shuppan 好文出版, 2007), 257-306, in particular, 286-292.

makers (sections 4-8), temperament (sections 9-10), fingerings and notation (sections 11-15), the extinction of the *qin* tradition in Japan and reasons therefore (section 16), as well as tuning (section 17; this section is an annex added by Sorai in later period). [63]

In the pamphlet, Sorai starts his introduction of the instrument with the narration that the *qin* is the creation of the whole score of sages:

> On the origin of the *qin*, *Shiben* recorded: "It was invented by King Shennong." *Qincao* recorded: "King Fuxi invented the *qin* in order to cultivate one's morality and rediscover one's true self." The *Qin qingyin* compiled by Yang Xiong (53 B.C.-18 A.D.) stated: "King Shun domesticated the whole world under the heaven by playing the five-string *qin*. King Yao added two strings to the instrument in accord with the loyalty between the sovereign and his vassals." *Xinlun* compiled by Huan Tan (ca. 40 B.C.-ca. 32 A.D.) mentioned the history of the five strings: "The first string is the *gong* string, followed by the *shang*, *jue*, *zhi*, and *yu* strings. King Wen and King Wu added one string respectively. They are one octave higher than the *gong* and *shang* strings." 琴ノ起リハ、『世本』ト云書ニハ、「神農ノ所造」ト云ヘリ。『琴操』ト云書ニハ、「伏義作琴所以修身理性反其天真」ト云ヘリ。揚雄カ『琴

[63] The twenty-two manuscript copies of this version of *Kingakutaiishō* prepared from the Tokugawa period onward are listed in my M.Phil. thesis. See Yang Yuanzheng, "Early *Qin* Music: Manuscript Tōkyō, Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan TB1393 and Manuscript Hikone, Hikone-jō Hakubutsukan V633," Appendix B, 110-112. According to the catalogue provided by the National Institute of Japanese Literature (Kokubungaku Kenkyū Shiryōkan 國文學研究資料館), there existed a woodcut edition carved in 1762. So far, however, no surviving copy or other kind of confirmation of the existence of this edition was found. For a recent transcription of the manuscript version, see Kawashima Kinue 川島絹江, ed., "Ogyū Sorai cho *Kingaku taiishō* honkoku 荻生徂徠著『琴學大意抄』翻刻," *Tōkyō seitoku tanki daigaku kiyō* 東京成徳短期大學紀要 37 (2004): 17-28.

清英』ト云書ニハ、「舜弾五弦之琴而天下化。堯加二弦、以合君臣之恩」ト云ヘリ。桓譚カ『新論』ト云書ニハ「五弦、第一絃為宮。其次商角徴羽。文王・武王、各加一弦、以為少宮・少商」ト云ヘリ。[64]

In this short introduction, a total of six ancient sages are mentioned. These are: Shennong, Fuxi, Shun, Yao, Wen, and Wu. All of them are Sage Kings of Chinese antiquity whom Confucians praise as original initiators of the Way. The notion of the sagely nature of *qin* music was repeated in the third section of *Kingaku taiishō*, where Sorai remarks:

> Ancient men of virtue never lived without the *qin*. That is to say, none of them could not play the *qin*. The most distinguished persons among them, whose names can be found in the histories, are listed below: King Shun played the five-string *qin*, and composed the *qin* piece *Nanfeng*. King Wen composed the *qin* piece *Juyou*. The Duke of Zhou composed the *qin* piece *Yueshang*. Confucius composed the *qin* pieces *Jianggui*, *Yilan* (Sorai's note: That is the *qin* piece *Yulan*.), and *Guishan*……古ノ君子ハ、琴瑟身ヲ離サスト云ヘレハ、琴ヲ弾セザル君子ナシ。去レ共其中ニモコトニ傳記ニシルシテ名高キヲイハヽ、舜ハ五絃ノ琴ヲ弾「南風ノ操」ヲ作ル。文王ハ「拘幽操」ヲ作リ、周公旦ハ「越裳操」ヲ作リ、孔子ハ「将帰操」「倚蘭操（即幽蘭ナリ）」「亀山操」ヲ作リ玉ヒ……[65]

According to Sorai, the *Yilan* composed by Confucius was the *qin* piece *Youlan* preserved in the Tōkyō scroll. Thus the resurfacing of the notation *Youlan*

[64] Kawashima Kinue, ed., "Ogyū Sorai cho *Kingaku taiishō* honkoku,"18.
[65] Kawashima Kinue, ed., "Ogyū Sorai cho *Kingaku taiishō* honkoku,"18.

propelled by the Dao was seen as a harbinger of betokened the (re-)discovery of the ancient sagely music, which, apparently, spurred Sorai to promote this Confucian art in Japan, as elucidated in the last section of Sorai's *Kingaku taiishō*:

> The reason that we are able to rebuild a *qin* tradition now is because of the surviving score *Yūran*, which provides us with details on the fingering, playing techniques and tuning of the *qin* …… However, those who grasp music always lack language skills; meanwhile, those who grasp language trifle with music. Furthermore, some of them [i.e., of those who grasp the language,] are infected by various sectarian views, and some others by *mappō* theory. Therefore, [I alone] have to plot the restoration [of the *qin* playing]. Alas, it is lamentable that, though all the other classical arts were revived through the one-hundred-year peace, a renaissance of the *qin* is still far from visible at the moment. 今、琴ヲ再興セント思ヒ玉ヘラン人ハ。幸ニ残ル「幽蘭」ノ譜ニ。イカヤウトモ、ウタヒモノヲ付テ。琴ノ手ヲヨクヒキ覚ヘ。琴ノ律ニ通貫シ。..... 楽ニ達セル人ハ、文字ニ疎リ。文字ニ深キ者ハ、楽ヲ好マス。好メトモ学流ニ違アリテ。末ノ世ノ説ニ惑ヒ。古ニ復ルコトナケレハニヤ。今太平百年ニ及ラ、諸ノ道興レ共。琴ノコトハ沙汰スル人ノナキカ悲シクラ。[66]

However, no matter how fancifully Sorai depicted the sagely nature of the two scrolls, the evidence shows that the music preserved in them has nothing to do with Confucius. Considering the material presented in the prior phase of my research on the making and origin of the two scrolls, it is reasonable to regard the Tōkyō and Hikone manuscripts as two entirely separate, independent sources

[66] Kawashima Kinue, ed., "Ogyū Sorai cho *Kingaku taiishō* honkoku," 27.

devoted to different aspects of early *qin* music.[67] With the Tōkyō manuscript, we have a seventh-century Chinese scroll forming part of a larger *qin* music anthology which made its way from Tang China to Japan, probably in the eighth century. The recto of the Hikone scroll may be described as a Chinese manuscript "made in Japan," reflecting the practice of the *qin* playing in the Chinese continent from the sixth to the early seventh century and at the same time offering us a fascinating glimpse into the early stages of the reception of Chinese culture in Nara and early Heian period Japan. In short, none of the two scrolls predates the Tang regime.

Furthermore, the contents of the two scrolls also offer considerable clues to the dating of the sources. The preamble of the *qin* notation preserved in the Tōkyō manuscript described the transition of the music from Master Qiu Ziming (494-590), a hermit who lived towards the end of the Liang dynasty, to Chen Shuming (564-616), prince of Yidu at the Chen court, in the tumultuous year of 589 (see Figure 2.1, cols. 2-5). The recto of the Hikone manuscript contains several independent treatises on early *qin* music. Among them, six versions of three treatises can be distinguished. The authors of the three treatises are Zhao Yeli (561-636), Feng Zhibian (active 605-645) and Chen Zhongru (active around 519).

[67] Yang Yuanzheng, "Early *Qin* Music: Manuscript Tōkyō, Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan TB1393 and Manuscript Hikone, Hikone-Jō Hakubutsukan V633," 37-39 and 49-71.

There is not even the slightest inkling of a direct relation between the two source scrolls and the pre-Qin sage master Confucius (551-479 B.C.) who lived one thousand years before.

By rearranging the texts concerned without acknowledging the authors of the originals, Sorai's compilation gives the impression that the Hikone manuscript is merely an explanation of the full-ideogram notation of the Tōkyō manuscript, and consequently, Sorai's compilation carefully conceals the identity of these texts as Chinese works composed between the Northern Wei and early Tang periods. No wonder that van Gulik, after purchasing an old copy of Sorai's *Yūranpushō*, was hesitant to attach too much value to Sorai's text. In fact, he even – presciently, as we now know – raised the question of whether Ogyū Sorai faithfully followed the Chinese original, or whether he wrote out in full a manuscript originally in *Chien-tzú*, for his own purposes.[68]

There is concrete evidence showing that Sorai was in fact aware of the real origins of the two scrolls. In 2004, when carrying out archival work in Japan, I found another, missing half of Sorai's *Kingakutaiishō*, which had been excluded from public circulation and survived as part of the historical archive of the

[68] Robert H. van Gulik, *The Lore of the Chinese Lute* (Tōkyō: Sophia university, 1940), 27, fn. 43. The copy van Gulik purchased in 1930s is a set of three volumes now kept at Sinologisch Instituut, Universiteit Leiden, NL-Lu 36.

Hikone daimyō kept at Hikone Castle.[69] Within months of this find, Yamadera Mikiko, in her report regarding Sorai's interpretation of *Yūran*'s tuning, introduced Sorai's autograph of the *Kingakutaiishō* kept in the private collection of the Ogyū family to a wider public.[70] The autograph, similar to the Hikone Castle version, also includes the "secret half" that was discarded from all the twenty-two copies of the popular version.[71] This "extra" volume is a Japanese annotated translation of the preface and the notation of the first section of the piece *Yūran*. Since parts of the Hikone Castle collection came from the Koma family's library, and the Hikone copy bears the *ex libris* of Ii Naoaki on the first folio, the version transmitted in the Hikone copy might possibly have been copied directly from the final version of *Kingakutaiishō* that was sent to the Koma family by Sorai in 1722. In Sorai's annotation to the preface of the music, which is based on the preface of the Chinese official history *Chen shu* 陳書[The Official History of the Chen Dynasty], he revealed precisely the identity of the Prince of Yidu as the sixth son of Emperor Xun of the Southern Chen court (557-589), who learnt the music *Yūran* from a hermit Qiu Ziming (494-590) in 589, therefore, he

[69] This is manuscript JP-Hh329, signaled C12 in Appendix B of my M.Phil. thesis, see Yang Yuanzheng, "Early *Qin* Music: Manuscript Tōkyō, Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan TB1393 and Manuscript Hikone, Hikone-jō Hakubutsukan V633," 111; for a description of writing of the 'missing' sections, see 76, fn. 165.

[70] Yamadera Mikiko 山寺美紀子, "Ogyū Sorai no Kessekichō Yūran daigo kaidoku kenkyū 荻生徂徠の『碣石調幽蘭第五』解読研究," *Tōyō ongaku kenkyū* 東洋音楽研究 70 (2005): 35-53.

[71] These sources correspond to numbers C1-11 and C13-23 in the Appendix B of my M.Phil. thesis, see Yang Yuanzheng, "Early *Qin* Music: Manuscript Tōkyō, Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan TB1393 and Manuscript Hikone, Hikone-jō Hakubutsukan V633," 110-112.

must have known the origin of the music well.[72] Sorai's textual research might have benefited from another project of his, carried out between 1700 and 1706, where he added kunten marks and annotations to five of the Official Chinese Histories, namely the *Jin shu* 晉書, *Song shu* 宋書, *Nan Qin shu* 南齊書, *Liang shu* 梁書, and *Chen shu* 陳書, so as to make them publishable in Japan.

By now, it should have become plainly visible that Sorai's literary pieces about the *qin* are thinly veiled documents of political propaganda carried out during the Kyōhō era. In these works, the political agenda dominated, and facts could well be manipulated for the good cause. Since these works are erroneous and tendentious representations of the contents of the two scrolls - as they were intended to be - they are not of much use unless they are read fully embedded in their contemporaneous socio-political context and analyzed by the standards of contemporary musicology. On the other hand, we may argue that their usefulness lies precisely in the fact that they have stimulated us to unveil the complex realities of the historical and political circumstances of Tokugawa Japan, against which Sorai carried out his idiosyncratic music projects.

When comparing Sorai's attitude towards *gagaku* with that of Arai Hakuseki, Kate Wildman Nakai noticed that, contrary to Sorai's theory of Japan being the

[72] Ogyū Sorai, *Kingakutaiishō*, JP-Hh329, vol. 1, folios. 8r-v.

only authentic inheritor of sagely music, Arai Hakuseki believed that the music of the sages had disappeared completely by the Han era. Thus *gagaku*, whose introduction to Japan, according to Hakuseki, dates from the Sui era, could not be the music of the sages. Therefore, Nakai suggested that, at this point, Hakuseki "was more cautious" than Sorai.[73] However, given Sorai's politically-oriented inclinations when handling the two *qin* manuscripts, we may conjecture that the sagely nature of *gagaku* is also a political act perpetrated by Sorai. Like the *qin* piece attributed to Confucius, the sagely music preserved in the *gagaku* tradition is an excellent stick to beat the ignorant Neo-Confucian orthodoxy in Japan. Moreover, by rediscovering the music that embodied the Way of the Sages, Sorai claimed for himself his personal, direct spiritual link with Confucius, as well as Shennong, Fuxi, Yao, Shun, Wen, and Wu - in short, the whole circle of sages who, as the Chinese Confucians believed, initiated the Way.

An implicit metaphor chosen by Sorai reinforces his understanding of his commitment to music:

> The Confucians of today are drunk with the concept of Principle and ceaselessly speak of morality, benevolence, righteousness, heavenly principles, and human desires. Whenever I hear these words I have the wish

[73] Kate Wildman Nakai, "The Naturalization of Confucianism in Tokugawa Japan: The Problem of Sinocentrism," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 40, no. 1 (1980): 175-176.

to vomit. So, [in order to ease my anger at the Neo-Confucians,] I pluck the *qin* and play the *shō*. 世儒醉理，而道德仁義，天理人欲，出口便發。不佞每聞之，便生嘔噦，乃彈琴吹笙。[74]

2.5 Criticizing the Bakufu's Ritual Music

Just as pre-Qin Chinese Confucians criticized the court music of the Zheng kingdom as being inferior in intellectual and moral qualities,[75] Edo Confucians deemed the music of the *nō*, a musical and theatrical genre closely associated with the Tokugawa house, seductive and depraved and voiced their intention of re-moulding the ritual music of the Tokugawa bakufu.

Nō is a major Japanese "symbiosis of poetry, acting, dance, song, and instrumental music,"[76] which was introduced at the Muromachi Shogunal court by Kannami Kiyotsugi (1333-1384) and Zeami Motokiyo (1363-1443), in the reign of the third Muromachi Shōgun, Yoshimitsu (1358-1408, r. 1367-1395) in the course of the late fourteenth century. It was derived from various popular, folk, religious, and aristocratic musical genres, including *shōmyō*, *gagaku*, *dengaku*, and *shirabyoshi*. Japanese believe that its roots can be traced back to various kinds of

[74] Ogyū Sorai, *Sorai shu*, chap. 22, folio. 14r.
[75] See, for example, D. C. Lau, trans., *The Analects* (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1979), *passim*.
[76] Eta Harich-Schneider, *A History of Japanese Music*, 432.

Chinese folk theatre. The genre is also addressed as *sarugaku* 猿楽, literally, monkey music.

By political standards, *nō* meant for the Tokugawa bakufu exactly what *gagaku* had meant for the Imperial Heian court. Almost all Tokugawa Shōguns loved the *nō*. Under their patronage, it was upgraded into "a sort of cult, a ritual performance to the higher glory of the Tokugawa."[77] Throughout the Edo period, *nō* performances were a compulsory part of official Shogunal ceremonies.

Although, for most modern musicologists, the *nō* is typically viewed as a noble descendant of earlier, similarly high-brow art forms,[78] *nō* music suffered bitter attacks from both sides of the Edo Confucians. Both the Neo-Confucian Arai Hakuseki and the Confucian Fundamentalist Ogyū Sorai criticized the Tokugawa Shōguns for their indulging themselves in *nō* performances.

In the spring of 1706, two memorials prepared by Hakuseki addressing the Shogunal heir Ienobu constituted the first attack on the highly favored status that the *nō* and its music were enjoying in the bakufu's ritual system. The immediate

[77] Eta Harich-Schneider, *A History of Japanese Music*, 493.

[78] For instance, the *nō* chanting took over the notation, singing patterns and tone color from the earlier *shōmyō*, a style of Japanese Buddhist chant, used mainly in the Tendai and Shingon sects. From *gagaku*, it borrowed the choreographic formulae and the accompanying music and instruments.

reason for submission of these memorials was that, in the course of his lectures to Ienobu on the Neo-Confucian Zhu Xi's *Tongjian gangmu* 通鑑綱目[Outline and Digest of the *General Mirror*], Hakuseki had arrived by the third month of 1706 at the reign of Emperor Zhuangzong (923-926) of the Later Tang, a ruler whose fondness for theatrical entertainments, in which he himself was wont to participate, was said to have led to the collapse of his regime. The political backdrop for the submission, however, was to clear the way for the changes in the official ritual, music, dress, and ranking systems designed by Hakuseki that he was about to propose.

Upon completing his lecture on the chronicle of Zhuangzong, on the twelfth day of the third month of the third year of Hōei (1706), through grand chamberlain Manabe Akifusa, Hakuseki presented a memorial in which he stated that the popular operas of China were the forerunners of *sarugaku* of Japan. As the Shogunal heir was particularly fond of *sarugaku*, Hakuseki said that if Ienobu went no further than he had up till then, it would be alright, but he ought to realize that what had happened to Zhuangzong of the Later Tang was a bad example for a ruler.[79] Four days later, on the sixteenth day of the third month, Hakuseki submitted a second memorial, documenting in more details his

[79] For the text of the first memorial, see Arai Hakuseki, "Shintei no an 進呈之案," *Arai Hakuseki zenshū* 新井白石全集, ed. Imaizumi Teisuke 今泉定介 and Ichishima Kenkichi 市島謙吉 (Tōkyō: Kokusho Kankōkai 國書刊行會, 1905-1907), vol. 6, 263-271.

assertion that the form of theater favored by Zhuangzong was comparable to *nō*.[80]

Hakuseki's audacity – he did not mince words criticizing the Shogunal heir and had the chutzpah to present his papers via Manabe Akifusa, a *nō*-actor-turned chamberlain – embarrassed the bakufu and its senior administrative members. Apparently after careful preparation, the bakufu chamberlains challenged Hakuseki by polemically stating that in former times, both the Divine Ancestor (= Tokugawa Ieyasu, 1543-1616) and Tokubyō (= Tokugawa Hidetada, 1579-1632) had personally performed *sarugaku*; therefore, if Tokugawa Ienobu himself took part in *nō* performances as well, there could be nothing wrong with it. They even showed Ienobu the record, in the account of the Divine Ancestor written by Daigaku-no-Kami Hayashi Nobuatsu (1644-1732) and others,[81] that the Divine Ancestor had performed in the time of Taikō Hideyoshi, and that Tokubyō had also performed before the Divine Ancestor. In response, Hakuseki refuted their argument as follows:

I do not need to look at such a claim. In ancient times, Confucius, when

[80] For the text of the second memorial, see Arai Hakuseki, "Haiyūkō 俳優考," *Arai Hakuseki zenshū* 新井白石全集, ed. Imaizumi Teisuke 今泉定介 and Ichishima Kenkichi 市島謙吉 (Tōkyō: Kokusho Kankōkai 國書刊行會, 1905-1907), vol. 6, 524-535.

[81] The *Butoku taiseiki* 武德大成記(1686), 30 vols., covered the history of the Tokugawa House from Ieyasu's ancestors to the Ōsaka campaigns.

writing the *Chun Qiu*, drew his examples form the history of the state of Lu.[82] What do you think of that?[83] Also, what the ruler does is transmitted as ancient tradition, so those who record history should understand this. What honor will it bring to Japan if we transmit these incidents to future generations? As the Taikō (= Toyotomi Hideyoshi) humiliated the Divine Ancestor by boasting before the world, we do not need to talk about such insults.[84] If Tobuyō's performing was like the performances given today before His Highness, we could probably excuse them by comparing them to the action of Lao Lai in donning a brightly colored costume.[85] Is there any record of performances being given in the time of the Divine Ancestor and Tokubyō continuously as they are now, or after the establishment of the Tokugawa Shōgunate? You should carefully work out the answers to these questions. 某これらのもの見るまでも候はず。むかしは孔子、魯史によりて、筆削の事ありしなどいふ事は、いかにやきゝ給ひぬらむ。又人主のなし給ふ事は、故一事となるとも申傳へ侍り。されば、史筆を執らむものは、其心得のある事にこそ侍れ。これらの事、後代に傳へたらむに、なにか國家の美事には候べき。太閤の代のごときは、彼人神祖を翫びまいらせて、世にほこらむためなれば、これら無禮の事論ずるにもたらず。徳廟の御事、たとへば、今も上の御前にて、此事なし給ふ御事のごとくなれば、老萊が舞彩に似たりなども申さば申さまじ。神祖・徳廟の御時に、當時のごとくあけくれ此事をのみ事とし給ひしとも、又は天下の事しろしめされしのちに此御事ありしとも、しるしてや候。よくよくたづね出して、まいらせられ候へ。[86]

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[82] *Spring and Autumn Annals*, the first chronological history written in China, is a chronicle of the feudal state of Lu, from 722-481 B.C., of which Confucius was a native. Chinese orthodox tradition assigns the *Chun Qiu* to Confucius himself, but this attribution cannot be substantiated.

[83] This is a warning to Ienobu that his actions will be criticized by future historians.

[84] The Taikō (Toyotomi Hideyoshi) tried for a long time to inveigle the Divine Ancestor (Tokugawa Ieyasu) into submission.

[85] Lao Lai: a philosopher of Chu (740-330 B.C.) who, at the age of seventy-two, donned a dancing costume and performed before his parents in order to cheer them, giving no indication that he himself was an old man.

[86] Arai Hakuseki, *Oritaku shiba no ki* 折たく柴の記, in *Taionki*; *Oritaku shiba no ki*; *Rantō kotohajime* 戴恩記; 折たく柴の記; 蘭東事始, ed. Matsumura Akira 松村明, Nihon koten bungaku taikei 日本古典文學大系, vol. 95 (Tōkyō : Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1967), 251.

Eloquent though it was, Hakuseki's suggestions were unrealistic in terms of their constructiveness and feasibility. Hakuseki believed that as long as Ienobu went no further than the current state, *nō* performance would be alright. Moreover, in the two memorials, he offered no alternative for Shogunal rituals. As a result, after Ienobu became Shōgun, he never obliged Hakuseki to witness the *nō* performance. But the effect of Hakuseki's two memorials was unfortunately confined to this. Ironically, Ienobu was interested not in the Neo-Confucian political philosophy embodied in the two memorials but the premise of his analogy: The present *sarugaku* resembled popular Chinese operas. Later on, Ienobu even asked Hakuseki if there was anything written about Chinese theatre. In accordance with Ienobu's orders, on the sixth day of the ninth month of the same year, Hakuseki had to present to Ienobu fifty-six volumes of the *Yuan Qu Xuan*, a collection of representative Yuan-period operas published in 1616 by Zang Jinshu in China.

Two decades later, in his secret memorial to Shōgun Yoshimune, Sorai spoke with brutal honesty:

> It is unnecessary to perform *nō* in the houses to celebrate the appointments of Shōguns. …… All in all, it (= *nō*) is an extravaganza for fun and amusement, serving no other purpose whatsoever. Such habits should be subjected to

consideration. 将軍宣下ノ御祝トテ、家々ニテ能ヲスルコト詮モナキ事也。……興ガル奢、何ノ無益事也。是等ノ仕方、了簡可有事也。[87]

In this memorial, Sorai suggested that *nō* performances should be substituted for three reasons.

First of all, Sorai believed that *nō* performances were extremely costly, drained the financial resources of the nation and encouraged the degeneration of social customs. In the memorial, Sorai described the way Shogunal *nō* ritual performances were done:

Senior councilors are invited, dishes are served which are not eaten, all kinds of people are assembled, from relatives and friends to acquaintances such as doctors and city people who frequent the house. A free-for-all extravaganza is concocted. A temporary stage is set up, upon which *sarugaku* actors are invited to act. Food and drink served to these *sarugaku* actors are never touched, but just thrown away. 老中ヲ招請シテ、食モセヌ膳ヲスヘ、親類・近附ヨリ末々出入ノ医者・町人迄ヲ呼集メ、ムサトシタル奢リヲ仕、新ニ舞台ヲ立、其舞台ヲバ猿楽ニトラセ、又猿楽ニスヘタル膳碗ヲカケ流ニスル類。[88]

Secondly, according to Sorai's interpretation, neither the art of *nō* nor the

[87] Ogyū Sorai, *Seidan* 政談, in *Ogyū Sorai* 荻生徂徠, Nihon shisō taikei 日本思想大系, Vol. 36, ed. Yoshikawa Kōjirō 吉川幸次郎, Maruyama Masao 丸山真男, et al. (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1973), 399.
[88] Ogyū Sorai, *Seidan*, 399.

institution to perform it in official ceremonies originated with the ancient Sage Kings. Rather, the *nō* ritual was confected by samurai illiterate in Confucian morals and philosophy:

> When Hidetada was invested as Shōgun (1605), but did not yet rule the world, such events (= *nō* performances) certainly did not take place. It was perhaps when Iemitsu was invested as Shōgun (1623) that Masamune (= Date Masamune), Sandai (= Hosokawa Todaoki) and other over-solicitous people began this habit,[89] and now it seems to have become proper etiquette. Moreover, since it is a way to display reverence to the Shogunal house, nobody would now dare to stop it. 台徳院様将軍宣下ノ時ハ、未ダ天下ヲ不知召バ、箇様ノコトハ有マジ。大方ハ大猷院様将軍宣下ノ時分、政宗・三斎ナド言様ナル游俠者ノ仕始タルコトガ、今ハ作法ノ様ニ成タルナルベシ。去ドモ公辺ヲ敬フ筋ナレバ、誰止ルコトモナラズ。[90]

Third, the art of *nō* was not initiated by imperial court, but by hereditary musicians:

> It is said that the *sarugaku* houses were founded by Prince Shōtoku, but this is a great error. People have misinterpreted the fact that the forefathers of *sarugaku* presided over dance and music, and have therefore considered him the founder of *sarugaku*. The members of the Koma family, who were musicians at the Southern Capital (= Nara), all descended from Prince Shōtoku's musicians, and their family names as musicians all derive from place names in the Hōryūji area.…… In the [*nō* player] Konparu family there

[89] Both Date Masamune (1567 -1636) and Hosokawa Todaoki (1564-1645) are military men who showed sympathy for Christian missionaries.
[90] Ogyū Sorai, *Seidan*, 399.

is an Ama 海士 mask which is said to have come down from Heaven, and is considered a family heirloom. This is not the Ama 海士 of the *nō* repertoire, but the Ama 安摩 of *bugaku* music. Since this mask [in the Konparus' collection] is made of starched paper, it cannot possibly have come down from Heaven. A *nō* mask certainly does not come down from Heaven! The long and the short of this matter is, it would seem, that the *sarugaku* originally branched off from the house of the hereditary musicians. 猿楽ノ家ニテ、聖徳太子ヨリ起レリト言ハ、大ナル僻事也。聖徳太子ノ時ヨリ、猿楽ノ先祖舞曲ノコトヲ掌タル事ヲ混ジテ、猿楽ノ始ト云也。南都ノ楽人狛氏ノ輩、皆聖徳太子ヨリ以来ノ楽人ニテ、法隆寺ノ近所ニ楽人ノ苗字ノ地名皆々有レ之。今春ガ家ニ天ヨリ降タル海士ノ面ト言物アリ。家ノ什宝トス。是ハ能ノ海士ニ非ズ。楽ノ安摩也。其面ハ紙ヲイタメテ拵タ物ナレバ、天ヨリ降タルコト左モ有ヌベシ。能ノ面ハ如何ニシテモ天ヨリハフルマジキ也。去バ猿楽ノ元ハ楽人ノ家ヨリ分レタリシ者ト見ヘタリ。[91]

Last but not least, similar to Hakuseki's relating *nō* to the theater favored by the Emperor Zhuangzong of the Later Tang, Sorai warned Shōgun Yoshimune that the emergence of *nō* was contemporaneous to the fall of the Japanese Muromachi bakufu:[92]

[At the beginning,] the Muromachi house had *o-shō-zome*, the New Year Mouth Organ Performance. [93] *Nō* was introduced in the time of

[91] Ogyū Sorai, *Seidan*, 400.

[92] The period marks the governance of the Muromachi or Ashikaga shogunate, which was officially established in 1336 by the first Muromachi shōgun Ashikaga Takauji. The period ended in 1573 when the 15th and last shogun, Ashikaga Yoshiaki, was driven out of the capital, Kyōto, by Oda Nobunaga.

[93] *O-shō-zome*, or the "New Year Mouth Organ Performance," featured *gagaku* music and dance. The *shō* is a kind of mouth organ, an instrument Sorai often played (see above).

> Higashiyama-dono (= Shōgun Yoshimasa).[94] Since this was the time when the Muromachi house fell from power, one can only wonder why the [*nō*] culture of an age in decline (*otoroetaru yo*) has continued in use, as an official ceremony among the *buke*, up to our present age. 室町家ニテモ御笙始ト云事有テ、其初ハ楽ヲ用ヒラレタリ。能ハ東山殿ヨリ始リタル也。東山殿ヨリ室町家ハ衰ヘタルコトナレバ、衰タル世ノ事ヲ武家ノ法式トシテ、今ノ御代迄モ儀式ノ様ニ用ヒラルヽ事、如何可有ヤ。[95]

Nō, for Sorai, is the music of "an age in decline," a Japanese version of the seductive and depraved Zheng music, a danger to the State. The Shōgun should replace it with proper ancient music. However, in the memorial, instead of offering his ambitious blueprint of the whole rituals-and-music revival, Sorai, in a practical tone, submitted a temporary substitute for *nō*:

> If *bugaku* were again to be used because *sarugaku* is costly, [one will find that] the expenditure entailed by a *bugaku* performance could also be excessive. Moreover, because the *utaimono* were discontinued,[96] they have become far removed from human feelings. Having thought these things over, here I wish to present my humble opinion. The *enkyoku* songs[97] are mentioned in the works of Emperor Gotoba,[98] of which a couple of volumes are still circulated.

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[94] Higashiyama-dono was the eighth Muromachi shogun Yoshimasa, (1435-1490, r. 1443-1474). Connected with the Higashiyama culture, he was referred to as the "lord of the Eastern Mountain."

[95] Ogyū Sorai, *Seidan*, 400.

[96] Utaimono were chanted songs as in *nō*.

[97] *Enkyoku*, or "party music and song," was the entertainment at banquets held by nobles and warriors in the Kamakura and Muromachi eras. Close in style to the songs in *nō* drama, they had become extinct as a performing art by the Edo era. There are today some 170 *enkyoku* songs in existence.

[98] Emperor Gotoba (1180-1229, r. 1183-1198), was the eighty-second emperor. It cannot be ascertained whether he had anything to do with the *enkyoku* in his time.

The Nagato family, however, kept the complete ten volumes of *enkyoku* songs, which were handed down from the Ōuchi family. The styles of these songs differ, because the verses are somewhat longer than in *utaimono*; but they are shorter than the verses in Buddhist *shōmyō* hymns. ……If, replacing the *nō* performances, they were introduced and made into musical pieces with dancing added, and if the *kariginu* and *hitatare* clothes were used, the costs could be reduced while props and other articles could easily be provided. If the musicians were appointed by the Shōgunate, within two to five years a reform could be accomplished. 当時猿楽ニ物入多キ故、改テ楽ヲ用ントスレバ、舞楽ノ物入亦莫大也。其上楽ニ謡物絶タル故、人情ニ遠キ物也。是等ヲ考合セテ愚按ヲ運ラスニ、後鳥羽帝ノ御作ニ宴曲ト言物アリ。一二冊ハ世間ニモ有物也。長門ノ家中ニ、大内家ヨリ持伝タリトテ、全部十冊余コレアル宴曲ノ譜アリ。其譜ノ体、謡ヨリハ節少シ長ク、声明ヨリハ短キ物也。…… 是等取ヲ立テ、楽ヲ附モノニシ、舞ヲ附ケ、装束ハ一統ニ狩衣カ直垂ヲ用テ、能ノ代ニセバ、物入・費モ少ク、又文物モ調フテ可然コトノ様ニ思ルヽ也。是ハ楽功者ナル仁ニ被仰附二三年モ四五年モカヽラバ可成就コト也。[99]

As a matter of fact, this short-term reform never happened. Throughout the Tokugawa Shōgunate, *nō* music never lost its favor. But this does not mean that Sorai's proposal fell on deaf ears with Shōgun Yoshimune. Confucian thought concerning the political functions of music and ritual gradually influenced Yoshimune. In contrast with Hakuseki's effort on Shogunal ritual music, which never went beyond the stage of a written proposal, Sorai's suggestions were recognized by the Tokugawa. Instead of the aforementioned short-term reform, however, the actual project launched at the bakufu and put into practice in the

[99] Ogyū Sorai, *Seidan*, 400-401.

Kyōhō and Genbun eras (1716-1740) was much more expensive and time consuming. Sorai's plan to reshape the rituals and music of Tokugawa Japan through the cultural appropriation of *qin* music set the fundamental tone for the Japonification of this Chinese art for the rest of the Edo period. In the next chapter, we shall discover how the necessary musical adaptations took shape in the context of Tokugawa history, and explore the long-lasting impact of Sorai's political philosophy.

CHAPTER III

THE GAGAKUIZATION OF THE *QIN*

In previous chapters we discussed how Chinese *qin* music was transmitted to Japan via the Nagasaki port and how it was gradually appropriated by the Japanese in the late seventeenth century; and why political thinker Ogyū Sorai, in the last phase of his career, composed a series of papers on the *qin*, based on the information conveyed to him through his reading of the two ancient manuscripts that were re-discovered in the early years of Kyōhō (1716-1735). As a matter of fact, throughout his life, the principle thrust of Sorai's ambitious plan, to remold the ritual music of the bakufu through the "restoration" of the *qin*, was never fully understood by *bona fide* Sinophile players. Sorai had the will, but he did not yet have the skill to carry out his ambitious project. Moreover, given that notational transmission was practically unfeasible in Japan, it might seem unlikely that attempts to revive this particular genre of music would ever be crowned with success in Tokugawa Japan. Nevertheless, before jumping to any conclusions, let us turn the page to the year 1738, ten years after Sorai's death, and examine a concert held at the Shōgun's Castle.

3. 1 A Concert for the Shōgun at Edo Castle

In the third year of Genbun (1738), on the eighteenth day of the ninth month, a concert was offered to Shōgun Tokugawa Yoshimune (1684-1751, r.1716-1745) at Shiro Shoin in Edo. Presented by the hereditary *gakunin* from Kyōto and Edo, this performance consisted of eight *gagaku* instrumental pieces, followed by the *eikyoku* music.[1] Except for its being slightly on the lengthy side, the whole concert seems utterly ordinary, given that it presented its audience the most popular *gagaku* repertoire of the eighteenth century. All the items that appeared in the programme – *Netori*, *Sandaien* (kyū), *Batō*, *Etenraku* (nokorigaku sanben), *Gojōraku*, *Bairo*, *Ringa* and *Keitoku* – appeared frequently in the performing records laid down during the mid-Tokugawa era.[2]

A closer examination of the record of this splendid musical event reveals that the instrumentation with which the various pieces were performed is somewhat unusual. Next to the routine *gagaku* instruments *koto*, *shō*, *hichiriki*, *fue*, *taiko* and *shōko*, a *qin*, an instrument that never occupied any position in Japanese ensemble, was engaged in the performance. Moreover, that *qin* was played by the doyen of

[1] *Eikyoku* 郢曲, literally "vocal pieces," is the generic name which includes *saibara*, *rōei*, and *imayō*.

[2] For the performing records from the Tokugawa period, see, e.g., Minamitani Miho 南谷美保, ed., *Tennōji gakusho shiryō* 天王寺樂所史料, Seibundō shiryō sōsho 清文堂史料叢書, vol. 71, (Ōsaka: Seibundō 清文堂, 1995); and Eta Harich-Schneider, *A History of Japanese Music*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 496.

the corps: Koma Chikatō (1676-1757), who came to Edo from Kyōto specially for this joint endeavor.

The collaboration between Edo and Kyōto *gakunin* was also exceptional. Normally, for performances at his own palaces, temples, and shrines, the Shōgun relied exclusively on Momijiyama *gakunin*, a group of musicians who were placed under Shogunal patronage and named after the section of the Edo castle, where they were housed.[3] As we know, the concentration of Momijiyama *gakunin* in Edo was initiated by Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543-1616) a century and a half before the reign of Yoshimune. When moving his residence to Edo, Ieyasu took along a small group of surviving *gakunin* from the Kyōto, Nara, and Shitennōji branches, having assembled them in Kyōto, and set off with them in order to establish *gagaku* in Edo. Although the Edo musicians were much better paid than their counterparts in imperial service, the Kyōto *gakunin*'s loyalty to the emperor remained. Eta Harich-Schneider aptly observed: that surviving written documents of imperial *gakunin* from this period, such as Abe Suenao's *Gakkaroku*, do not so much as mention the name of the Tokugawa.[4] On the other hand, there

[3] For further information on the genealogy of the *gakunin*, see Eta Harich-Schneider, "Roei: The Medieval Court Songs of Japan [Part II]," *Monumenta Nipponica* 14, no. 1/2 (1958): 91-118, in particular, 106-112. In a later publication of hers, apparently by mistake, Eta Harich-Schneider called the Edo *gakunin* "Momoyama *gakunin*," a term that never existed in history. See her, *A History of Japanese Music*, 494.

[4] Eta Harich-Schneider, *A History of Japanese Music*, 496.

was no official breach between the Edo and the Kyōto groups; the latter readily instructed the Momijiyama *gakunin* in all their old traditions to mutual artistic and economic satisfaction. Nevertheless, the coming of Koma Chikatō from Kyōto for the Shōgun's concert at Shiro Shoin is mystifying, in particular since *qin* playing was equally beyond the expertise of the *gakunin* on both sides.

Moreover, responses from the bakufu and the court appear out of proportion, if not inexplicable. Shōgun Yoshimune's thankful gestures towards the musicians were more than generous. Three days later, on the twenty-first day of the ninth month, Yoshimune bestowed silver upon Koma Chikatō and his son Koma Noriyasu. The eleven members of the Momijiyama *gakusho* who accompanied Koma Chikatō at Shiro Shoin also received considerable guerdon from the Shōgun. Furthermore, Onoda Tōzen, a grandpupil of Tōkō Shinetsu who taught Koma Chikatō *qin* playing, and Sakabe Masatada, who assisted Onoda, were also lavishly rewarded for their engagement in the concert. For their trip back to Kyōto, the Koma (father and son) received yet another grant from the Shōgun to cover their travelling expenses. All these details are recorded in the *Veritable Records* of Shōgun Yoshimune.[5] In conjunction with the performance at Shiro

[5] See *Yūtoku in jikki* 有德院御實紀, in *Shintei zōho Kokushi taikei* 新訂增補國史大系, ed. Kuroita Katsumi 黑板勝美(Tōkyō: Kokushi Taikei Kankōkai 國史大系刊行會, 1933-1934), vol. 45, chapter 48, 807; and *Yūtoku in jikki furoku* 有德院御實紀附錄, in *Shintei zōho Kokushi taikei*, vol. 46, chapter 17, 311.

Shoin in Edo, it is said that a decree was issued by the retired emperor from the Sentō imperial palace in Kyōto. It required two eminent court nobles – lieutenant generals Hachijōtō and Sanjōsai [*sic*] – to hand down *gakukin* playing as their family-transmitted teachings.[6]

Bakufu Confucians soon followed suit. Books were written to record the achievements of the concert. Among them, a monograph, entitled *Reiyōki* 禮用記, was compiled by Suzuki Eimasa 鈴木自徹 in Kyōto in 1751, and prefaced by two successive ministers for higher learning (*daigaku no kami*) in the service of the bakufu, Hayashi Ryūkō (1681-1758) and Hayashi Hōkoku (1621-1773, see Table 2.1, col. of Shushi gakuha). It is noteworthy that Hayashi Ryūkō's preface was dated in the fourth month of 1751, two months before Tokugawa Yoshimune's death, an indirect proof that the Neo-Confucians within the bakufu were very keen to harvest the ideological fruits of the concert.

Anecdotes about the Shōgun's concert also widely circulated among Tokugawa *qin* players. Tachibana Minamikei 橘南谿(1782-1806), a doctor of Chinese medicine and amateur *qin* player who lived in Tsu-han, recorded Onoda

[6] Murai Kinzai, *Kinzan kinroku*, JP-Hh 327, vol. 7, folios. 13r-15r. However, the retired Emperor Nakamikado died in the year 1737; therefore, he cannot have issued this decree in 1738. The decree might have been made in the end of the year 1735, when Koma Chikatō demonstrated the Shogunal *qin* music in front of the retired Emperor Nakamikado at Sentō imperial palace. See below, section 3.4.

Tōzen's *qin* versions for the *gagaku* pieces *Etenraku*, *Gojōraku*, and *Batō* in his unpublished manuscript *Kingaku zasshi* 琴學雜誌 (Gaku-kin nos. 157-159).[7] Murai Kinzan (1733-1815), who claimed exclusively to have received orthodox *qin* instruction from the Chinese lay person Pan Weichan,[8] also spent a lot of space in his *Kinzan kinroku* discussing the meaning of the concert.[9] Almost simultaneously with this, in his *Gyokudō zōsho kinfu* published in 1789, Urakami Gyokudō states:

> In the Kambun era (1661-1672), the naturalized priest Tōkō Shin-etsu stayed in Mito. He excelled in *qin* playing. Onoda Tōzen continued his teachings. The Shōgun ordered the imperial musicians Tsuji Buzen-no-kami (= Koma Chikatō)[10] and Onoda Tōzen to work out *qin* versions of our country's music. When these versions were ready, they were played in the palace of the Shōgun. It can be described as a great event! Then gradually people in this country started to study the *qin*. Now, in this late age, the tones of the *qin*, which had been silent for several centuries, resound again. This is due to the merit of Tōkō Shin-etsu and Onoda Tōzen. Is this not a great achievement?
> 寛文中。歸化僧心越留錫水府。善鼓琴。廷賓傳心越彈法。　德廟命伶官辻豐前守與廷賓。謀被本邦之樂於七絃。曲成也。進奏於殿中。可謂盛舉矣。自是後四方稍有道琴事者。嗚呼使百年既絕之徽音。再振其響於後世者。心越廷賓之功。豈不偉哉。[11]

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[7] Tachibana Minamikei, *Kingaku zasshi*, JP-Tp 2, vol. 2, folios. 10v-14r.
[8] See above, section 1.1.
[9] Murai Kinzan, *Kinzan kinroku*, JP-Hh 327, vol. 7, folios. 13r-15v.
[10] Koma Chikatō was appointed Buzen-no-kami by the court in 1722; see Mikami Kagefumi 三上景文, *Jige kaden* 地下家傳, in *Nihon Koten Zenshū* 日本古典全集, ed. Masamune Atsuo 正宗敦夫 (Tōkyō: Nihon Koten Zenshū Kankōkai 日本古典全集刊行會, 1937-1938), vol. 2, 535-536, and 671.
[11] Urakami Gyokudō, *Gyokudō zōsho kinfu* 玉堂藏書琴譜, Universiteit Leiden, Sinologisch

Reading these historical sources prompts a series of questions: Why was the *qin* suddenly integrated into a *gagaku* ensemble? Why was Koma Chikatō from Kyōto, as opposed to one of the Momijiyama *gakunin*, chosen to play the *qin*? How deeply were the Tokugawa house and the bakufu government engaged in the *gagaku*-ization of the *qin*? And what roles did the Bakufu and the Court play in this endeavor? From a historian's point of view, the Shōgun's concert in 1738 can be interpreted – as indeed it was – as an all-crystallising moment in Tokugawa *qin* history. On the one hand, the Tokugawa house's effort to perform *gagaku* on the Chinese instrument *qin* reflected the bakufu's conscious involvement in the recontextualization of *qin* music in Japan. On the other hand, having the performance held at the Shōgun's Castle actualized Sorai's idea of legitimizing the Tokugawa rule by a ritual-music revival. Thus the concert betokened the bakufu's understanding and embrace of Sorai's political proposal. Throughout the eighteenth century, Sorai's thinking arguably continued to inspire the generic diversification of Japanese *qin* music and helped it to develop into a level well beyond the framework of Confucianism. To elucidate this and to address the questions raised above, let us start with an examination of the surviving archives of Sino-Japanese book trade during the Tokugawa period. These data will reveal some of the dynamic changes of the bakufu government's

Instituut, call number 6771.25, "tomon hachisoku" section, folios. 7r-v.

interests in Chinese ritual and in music for the *qin*.

3.2 The Coming of Chinese Ritual Music Books

Although books might not be a frequently traded item, they have been important means of cultural transmission. Thanks to the Tokugawa bakufu's compulsory inspection procedure designed to weed out written works on Christianity, we now have numerous archival records indicating specifically when which individual books were imported into Japan. A survey of these records will flesh out our understanding of Shōgun Yoshimune's intentions in importing certain books.

During most of the Tokugawa period, vessels with books for import calling on Nagasaki port had to present a *Sairai shomoku* 賚來書目 or *Dairai shomoku* 帶來書目[List of Books Transported as Cargo] to the Inspectorate of Books, detailing the title and quantity of each item. Following customs inspection, these records were assembled and kept for archival purposes. For the purposes of the current research, I have consulted the *Hakusai shomoku* 舶載書目[List of Books Brought as Cargo] held in the Archives and Mausolea Department of the Imperial Household Agency and the *Shōhaku sairai shomoku* 商舶載來書目[List of

Books Transported for Sale].[12] According to these lists, at least one hundred and fifty-one volumes of books on Chinese ritual and *qin* musics were imported into Japan between 1694 and 1765 (see Table 3.1), a period roughly covering the regimes of Shōguns Tsunayoshi (r. 1680–1709), Ienobu (r. 1709–1712), Ietsugu (r. 1713–1716), Yoshimune (r. 1716–1745), Ieshige (r. 1745–1760), and Ieharu (r. 1760–1786).

The total quantity of Chinese music treatises imported during the reign of the Shōgun Yoshimune outnumbered those of the other shōguns' ruling periods. A total of one hundred and five volumes of Chinese music treatises was imported within the period 1725-1740 (see Table 3.2a), constituting more than two thirds of the total amount of 1694-1765. This is compelling evidence not to be overlooked. However, given that the time span of each regime varies, and that the surviving records of book inspection are incomplete,[13] Table 3.2a may not reflect the true picture. Based on the relatively more complete *Hakusai shomoku*, Table 3.2b takes the time-span differences into consideration and shows the average annual amounts of imported Chinese music books within the period 1694-1740.[14]

[12] A facsimile of the *Hakusai shomoku* can be found in Ōba Osamu 大庭脩, ed., *Hakusai shomoku* 舶載書目(Fukita: Kansai Daigaku Tōzai Gakujutsu Kenkyūjo 関西大学東西学術研究所, 1972). A transcription of the *Shōhaku sairai shomoku* appears in Ōba Osamu 大庭脩, *Edo jidai ni okeru tōsen mochiwatarisho no kenkyū* 江戸時代における唐船持渡書の研究(Suita-shi: Kansai Daigaku Shuppanbu 關西大學出版部, 1967), 659-739.

[13] Ōba Osamu 大庭脩, ed., *Hakusai shomoku*, vol. 1, 13, Table 1.

[14] The time span was determined by the length of the surviving records of each Shōgun, not

Shōgun Yoshimune's regime remains ahead by a huge margin. But this not sufficient proof for the mid-Tokugawa Shogunal interest in Chinese ritual affairs, since the books on the lists might have been left untouched after importation. To continue the investigation, let us therefore examine the library records of Shōgun Yoshimune himself, in particular those of the period 1725-1740.

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the whole period of his rule; see Ōba Osamu, ed., *Hakusai shomoku*, 13, table 1. Moreover, Shōguns Ieshige and Ieharu are excluded from Table 3.2b because the records pertinent to music during these two periods are highly fragmentary and must be provided from sources other than *Hakusai shomoku*.

Table 3.1: Surviving Records on Imported Chinese Music Books, 1694-1754

Regime	Year	Title	Vols.	Chaps.	Source
Tokugawa Tsunayoshi (r. 1680–1709)	1699	*Qinglianfang Qinya* 青蓮舫琴雅	4	4	Hakusai, vol.1, chap. 3, folio. 79
	1700	*Yuedao fameng* 樂道發蒙	8	12	Hakusai, vol.2, chap. 4, folio. 14
	1702	*Yue dian* 樂典	8	26	Hakusai, vol.3, chap. 6, folio. 21
	1706	*Songxianguan qinpu* 松弦館琴譜	4	2	Hakusai, vol.5, chap. 9, folio. 59
	1708	*Songfengge qinpu* 松風閣琴譜	8	8	Hakusai, vol.6, chap. 10, folio. 37
Tokugawa Ienobu (r. 1709–1712)	--	----	0	0	--
Tokugawa Ietsugu (r. 1713–1716)	1714	*Songxianguan qinpu* 松弦館琴譜	4	2	Hakusai, vol.11, chap. 17, folio. 27
Tokugawa Yoshimune (r. 1716–1745)	1725	*Yue shu* 樂書	48	49	Hakusai, vol.32, chap. 46, folio. 16
	1725	*Yue shu* (incomplete) 樂書	4	5	Hakusai, vol.15, chap. 22, folio. 5
	1738	*Dahuange qinpu* 大還閣琴譜	5	6	Hakusai, vol.30, chap. 44, folio. 11
	1740	*Yue shu* 樂書	48	49	Hakusai, vol.32, chap. 46, folio. 16
Tokugawa Ieshige (r. 1745–1760)	1754	*Qinpu daquan* 琴譜大全	6	10	Hakurai shoseki taiishō
Tokugawa Ieharu (r. 1760–1786)	1765	*Yuejing yuanyi* 樂經元義	4	8	Shōhaku sairai shomoku

Table 3.2a: Total Amount of Chinese Books on Ritual and *Qin* Musics

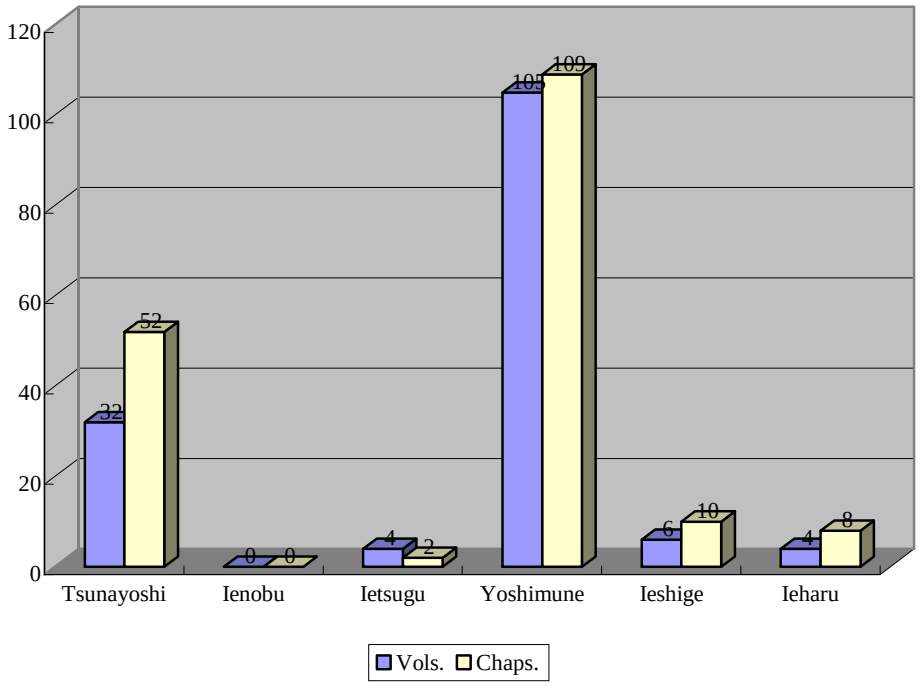
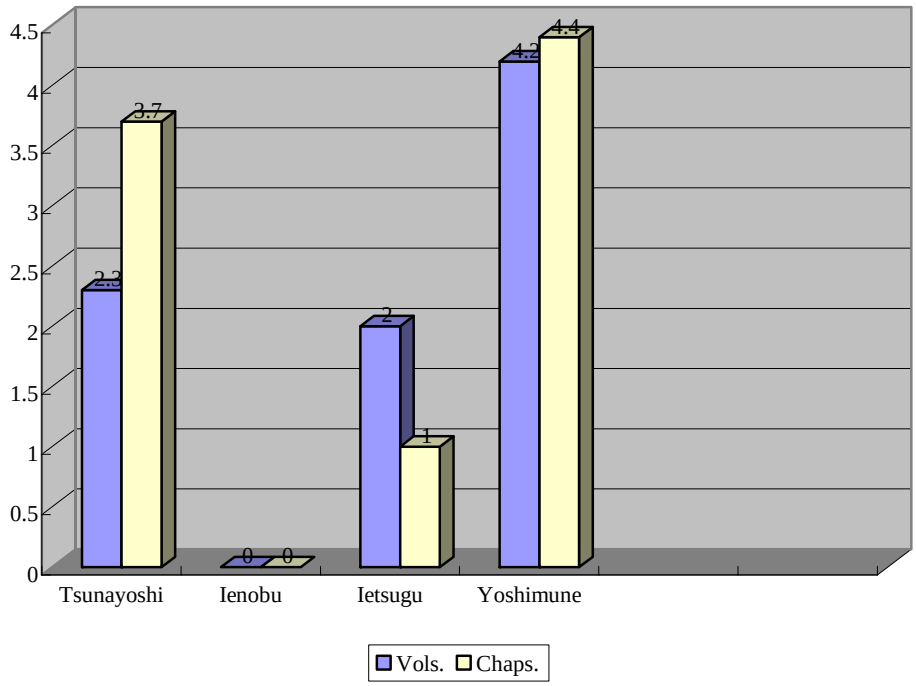


Table 3.2b: Annual Average Amount of Chinese Books on Ritual and *Qin* Musics



Although the *Veritable Records* of Shōgun Yoshimune and their lengthy *Appendices* offer records of the shogunate regarding his activities,[15] they are not of much use for the current research. On the contrary, I found tracking Yoshimune's reading history in the *Bakufu shomotsukata nikki* 幕府書物方日記 [Record of the Books of the Shogunate] more illuminating. This work records the daily working accounts of the administrator of books who supervised the Momijiyama Bunko 紅葉山文庫, i.e., the shogunal library.[16] Table 3.3 shows all Chinese music books that appeared in the *Bakufu shomotsukata nikki* between 1718 and 1720, together with the dates they were lent out and returned. For books which have been checked out by Yoshimune and are still kept in the Diet Library of the National Archives of Japan, their respective call numbers are provided in the last column for reference.[17]

From the eighth month of the eighteenth year of Kyōhō (1733), a number of Chinese encyclopedias of imperial decrees and regulations, such as *Tong zhi* 通志 [General Treatises], *Li shu* 禮書[Book of Rites], were checked out (see Table 3.3,

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[15] *Yūtoku in jikki* 有德院御實紀, in *Shintei zōho Kokushi taikei* 新訂增補國史大系, vol. 45-46, ed. Kuroita Katsumi 黑板勝美 (Tōkyō: Kokushi Taikei Kankōkai 國史大系刊行會, 1933-1934).

[16] Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai 東京大学史料編纂所, ed., *Bakufu shomotsukata nikki* 幕府書物方日記, vols. 1-18, (Tōkyō: Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo hensan 東京大学出版会, 1964-1988). At the start of the Kyōhō era, it was known as the Oshomotsukata tomechō 御书物方留帳[Account Book of the Administrator of Books].

[17] For further bibliographic information on the surviving items, please see Naikaku Bunko 內閣文庫, *Naikaku Bunko Kanseki bunrui mokuroku* 內閣文庫漢籍分類目錄 (Tōkyō: Naikaku Bunko 內閣文庫, 1956), vol. 1, 42-43, and 254.

nos. 1-4).[18] On the nineteenth day of the fourth month of the nineteenth year of Kyōhō (1734), the whole set of twenty-two volumes of the *Yuelü quanshu* 樂律全書 [Complete Edition of the Ritual Tones Systems] left the library (Table 3.3, no.5).[19] This set of books was presented to Shōgun Yoshimune by the Chinese merchant shipmaster Zhu Laizhang in the tenth year of Kyōhō (1725).[20] Three months later, a total of ninety volumes containing fifteen Chinese treatises on ritual music and *qin* music were conveyed in bulk to Yoshimune under a Shogunal order (Table 3.3, nos. 6-20).[21] Among them, nos. 19 and 20 might be viewed as irrelevant, because they are actually Yuan-dynasty-style poetic dramas with titles referring to the *qin*. But this can be understood as part of an exhaustive search for Chinese references on ritual and *qin* musics in the bakufu collection. On the twenty-eighth day of the same month, these books were returned together with the *Yuelü quanshu* which had left three months earlier.[22]

It is certainly impossible for Shōgun Yoshimune to have completed a reading of the one hundred and twelve volumes listed above within the indicated time span. These works, then, might have been checked out by the Shōgun for his Confucian assistants. The *Bakufu shomotsukata nikki* does not tell us who the

[18] *Bakufu shomotsukata nikki*, vol. 10, 98-99.
[19] *Bakufu shomotsukata nikki*, vol. 10, 161.
[20] See also Section 3.3 below.
[21] *Bakufu shomotsukata nikki*, vol. 10, 186-187.
[22] *Bakufu shomotsukata nikki*, vol. 10, 199.

actual users were. Nevertheless, we may infer that Shōgun Yoshimune, and probably his assistants as well, had learnt something from their browsings, for when the music books were checked out again in the twentieth year of Kyōhō (1735), the list was narrowed down to thirty-five volumes (Table 3.3, nos. 23-29).[23] This time, while important *qin* treatises and *qin* handbooks were included, such as *Yangchun tang qin jing* 阳春堂琴經 [*Qin* Classic of the Sunny Spring Hall] and *Songxianguan qinpu* 松弦館琴譜 [*Qin* handbook of the Pine String Studio], most of the Ming treatises on ritual music were no longer selected, including the twenty-two volumes of *Yuelü quanshu* and many others (Table 3.3, nos. 5 and 9-16); the only exception was Li Zhizao's *Pangong liyue shu* 頖宮禮樂疏 [Notes on the Ritual Music Performed at State Confucian Schools] (Table 3.3, nos. 6 and 29).

Based on the facts presented so far, we may safely deduce that the Tokugawa bakufu had developed a clear interest in Chinese ritual music under the rule of Shōgun Yoshimune. In particular, from the eighteenth year of Kyōhō (1733) to the twentieth year of Kyōhō (1735), Yoshimune and his Confucian assistants devoted much effort to reading relevant Chinese sources. Was there any relationship between Sorai's plan of seeking political legitimacy through the revival of sagely music and Yoshimune's absorption in Chinese ritual and music? Did the two incidents simply happen one after another without any causality? The bakufu's

[23] *Bakufu shomotsukata nikki*, vol. 11, 165-166, 191 and 207.

abandonment of the *Yuelü quanshu*, a *magnum opus* on temperament of the Ming dynasty, sheds further light on the Tokugawa house's unusual enthusiasm for ritual music sources.

Table 3.3: Chinese Musical Books from the Momijiyama Bunko on Loan, 1733-1735

No.	Chinese Book Title	Author	Vols.	Lend	Return	Call No.
1	*Li shu* **禮書**	Chen Xiangdao 陳祥道(1053-1093)	10	12/8/18		
2	*Tong zhi* **通志**	Zheng Qiao 鄭　樵(1104-1162)	22	12/8/18		
3	*Bai bian* **稗編**	Tang Shunzhi 唐順之(1507-1560)	62	12/8/18		
4	*Tong zhi* **通志**	Zheng Qiao 鄭　樵(1104-1162)	120	14/8/18		
5	*Yue shu* **樂[律全]書**	Zhu Zaiyu 朱載堉(1536-1611)	22	19/4/19	28/7/19	經 65-1
6	*Pangong liyue shu* **預宮禮樂疏**	Li Zhizao 李之藻(1565-1630)	8	3/7/19	28/7/19	
7	*Yue dian* **樂典**	Huang Zuo 黃　佐(1490-1566)	20	3/7/19	28/7/19	經 15-3
8	*Yue shu* **樂書**	Chen Yang 陳　暘(12th cent.)	12	3/7/19	28/7/19	經 15-1
9	*Wenmiao yue shu* **文廟樂書**	?	8	3/7/19	28/7/19	
10	*Yuelü zhi* **樂律志**	Huang Ruliang 黃汝良(deg. 1586)	3	3/7/19	28/7/19	經 15-6
11	*Yuedao fameng* **樂道發蒙**	Qu Jiusi 瞿九思(1546-1617)	8	3/7/19	28/7/19	經 15-7
12	*Yuejing yuanyi* **樂經元義**	Liu Lian 劉　濂(16th cent.)	4	3/7/19	28/7/19	經 15-8
13	*Yuecheng liu yi* **樂成六議**	?	1	3/7/19	28/7/19	
14	*Gu yueyuan* **古樂苑**	Mei Dingzuo 梅鼎祚(1549-1615)	10	3/7/19	28/7/19	

No.	Chinese Book Title	Author	Vols.	Lend	Return	Call No.
15	*Jiu dai yuezhang* **九代樂章**	Liu Lian 劉　濂(deg. 1521)	4	3/7/19	28/7/19	
16	*Tang yuefu* **唐樂府**	Wu Mianxue 吳勉學(16th cent.)	?	3/7/19	28/7/19	
17	*Qin jing* **琴經**	Zhang Daming 張大命(16th cent)	4	3/7/19	28/7/19	子 65-1
18	*Songxianguan qinpu* **松弦館琴譜**	Yan Cheng 嚴　澂(1547-1625)	2	3/7/19	28/7/19	
19	*Qin xin ji* **琴心記**	Sun You 孫　柚(16th cent)	4	3/7/19	28/7/19	
20	*Qin xin ya diao* **琴心雅調**	Ye Xianzu 葉憲祖(1566-1641)	1	3/7/19	28/7/19	
21	*Yili jing zhuan tongjie* **儀禮經傳通解**	Zhu Xi 朱　熹(1130-1200)	20	16/1/20	1/4/20	
22	*Li shu* **禮書**	Chen Xiangdao 陳祥道(1053-1093)	10	16/1/20		
23	*Qin jing* **琴經**	Zhang Daming 張大命(16th cent)	4	28/5/20	6/11/20	子 65-1
24	*Songxianguan qinpu* **松弦館琴譜**	Yan Cheng 嚴　澂(1547-1625)	2	28/5/20	6/11/20	
25	*Qin xin ji* **琴心記**	Sun You 孫　柚(16th cent.)	4	28/5/20	6/11/20	
26	*Pipa ji* **琵琶記**	Gao Ming 高　明(1305-1359)	4	28/5/20	6/11/20	
27	*Qin xin ya diao* **琴心雅調**	Ye Xianzu 葉憲祖 (1566-1641)	1	28/5/20	6/11/20	
28	*Yue shu* **樂書**	Chen Yang 陳　暘(12th cent.)	12	23/6/20	6/11/20	經 15-1
29	*Pangong liyue shu* **頖宮禮樂疏**	Li Zhizao 李之藻(1565-1630)	8	12/7/20	6/11/20	

3.3 Ogyū Sorai and *Yuelü quanshu*

Yuelü quanshu, literally, the Complete Edition of the Ritual Tones Systems, is the most important Chinese monograph on temperament. It was compiled by Zhu Zaiyu 朱載堉 (1536-1610), one of China's most distinguished mathematicians, and a musicologist of similar standing to Marin Mersenne (1588-1648). Chinese experiments in temperament were prompted by the ruling class's need to transpose the ritual tunes from one key to another in order to preserve cosmologically important correlations between the seasons and the pitches of finals.[24] That pipes for accurate tuning cannot be made simply by cutting a tube of uniform bore into appropriate lengths (because of the end-effect) was known as early as the Han dynasty when Jing Fang demonstrated the pertinent theories in 45 B.C. In fact, throughout Chinese history, experiments in temperament were mostly imperially driven and carried out in the form of musical reforms.[25] One of the most important Chinese experimenters in this field was Zhu Zaiyu, a descendant of the fourth Ming emperor. His "princely gift" - as

[24] For a musicological analysis of the fourteenth-century Japanese practice concerning these transpositions, see Elizabeth J. Markham, L. E. R. Picken, and R. F. Wolpert, "Pieces for *Biwa* in Calendrically Correct Tunings, from a Manuscript in the Heian Museum, Kyōto," *Musica Asiatica* 5(1988): 191-209.

[25] Details of these experiments have been discussed by Kenneth Robinson. See his *A Critical Study of Chu Tsai-yü's Contribution to the Theory of Equal Temperament in Chinese Music* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1980). See also Joseph Needham and Wang Ling, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 4, part 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 212-228.

Needham put it - was the discovery of the mathematical means of tempering the scale, published in 1584 and constituting a part of the late *Yuelü quanshu*. In the monograph, Zhu Zaiyu explicated that in order to divide the octave into twelve equal semitones (twelve perfect *lü*) it is necessary to divide the length of the fundamental string - and thereafter each successive length obtained - by the twelfth root of two.

It is still uncertain through which channel the bakufu first encountered Zhu Zaiyu's work, yet we do know that Chinese literature on Zhu Zaiyu's theory was transmitted to Japan through relevant quotations in other imported books, such as the Chinese medical book *Leijing* 類經, no later than the Genroku period (1688-1703). For instance, in the fifth year of Genroku (1692), after reading *Leijing*, the Japanese mathematician Nakane Shō 中根璋 (1662-1733) compiled his *Ritsugen hakki* 律原發揮, in which he followed the method discovered by Zhu Zaiyu and made clear acknowledgements to the Ming prince.[26]

The Bakufu acquired a full copy of *Yuelü quanshu* during the reign of Yoshimune. In the tenth year of Kyōhō (1725), the Chinese merchant Zhu Laizhang arrived at Nagasaki and presented the *Yuelü quanshu* to Shōgun

[26] Nakane Shō 中根璋, *Ritsugen hakki* 律原發揮, in *Nihon keizai taiten* 日本經濟大典, ed. Takimoto Seiichi 瀧本誠一(Tōkyō: Shishi Shuppansha 史誌出版社, 1928-1930), vol. 4, 43-77, 47.

Yoshimune. Zhu Laizhang was originally a medical doctor from Fujian province. In his previous trip to Nagasaki, he preformed medical examinations on members of the general populace and received high esteem for it. For his accomplishments, a temporary Ningbo vessel license was given to his nephew Zhu Yuanguang by the bakufu as a reward. The license allowed Zhu Yunguang to come to Japan in 1723 or 1724. However, Zhu Laizhang was aboard on vessel number six for the tenth year of Kyōhō (1725) and arrived on the fifth day of the second month of that same year.[27] According to his nephew's affidavit, Zhu Laizhang had resided in Nagasaki some years ago for a longer period of time. To express his gratitude for having been permitted such an extended stay, this time Zhu Laizhang was aboard the same vessel with his two older brothers, Zhu Peizhang and Zhu Zizhang.[28]

[27] The record was preserved in *Tōsen shinkō kaitōroku* 唐船進港回棹錄[Record of the Coming to Port and Departing for home of Chinese Vessels], see Ōba Osamu 大庭修, ed., *Tōsen shinkō kaitōroku. Shimabara-bon Tōjin fūsetsugaki. Wappu tomechō: kinsei Nitchū kōshō shiryōshū* 唐船進港回棹錄. 島原本唐人風說書. 剖符留帳: 近世日中交涉史料集(Suita-shi: Kansai Daigaku Tōzai Gakujutsu Kenkyūjo 關西大學東西學術研究所, 1974), 80; and *Shinpaikata kiroku* 信牌方記錄[Records of the Office of Trading Licenses] in Ōba Osamu, ed., *Kyōhō jidai no Nitchū kankei shiryō* 享保時代の日中關係資料, vol. 1 (Suita-shi: Kansai Daigaku Shuppanbu 關西大學出版部, 1986), 79.

[28] The affidavit was preserved in *Tōjin fūsetsugaki* 唐人風說書, see Ōba Osamu, ed., *Tōsen shinkō kaitōroku. Shimabara-bon Tōjin fūsetsugaki. Wappu tomechō: kinsei Nitchū kōshō shiryōshū*, 107-108; also see Ōba Osamu, *Edo jidai no Nitchū hiwa*, 188-189.

Figure 3.1: Scene of ōaratame, *Zai Nagasaki Nisshin Boeki Emaki*, Matssura Historical Museum, Hirado

In this second voyage to Japan, Zhu Laizhang presented to Shōgun Yoshimune a total of five items. These included a complete set of the *Yuelü quanshu* in six cases, a set of cards for a poem-composing game, a scroll mapping the Yangzi River, a pair of coral branches kept in a box, and two silvergray, pelt-covered palanquin cushions.[29] In addition to the *Yuelü quanshu*, his cargo also included seventy-six books in some five hundred volumes for sale. (See Figure 3.1, which depicting the scene of ōaratame at the bugyo office. Imported cargos were carried to the bugyu office and the Nagasaki magistrate reserves the

[29] Ōba Osamu, ed., *Kyōhō jidai no Nitchū kankei shiryō*, vol. 2, 80.

most excellent goods for the bakufu. Please note the heraldry of Tokugawa drawn on the upper right corner of the scene.) The complete list of these books can be found in volume fifteen of the *Hakuzai shomoku* (see Figure 3.2).[30]

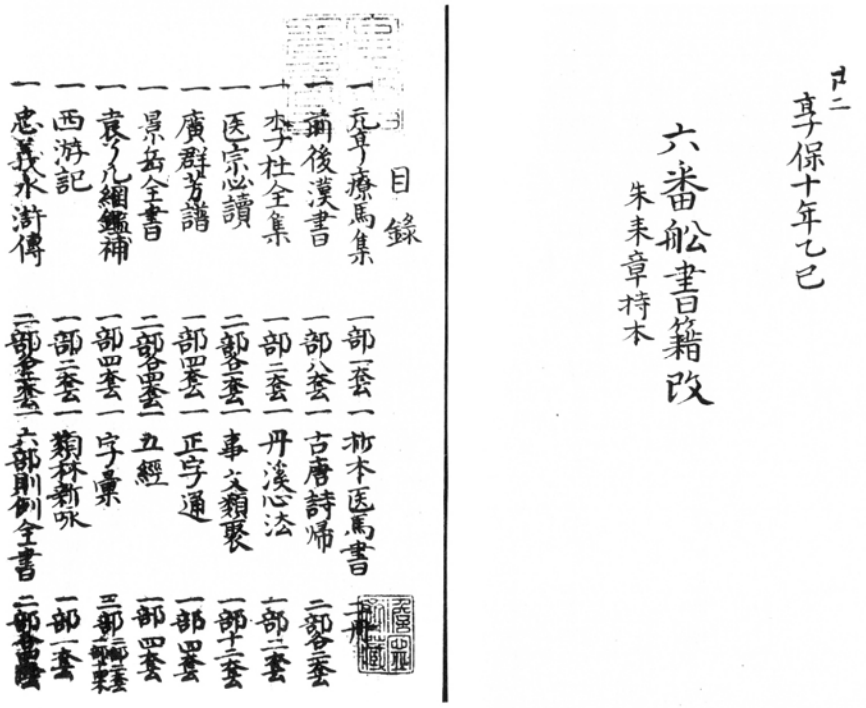


Figure 3.2: JP-Tk 102-151, vol. 15, folios. 1r-2r

Five months after the arrival of the *Yuelü quanshu*, on the eighth day of the seventh month of same year (1725), this gift for Shōgun Yoshimune appeared on the desk of Ogyū Sorai waiting for his collation. In Sorai's letter to Tanaka Seigo 田中省吾(1668-1742) in early 1726, Sorai described his tireless efforts in collating the *Yuelü quanshu* in 1725 as follows:

[30] Ōba Osamu, ed., *Hakusai shomoku*, vol. 1.

> The order of collating the book was passed onto me through the sobayōnin (Grand Chamberlain to the Shōgun). The task was extremely secret. Although it was not carried out in public, I have my venerable responsibility in it. As an official subject to the Shōgun, how could I stop for a rest? The work continued from autumn to winter. Daytime is not enough, I had to work until late in the middle of the night. 校書之役，中貴傳命，事屬壺秘，雖無儼然之跡，乃有季氏之責。普天率土，孰不靡鹽，鉛槧之勤，自秋連冬，窮日之力，焚膏繼之。[31]

Thanks to Hiraishi Naoaki's comprehensive textual research, we now know that the book mentioned in Sorai's letter refers to the *Yuelü quanshu* presented to Shōgun Yoshimune by Zhu Laizhang.[32] More details are offered in the *Shinrui-yushogaki* 親類由緒書, the most important genealogical work dealing with Sorai and his family:

> On the eighth day of the seventh month of Kyōhō (1725), concerning the book on music written by Zhu Zaiyu, son of the prince of Zheng. The book was submitted to the Shōgun by a Qing Chinese, Zhu Laizhang. Sorai was given the assignment to collate the text, which [only] he [was able to] understand. Arima, the Lord of Hyōgo, brought the book to Sorai's house. 享保十年七月

[31] Ogyū Sorai, *Sorai shu* 徂徠集 (Tōkyō: Perikansha ぺりかん社, 1985), chap. 22, folio. 6r.
[32] See Hiraishi Naoaki 平石直昭, *Ogyū Sorai nenpu kō* 荻生徂徠年譜考(Tōkyō: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1984), 150-152, and 158. However, when Nishida Taichirō annotated the letter in 1973, scholars still believed that the book in Sorai's letter refers to the *Liuyu yanyi* 六諭衍義[The Extended Meaning of the Six Edicts], see Ogyū Sorai, *Sorai shu* 徂徠集, ed. Nishida Taichirō 西田太一郎, in *Ogyū Sorai* 荻生徂徠, Nihon shisō taikei 日本思想大系, vol. 36, ed., Yoshikawa Kōjirō 吉川幸次郎, Maruyama Masao 丸山真男, et al. (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1973), 502.

八日、清人朱來章獻上之御書物、鄭世子朱載堉樂書、校閱御用被仰付、有馬兵庫頭被申渡、相勤申候。[33]

From the above account, we know that the Grand Chamberlain mentioned in Sorai's letter to Tanaka Seigo actually was Arima Ujinori 有馬氏倫(1668-1736), the late Lord of Hyōgo (1726-1736). Arima, who had been an intimate assistant of Yoshimune since Yoshimune was daimyō of the Kii peninsula, played an important role in the Kyōhō political Reform. Arima was one of the most trusted retainers whom Yoshimune had brought up from Kishū when he received the appointment as shōgun in 1716. He was installed as shogunal chamberlain in the same year, and was in close touch with Yoshimune until his death in 1736. A shogunal order delivered through him in person could not be taken lightly by any stretch of the imagination; by the same token, Sorai's unofficial advice was passed safely through Arima Ujinori to the Shōgun. There are records in Sorai's chronicle indicating that Sorai went three times a month to Arima's mansion. With regard to the secret matters that Sorai discussed with Yoshimune by way of Arima Ujinori, Olof G. Lidin remarks:

There is no listing of the matters discussed, since they were of a secret nature, referred to as goinmitsu-goyō, "secret, official assignments." It can be surmised, however, that they were dry, administrative matters and that Sorai

[33] Quoted in Ōba Osamu, ed. *Kyōhō jidai no Nitchū kankei shiryō* 享保時代の日中關係資料 (Suita-shi: Kansai Daigaku Shuppanbu 關西大學出版部, 1995), vol. 3, 31.

undertook to write two of his most important works, the *Taiheishaku* and *Seidan*, as part of these assignments. Perhaps it is only these two works that are referred to by the term goinmitsu-goyō in the chronicle; or even only the *Seidan*, since the term can also be taken in the singular.[34]

Lidin believes the communication between Sorai and Yoshimune was confined to administrative matters. Nevertheless, since Sorai himself described his collation of *Yuelü quanshu* as "extremely secret," it is reasonable to assume the scope of the "secret official assignments" mentioned in the chronicle *Shinrui-yushogaki* also encompassed music matters. Two recent papers, written separately by Tao Demin and Ōba Osamu, have successfully identified Shōgun Yoshimune's copy of *Yuelü quanshu* preserved in the National Diet Library and discovered Sorai's scribbled notes in it.[35] By the time when Sorai was entrusted the task of collating the *Yuelü quanshu*, he had written at least three works on Chinese music, *Gakushō*, *Yūranpushō*, and *Kingakutaiishō* (1722), collated the Japanese music treatise *Kokin-kyōroku* (1718), and had established himself as the most renowned expert of Chinese philology in the Japan of his time; therefore, in Shōgun Yoshimune's eye, Sorai must have been more than qualified to undertake the assignment. Sorai perused the *Yuelü quanshu* together with his brother

[34] Olof G. Lidin, *The Life of Ogyū Sorai: A Tokugawa Confucian Philosopher* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1973), 62.

[35] Ōba Osamu 大庭脩, "Ogyū Hokkei・Sorai to gakushō kōetsu 荻生北溪・徂徠と楽書校閲," *Tōhōgaku* 東方学 91 (1996): 90-105; Tao Demin 陶徳民, "Ogyū Sorai no gakushō kōetsu to sono shosan 荻生徂徠の『楽書』校閲とその所産," *Machikaneyama ronsō* 待兼山論叢 21 (1987): 51-74.

Hokkei (1673?-1754). In order to work out the precise length of each tuning pipe, Sorai studied metrological writings of successive Chinese dynasties and examined in particular those mentioned in the *Yuelü quanshu*. It is from this study that Sorai's posthumous works *Gakuritsu-kō*, *Gakusei-hen*, and *Doryō-kō* grew. *Doryō-kō* was presented to Yoshimune on the first day of the fourth month of the fourteenth year of Kyōhō (1729) by Ogyū Michinari, the foster son of Sorai, and was published by the Tokugawa bakufu.[36] On the seventeenth day of the eleventh month of the twentieth year of Kyōhō (1735), Ogyū Hokkei was ordered to submit Sorai's draft of his *Gakuritsu-kō* to the bakufu. On the twenty-third day, *Gakuritsu-kō* and *Gakusei-hen* were presented to Yoshimune.[37] However, the circulation of *Gakuritsu-kō* and *Gakusei-hen* was initiated on the twenty-second day of the ninth month of the third year of Kanpō (1743) only, when Dazai Shundai 太宰春臺(1677-1747), one of Sorai's disciples, made a copy for his own use from Ogyū Hokkei's library. Most later editions were derived from this copy.

Shōgun Yoshimune's trust in Sorai regarding the collation of this unusual Chinese music treatise demonstrated the possibility of a link between the music reform propounded by Sorai and Yoshimune's enthusiasm in Chinese ritual literature. Before examining the nature of Sorai's collation of the *Yuelü quanshu*,

[36] See *Yūtoku in jikki*, vol. 45, chapter 29, 497, and chapter 37, 633.
[37] See *Yūtoku in jikki*, vol. 45, chapter 42, 703; and Ōba Osamu, "Ogyū Hokkei・Sorai to gakushō kōetsu," 10.

his notes scribbled in it, and his posthumous works *Gakuritsu-kō* and *Doryō-kō*, let us hypothesise, based on the information uncovered previously in this study, the possible positioning of Sorai's criticism on Zhu Zaiyu. Would Sorai congratulate Zhu Zaiyu on his successful resolving, for the first time in history, the fundamental problem of ritual music? Might he praise Zaiyu and even follow his method to transpose the bakufu ritual tunes from one key to another in accordance with equal temperament, thus demonstrating the cosmological important correlations between the seasons and the pitches of finals?

Sorai believed that the Way was created by the sages, as were the rites and music. To him, the fundamental problem of ritual music could only be resolved by sages, and only a sage, or, alternatively, a madcap would claim any achievements in ritual music. In other words, if Sorai accepted the authority of Zhu Zaiyu in the field of ritual music, he would have to admit the sagely nature of Zhu and endorse the legitimacy of Ming Chinese culture. This positioning would contradict his political propaganda and therefore was not taken. Actually, in all his writings about *Yuelü quanshu*, Sorai denied the value of Zhu Zaiyu's discovery and slandered the Ming prince without the slightest reservations. For instance, in his posthumous work *Doryō-kō,* published by the Tokugawa bakufu, Sorai remarks:

Systems of measurements in the Three Dynasties are not identical. A measuring stick of the Zhou dynasty is different from that of the Han dynasty. [The standards of ancient measurements] have never been noted in historical records for ages. Nevertheless, Zaiyu (= Zhu Zaiyu), who was born thousands of years later, in the late Wanli era (1573-1620), suddenly claimed knowledge in ancient metrology. [Regarding this,] he was either a sage, or delusional. If he was not in a dream state, then he must have been crazy! How can we believe him! Incited by his madness, Zaiyu compiled *A Permanent Calendar for the Long Life of the Emperor* and its *Dedication*, *The Pitch-pipe and Calendarical Concordance*, *Melodies for Harmonious Ancient Music*, *Concise Dance Notation of the Six Dynasties*, *Concise Dance Notation of Ritual Music*, *Notation of Two Rows of Dancers with Symbolic Meanings*, *Concise Dance Notation of the Ritual Prayer for Good Harvest*, *Notation of Transposing Tunes from one Key to Another*, *Music Notation of Ritual Poetry*, *The Essential Meaning of the Standard Pitch-pipes* parts 1 and 2, *A New Account of Modal Theory*, *Ancient Script Version of The Classic of Music*, *A New Account of the Science of Calculation*, *A New Account of the Science of the Pitch-pipes*, etc., which constituted a monograph of no less than several dozens of volumes. I haven been ordered to collate his work. [Through collation, I found out that] Zaiyu, by following the stereotype of Liu Xin (ca. 53 C.E.-23 A.D.), covered up his erroneous calendar by applying his theory on temperament. His music writings are equally superficial and valueless. …… But his book is voluminous. Those who get lost in Zaiyu's vertiginous writing take the theory as some kind of ultimate truth. …… So, there are quite a few Japanese scholars who are his followers. This is because the Neo-Confucians think too much of the Principle and are not familiar with factual matters. …… Therefore, people are not aware of the absurdity of Zaiyu's [reasoning]. How regrettable it is!
夫三代异度，周漢殊尺，千古所不道，史籍所不載。而載堉生于千歲之下，萬曆之末，忽然知之。非聖則妄，非夢則狂，豈足信哉！而載堉狂氣所使，作聖壽萬年曆及備考、律曆通融、操縵古樂譜、六代小舞譜、小鄉樂舞譜、二佾綴兆譜、靈星小舞譜、旋宮合樂譜、鄉飲詩樂譜、律呂精義內外篇、樂學新說、樂經古文、算學新說、律學新說，無慮數十卷。余嘗奉教閱其書，以律文曆，

乃劉歆故智，其樂書亦膚淺不足稱……然其書浩博，故時人眩之，以爲至論……故此方學者亦信之者頗多焉。大氏宋儒貴理，而疏于事……是以載堉之妄，世人不之省，可嘆哉！[38]

By calling Zhu Zhaiyu a madcap, Sorai demolished all the achievements of the Ming prince. Moreover, he deliberately attributed Zaiyu's popularity among Sino-Japanese Confucians to Neo-Confucianism's baneful influence and attacked Zaiyu's Japanese followers, such as Nakane Shō, by innuendo.[39]

Sorai was not alone in denying the stature of Zhu Zaiyu's monumental works. Around the same time, on the Chinese continent, three generations of Manchu Aisin Gioro Emperors - Kangxi (1654-1722, r. 1661-1722), Yongzheng (1678-1735, r. 1722-1735), and Qianlong (1711-1799, r. 1736-1795) - practiced similar political slander. In order to supersede the musical achievements of the previous dynasty accomplished by Zhu Zaiyu, Emperor Kangxi ordered the compilation of the one-hundred-chapter *Lüli yuanyuan* 律曆淵源[The Origin of Temperament and Calendar] in 1712. This encyclopaedic book was prefaced by Emperor Yongzheng and published in 1724. Three decades later, in 1746, Emperor Qianlong published a *Sequel* to the musical part of the *Lüli yuanyuan* in a total of one hundred and

[38] Ogyū Sorai, *Doryōkō kō* 度量衡考, folios. 33r-34r, in Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠, *Ogyū Sorai zenshū* 荻生徂徠全集, vol. 13 (Tōkyō: Misuzu Shobō みすず書房, 1987), 1-47.

[39] For the relationship between Nakane Shō and Ogyū Sorai, see Takahashi Hiromi 高橋博巳, "Nakane Genkei to Ogyū Sorai 中根元圭と荻生徂徠," in his *Edo no barokku: Soraigaku no shūhen* 江戸のバロック: 徂徠学の周辺 (Tōkyō: Perikansha ぺりかん社, 1991), 123-162.

twenty chapters, including numerous imperial edicts in which he animadverted on almost every topic of Zhu Zhaiyu's work. In his vermillion edict responding to Li Wei's secret memorial submitted on the tenth day of the third month of the eighth year of Yongzheng (1730), i.e., five years after the first copy of *Yuelü quanshu* arrived in Tokugawa Japan, Emperor Yongzheng exhorted Li to send a copy of the *Lüli yuanyuan* to Japan, so that the great achievement of his father, the Sage Ancestor of the Manchu empire, could be learned by those overseas barbarians.[40] In the early eighteenth century, apparently the achievements of the Ming prince - a Han Chinese - were of such momentousness that both the Manchu Emperors and the Tokugawa bakufu had to awkwardly confront them in order to legitimize their own cultural orthodoxy.

Sorai's *Doryō-kō* was published by the Tokugawa bakufu in the first month of the nineteenth year of Kyōhō (1734). It is no wonder, then, that the *Yuelü quanshu* was no longer requested when Shōgun Yoshimune checked out the Chinese music books from Momijiyama Bunko again in the twentieth year of Kyōhō (1735). On the nineteenth day of the first month of the thirteenth year of Kyōhō (1728), Ogyū Sorai died of edema. On the twenty-seventh day of the ninth month of the following year, a coming-of-age ceremony took place for Tokugawa

[40] Zhongguo diyi lishi dangan guan 中國第一歷史檔案館, ed., *Yongzheng chao hanwen zhupi zouzhe huibian* 雍正朝漢文硃批奏摺彙編 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chuban she 江蘇古籍出版社, 1989-1991), vol. 18, 128-129.

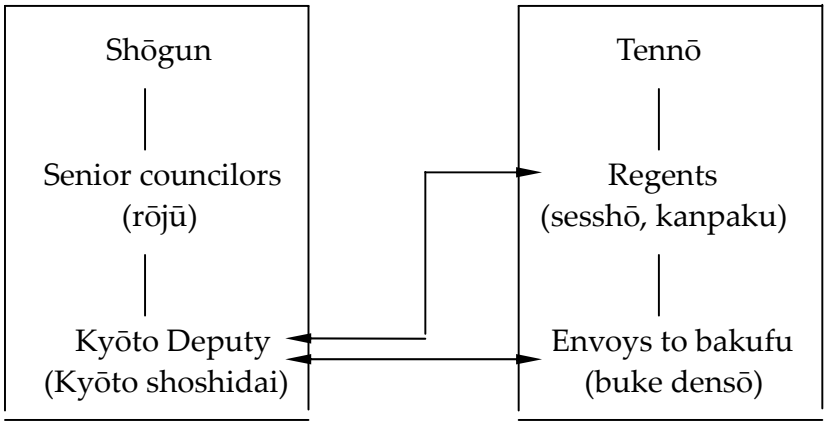
Munetake 徳川宗武(1716-1771), the second son of Shōgun Yoshimune. It is difficult to imagine that this son, aged fourteen by Sino-Japanese count, would eventually become the instrument to assist Yoshimune in bringing about the Japonification of *qin* music—an ideological plan plotted by Sorai in the early Kyōhō era. But the baton was already passed to the Tokugawa house.

3.4 The Twentieth Year of Kyōhō (1735)

In Japanese history, the Tokugawa period (1603-1868), also referred to as the Edo period, marks the governance of the Tokugawa Shogunate, which was officially established by Tokugawa Ieyasu in Edo. Throughout almost the entire period, the imperial body located at Kyōto was removed from politics. But the bakufu maintained its ties with the court because of the crucial imperial role in legitimizing the Tokugawa rule. The emperor placed in Kyōto was believed to be the direct descendant of the Shintō deity Amaterasu, or the Sun Goddess, and the imperial court had been the first government to assert public authority over all Japan. Actually, the development of the imperial court was not stopped until 1192 when Minamoto Yoritomo (1147-1199) finally obtained an imperial appointment as "Great Barbarian-Subduing Generalissimo 征夷大將軍," the highest military title in Japan. Four centuries later, Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543-1616), the new military ruler of Japan, wanted the Shogunal title so that his government

might enjoy the legitimacy of the earlier Minamoto and Ashikaga bakufu. By the very terms of the relationship Ieyasu was subordinate to the emperor, but the emperor, although supreme, was an inactive authority within the bakufu-daimyō sphere, whereas the Shōgun directly commanded the daimyō as the official executants of the imperial will. In practice, the Edo bakufu and the Kyōto court corresponded with each other through buke densō and Kyōto shoshidai (see Table 3.4). The imperial envoys to the bakufu, buke densō 武家傳奏, traveling between Kyōto and Edo, were court officials who carried ritual imperial greetings to Edo and received bakufu officials at Kyōto. The Kyōto deputy, or Kyōto shoshidai 京都所司代, was the major bakufu official in the city, and although his principal duties involved the western daimyō and Tokugawa domains, he was also frequently involved in court problems.

Table 3.4: The Formal Links between Tennō and Shōgun



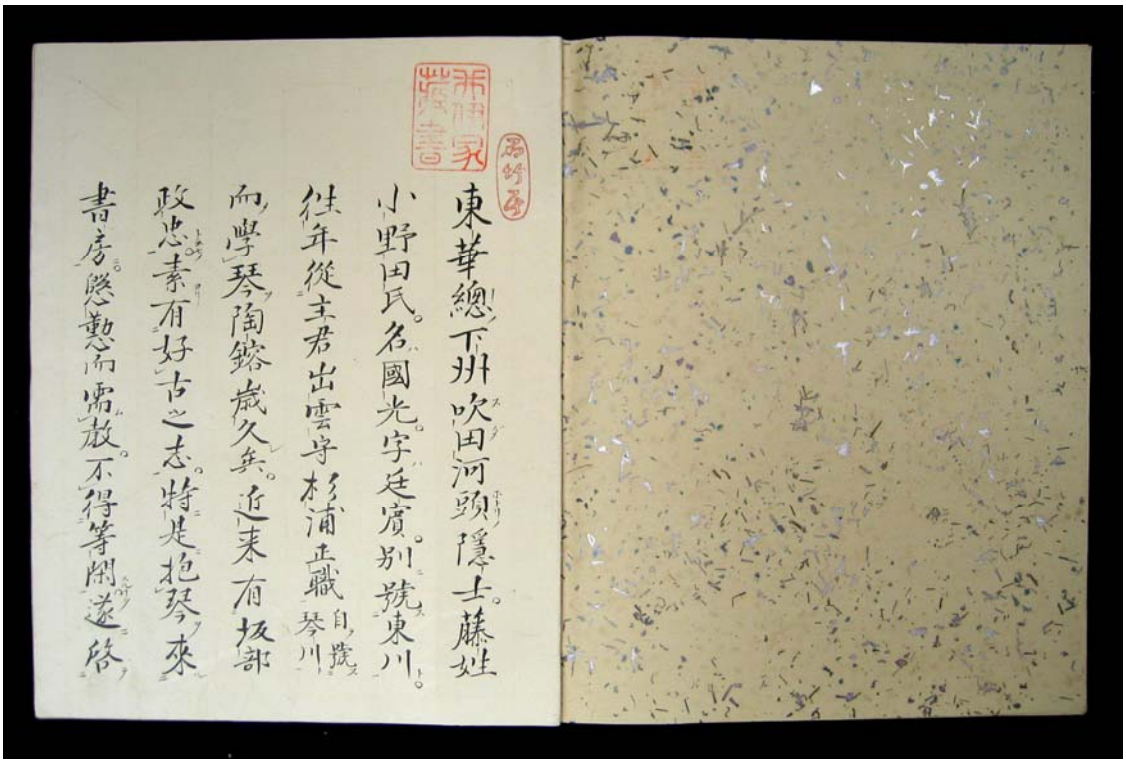


Figure 3.3: JP-Hh 412, folio. 1r

In the seventeenth year of Kyōhō (1732), the retired Emperor Reigen (1654-1732), grandfather of Emperor Nakamikado (1702-1737, r. 1709-1735), died at age seventy-eight. Three years later, Emperor Nakamikado decided to retire.[41] Immediately before Emperor Nakamikado declared his retirement on the twenty-first day of the third month of the twentieth year of Kyōhō (1735),[42] Shōgun Yoshimune in Edo ordered Onoda Tōsen 小野田東川(1684-1763), a granddisciple of Tōkō Shinetsu (see Table 1.2), to work out *qin* versions of *gagaku* music. This command was dutifully recorded by Onoda Tōsen in his preamble of

[41] In 1709, upon the abdication of his father Emperor Higashiyama, Nakamikado became Emperor. Because of his youth, his grandfather, the retired Emperor Reigen, ruled in his name until Reigen's death.

[42] Kyōhō is the third reign title of Emperor Nakamikado.

the *gaku-kin* score submitted to the bakufu in the ninth month of the same year, an autograph of Onoda's that I discovered at Hikone Castle (see Figure 3.3). After a brief historical review of the transmission of *qin* music from China to Japan via Tōkō Shinetsu, on the second folio of the autograph Onoda states:

> In our country, music-making involving the *qin* was only practiced in the ancient time, not today. The tradition broke down a long time ago. Now, after a period of peace of more than one hundred years, with both civil and military affairs well ordered, we are enjoying a brilliant civilization. Isn't it time to revive the *gagaku*? This spring (1735), in the middle of the second month, Onoda Kunimitsu (= Onoda Tōsen), [Sakabe] Masatada, [and I] received the bakufu's order concerning working out *qin* versions of the *gagaku*. Another order followed requiring us to teach Koma no Sukune (= Koma Chikatō) to play the *qin*. Shogunal orders cannot be declined. So I received the orders and carefully obeying my duty. I have spent considerable time discussing with [Sakabe] Masatada the authenticity of *gagaku* music and the proper rhythms for the *qin* to play together with other *gagaku* instruments. 本朝以七絃琴並奏音樂者，古有而今無。其所斷絕者最尚矣。如今太平百有餘年，實是文武兼備，文明赫然，雅樂可興之時乎？茲今春二月中旬，國光暨政忠恭奉官命，事及雅琴譜音。而繼令國光等以雅琴彈法授狛氏近任宿禰。台命不能辭讓。兢兢服膺而退矣。曾與政忠共論雅樂所宗洎和乐节奏等，有日於茲。[43]

The Shogunal order was issued in the middle of the second month of the twentieth year of Kyōhō (1735), one month before the retirement of Emperor Nakamikado. In Tokugawa Japan, imperial intentions regarding retirement or

[43] Onoda Tōsen 小野田東川, *Genji puhō* 減字譜法, JP-Hh 412, folios. 2r-3r.

appointment of an emperor would under normal circumstances be delivered to the bakufu well before the effective date. A political crisis due to an abdication without advance notice only happened once, in 1629, when Emperor Gomizunō, in ultimate anger towards Shōgun Iemitsu (1604-1651, r. 1623-1651), renounced the throne in favor of his daughter, Empress Meishō. The retirement of Emperor Nakamikado was not such an unhappy case; therefore, when Yoshimune issued his command to Onoda Tōsen, he was, we may assume with virtual certainty, aware of Emperor Nakamikado's retirement as well as the upcoming coronation of Teruhito, the son of Nakamikado. In other words, Yoshimune launched the *qin* project at the Tokugawa bakufu in full awareness that a series of grand imperial ceremonies would took place. This is further confirmed by the fact that the bakufu envoys who were to be sent to attend the imperial abdication ceremony were all set by the twelfth day of the second month.[44] The Tokugawa bakufu must have been well informed by the buke densō imperial envoys before Yoshimune issued his first order regarding the *qin*.

As discussed above, although being a military lord, Yoshimune had an extraordinary sympathy for Confucian fundamentalist Ogyū Sorai's proposal of a *qin* music "revival." This implicit compact between Yoshimune and Sorai constituted a crucial part of the ideological forces that informed Yoshimune's

[44] See *Yūtoku in jikki*, chap. 41, in *Shintei zōho Kokushi taikei*, vol. 45, 676.

launch of the gagakuization of the *qin*. Nevertheless, it seems, to judge from the timing of Yoshimune's initiative, that the immediate cause of this musical enterprise of the bakufu was the retirement of Emperor Nakamikado in Kyōto. Why?

Revivals of court rituals were carried out one after another throughout the Tokugawa regime, and at the initiative of the court in Kyōto. Since the time of Gomizunō, restorations of *gagaku* and *saibara* music pieces into musical performance practice are recorded in the *Veridical Records of the Emperors* passim. In 1646, the ritual dispatching of offerings to the Grand Shrines of Ise, the Shintō Kannamesai 神嘗祭, was revived. During the reign of Shōgun Tokugawa Tsunayoshi (1646-1709, r. 1680-1709), after an interruption of nearly two hundred years, the main imperial Shintō rituals were revived; to name just two of them, the Daijōsai 大嘗祭 ceremony was celebrated again in 1687, and the Kamo Festival was performed in 1694. Emperor Nakamikado's retirement, again, offered the Kyōto nobles an excellent chance to strengthen the claims of the court as the ultimate source of political authority in the land. The increasing Shintō cult – which inevitably induced loyalty to the imperial court – was the last thing that the Tokugawa bakufu wanted to see. In order to issue edicts in its name, Tokugawa Yoshimune could only tolerate a powerless court, not a sovereign in the apotheosis of supreme power. Moreover, in order to establish his legitimacy,

Yoshimune had to clarify his role as the proper source of the symbols, thereby demonstrating his possession of comprehensive authority. After the unfortunate death of Sorai in 1728 and the great Kyōhō famine (1732-1733), and against this political background, the news about Emperor Nakamikado's retirement deeply disturbed Yoshimune and urged him to launch a reform of ritual music in advance of the many approaching imperial ritual ceremonies.

From Onoda's account, it seems that Yoshimune very soon found a resolution for the *qin* project. In a second order addressed to Onoda in the same year, Yoshimune required Onoda Tōsen to teach the Kyōto *gakunin* Koma Chikatō to play the *qin*. Such a decision sounds peculiar: Why was Koma Chikatō from Kyōto, but not one of the Momijiyama *gakunin* located at Edo Castle, chosen to play the *qin*? Several factors might contribute to Yoshimune's "peculiar" arrangement: First of all, from the time when Emperor Gomizunō bestowed them on the Koma *gakunin* lineage, the Koma family was been the sole custodian of the two ancient *qin* scrolls re-discovered and described by Ogyū Sorai, the Tōkyō manuscript and the Hikone manuscript;[45] in Sorai's narrative, they were the most important artifacts validating his claim of Japan being the exclusive inheritor of the ancient heritage of sagely music. Secondly, when conducting his music research, Sorai developed a close personal relationship with the Koma

[45] See above, section 3.4.

family. The Koma served as Sorai's mentors, offered him practical instructions on the *shō* mouthorgan, and kept on nurturing him intellectually, particularly in the early Kyōhō era, by making available to him the plethora of music literature they had collected over the centuries. Koma Chikahiro (1668-1720), in particular, privileged Sorai by providing access to the two *qin* scrolls. After Koma Chikahiro's death, upon completing his *Kingakutaiishō* in 1722, Sorai dedicated it to Koma Chikatō (1676-1757), the foster son and successor of Koma Chikahiro who, as a result, was in charge of access to the Koma music library. In his letter to Tadamune Honda (1691-1757), Lord of Iyo, Sorai went as far as to suggest to Tadamune to acknowledge Koma Chikahiro as his teacher. Considering everything that the Koma had done for Sorai, it is more than fair to say that none of Sorai's major achievements in music, including his ideation of the "revival" of Japanese *qin* music now launched at the bakufu, could have happened without the generosity of the Komas. Last but not least, there was a practical reason for choosing the Kyōto *gakunin*. As mentioned above, the aim of this music project was political. It was designed to demonstrate Yoshimune's possession of comprehensive authority in front of the whole of Japan, and particularly, in front of the imperial court nested in Kyōto. Therefore, the principle executor of this endeavor should be able to present on the imperial stage at Kyōto the music that Shōgun Yoshimune "revived," and should be qualified to be received in person by both the then Emperor Sakuramachi and the retired Emperor Nakamikado. It

was a practice in feudal Japan that only those who had received rank five and above were able to have audiences with an Emperor or retired Emperor. Koma Chikatō ranked four senior, having newly been appointed as Daizen-daibu 大膳大夫 of the Court in the nineteenth year of Kyōhō (1734) and, therefore, was perfectly fine for the task.[46]

Therefore, identical Shogunal orders were concurrently sent to Koma Chikatō and his son Noriyasu 則安(1719-1784) in Kyōto in the second month of the twentieth year of Kyōhō (1735).[47] For the bakufu government, the next immediate question was: How to accommodate the Koma from Kyōto, and how to arrange this collaboration among the *naidan qin* player Onoda Tōsen, the Momijiyama *gakunin*, and the Koma? Although most of the administrative burden was shouldered by the bakufu's Superintendent of temples and shrines, the essential part of this music venture was processed under the supervision of a young man from the Tokugawa house, Tokugawa Munetake, the second son of Shōgun Yoshimune.

In the twentieth year of Kyōhō (1735), Tokugawa Munetake, aged twenty-one,

[46] In the imperial Sino-Japanese ranking system, the lower the number of the rank, the higher the position.
[47] See *Tsujishi kaden* 辻氏家傳, quoted in *Dai Nihon jinmei jisho* 大日本人名辭書(Tōkyō: Dai Nihon Jinmei Jisho Kankōkai 大日本人名辭書刊行會, 1937), vol. 3, 1680.

had already been appointed the first head of the Tayasu branch of the Tokugawa clan. As one of the the six Tokugawa collateral houses, the Tayasu appointment was then one of the most prestigious a young man of such background could obtain. The six collaterals consisted of the Three Houses of Mito, Owari, and Kii, which had been created by Ieyasu, and the Three Lords established by Yoshimune (Tayasu and Hitotsubashi) and his son Ieshige (Shimizu). The Three Lords were thus junior in rank and prestige among the collaterals. Unlike his elder brother Ieshige, Munetake was both physically fit and intellectually and culturally well educated, and was therefore considered by some as logical choice to be the heir. At this juncture, Yoshimune had assembled around Munetake a group of refined scholar-attendants, including the renowned forerunners of National Learning Kada Azumamaro 荷田春満 (1669-1736) and Kada Arimaro 荷田在満 (1706-1751). We cannot rule out the possibility that Yoshimune at some point had the intention to legitimize Munetake's status as the Shogunal heir through assigning him a key role in highly symbolic proceedings such as the ritual and music revival project. Before the project was launched, Yoshimune had purposefully introduced Munetake to *gagaku* and music research. On the twenty-ninth day of the fourth month of the nineteenth year of Kyōhō (1734), Munetake was allowed to borrow from the Shogunal Library the "twenty-two volumes of music compilation,"[48] *Sango-chūroku*,[49] and many other invaluable

[48] For the importance of this compilation, see Fukushima Kazō 福島和夫, "田安家と樂書

pieces of music literature. One month later, on the twenty-ninth day of the fifth month, under the Shogunal order, Munetake's attendants performed seven pieces of *gagaku* music at Edo Castle for Yoshimune.[50] In the twentieth year of Kyōhō (1735), for the bakufu's ongoing project on *qin* music, Munetake was selected by his father Yoshimune to participate as a representative of the Tokugawa family and play the role of a coordinator. By the sixteenth day of the fourth month of the twentieth year of Kyōhō (1735), Kyōto *gakunin* Koma Chikatō and his son Noriyasu had arrived in Edo. They were invited to Munetake's residence inside the Tayasu gate of Edo Castle.[51] On the twelfth day of the fifth month, in Munetake's residence, a performance of *bugaku* court dance accompanied by a *gagaku* ensemble was held. In the performance, Koma Chikatō and his son Noriyasu collaborated with twelve Momijiyama *gakunin* led by Aki-no-Kami Yamanoi Kagetoyo (1672-1739).[52] From then on, these Momijiyama *gakunin* became the principle partners of Koma Chikatō in their long-term collaboration in Edo. Moreover, obviously upon the request of Munetake, Momijiyama *gakunin* Yamanoi Kagetoyo kept a copy of all the *gaku-kin* notations worked out by *qin*

Tayasu-ke to gakusho," in *Tayasu Tokugawa-ke zōsho to Kōjō Isao bunko* 田安徳川家藏書と高乘勲文庫, ed. Kokubungaku Kenkyū Shiryōkan 国文学研究資料館 (Tachikawa-shi: Kokubungaku Kenkyū Shiryōkan 国文学研究資料館, 2003), 92.

[49] See above, section 2.3.

[50] Toki Zenmaro 土岐善麿, *Tayasu Munetake* 田安宗武 (Tōkyō: Nihon Hyōronsha 日本評論社, 1942-1946), vol. 4, 44.

[51] Toki Zenmaro, *Tayasu Munetake*, vol. 4, 51.

[52] Toki Zenmaro, *Tayasu Munetake*, vol. 4, 51

player Koma Chikatō and Onoda Tōsen, and learned the playing of the *qin* without missing any details.[53]

By the late spring of the twentieth year of Kyōhō (1735), three months after Yoshimune's first order, under the supervision of Munetake, a team including Edo *qin* player Onoda Tōsen and his disciple Sakabe Masatada, Kyōto *gakunin* Koma Chikatō and his son Noriyasu, and Momijiyama *gakunin* Yamanoi Kagetoyo and his eleven fellow musicians had assembled in Edo. A new problem was put on the table, namely, how to devise a Japanese repertoire based on the pre-existing musics of the *qin* and the *gagaku*? Putting it more precisely, would it be better to let the *gakunin* play Chinese *qin* pieces on *gagaku* instruments, or vice versa, let the *qin* players work out *gaku-kin* version of Japanese *gagaku* music? In his second order, Yoshimune already pointed out the direction. From the very beginning, what Yoshimune wanted was not the Ming-style Chinese *qin* music as hypothesized by Kishibe,[54] but a Japanese version of *gaku-kin*. This was implied in his entrusting the project to the hereditary *gakunin*. Further details of the approach were recorded in Onoda Tōsen's preamble of the *gaku-kin* score submitted to the bakufu:

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[53] See below, section 3.6.

[54] Kishibe Shigeo 岸辺成雄, *Edo jidai no kinshi monogatari* 江戸時代の琴士物語 (Tōkyō, Yūrindō 有隣堂, 2000), 314.

> The *gagaku* tradition has been lost with the exception of two instruments: the *qin* and the *shō*. …… To use the *shō* to tune the *qin*, to use the *qin* to tune the *se*: This is exactly what Li [Zhizao] (1565-1630) said. Isn't this the reason why the *qin* and the *shō* should not be independent from each other? Kunimitsu [= Onoda Tōsen himself] learned playing the *shō* years ago. The only euphonic instrument nowadays is the *shō*; we [= Onoda Tōsen and Koma Chikatō] therefore worked out the idea to play *shō* melodies on the *qin*. Koma Chikatō's hereditary musical specialty is the mouthorgan *shō*; hence he is able to play the *qin* and sing the notation simultaneously. [With regard to his *qin* playing,] though Koma Chikatō has not yet perfected his finger technique and control of rhythmic details, he has already grasped the principle. …… Isn't he admirable? 雅樂失傳，賴有琴笙二者尚存。……以笙定琴，以琴定瑟，是即李氏所說，琴與笙不可離者乎？國光往年時學吹笙，因如今樂器中甘於耳朵者，笙也。故以笙譜諧琴音者出焉。狛氏世守其業，吹笙殊秀，故口於譜，指於弦，抖擻精神，揣摩工夫，操縵節奏雖未至精微之奧，既得其半乎。……可歆可羨也。[55]

Onoda Tōsen and Koma Chikatō's idea of applying *gagaku shō* melodies to the *qin* is the gist of the whole campaign to Japonify the *qin*. Onoda Tōsen and Koma Chikatō believed that the *shō* parts of the *gagaku* repertoire preserved original melodies borrowed from ancient China.[56] Presumably, such a belief was influenced by Sorai who had proclaimed that, among all the *gagaku* instruments, the present playing of the *shō* was closest to its Heian prototype.[57] In practice, Onoda Tōsen and Koma Chikatō relied heavily on another Confucian

[55] Onoda Tōsen, *Genji puhō*, JP-Hh 412, folios.8v-9v.

[56] A similar understanding can be found in L. E. R. Picken and R. F. Wolpert, "Mouth-organ and Lute Part of Tōgaku and Their Interrelationships," *Musica Asiatica* 3 (1981): 79-95.

[57] See above, section 2.3.

fundamentalist, Dazai Shundai (1680-1747), a distinguished disciple of Sorai who inherited Sorai's political thinking as well as his interests in *gagaku* music. Like Sorai, who had studied the *shō* with the Koma, Dazai Shundai studied the *fue* flute with Momijiyama *gakunin* Yamanoi Kagetoyo 大神景豐 (1672-1739), and was viewed by Yamanoi as his best *gagaku* disciple. With regard to the gagakuization of *qin* music, Dazai Shundai's contribution was mostly philological, i.e., he deciphered the meanings of Chinese music texts; an example for this is the Li Zhizao saying mentioned in Onoda's quote above.[58] A brief biographical sketch about Dazai Shundai reads:

> During the Kyōhō era, the bakufu ordered Onoda Kunimitsu [= Onoda Tōsen] to work out a repertoire of the *qin*. A close friend of Dazai Shundai, Kunimitsu discussed with him Li Zhizao (1565-1630)'s music treatise [=*Pangong liyue shu*, see Table 3.3, no. 29]. Therefore, the bakufu's Superintendent of temples and shrines, Lord of Kasama, Inoue Masayuki (1696-1737), asked Shundai to formally join the collaboration. Dazai Shundai insisted on turning down the invitation, elucidating to Inoue the Confucian principles of advance and retreat, and eventually did not accept the appointment. When the *qin* scores were completed and performed for the Shōgun, the bakufu conferred silver on Onoda Kunimitsu and all contributors with the only exception of Dazai Shundai. 享保中朝廷命小野田國光詳定琴曲。國光故與先生善，於是從先生討論李之藻樂書。鴻臚笠間侯正之[=井上正之]因召先生，與同詳定。先生固辭，因陳儒者進退之義，終不受命。後琴曲成，進奏，官賞賜國光及與其事者白金，先生獨不與焉。[59]

[58] See above, section 3.4, fn. 55 and Table 3.3, no. 29.

[59] The biographical sketch was by Matsuzaki Koretoki 松崎惟時 and preserved in Dazai Shundai 太宰春臺, *Shundai Sensei Shishien kō* 春臺先生紫芝園稿, ed. Kojima Yasunori 小島康敬

Nevertheless, as a friend of Onoda Tōsen and a disciple of Yamanoi Kagetoyo, Shundai's participation consolidated the embodiment of Sorai's political tenets in this Shogunal music enterprise. Their first collaborative endeavor of gagakuizing the *qin* continued from the late spring to the late autumn of the twentieth year of Kyōhō (1735), resulting in a collection of twenty-five *qin* notations, which was prefaced by Onoda Tōsen on the ninth day of the ninth month and submitted to the bakufu accordingly. In the preamble, Onoda Tōsen memorialized their tentative product in great reverence:

> Eventually, notations of twenty-five pieces were made. However, [the notations of the *shō* pieces] have old and new versions. [we] do not know which ones are authentic. The privilege to make the final decisions is left for the enlightened sages' perception. [I,] Kunimitsu, am merely a common person. How dare I deputize the authority of the paramount? It is because of my fear that [the newly invented *qin* repertoire] cannot be completed. Please do not blame me, if there are pieces that remain unfinished. 樂曲二十五，譜終成矣。于茲譜有古制有新制，不知熟（=孰）以為是，伏俟哲人磯神之明鑒。國光身在庶人何攀紫微管弦之柄。恐懼而不全之，故有所未盡者，請莫訝莫怪焉。[60]

On the thirtieth day of the ninth month, at the Shōgun's Shiro Shoin in the Edo Castle, a grand *bugaku* dance performance was held. Koma Chikatō and his

(Tōkyō: Perikansha ぺりかん社, 1986), 303.

[60] Onoda Tōsen, *Genji puhō*, folios. 7v-8r.

son Noriyasu, together with twelve Momijiyama *gakunin* led by Yamanoi Kagetoyo, presented to Shōgun Yoshimune and his attendants a total of six *gagaku* pieces: *Embu*, *Manzairaku*, *Sanju*, *Katen*, *Kanshū*, and *Ryō-ō*. However, the ensemble did not include a *qin*. The twelve Momijiyama *gakunin* performed on the six obligatory instruments, namely the *shō* mouthorgan, *hichiriki* double-reed pipe, *fue* flute, *kakko* drum, *otaiko* drum, and *shōko* gong. As for the Koma, they were in charge of the dance, not the *gaku-kin* playing. Koma Chikatō danced solo in the first and the third pieces, his son in the second. They both danced for the last three *gagaku* pieces.[61] Although *gaku-kin* playing was not featured in this concert, Yoshimune was satisfied with the edition of twenty-five *gaku-kin* pieces that Koma Chikatō and Onoda Tōsen submitted. On the fifth day of the tenth month, Shōgun Yoshimune bestowed silver on all the musicians who attended. For his efforts on the *gaku-kin* project, Koma Chikatō was received by Yoshimune in front of the audience and was granted silver for a second time.

Before the Koma embarked on their trip back to Kyōto, Shōgun Yoshimune asked them to bring the imperial court his gift, an antique *qin* claimed to be made in the Tang dynasty China and shipped to Japan via the Nagasaki trade route. Moreover, Koma Chikatō also received the order to transfer his knowledge about the *gaku-kin* and its repertoire to the Momijiyama *gakunin* Yamanoi Kagetoyo and

[61] See *Yūtoku in jikki*, chap. 42, in *Shintei zōho Kokushi taikei*, vol. 45, 698.

his son Kagesakae (?-1737). The first Shogunal requirement ensured that Koma Chikatō was to present the *gaku-kin* playing revived by Yoshimune, a kind of music that was believed to be practiced by Heian emperors and high-ranking nobilities, in front of the imperial rulers. The second order made sure that the *gaku-kin* tradition would be well preserved among the Momijiyama *gakunin* in Edo.

On the third day of the eleventh month, Emperor Sakuramachi (1720-1750, r. 1735-1747), aged fifteen, was enthroned. Later in the month, on the twenty-eighth day, Koma Chikatō and his son were received by the retired Emperor Nakamikado. On the same day, the *gaku-kin* music was presented to the retired Emperor. The performance was recorded in detail by a young courtier, Hirohashi Kanetane 廣橋兼胤(1715-1781), in his journal *Hatsukaigyoki* 八槐御記:

> The twenty-eighth day of the eleventh month of the twentieth year of Kyōhō (1735), the last day of the sexagenary cycle, sunny. I heard that today the retired Emperor [= Nakamikado] had listened to the music played on the antique *qin* presented by the Shōgun House. Daizenkon-no-daibu Chikatō Sukune [= Koma Chikatō] played on the *qin*; Sanuki-no-kami Tadahisa Asomi [= Ōno Tadahisa] on the *shō*; Tamba-no-kami Sukune [= Tōgi Kanehaku] on the *fue*; Mukukon-no-kami Chikanari Sukune [= Kubo Chikanari] on the *hichiriki*. [The *gagaku* pieces] *Sandaien* (Kyū), *Batō*, and *Keitoku* were performed first [on the *qin*, with the accompaniments of the *shō*, *fue*, and *hichiriki*]. Then Daizenkon-no-daibu followed the imperial order to hold in

the palace a performance of the pieces *Goshōraku* (Kyū) and *Etenraku* with the accompaniments of the *fue* (?) and the *ichigenkin* (?). A fan was bestowed [on Koma Chikatō]. 享保二十年十一月廿八日癸亥、晴、傳聞、今日自將軍家進獻古琴、被上皇聞食云云、大膳權大夫近任宿禰彈之、笙讃岐守忠壽朝臣、笛丹波守兼伯宿禰、篳篥木工權頭近業宿禰等合奏之、先三台鹽急、拔頭、慶德、其後大膳權大夫聽升殿召簀[管?]子、一絃彈五常樂急、越殿樂了爲恩賞賜扇云云、[62]

Meanwhile, Shōgun Yoshimune's gift to the court, the antique *qin* claimed to be made in Tang China, had drawn considerable attention among the court nobles. Visualize this elegant scene: When the retired Emperor Nakamikado and his attendants were appreciating the exotic treasure imported from China, Koma Chikatō guided them to turn the instrument cautiously and examine the two-line Chinese inscription wrote on its belly in ink. This episode is not purely imagination, as the young courtier Hirohashi Kanetane did mention the inscription in his journal:

Made in the second year of the Kaiyuan era of the Great Tang (714) by Lei Xiao; repaired in the fortieth year of the Wanli era (1612) by Zhang Shunxiu in Suzhou
大唐開元二年雷霄斫
萬曆壬子年吳門張順終[脩]重整[63]

[62] Quoted in *Nakamikado Tennō jitsuroku* 中御門天皇実錄, in *Tennō kōzoku jitsuroku* 天皇皇族実錄, (Tōkyō: Kunaishō Zushoryō 宮内省圖書寮, 1931-1944), vol. 114, 614.
[63] Quoted in *Nakamikado Tennō jitsuroku*, in *Tennō kōzoku jitsuroku*, vol. 114, 614.

The chamber concert held on the twenty-eighth day of the eleventh month was a preludial ceremony for the imperial court's reception of the Shogunal gift. Nakamikado was deeply impressed by this curiosity. As a result, a series of major performances were held by Nakamikado on the first day of the twelfth month at the imperial palace. A director of palace affairs of the upper Grade of the Senior forth Court Rank, Madenokōji Tanefusa 萬里小路稙房 (1705-1764) attended the afternoon section of the performance. He probably deemed the *qin* playing something worthy to be recorded, and hence wrote about it in his diary:

> The first day of the twelfth month of the twentieth year of Kyōhō (1735), the third day of the sexagenary cycle, overcast and rainy. This afternoon from one to three pm, [Emperor Nakamikado] listened to *qin* music at the Kogosho court palace. Tsuji Daizen-no-daibu [= Koma Chikatō] played the *qin* with the accompaniment of one flute (?), and someone played the drum. Three pieces of music were performed. The bestowed *tachi* long sword was brought to Daizen-no-daibu [=Koma Chikatō] by Ōe Toshikane. Today's arrangement at Kogosho signifies that a gyoyū imperial music performance will take place. 享保二十年十二月一日丙寅、陰雨交、今日未刻于小御所琴御聽聞、辻大膳大夫近任彈之、一管通也、于打板有之、樂三彈之、大江俊包持參太刀賜大膳大夫、今日小御所構如御遊時、[64]

Madenokōji's observation was correct. In the evening of the same day, a gyoyū 御遊 imperial music performance featuring Shōgun Yoshimune's *gaku-kin* music was held at Nakamikado's retreat, the Sentō imperial palace. Three

[64] Quoted in *Nakamikado Tennō jitsuroku*, in *Tennō kōzoku jitsuroku*, vol. 114, 614.

gaku-kin pieces: *Etenraku*, *Keitoku*, and *Goshōraku* were performed with the accompaniment of the *gagaku* instruments *shō*, *fue*, *hichiriki*, and *otaiko*. This time, according to Umerinshitsu Kanesuke 梅隣室兼祐, the ensemble only consisted of Koma Chikatō and three other musicians, much smaller than that of the Shōgun's palace. Moreover, no Momijiyama *gakunin* were included.[65]

By far, it seems that Shōgun Yoshimune's aim had already been achieved. The twenty-five *gaku-kin* pieces were made and preserved by the Momijiyama *gakunin* Yamanoi family; his second son Tokugawa Munetake had developed a strong interest in ritual and music studies; and the Tokugawa bakufu's music achievement had been displayed in front of the Kyōto court. Could all these constitute a perfect ending for Yoshimune's project? At the moment, Yoshimune was stymied by a key issue in the relationship with the bakufu and the court: Although Emperor Sakuramachi was invested with the authority of emperor, the grand Shintō ceremony Daijōsai, the first ceremonial rice-offering by a newly-enthroned emperor, had not been held yet. On the seventeenth day of the eleventh month, through Sorai's younger brother Hokkei, Yoshimune ordered Ogyū Sorai's family to submit Sorai's posthumous work *Gakuritsu-kō* to the bakufu as soon as possible. On the twenty-third day, the draft of Sorai's

[65] For further details, see Umerinshitsu Kanesuke 梅隣室兼祐, *Kingo saikō ki* 琴御再興記, JP-Tk 152-158.

Gakuritsu-kō was presented to Yoshimune by his foster son Ogyū Michinari.[66] A larger plan was still haunting Yoshimune's mind.

3.5 The Third Year of Genbun (1738)

In the following year (1736), the title of Emperor Sakuramachi's reign was announced as Genbun. But the Daijōsai ceremonies were not scheduled until the death of the retired Emperor Nakamikado on the eleventh day of the fourth month of the second year of Genbun (1737). At the moment, then, Shōgun Yoshimune was in a dilemma about whether to finance the imperial court to hold the Daijōsai, or not. On the one hand, if the ceremonies were performed after the death of Nakamikado, the utmost honor of bringing back this most important imperial ritual for the young emperor would belong to Yoshimune, and would in turn re-inscribe the Tokugawa government's role as an indispensable part of the imperial system, while securing the bakufu from reproach as well. On the other hand, the Daijōsai ceremonies, at any rate, were designed for the imperial court. In the first communion ceremony of the Daijōsai, Sakuramachi was the celebrant who offered the sacred food to his ancestral spirits. But in the second ceremony he became the celebrated, the one to whom the sacred food was offered in his

[66] See *Yūtoku in jikki*, vol. 45, chapter 42; and Ōba Osamu, "Ogyū Hokkei・Sorai to gakushō kōetsu," 10.

role as scion of the heaven-descended Sun Line. Therefore, the revival of these imperial Shintō ceremonies of enthronement would inevitably revive the tennō cult and strengthen the claims of the court as the source of political authority in Japan.[67]

Seeking legitimacy through links to the imperial court was an extremely conservative strategy, limiting the possible avenues for the military man. For Yoshimune, the Shogunal revival of *qin* music would certainly ensure the legitimacy of the Tokugawa bakufu. But the implications of this legitimization were distinctly different from what Sorai had envisaged. The fundamental legitimacy of the Shogunate came from the court. In Yoshimune's eyes, such legitimacy was not a road to supremacy, nor to surpass the imperial court, but a road to balance it. The Edo gagakuization of *qin* music as designed by Yoshimune was not a substitute to replace the Daijōsai held at the Kyōto court, but a bakufu counterpart to supplement it.

Another practical problem that Yoshimune could not escape was ritual spending. The Daijōsai ceremonies could easily cost the bakufu a fortune. By the

[67] For the mid-Tokugawa bakufu-court relations, see, e.g., Takano Toshihiko 高埜利彦, "Kōki baku-han sei to tennō 後期幕藩制と天皇," in *Kōza zen-kindai no tennō* 講座前近代の天皇, vol. 2, ed. Nagahara Keiji 永原慶二 (Tōkyō: Aoki Shoten 青木書店, 1993), 177-181; and Takano Toshihiko 高埜利彦, "Edo bakufu no chōtei shihai 江戸幕府の朝廷支配," *Nihonshi kenkyū* 日本史研究 319 (1989): 48-77.

Genbun era, financial reform, a key problem of the Kyōho bakufu, remained a political issue. Earlier attempts to settle this had been brought to a halt by the great famine (1732) and the concomitant peasant uprisings, among other things. In 1736, the shogunate decided to increase the amount of money in circulation by devaluing its gold and silver coins. The number of gold coins in circulation was increased by 65 percent and silver by 50 percent. In 1737, the bakufu set about spurring its tax intendants into an effort to restore government tax revenues, in particular in the shogunal lands in western Japan. Thereafter, the shogunate finances took a sudden upward turn. Tax revenues in 1737 showed a jump of 340,000 *koku* over those of the previous year, and for the next nine years up until 1745 the average revenue was 1.6 million *koku*, or some 80, 000 *koku* more than the average for the period 1724-1730.[68] Thus, for the series of Daijōsai ceremonies held from the eighth month to the eleventh month of the third year of Genbun (1738), the shogunate was able to spend as much as 180, 000 *ryō*, almost half of the bakufu's annual surplus.

At the same time, the bakufu-run music enterprise went well. The Superintendent of temples and shrines, Inoue Masayuki 井上正之 (1696-1737), resigned due to poor health on the seventh day of the sixth month of the first

[68] For more details about Yoshimune's economic reform, see, e.g., Tsuji Tatsuya, "Politics in the Eighteenth Century," in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 4, ed. John Whitney Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 445-456.

year of Genbun. His successor, Makino Sadamichi 牧野貞通(1707-1749), was, in turn, in charge of the bakufu's contact with the *naidan qin* player Onoda Tōzen and Sakabe Masatada. Tokugawa Munetake carried on with his music project and borrowed music books regularly from the Shogunal library.

Nevertheless, Munetake's understanding about the shogunal music endeavor might not have been identical with that of his father. Trained in the classics by Doi Motonari and being a student of the Neo-Confucian Arai Hakuseki, Munetake was a Confucian scholar-gentleman in the most conservative Confucian tradition. As a Neo-Confucian, he believed that music partook of the universal Principle, and was thus linked to the welfare of the state. Munetake believed in a prior Way, which had temporal priority over the sages who functioned as the discoverers of the Way. In this sense, Munetake stepped away from Sorai's theory of legitimization. Furthermore, Munetake felt that the *gagaku* took its prototype from ancient Chinese music and was intended to provide moral edification and rectification. But, at the same time, he believed that the Japanese *kagura* 神楽 (ancient Shintō music and dance) served the same didactic purposes. Munetake's position was traditional in the sense that it resembled the attitudes toward music and ritual of orthodox Neo-Confucianism. Nevertheless, Munetake was also revolutionary because he turned the Sino-centric music value judgment into one with a Sino-Japanese dual core. Similar understandings can be

found, for instance, in his writings on the *Man'yōshū*, Japan's most ancient anthology of verse. Munetake felt that the compilers of the *Man'yōshū* took their inspiration from the Chinese *Book of Odes* and intended their selections to provide moral edification in imitation of the presumed moral purposes of that work. This naturalization of Sinocentrism might be a result of the influence on Munetake of his two tutors, both authorities on National Learning - Kada Azumamaro (1669-1736) and Kada Arimaro (1706-1751).

Kada Azumamaro (1669-1736) and his son Kada Arimaro (1706-1751) are pioneering figures of National Learning, or *Kokugaku*, an ideological alternative to *Kangaku* Confucian Studies in the mid-Tokugawa era. National Learning, in its broadest sense, was a form of Japanese nativism. It referred to any learning and scholarship which took Japan, rather than China, as its focus. In Medieval Japan (ca. 1160-1568), there were scholars researched ancient Japanese subjects, such as the history of court ceremonial and etiquette, legal codes, the classical literature of the mid-Heian period, and so on. As heirs of this legacy of scholarship, Kada Azumamaro and other forerunners of Tokugawa National Learning developed it into a philological investigation of Japan's most ancient literary, poetic, as well as mytho-historical sources. This was done with a view to glean an Ancient Way, or *kodō*, from them, and the attendant attempt to elevate that Ancient Way to the status of a contemporary religion.

On the surface, the controversy regarding the interpretation of the Way appears to have been a philosophical disagreement. In fact, it was at least as political and ideological as it was philosophical, and it had a determining influence on the emergence and future trajectory of the Tokugawa restoration of ritual music. It also brought into focus what was, perhaps, the most compelling issue in *quondam* intellectual circles, namely, whether the Way was an invention of the Chinese ancient Sage Kings as suggested by Sorai, or a product of nature as held by the Neo-Confucians, or whether a Japanese Way (*kodō*) was embodied in the nation's ancient literary, poetic, and mytho-historical sources of this land.

It was in the midst of such an ideological chaos that the Tokugawa Shogunate moved to the climactic moment of the gagakuization of the *qin*. During the intervening years, a huge extension of the *gaku-kin* musical corpus was produced (Gaku-kin, nos. 10-102, see discussion below). On the eighteenth day of the ninth month, the concert described at the beginning of this chapter was offered to Shōgun Tokugawa Yoshimune at Shiro Shoin in Edo. All the Edo officials were invited. Hereditary *gakunin* from Kyōto and Edo presented eight *gagaku* instrumental pieces: *Netori* (i.e., modal prelude), *Sandaien* (kyū, Gaku-kin, no. 27), *Batō* (Gaku-kin, no. 55), *Etenraku* (nokorigaku sanben, Gaku-kin, no. 40), *Goshōraku* (Gaku-kin, no. 33), *Bairo* (Gaku-kin, no. 34), *Ringa* (Gaku-kin, no. 39),

and *Keitoku* (Gaku-kin, no. 45). Among the musicians who served, Koma Chikatō performed on the *qin*. Three days later, on the twenty-first day of the ninth month, Tokugawa Yoshimune bestowed silver upon Koma Chikatō and his son Koma Noriyasu. Eleven members from the Momijiyama *gakusho* who accompanied Koma Chikatō at Shiro Shoin also received considerable remuneration from Yoshimune. Furthermore, Onoda Tōzen, a grand pupil of Tōkō Shinetsu who taught Koma Chikatō *qin* playing, and Sakabe Masatada who assisted Onoda, also got a remarkable amount of monetary reward from the Superintendent of temples and shrines Makino Sadamichi.

Two months later, on the nineteenth day of the eleventh month, the grand ceremonies of the great Feast of Emperor Sakuramachi's enthronement were held in Kyōto. It is natural that, after all his long-term plotting, Yoshimune was keen to know every detail of the ceremonies. But it was obviously improper for Yoshimune to attend the ceremonies in person. Throughout Tokugawa history, Shogun Iemitsu's 1634 trip to Kyōto was the last such trip of any shogun until the bakufu was crumbling in the middle of the nineteenth century. Therefore, Yoshimune commissioned Kada Arimaro, Munetake's authority on Japanese Studies, to write a description of the ceremonies performed by Emperor Sakuramachi. Arimaro's natural father died just before the ceremonies, but he still fulfilled the Shogunal order and wrote two versions of the ceremony, one of

which he presented to the bakufu, and the other, abridged version he later published on his own initiative under the title *Daijōe benmō* 大嘗會便蒙 [Introduction of the Great Feast of Emperor's enthronement].

The delicate balance between the court and the bakufu that Shōgun Yoshimune designed was seriously undermined by this. Circulation of Arimaro's book only promoted the Shintō cult. Arimaro's failure to secure official permission for his private publication so angered the bakufu that, in the fifth year of Genbun, it ordered Arimaro placed under house arrest for one hundred days (from the tenth day of the ninth month to the twelfth day of the twelfth month), and confiscated all printer's blocks of the manuscript.[69]

3.6 Singing the New Melody

The musical corpus of *gaku-kin* music that came into being between 1735 and 1738, was never exposed to any inquiry, with the only exception of one short piece, *Goshōraku* (Gaku-kin, no. 158), copied in Tachibana Minamikei 橘南谿 (1754-1806)'s late compilation *Kingaku zasshi* 琴學雜誌.[70] Therefore, the repertoire

[69] For more details on the bakufu's reaction to Arimaro's publishing the *Daijōe benmō*, see Toki Zenmaro, *Tayasu Munetake*, vol. 4, 304-329.
[70] Kishibe Shigeo, *Edo jidai no kinshi monogatari*, 27-28. The piece was mentioned by Kishibe Shigeo for comparison purposes.

that Onoda Tōzen and Koma Chikatō built has never been differentiated within the vast literature of Tokugawa *qin* music. None of the pieces have been inventoried, and their interrelations among each other remain in complete darkness. In the rest of this chapter, a thorough account of this musical corpus will be given, followed by an exploration of the filiation of the sources, and a discussion trying to reveal the nature of the gagakuization.

Major sources on the Tokugawa *gaku-kin* music belonged to the former collection of the Tayasu House. These are currently kept at the Tahan Bunko of the National Institute of Japanese Literature. The codicological data, contents, and provenance of the three core manuscripts are offered below.

1. Manuscript Tōkyō, Kokubungaku Kenkyū Shiryōkan 504-1, henceforth *KomaK*, is an eighteenthcentury manuscript measuring 226×167 mm. and containing 22 folios. The front book cover bears the title "Kin fu 琴譜 [Scores for the *Qin*]." The following annotations in smaller script are written next to it: "Gaku kyoku 樂曲[*Gaku* Pieces];" "Liang fu yin 梁父吟;" and another three characters that are unrecognizable. Two exlibris of Kodama Kūkū 兒玉空空 (1735-1812) were stamped on folios 1 and 22. Two stamps of the Tahan Bunko of the Tayasu House in Edo appear on the recto of the first folio. Notations of nine pieces of *gagaku* appear on folios 1r to 14r (Gaku-kin, nos. 1-9). The composition

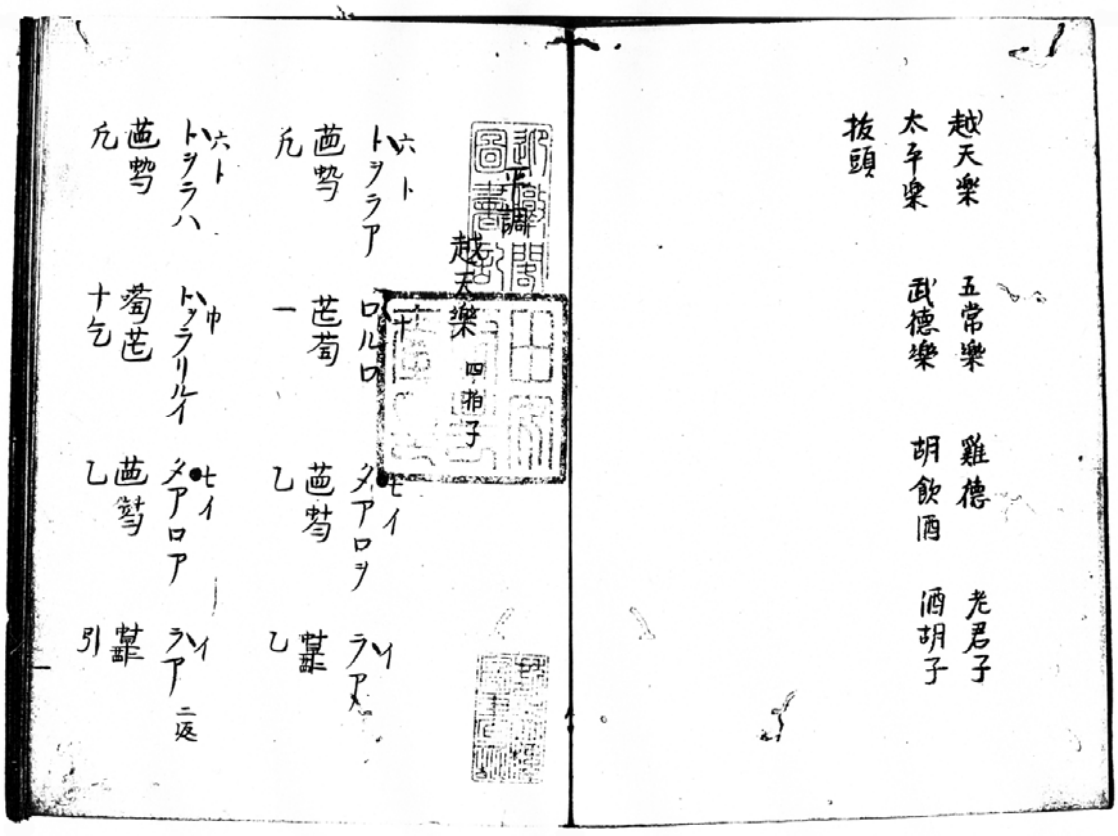

Figure 3.4: Gaku-kin no. 1, JP-Ts 504-1, folio. 1r

of these compound notations varies in three ways: In the pieces *Etenraku* and *Batō*, the music was notated in four columns from right to left in parallel to each other: the *ryūteki* flute tablature, the *shōga* oral mnemonics, the *qin* notation, and the *shō* mouthorgan tablature (see Figure 3.4, the copying of the *shō* tablature was stopped in the fifth column in the piece *Batō*); in *Goshōraku* (Kyū), the compound notation consists of three columns: the *shō* mouthorgan tablature, the *qin* notation, and the *shōga*; the rest of the nine *gagaku* pieces only contain *shōga* mnemonics and *ryūteki* tablature. The position of beats is indicated by melon-seed-like dots,

丶, drawn to the right side of the *shōga*. Within them, the notation of the main drum-beat is notated with a large dot, ●. Beginning from folio 19r, the latter part of the manuscript contains a piece of a Chinese *qin* song entitled *Liang fu yin*, and six *qin* modal preludes from a Ming dynasty Chinese encyclopedia, *Sancai tu hui* 三才圖繪 [Collected illustrations of the three realms (Heaven, Earth and Man)]. The latter seven pieces have nothing to do with *gaku-kin* music and, therefore, are excluded from Appendix B.

2. Manuscript Tōkyō, Kokubungaku Kenkyū Shiryōkan 510, henceforth *KomaO*, is a magnificent eighteenthcentury manuscript in seven volumes measuring 265×200 mm. and containing 180 folios altogether. The front book cover bears the title "Gakkyoku kin fu 樂曲琴譜[Score of *Gaku-kin* Pieces]." The first volume consisting of 31 folios contains the notation of sixteen pieces in *ichikotsu-jō* (Gaku-kin, nos. 10-26). The second volume consisting of 38 folios contains the notation of nineteen pieces in *hyō-jō* (Gaku-kin, nos. 27-45). The third volume consisting of 27 folios contains the notation of thirteen pieces in *taijiki-jō* (Gaku-kin, nos. 46-58). The fourth volume consisting of 23 folios contains the notation of twelve pieces in *sō-jō* (Gaku-kin, nos. 59-70). The fifth volume consisting of 26 folios contains the notation of thirteen pieces in *ōjiki-jō* (Gaku-kin, nos. 71-85). The sixth volume consisting of 29 folios contains the notation of fourteen pieces in *banjiki-jō* (Gaku-kin, nos. 86-99). The seventh volume

consisting of 6 folios contains the notation of three pieces in *ichikotsu*, *hyō*, and *sō* mode, respectively (Gaku-kin, nos. 100-102). All the notations throughout the manuscript were carefully copied in one consistent, regular script. Stamps of the Tahan Bunko in Edo and the exlibris of Kodama Kūkū appear throughout the manuscript. Each page contains four columns of compound notation constituted by the *qin* notation, and the corresponding *shō* tablature written on the right side of it (see Figure 3.5). The main drum-beat is notated with intercolumnary markers, denoting binary units.

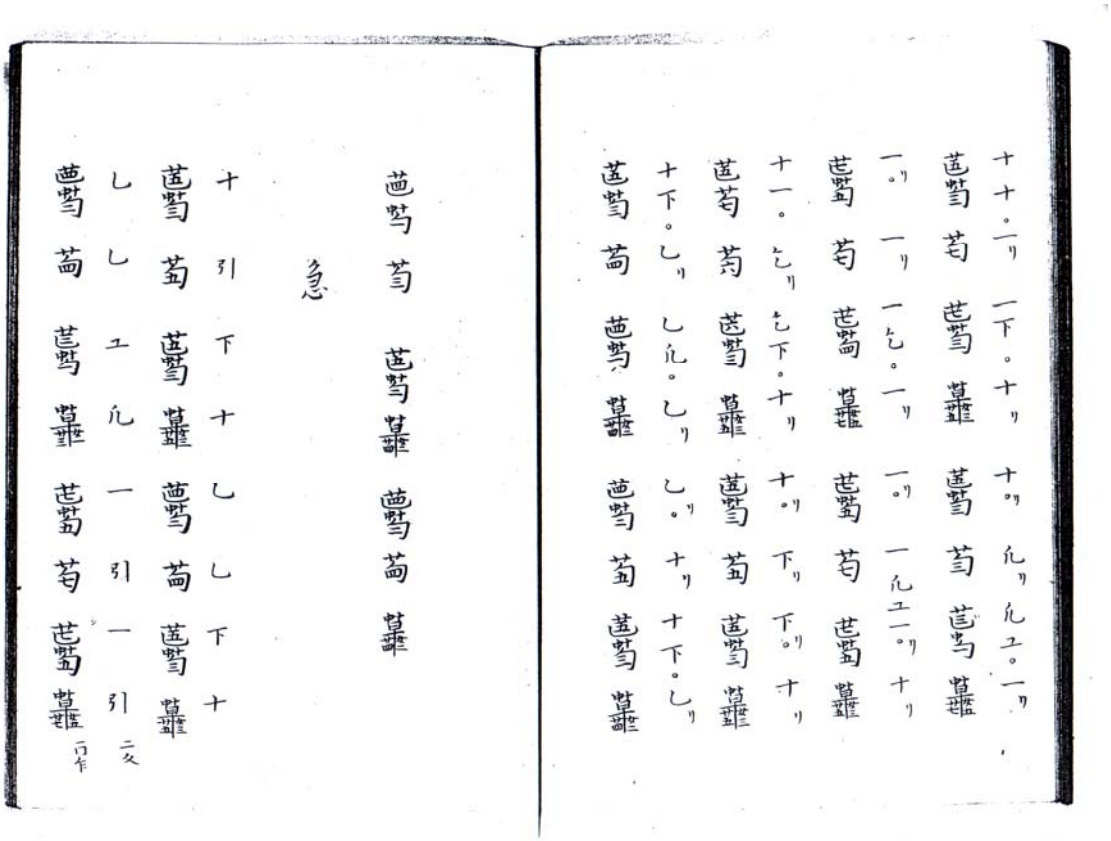

Figure 3.5: Gaku-kin no. 33 (*Goshōraku*, Ha and Kyū), JP-Ts 510, vol. 2, folios 18v-19r

3. Manuscript Tōkyō, Kokubungaku Kenkyū Shiryōkan 503, henceforth *KomaG*, is a mid-eighteenth century pamphlet measuring 216×155 mm. and containing no more than 8 folios. The front cover bears the title "Ga kin fu 雅琴譜 [Score of Ritual *Qin* Music]." The red inscription on the recto of the first folio reads "[From] the former collection of Kōda Shizen (1692-1758) 幸田子泉舊藏," which, judging from the style of calligraphy, was presumably written by the hand of Kōda's *qin* disciple Kodama Kūkū. Two stamps of the Tahan Bunko in Edo appear on the same page. The exlibris of Kodama Kūkū can be found on folio 8v. In *KomaG*, the compound notation of the first three pieces *Etenraku*, *Goshōraku*, and *Batō* (Gaku-kin, nos. 103-105) on folio 1r-5r consists of the *qin* notation in the middle of the column, the *shō* mouthorgan tablature on its right side (each group of *shō* tablature signs is corresponding to a unit of two *qin* notes), and, on its left side, the Chinese nomenclature indicating the interval between the two *qin* notes of each unit (copying of the nomenclature was stopped at the first column of the notation of the third piece *Batō* on folio 3r). The position of beats is indicated by red dots (*kobyōshi*) drawn to the right side of the *qin* notation. Among them, the notation of the main drum beat is notated with a large dot. Beginning from folio 5r, the latter part of the manuscript contains two pieces, *Goshōraku* (Kyū), and *Etenraku* (Gaku-kin, nos. 106-107), in another kind of compound notation, made up of the *qin* notation and the *shō* tablature on its right.

Each *shō* tablature sign is still corresponding to a unit of two *qin* notes. But the *kobyōshi* dots were added on the right side of the *shō* tablature, rather than that of the *qin*. The notation of the main drum-beat etc. varies: In *Goshōraku* (Kyū) it is notated as a large dot; in *Etenraku*, like in *KomaO*, it is notated with a circle, and all the other *kobyōshi* dots were left unnotated. In between the notation of the two pieces, on folio 7v, the page was given to a table of *ai-take* 合竹, the complex cluster-chords applied to the *shō* melody-note.

Although there is no preamble or postscript attached to any one of the three sources described above, comparison of the *qin* notation among the these manuscripts reveals the following insights: Firstly, there is no concordance between *KomaK* and *KomaO*; secondly, the *qin* notation of the first three *gaku-kin* pieces appearing in *KomaG - Etenraku*, *Goshōraku*, and *Batō* (Gaku-kin, nos. 103-105) - are identical with the pieces under the same titles preserved in *KomaK* (Gaku-kin, nos. 1, 2, and 9); and thirdly, the *qin* notation of the last two *gaku-kin* pieces appearing in *KomaG - Goshōraku* (Kyū), and *Etenraku* (Gaku-kin, nos. 106-107) - are identical with the same pieces in *KomaK* (Gaku-kin, nos. 33, and 40). Therefore, *KomaG* can be viewed as a collection of excerpts extracted from the music preserved in the two sources, *KomaK* and *KomaO*, and it must consequently be posterior to the two repertoires. Given the fact that *KomaG* belonged to the former collection of Kōda Shizen, who died in 1758, the music of

all the above discussed three sources must have copied, and have come into being no later than 1758.

Among the three manuscripts, *KomaO*, consisting of seven volumes of resplendent size, offers us the largest and most fascinating repertoire of *gaku-kin* music available. The total of ninety-three pieces are all copied in one consistent, regular script. The notations are all formatted in a single style. All these observations indicate that the huge repertoire was probably copied in one go. Throughout the Tokugawa period, the largest gagakuization project of *qin* music was the one launched by Shōgun Yoshimune. Therefore, it is reasonable to surmise that *KomaO* is a presentation copy of the musical corpus made by Onoda Tōzen and Koma Chikatō under the order of Yoshimune during the period 1735-1738. This opinion is underpinned by its music being copied in a fourth manuscript kept at Hikone Castle: Manuscript Hikone, Hikone-jō Hakubutsukan V321, henceforth the *Yamanoi*. It is an 1844 manuscript made by rolling a sheet of paper measuring 262×655 mm. into four panels in roll-fold style. Each panel measures ca. 262×164 mm. The title "*Yamanoike kin no fu* 山井家琴之譜[The *Qin* notation of the Yamanoi family]" was written in cursive script on another sheet of light yellow paper measuring ca. 106×53 mm. and pasted on the first panel on the verso. The notation of *Goshōraku* (Kyū) occupies four succeeding panels on the recto (see Figure 3.6). An exlibris of the Ii family appears in the first panel of the

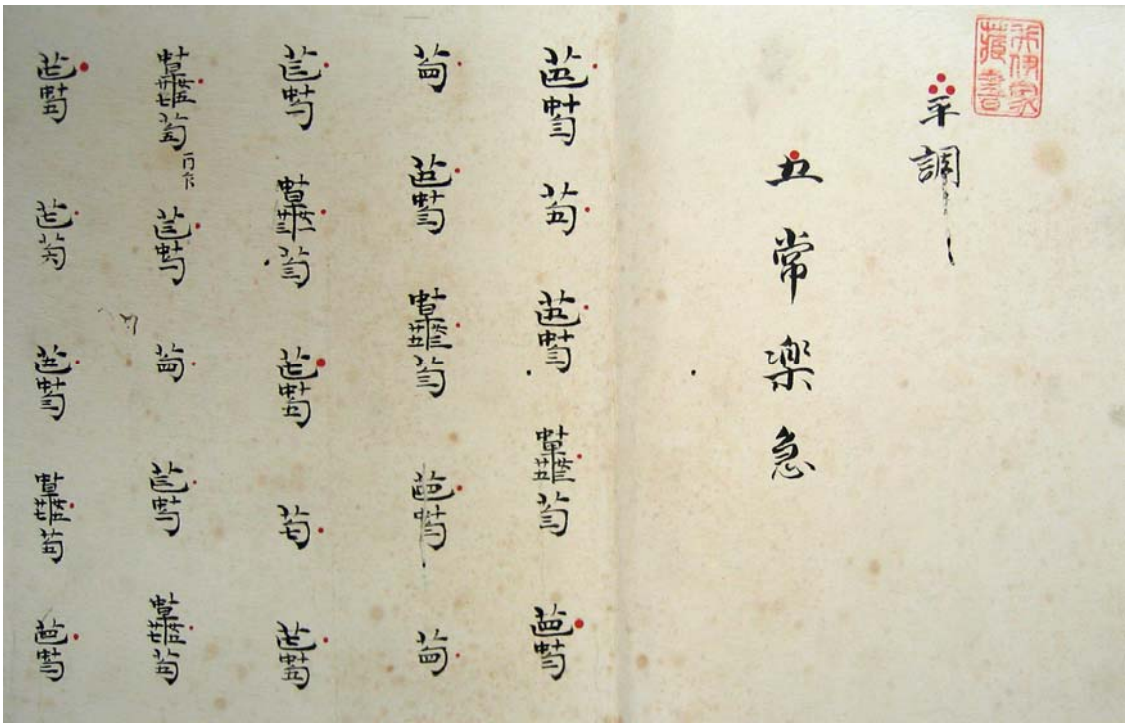

Figure 3.6: Gaku-kin no. 165 (*Goshōraku*, Kyū), JP-Hh 321, panels 1r-2r

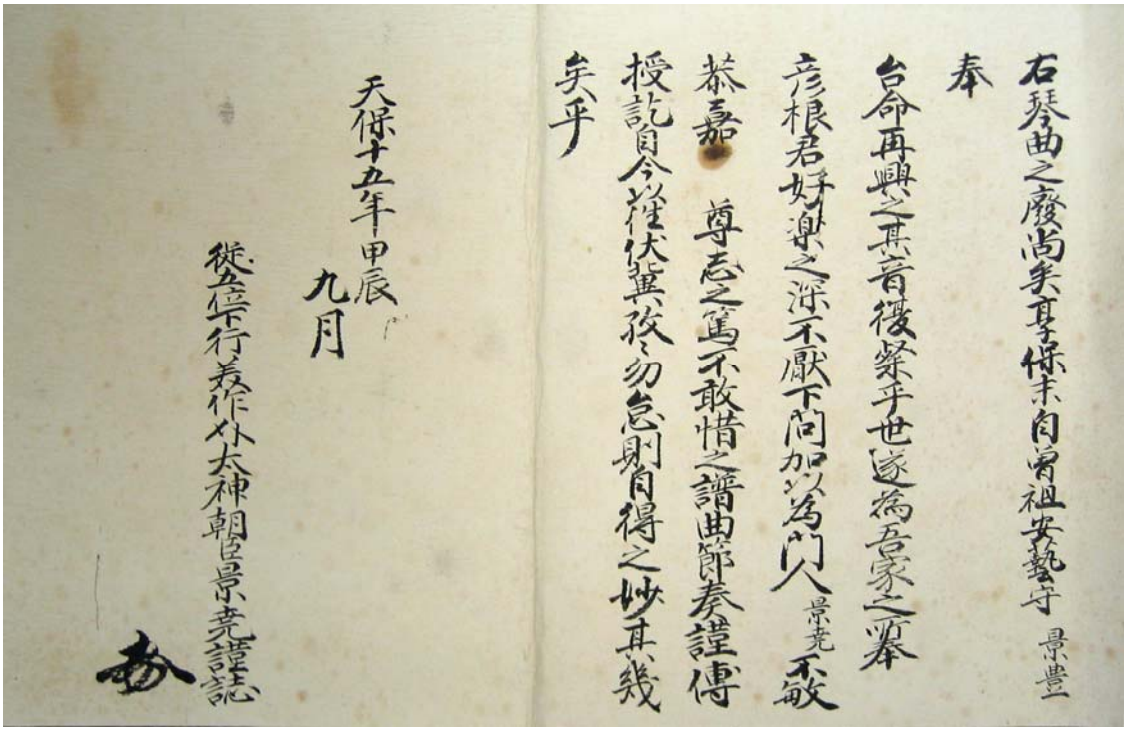

Figure 3.7: JP-Hh 321, panels 2v-3v

notation. Only *qin* notation was provided. Drum-beats were notated with red dots (*kobyōshi*) drawn to the right side of the *qin* notation. Among them, the main drum-beat is notated with a large dot. From the colophone appears on the last two panels on the verso, manuscript *Yamanoi* was written by Yamanoi Kagenori (1783-1846) for Ii Naoaki (1794-1850), daimyō of Hikone, in the ninth month of the fifteenth year of Tenpō (1844). The *qin* notation of *Yamanoi* is identical with the *qin* part of the piece *Goshōraku* contained in *KomaO* (Please compare Figure 3.5 with Figure 3.6). On the identity of the music, Yamanoi Kagenori noted (see Figure 3.7):

> The *qin* music, as notated on the right side of the sheet, has been lost a long time ago. Until, at the end of the Kyōhō era (1716-1735), my great-grandfather Aki no Kami,[71] Kagetoyo (Yamanoi Kagetoyo, 1672-1739), received a Shogunal order to revive the *qin*, did its music resound in the world. Since then, it became our family-transmitted tradition. The Lord of Hikone (Ii Naoaki, 1794-1850) loves music so much that he never tired to learn from his subordinates and wanted to be my pupil. I, Kagetaka (Yamanoi Kagetaka, 1802-1848), am not good enough to serve for the purpose. However, in favor of your most earnest will, I hereby provide you with all the knowledge on the music that I have learned, without any reservations. I wish you will be able, in the time to come, to persist in *qin* playing.Then you will grasp the subtleties of the music.
>
> In the ninth month of the fifteenth year of Tenpō (1844), noted by the Lower

[71] Aki was a province in the Chūgoku region of western Honshū, comprising the western part of what is today Hiroshima Prefecture. However, such a post was honorary during the Edo period, and therefore not a landed title.

Grade of the Junior Fifth Court Rank, Mimasaka no Kami,[72] Ōga no Asomi, Kagenori.

Kaō Signature
右琴曲之廢尚矣。享保末，自曽祖安藝守景豐奉　　台命再興之，其音複粲乎世，遂為吾家之所奉。彦根君好樂之深，不厭下問，加以為門人。景堯不敏，恭嘉　　尊志之篤，不敢惜之譜曲節奏，謹傳授訖。自今以往，伏冀孜孜勿怠，則自得之妙其幾矣乎。天保十五年甲辰九月
從五位下行美作守太神朝臣景堯謹誌
花押 [73]

From the colophon translated above, the identity of the music pieces transmitted in the Tōkyō anthology *KomaO* becomes clear. They were *gaku-kin* pieces made by the naiden *qin* player Onoda Tōzen and by Kyōto *gakunin* Koma Chikatō during the period 1735-1738, and were transmitted to the Momijiyama *gakunin* Yamanoi Kagetoyo via Koma Chikatō. Given Onoda Tōzen's own admission that only a total of twenty-five *gaku-kin* pieces were made in the year 1735,[74] the ninety-three pieces copied *en bloc* and contained in the *KomaO* must have been created after 1735, in the second phrase of the gagakuization of the Genbun era (1736-1738). If so, the ninety-three pieces contained in *KomaO* and the first three *gaku-kin* pieces appearing in *KomaG - Etenraku*, *Goshōraku*, and *Batō* (Gaku-kin, nos. 103-105) copied from the same repertoire came into form by the

[72] Mimasaka was a province of Japan in the part of Honshū that is today northeastern Okayama Prefecture.
[73] Yamanoi Kagetoyo, *Yamanoike kin no fu*, JP-Hh 321.
[74] See above, section 3.4.

eighteenth day of the ninth month of the third year of Genbun (1738) when the Shogunal endeavor was completely accomplished. Moreover, the copying of the *Yamanoi* manuscript in Hikone demonstrates that it was not just the Koma family in Kyōto but also some of the Momijiyama *gakunin* in Edo that preserved the *gaku-kin* playing as their family-transmitted tradition. By the time Yamanoi Kagenori copied the music for Ii Naoaki in 1844, the music had already been handed down for more than one hundred years (see Table 1.2).

The rest of the music contained in the three main sources listed above - the nine pieces of *KomaK* and the first three pieces of *KomaG* - can be identified by introducing a fifth and a sixth manuscript, Tachibana Minamikei 橘南谿 (1754-1806)'s miscellanea on the *qin* music, *Kingaku zasshi* 琴學雜誌, and the unpublished version of Murai Kinzan 村井琴山 (1733-1815)'s *Kinzan kin roku* 琴山琴録. The latter, manuscript Hikone, Hikone-jō Hakubutsukan V327 (henceforth *Murai*), which I introduced in the first Chapter in order to demonstrate the difficulties in obtaining Chinese instruction on *qin* playing in Tokugawa Japan, contains two *gaku-kin* pieces that were clearly identified by Murai as the products of Onoda Tōzen. *Murai* is a late eighteenth- to early nineteenth-century manuscript measuring 250×132 mm. Originally it consisted of a set of eight volumes, corresponding to seven chapters plus one introductory section. Now, the first and third volumes are missing; only six volumes have survived. The

front of every volume cover bears the title "*Kinzan kin roku* 琴山琴録" in beautiful clerical script. Two exlibris of the Ii family appear on the recto of the first folio of each volume. The fourth volume of the original set, i.e., the second volume in the current form (call number V327-3), contains 33 folios devoted to the historical background, the notation, and some annotations of the two *gakukin* pieces made by Onoda. The notation of Onoda's *Etenraku* appears on folios 2r-4v (Gaku-kin, no. 154). The notation of his *Goshōraku* appears on folios 13r-18r (Gaku-kin, no. 155). Murai Kinzan copied only the *qin* notation, and added his own explanation of fingerings in Japanese prose.

Compared with *Murai*, the *gaku-kin* notation copied in Tachibana's *Kingaku zasshi* (henceforth *Tachibana*), now kept in Kishibe Shigeo's private collection, is more faithful to its exemplar(s).[75] *Tachibana* consists of two volumes. The first volume has 11 folios. It deals with theoretical issues, such as temperament and tuning. The second volume is divided into twenty-one sections and is much lengthier, containing 24 folios in total. Among the twenty-one sections of volume 2, the most valuable parts are sections 12, 13 and 14, where *Tachibana* offers different versions of the following *gaku-kin* pieces: *Etenraku*, *Goshōraku* and *Batō*,

[75] Tachibana did not fully understand the notations he copied. For instance, under the title of the *gaku-kin* piece *Etenraku*, Tachibana noted that the other three columns of notation other than that of the *qin* were scores of the mouthorgan *shō*, vertical flute, and *kōto* respectively. In fact, they were, however, the notations of the *shō*, the *shōga* oral mnemonics, and the *ryūteki* flute tablature.

prepared by Onoda Tōzen (Gaku-kin, nos. 157-159); *Goshōraku*, *Bairo*, *Ōshōkun* by Urakami Gyokudō (Gaku-kin, nos. 160-162); and *Goshōraku*, *Etenraku* by Murai Kinzai (Gaku-kin, nos. 163-164). The composition of the compound notation of Onoda's three pieces appearing on folios 10v-13v varies in two ways: In *Etenraku* (Gaku-kin, no. 157) and *Batō* (Gaku-kin, nos. 159), the notation consists of the *shō* mouth-organ tablature, the *qin* notation, the *shōga* oral mnemonics, and the *ryūteki* flute tablature; in *Goshōraku* (Gaku-kin, nos. 158), the notation consists of the *qin* notation, the *shōga* oral mnemonics, and the *ryūteki* flute tablature. The position of the beats is indicated by melon-seed-like dots drawn to the right side of the *shōga*.

In summary: Regarding the concordances among the pieces, namely the composition of the compound notation and the part score of each column (see Appendix B), the three *gakukin* pieces *Etenraku*, *Goshōraku* and *Batō* prepared by Onoda Tōzen in *Tachibana* are identical with the music preserved in *KomaK* and the first three pieces of *KomaG*. The *qin* notation of *Etenraku* and *Goshōraku* preserved in *Murai* is part of the music shared by *Tachibana*, *KomaK* and the first half of *KomaG*. Since both the *Tachibana* and *Murai* attribute the music unanimously to Onoda Tōzen, the music preserved in *KomaK* and the first half of *KomaG* can be safely regarded as the creations of Onoda. Given the facts that Onoda's music shared by the *Tachibana*, *Murai*, *KomaK* and the first half of *KomaG*

differs from the *gaku-kin* pieces under the same titles preserved in *KomaO*, *Yamanoi*, and the second half of *KomaG*, a repertoire made by Onoda in 1738, they were possibly not made during the second phase on the gagakuization of *qin* music in Gunben era, but during the first phase in the twentieth year of Kyōhō (1735). Moreover, in contrast with the stylistic consistency among the pieces copied in *KomaO*, *Yamanoi*, and the second half of *KomaG*, the composition of the compound notations employed in the manuscripts *Tachibana*, *Murai*, *KomaK* and the first half of *KomaG* varies in several ways. The *qin* notation of the six pieces in the middle of the manuscript *KomaK* may not have been worked out yet. They might be viewed as copies of working versions in which the composer(s) tried various possible notational arrangements seeking for the best avenue to visually present the *qin*'s gagakuization. If so, the music shared by *Tachibana*, *Murai*, *KomaK* and the first half of *KomaG* can be tentatively identified as (copies of) working versions used by Onoda Tōzen and Koma Chikatō between the fifth month and the ninth month of the twentieth year of Kyōhō (1735). To recapitulate briefly: among the six *gaku-kin* manuscript sources discussed, working versions of a total of nine pieces made by Onoda and Koma in 1735, and final versions of the ninety-three pieces made by Onoda and Koma in 1738, could be identified.

Though only the working version of nine pieces can be differentiated within the *gaku-kin* corpus, the layout of their notation provides us with insights on how

the music, or at least its notational record, was created in 1735. In the previous discussion, I have demonstrated that what Yoshimune wanted in 1735 was not Ming-style Chinese *qin* music as surmised by Kishibe, but a genuine, Japanese version of *gaku-kin*.[76] Onoda and Koma, presumably affected by Sorai, believed that the *shō* parts of *gagaku* preserve original melodies borrowed by the Japanese from ancient China, and intended to apply these to the *qin*. As a matter of fact, regarding the *gagaku* tablature itself, in contrast to the considerable changes observable in the other wind instruments the flute and reedpipe, the Tokugawa mouthorgan part-books closely resembled their earliest surviving predecessors. In accordance with this understanding, in most of the notations of *gaku-kin* music dateable in the period 1735-1738, we can find a simple version of the melody notated in *shō* tablature next to the column of *qin* notation (see Figures 3.4 and 3.5). However, by the time of Koma Chikatō, the reading of these *shō* tablature-signs had been greatly altered by introducing unwritten conventions of performance practice, most notably the practice of adding notes not written in the score to form five- or six-note cluster chords (*ai-take* 合竹) above each single notated pitch.[77] As noted earlier, in *KomaG*, a table of *ai-take* cluster-chords appears on folio 7v in between the notation of the two pieces, *Goshōraku* (Kyū)

[76] See above, section 3.4, fn. 55.

[77] Allan Marett, "In Search of the Lost Melodies of Tang China: An Account of Recent Research and Its Implications for the History and Analysis of Tōgaku," *Musicology Australia* 9 (1986): 30.

and *Etenraku*. It is a clear evidence of the contemporary practice of *gagaku* that the creators' of *gaku-kin* music have engaged in. As a result, even though the *shō* tablature is unchanged, the Tokugawa reading of it differed from that of earlier periods. The *gaku-kin* music was not made in accordance to the early practice of *gagaku*, but its Tokugawa variation.[78]

Of greatest interests for us in the present context is that the layout of the working notation which presents the flute *shōga* oral mnemonics as one of the two central columns (the other is the *qin* notation on the left of the *shōga*), and the *ryūteki* flute tablature to the right of the *shōga*.

The *shōga* 唱歌 is a term that refers to singing the melody of an instrumental *gagaku* piece. In other words, we are dealing with an oral mnemonic technique for instrumental music. Although fragments of *shōga* can be found in early sources,[79] such as the early thirteenth-century *gagaku* treatise *Kyōkunshō*,[80] and

[78] For a philosophical legitimization on different interpretations of *gagaku* notation, see Rembrant Wolpert, "Metronomes, Matrices, and other Musical Monsters: Editions of Japanese 'Táng Music' in retrospect," in *"Vom Erkennen des Erkannten": musikalische Analyse und Editionsphilologie: Festschrift für Christian Martin Schmidt*, ed. Friederike Wissmann, Thomas Ahrend and Heinz von Loesch (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2007), 59-77.

[79] For the history of *Gagaku shōga* from its origins to *Meiji senteifu*, see Shiba Sukeyasu 芝祐靖, "Ōteki shōga ko 横笛唱歌考," *Gagaku-kai* 雅樂界 57 (1982): 43-91.

[80] Koma Chikazane 狛近眞(1177-1242), *Kyōkunshō* 教訓抄, ed. Ueki Yukinobu 植木行宣 in *Kodai chūsei geijutsuron* 古代中世藝術論, ed. Hayashiya Tatsusaburō 林屋辰三郎 et al. (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1973), 9-215.

the fourteenth-century flute anthology *Chū Ōga ryūteki yōroku-fu* for instance,[81] consistent writing of *shōga* mnemonics into the body of *gagaku* notation appeared in Tokugawa period.[82] As a result, these *shōga* represent the musical practice of the Tokugawa contemporaneous *gagaku* playing, rather than its Heian predecessor or its Chinese prototype. Elizabeth Markham, in her briefing on the different roles the various *gagaku* instruments played, observed:

> Over the centuries, from a heterophonic ensemble of winds and strings with percussion, orchestral Court Music has evolved in such a way that, for the "Chinese" Tōgaku repertory nowadays, flute and reed-pipe alone are the melody-bearers of an embellished, formulaically-constructed melodic line in a Japanese mode, "framed with multi-coloured chords" on the mouthorgan, accompanied by ostinato percussion patterns, and with strings (when used) filling a supportive, structural role with drones or figurated drones.[83]

Among these instruments, only the two wind melody-bearers of Tokugawa

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[81] *Chū Ōga ryūteki yōroku-fu* is a fourteenthcentury flute score compiled by Yamanori Kagemitsu (1273-1353/54?). It survives only in manuscript copies. Fragments of *shōga* can be found in its Tenri copy. For further information on the interrelationship of its surviving copies, see Allan Marett, "An Investigation of sources for *Chū Ōga ryūteki yōroku-fu*, a Japanese flute score of the 14th century," *Musica Asiatica* 5, ed. Richard Widdess (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988): 210-67.

[82] For an investigation on the flute *shōga* surviving from the late seventeenthcentury sources, see Terauchi Naoko 寺内直子, "Edo jidai ni okeru ryūteki shōga ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu 江戸時代初期における龍笛唱歌に関する一考察," *Kokusai bunkagaku kenkyu* 国際文化学研究 22 & 23 (2005): 1-30.

[83] Elizabeth J. Markham, "The Concept of a 'Basic Melody' in early Japanese Court Music: Evidence in a Buddhist Vocal Notation?" in *Studia instrumentorum musicae popularis XII*, ed. Eszter Fontana, Andreas Michel and Erich Stockmann (Halle an der Saale: Stekovics, 2004), 67-73.

gagaku, the flute and reed-pipe, have their respective notated *shōga*. These *shōga* are Japanese syllabaries which David Hughes has termed "vowel-pitch solfège systems,"[84] because of the apparent correlation between vowel color and melodic pitch direction. Nevertheless, in the account of Onoda we learned that when preparing their *gaku-kin* pieces in 1735, because "Koma Chikatō's hereditary musical specialty is the mouthorgan *shō*," he was "able to play the *qin* and sing the notation simultaneously."[85] As we know, there is no specific written *shōga* for mouthorgan. What, then, was the mouthorgan player Koma Chikatō singing when playing the *qin*? And which melodies did he sing - the old or the new ones?

Markham's ethnomusicological observations from her twelve-month residence when she participated in rehearsal and performances at Kasuga Grand Shrine, Nara in the 1980s is revealing: "For a mouthorgan player, singing the *shōga* from his part-book involves singing the mouthorgan tablature to a simplified version of the reed-pipe melody."[86] That is to say, when singing the *shōga*, the mouthorgan player speaks in the old *shōga* tablature-characters to the pitch of the new melody conveyed through wind melody-bearers. Judged from the composition of the compound notation of *gaku-kin* pieces, the only difference

[84] David W. Hughes, "No Nonsense: The Logic and Power of Acoustic-Iconic Mnemonic Systems," *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* 9, no. 2 (2000): 93-120.
[85] See above, section 3.4.
[86] Elizabeth J. Markham, "Concept," 69.

between Elizabeth Markham's observation at Nara in 1980s and Kyōto *gakunin* Koma Chikatō's practice in 1735 lies in the minute point that Koma sung the mouthorgan tablature to a simplified version of the flute melody, rather than that of the reed-pipe.

During the period 1735-1738, when Koma and Onoda copied the *shō* notation, the most stable tablature of the *gagaku* tradition, next to the column of the *qin* notation, the archaic *shō* tablature was intended to stand for the music's antiquity and authenticity. In fact, however, the *gaku-kin* music was made from the contemporaneous melody born by the flute *shōga*. Although, in the final version submitted to the bakufu in 1738, all the flute *shōga* were carefully concealed, its prestigious place in the working versions reminds us of the crucial role that the *shōga* played in the gagakuization. At several places (Gaku-kin, nos. 3-8), before working out the *qin* part-book, the flute *shōga* was copied first. Unbeknownst to Tokugawa bakufu, the *gaku-kin* music was not made from the earliest *gagaku* sources, but based on the contemporaneous *gagaku* playing performance practice, with the new melody sung by a Kyōto *gakunin*. Rather than reconstruction ancient practice, the musicians did not recognize that their tradition had evolved, and therefore produced a new repertoire based on contemporaneous rather than ancient musical practices as intended by the bakufu.

CONCLUSION

In a nutshell, the Tokugawa *qin* corpus consists of two repertoires: One comprises about sixty pieces of Chinese *qin* songs transmitted to Japan via the Ming loyalist Zen priest Tōkō Shin'etsu (1639-1695) in the late seventeenth century; the other consists of the Japanese *gaku-kin* pieces prepared and by Onoda Tōsen (1684-1763) and Koma Chikatō (1676-1757) at the behest of the eighth Shōgun, Tokugawa Yoshimune (1684-1751), in the early eighteenth century. This latter repertoire, a product of the naturalization of the Chinese *qin*, was furthered expanded by Yamagata Daini (1725-1767), Uragami Gyokudō (1745-1820), and Murai Kinzan (1733-1815), resulting in a total of some one hundred and sixty pieces, obviously an example of cultural appropriation in the history of music in East Asia that can hardly be neglected.

The bifurcation of the *qin* tradition in Japan throughout the eighteenth century cannot be conceptualized by the genealogical classification scheme. Onoda Tōsen was the grand-disciple of Shin'etsu, and Koma Chikatō learned the *qin* from Onoda Tōsen. In other words, the leading practitioners of the gagakuization of the instrument were all descendents of the Shin'etsu lineage, or, in van Gulik's terminology, members of the *naiden* group. Hence, hostilities

between the *naiden* and *geden qin* players, if any, contributed very little to the dynamic change of *qin* music in Tokugawa Japan. Moreover, all existing scholarship on Tokugawa *qin* practice summarily dismisses *gaku-kin* music and thereby is constrained to fail to interpret the bulk of the music in point as what it was.

The gagakuization of *qin* music launched by the bakufu in the middle of the Tokugawa period was in fact an instrument of political propaganda in the guise of an ancient music revival. A critical consideration of various political ideologies in play is therefore indispensable to understand its motivation. As I have demonstrated, the philosophical impulse behind the shogunal endeavor was Sorai's idiosyncratic discourse on the Way. On the one hand, the ideological Japonification of the instrument was steeped in the contemporaneous historical realities and exigencies of mid-Tokugawa Japan. On the other hand, the Japonification, in turn, provides both an interpretation and a representation of that reality.

Sorai's contact with the two ancient scrolls on *qin* music, coupled with his interpretations of them, set the tone of the whole Japonification campaign. If Sorai's interpretations are considered in isolation from their contemporaneous social and political context, they will not be of much use. Sorai's interpretations,

idiosyncratic as they were, stimulate us to unveil the complex backdrop against which they were formulated. In almost all his musical endeavors, the Confucius fundamentalist aimed at inducing the widest possible legitimacy for the Tokugawa's iron grip on power. Once this intention is understood, the seemingly odd symbiosis of political propaganda and musical revival in Sorai's enterprise becomes understandable. As in any document of this kind where propagandistic preoccupations predominate, any appeal to antiquarianism was purely functional.

The historical materials scrutinized in previous chapters present an opportunity to reconstruct, both historically and musically, the hitherto obscure music revival launched by the Tokugawa bakufu during the period 1735-1738. Yoshimune's position taken in the enterprise clearly resonated and interacted with Sorai's political philosophy. In contrast, Yoshimune's son Munetake, as a Neo-Confucian, stepped away from Sorai's theory of legitimization and turned Sorai's Sino-centric system into one with a Sino-Japanese dual core. Musically speaking, the result of this intellectual adventure was not so much a restoration of ancient Chinese music, nor was it a revival of the ancient *gagaku* played at the Heian court. Rather, the so-called sagely *gaku-kin* music was created from the contemporaneous Tokugawa *gagaku* melodies born within the flute *shōga*. This discovery, however, does not reduce the force of meaning of the term

"gagakuization." True, it is simpler to look for an explanation of those seemingly aberrant manifestations of the Tokugawa music reform by making a distinction between "genuine" and "fake" restorations. Yet in doing so, at least two important paradigms of interpretation will be ruled out, namely, that music has an ideological function in the social context of the time concerned, and that music always involves a living factor whose contrasting manifestations are the result of the complex realities in which it is made and interpreted.

APPENDIX A

TŌKŌ SHINETSU'S REPERTOIRE

Appendix A offers sigla and information on the pre-modern historical versions of all known *qin* music from Tōkō Shinetsu's teaching. Brief descriptions are added whenever information about their mode, date and editions is available.

The full titles of the works cited in abridged form are:

Sugiura *Tōkō kinfu* 東皋琴譜, 3 chapters, plus one introductory section and one appendix. Compiled by Sugiura Kinsen 杉浦琴川 (1660-1711) in 1710. It is the first and most complete edition of the repertoire of Tōkō Shinetsu. However, this edition never got printed. It was only disseminated in manuscript copies among Tokugawa *qin* players. Sugiura's compilation contains the notation of fifty-seven pieces.[1]

SugiuraC *Tōkō kinfu* 東皋琴譜, 8 chapters. Revised by Onoda Tōsen 小野田東川 (1684-1763), it is a concise version of Sugiura's edition, which contains

[1] For more details on this edition, see above section 1.3.

the notation of forty-seven pieces and only disseminated in manuscript copies in Tokgawa period.[2]

Suzuki *Tōkō kinfu* 東皐琴譜, 1 chapter. Compiled by Suzuki Ran'en 鈴木蘭園 (1741-1790), this small woodblock edition contains the notation of fifteen pieces and a preamble by Suzuki dated in 1771.[3]

Kusano *Tōkō kinfu* 東皐琴譜, 1 chapter. Compiled by Kusano Onkei 草野溫卿 and Kikuchi Kan 菊池貫, and printed in 1797, this woodblock edition consists of the notation of sixteen pieces, a brief description of fingering, and a preface.[4]

Kojima *Tōkō kinfu* 東皐琴譜, 3 chapters. Compiled by Kojima Hyaku'ichi 兒島百一 (1778-1835), this woodblock edition consists of the notation of forty-six pieces, a prefaced added by calligrapher Nukina Kaioku 貫名海屋 (1778-1863), and a colophon dated 1827 by Kojima at the end of the book.[5]

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[2] For more details on this edition, see above section 1.3.
[3] For more details on this edition, see above section 1.3.
[4] For more details on this edition, see above section 1.3.
[5] For more details on this edition, see above section 1.3.

No.	Title	Mode	Section(s)	Date(s)	Colophon(s)	Edition(s)
1	*Gao shan* **高山**	Gong	4?	1674 1688	神品執徐孟冬再校正 甲寅桂月東皋懶衲複書于嵩山草堂之松石軒	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 1, No. 2; SugiuraC Vol. 8, No.1, 226-37.
2	*Liu shui* **流水**	Gong		1685	鶴山當進于斯耶特書其秘而傳之幷跋以識不朽是歲乙丑冬日 東皋越杜多	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 1, No. 3.
3	*Ou lu wang ji* **鷗鷺忘機**	Gong		1673	東皋杜多　時癸丑秋日西泠虛舟老人東皋山樵　同校	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 1, No. 4.
4	*Qing ping yue* **清平樂**	Gong	1	?	東皋懶衲諧音	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 1, No. 5; SugiuraC Vol. 1, No.2, 164; Kojima (1837) Vol. 1, No. 3.
5	*Lang tao sha* **浪淘沙**	Gong	1	?	東皋越杜多手校	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 1, No. 6; SugiuraC Vol. 1, No.3, 165-6; Suzuki (1771) No. 2, 243; Kojima (1837) Vol. 1, No. 4.
6	*Dong feng qi zhuo li* **東風齊著力**	Gong	1	?	東皋心越校正	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 1, No. 7; SugiuraC Vol. 1, No.4, 166-167; Kojima (1837) Vol. 1, No. 2.
7	*Si xian cao* **思賢操**	Shang	1	?	－－－－－－	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 2, No. 1.
8	*San cai yin* **三才引**	Shang	1	?	東皋心越訂正	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 2, No. 2; SugiuraC Vol. 1, No.5, 168-70; Kojima (1837) Vol. 3, No. 3.

No.	Title	Mode	Section(s)	Date(s)	Colophon(s)	Edition(s)
9	*Da zai yin* **大哉引**	Shang	1	1687	歲單閼嘉平中浣東皋越杜多諧音	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 2, No. 3; SugiuraC Vol. 1, No.6, 170-2; Kojima (1837) Vol. 3, No. 2.
10	*Qiu feng ci* **秋風辭**	Shang	1	?	聖湖野樵訂正	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 2, No. 4; SugiuraC Vol. 1, No.7, 173-4; Suzuki (1771) No. 7, 246-7; Kusano (1797) No. 2; Kojima (1837) Vol. 2, No. 3.
11	*Gui qu lai ci* **歸去來辭**	Shang	6	1710	是曲晉陶潛之著詞明楊倫之訂譜也指法韵調最爲奇古餘恒好焉嘗一日侍師而鼓一再行師欣然稱逸音遂許余發曲中之要故今記師之諧音附以楊氏之原譜 特記 庚寅仲秋望琴川子識	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 2, No. 5; SugiuraC Vol. 2, No.1, 174-81; Kusano (1797) No. 7; Kojima (1837) Vol. 2, No. 4.
12	*Zi ye wu ge* **子夜吳歌**	Shang	1	?	東皋心越校	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 2, No. 6; SugiuraC Vol. 2, No.2, 181; Suzuki (1771) No. 6, 246; Kusano (1797) No. 5; Kojima (1837) Vol. 2, No. 5.
13	*You jian quan* **幽澗泉**	Shang	1	?	東皋越杜多訂正	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 2, No. 7; SugiuraC Vol. 2, No.3, 182-3; Kusano (1797) No. 6; Kojima (1837) Vol. 2, No. 6.
14	*Jiu li bie* **久離別**	Shang	1	?	東皋懶衲改訂	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 2, No. 8; SugiuraC Vol. 2, No.4, 184-5; Kojima (1837) Vol. 1, No. 6.

No.	Title	Mode	Section(s)	Date(s)	Colophon(s)	Edition(s)
15	*Zui weng cao* 醉翁操	Shang	1	?	東皋三一山人手校于曲肱軒	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 2, No. 9; SugiuraC Vol. 2, No.5, 186-8; Kojima (1837) Vol. 3, No. 5.
16	*Ba sheng gan zhou* 八聲甘州	Shang	1	?	東皋越杜多訂正	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 2, No. 10; SugiuraC Vol. 3, No.1, 188-90; Kojima (1837) Vol. 1, No. 5.
17	*Rui he xian* 瑞鶴仙	Shang	1	?	東皋越杜多訂正	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 2, No. 11; SugiuraC Vol. 3, No.2, 190-2; Kojima (1837) Vol. 1, No. 11.
18	*Feng huang tai shang yi chui xiao* 鳳凰臺上憶吹簫	Shang	1	?	東皋越杜多手校	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 2, No. 12; SugiuraC Vol. 3, No.4, 192-4; Kojima (1837) Vol. 1, No. 12.
19	*Tai ping yin* 太平引	Shang	1	?	東皋心越訂正	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 2, No. 13; SugiuraC Vol. 3, No.3, 194-5; Kojima (1837) Vol. 1, No. 7.
20	*He chong xia* 鶴沖霄	Shang	1	1694	東皋心越訂正	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 2, No. 14; SugiuraC Vol. 3, No.5, 196; Suzuki (1771) No. 4, 244-5; Kojima (1837) Vol. 3, No. 3.
21	*Nan pu yue* 南浦月	Shang	1	1694	聖湖野樵校正	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 2, No. 15; SugiuraC Vol. 3, No.6, 197; Kojima (1837) Vol. 1, No. 9.
22	*Fei qiong yin* 飛瓊吟	Shang	1	1694	右商音三弄東皋藏譜歲甲戌新秋日觀之	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 2, No. 16; SugiuraC Vol. 3, No.7, 198-9; Kojima (1837) Vol. 1, No. 8.

No.	Title	Mode	Section(s)	Date(s)	Colophon(s)	Edition(s)
23	*Yao fang yin* **瑤芳引**	Shang	1	1686	時丙寅新烃仙華埜樵錄	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 2, No. 17; SugiuraC Vol. 3, No.8, 199-200; Kusano (1797) No. 3; Kojima (1837) Vol. 2, No. 7.
24	*Ou cheng* **偶成**	Shang	1	?	東皋懶衲手校	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 2, No. 18; SugiuraC Vol. 4, No.1, 200-1; Kojima (1837) Vol. 3, No. 4.
25	*Shi jiao yin* **石交吟**	Shang	1	1710	右石交吟者馬季良之諧譜也師絕愛此曲之詞調雖非師所諧乃手澤之舊譜也其情可見又何不附載耶庚寅冬葛村漁長識	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 2, No. 19; SugiuraC Vol. 4, No.2; Kojima (1837) Vol. 1, No. 10.
26	*Cang lang ge* **滄浪歌**	Shang	1	?	東皋心越訂正	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 2, No. 20; SugiuraC Vol. 4, No.3; Suzuki (1771) No. 3, 244; Kusano (1797) No. 4; Kojima (1837) Vol. 2, No. 2.
27	*Jin guan yin* **靜觀吟**	Shang	1	1674	執徐中秋後校正東皋越杜多識	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 2, No. 21;
28	*Feng wu ming pei* **鳳梧鳴珮**	Shang	1	?	曲肱軒藏譜 東皋手校	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 2, No. 22; SugiuraC Vol. 4, No.4; Kojima (1837) Vol. 3, No. 7.
29	*Feng ming zhao yang* **鳳鳴朝陽**	Shang	1	?	東皋越杜多校正	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 2, No. 23; SugiuraC Vol. 4, No.5; Kojima (1837) Vol. 3, No. 8.
30	*Shi tan zhang* **釋談章**	Shang		?	———————	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 2, No. 24.

No.	Title	Mode	Section(s)	Date(s)	Colophon(s)	Edition(s)
31	*Yan luo ping sha* 雁落平沙	Jue		?	————	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 3, No. 1.
32	*Ji yin zhe* 寄隱者	Jue	1	?	聖湖野樵手校	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 3, No. 2; SugiuraC Vol. 4, No.6; Suzuki (1771) No. 8, 248; Kusano (1797) No. 9; Kojima (1837) Vol. 2, No. 8.
33	*He xin lang* 賀新郎	Jue	1	?	東皋越杜多訂正	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 3, No. 3; SugiuraC Vol. 4, No.7; Kojima (1837) Vol. 1, No. 13.
34	*Nan xun cao* 南薰操	Zhi		?	————	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 3, No. 4; SugiuraC Vol. 4, No.8; Suzuki (1771) No. 9, 243; Kusano (1797) No. 10; Kojima (1837) Vol. 2, No. 10.
35	*Yi lan cao* 猗蘭操	Yu	1	?	東皋越杜多訂正	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 3, No. 5; SugiuraC Vol. 5, No.1; Kusano (1797) No. 14; Kojima (1837) Vol. 3, No. 10.
36	*Ji zhong san* 嵇中散	Yu		?	東皋懶衲諧音訂正	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 3, No. 6; SugiuraC Vol. 5, No.2; Kojima (1837) Vol. 1, No. 16.
37	*Ping sha luo yan* 平沙雁落	Yu		?	————	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 3, No. 7.
38	*Yi qin e* 憶秦娥	Yu	1	?	東皋懶衲手校	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 3, No. 8; SugiuraC Vol. 5, No.3; Kojima (1837) Vol. 1, No. 17.

No.	Title	Mode	Section(s)	Date(s)	Colophon(s)	Edition(s)
39	*Li bie nan* **離別難**	Yu	1	?	東皋懶衲訂正	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 3, No. 9; SugiuraC Vol. 5, No.4, 201-3 and 203-5; Kusano (1797) No. 13; Kojima (1837) Vol. 3, No. 12.
40	*Hua qing yin* **華清引**	Yu	1	?	皋塢山樵諧音	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 3, No. 10; SugiuraC Vol. 5, No.5, 205-6; Suzuki (1771) No. 12, 250; Kojima (1837) Vol. 1, No. 19.
41	*Pi li yin* **霹靂引**	Yu	1	?	皋塢山樵手校	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 3, No. 11; SugiuraC Vol. 5, No.6, 206-9; Kusano (1797) No. 15; Kojima (1837) Vol. 2, No. 12.
42	*Yue dang ting* **月當廳**	Yu	1	?	東皋越杜多訂正	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 3, No. 12; SugiuraC Vol. 6, No.1, 209-11; Kojima (1837) Vol. 1, No. 14.
43	*Yi wang sun* **憶王孫**	Yu	1	?	東皋越杜多訂正	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 3, No. 13; SugiuraC Vol. 6, No.2, 211-2; Suzuki (1771) No. 11, 249-50; Kojima (1837) Vol. 1, No. 15.
44	*Cao tang yin* **草堂吟**	Yu	4	?	曲肱軒藏譜 凡四闕 聖湖野樵手校	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 3, No. 14; SugiuraC Vol. 6, No.3, 212-6.
45	*Chang xiang si* **長相思**	Yu	1	?	東皋越杜多校	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 3, No. 15; SugiuraC Vol. 6, No.4, 216-7; Suzuki (1771) No. 14, 251-2; Kusano (1797) No. 11; Kojima (1837) Vol. 2, No. 11.

No.	Title	Mode	Section(s)	Date(s)	Colophon(s)	Edition(s)
46	*Xiang si qu* **相思曲**	Yu	1	?	東皋懶衲訂正	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 3, No. 16; SugiuraC Vol. 6, No.5, 217-8; Kusano (1797) No. 12; Kojima (1837) Vol. 3, No. 11.
47	*Zhu zhi ci* **竹枝詞**	Yu	1	?	東皋越杜多校 琴川公云此曲恐配商音乎	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 3, No. 17; SugiuraC Vol. 6, No.6, 218-9; Suzuki (1771) No. 10, 249; Kojima (1837) Vol. 3, No. 13.
48	*Ji shan cao* **箕山操**	Shangjue	1	?	聖湖野樵改正	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 3, No. 19; SugiuraC Vol. 7, No.1, 220-1; Kojima (1837) Vol. 1, No. 20.
49	*Xi chun cao* **熙春操**	Shang	1	?	夫操因日本自古以來欣遇此際君聖臣賢國安民泰禮樂之興文物之盛偶成俚句調入絲桐以識將來之勝賞云尓	Sugiura (1710) Annex, No.1; SugiuraC Vol. 7, No.2, 221-2; Kojima (1837) Vol. 3, No. 9.
50	*Si qin yin* **思親引**	Shang	1	1684	歲甲子仲冬望越子泣血銘 琴川公云此曲疑諧入商角音乎	Sugiura (1710) Annex, No.2; SugiuraC Vol. 7, No.3, 223; Suzuki (1771) No. 5, 245; Kojima (1837) Vol. 3, No. 6.
51	*An pai qu* **安排曲**	Jue	1	1689 1710	東皋越杜多諧入角音維落仲春有十日也 庚寅新秋日琴川錄 安排者非舊曲乃宋人之小詞而藏于竹洞先生之書笈其詞氣自然使人徹古今之情師吟取以配角音譜成名安排曲豈止諧之已也後之韵人亦宜安排斯文正識	Sugiura (1710) Annex, No.3; SugiuraC Vol. 7, No.4, 224-5; Kusano (1797) No. 8; Kojima (1837) Vol. 2, No. 9.

No.	Title	Mode	Section(s)	Date(s)	Colophon(s)	Edition(s)
52	*Haruno* **春野**		1	1710	和歌序 和歌者胡爲諧入琴調耶昔師禪寂之外口學和語殊吟賞斯等曲而能通其意趣絕愛高古之風竟寄而對音昔在王維李白于晁衡聞其三笠山之歌而感吟亦有因哉今配琴調者即藤原定家所撰之百人一首也師于中尤能解此四首也其輕重疾徐之節須對譜以吟焉時寶永庚寅歲孟冬中 正職	Sugiura (1710) Annex, No.4.
53	*Fuji* **富士**		1	1710	————————	Sugiura (1710) Annex, No.5.
54	*Yamasato* **山裏**		1	1710	————————	Sugiura (1710) Annex, No.6.
55	*Yamasakura* **山櫻**		1	1710	————————	Sugiura (1710) Annex, No.7.
56	*Tiao xian ru nong* **調絃入弄**		1	?	————————	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 1, No. 1; SugiuraC Vol. 1, No.1, 163; Kusano (1797) No. 1; Kojima (1837) Vol. 2, No. 1.
57	*Cao man yin* **操縵引**		1	?	————————	Suzuki (1771) No. 1, 242; Kojima (1837) Vol. 1, No. 1.
58	*Xiao cao* **小操**	Yu	1	?	東皐懶衲手校	Sugiura (1710) Vol. 3, No. 18; SugiuraC Vol. 6, No.7, 219-20; Suzuki (1771) No. 13, 251; Kojima (1837) Vol. 1, No. 18.
59	*Le ji yin* **樂極吟**	Ruibin	1	?	————————	SugiuraC Vol. 7, No.5, 225-6; Kojima (1837) Vol. 3, No. 14.

No.	Title	Mode	Section(s)	Date(s)	Colophon(s)	Edition(s)
60	*Yang guan san die* **陽關三疊**	Qiliang	5	?	————————	Suzuki (1771) No. 15, 252, one section only; Kusano (1797) No. 16; Kojima (1837) Vol. 2, No. 13.
61	*Yu qiao wen da* **漁樵問答**	Shang	8	?	————————	Excluded from all the main editions, but can be found in the private manuscript copies in the possession of a number of the Tokugawa and early Meiji scholar-musicians, such as Ka Reishi 何禮之, Nagata Chōizumi 永田聽泉 (1872-1937), and Ōhara Shigeakira 大原重明 (1883-1961), etc.
62	*Okazakikyoku* **岡崎曲**		1	?	————————	The only occurrence of this piece of music known to me is in JP-Hh 325.

APPENDIX B

GAKU-KIN REPERTOIRE

Appendix B offers sigla and information on the pre-modern historical sources of all known *gaku-kin* music. Brief descriptions are added whenever information about their mode, composer, composition of notation,[6] and editions is available.

The full titles of the works cited in abridged form are:

KomaK Manuscript Tōkyō, Kokubungaku Kenkyū Shiryōkan 504-1 is an eighteenthcentury manuscript measuring 226×167 mm. and containing 22 folios. Notation of nine pieces of *gagaku* appears on folios 1r to 14r.[7]

KomaO Manuscript Tōkyō, Kokubungaku Kenkyū Shiryōkan 510 is a magnificent eighteenthcentury manuscript in seven volumes measuring 265×200 mm. and containing 180 folios altogether. It

[6] In the column of notation(s) of the Appendix, the following abbreviations are used: S (= tablature of *shō* mouthorgan), Q (= *qin* notation), G (= flute *shōga* oral mnemonics), F (= tablature of *ryūteki* flute), K (= tablature of *koto* zither), L (= lyrics), and (r), which refers that the notation of drum-beats was scribbled into that column.

[7] For more details on this manuscript, see above section 3.6.

contains the notation of ninety-three *gaku-kin* pieces made by Onoda Tōsen and Koma Chikatō.[8]

KomaG Manuscript Tōkyō, Kokubungaku Kenkyū Shiryōkan 503 is a mid-eighteenth century pamphlet measuring 216×155 mm. and containing no more than 8 folios. It contains the notation of five *gaku-kin* pieces.[9]

Yamagata Manuscript Tōkyō, Kunaichō Shoryōbu, 163-664 is a late eighteenthcentury manuscript containin 16 folios. Ten notated *gaku-kin* pieces by Yamagata Daini appear on folios 14r-16v.

GyokudōK *Gyokudō zōsho kinfu*, 1 vol. Compiled by Urakami Gyokudō and carved in 1791, the woodblock edition contains the notation of fifteen *gaku-kin* pieces. The copy consulted in compiling the appendix is kept in Sinologisch Instituut, Universiteit Leiden, call number 6771.25.[10]

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[8] For more details on this manuscript, see above section 3.6.
[9] For more details on this manuscript, see above section 3.6.
[10] For more details on this edition, see Stephen Addiss, *Tall Mountains and Flowing Waters: The Arts of Uragami Gyokudō* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987), 33-45.

GyokudōG Manuscript Fukuoka, private collection of Urakami family, "Gyokudō kinfu goshu" is a late eighteenth- to early nineteenthcentury autograph of Urakami Gyokudō, measuring 169×135 mm. and consisting of 28 folios. It contains the notation of fourteen *gaku-kin* pieces.[11]

GyokudōD Manuscript Fukuoka, private collection of Urakami family, "Gyokudō kinfu" is a late eighteenth- to early nineteenthcentury autograph of Urakami Gyokudō, which contains the notation of five *gaku-kin* pieces.[12]

Murai Manuscript Hikone, Hikone-jō Hakubutsukan V327 is a late eighteenth- to early nineteenthcentury manuscript measuring 250×132 mm. The fourth volume of the original set contains 33 folios devoted to the historical background, the notation, and some annotations of the two *gaku-kin* pieces made by Onoda.[13]

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[11] For more details on this autograph, see Ryūkawa Kiyoshi 龍川清, *Uragami Gyokudō: hito to geijutsu: tsuketari* 浦上玉堂: 人と芸術(Tōkyō: Kokusho Kankōkai 国書刊行会, 1976), 183, and 189-197.

[12] For more details on this autograph, see Ryūkawa Kiyoshi, *Uragami Gyokudō: hito to geijutsu: tsuketari*, 182-183; and Kishibe Shigeo 岸辺成雄, *Edo jidai no kinshi monogatari* 江戸時代の琴士物語 (Tōkyō, Yūrindō 有隣堂, 2000), 95-96.

[13] For more details on this manuscript, see above section 3.6.

Tachibana Manuscript Tōkyō, private collection of Kishibe Shigeo, "Kingaku zasshi" consists of two volumes. On folios 12r-20r of the second volume, it offers different versions of the following *gaku-kin* pieces: Etenraku, Goshōraku and Batō, prepared by Onoda Tōzen; Goshōraku, Bairo, Ōshōkun by Urakami Gyokudō; and Goshōraku, Etenraku by Murai Kinzai.[14]

Yamanoi Manuscript Hikone, Hikone-jō Hakubutsukan V321 is an 1844 manuscript made by rolling a sheet of paper measuring 262×655 mm. into four panels in roll-fold style. It contains one notated *gaku-kin* piece.[15]

[14] For more details on this manuscript, see above section 3.6.
[15] For more details on this manuscript, see above section 3.6.

No.	Title	Mode	Composer(s)	Notation(s)	Location and Concordances
1	*Etenraku* 越天樂	Hyōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	S/Q/G(r)/F	KomaK No. 1, folios. 1r-2r. Concordances: entry 103 KomaG No. 1, folios. 1r-1v (*qin* and *shō* parts); entry 154 Murai Vol. 3, No.1, folios. 1r-12v (*qin* part only); and entry 157 Tachibana Vol. 2, No. 1, folios. 10v-11v.
2	*Goshōraku* (*Kyū*) 五常樂 急	Hyōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/G(r)/F	KomaK No. 2, folios. 2r-4r. Concordances: entry 104 KomaG No.2, folios. 2r-3r (*qin* and *shō* parts); entry 155 Murai Vol. 3, No.2, folios. 13r-24v (*qin* part only); and entry 158 Tachibana Vol. 2, No. 2, folios. 11v-12v.
3	*Keitoku* 雞德	Hyōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	G(r)/F	KomaK No. 3, folios. 4r-5r.
4	*Rōkunshi* 老君子	Hyōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	G(r)/F	KomaK No. 4, folios. 5r-6v.
5	*Taiheiraku* 太平樂	?	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	G(r)/F	KomaK No. 5, folios. 7r-8r.
6	*Butokuraku* 武德樂	Ichikotsu	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	G(r)/F	KomaK No. 6, folios. 8r-9v.
7	*Koinju* 胡飲酒	Ichikotsu	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	G(r)/F	KomaK No. 7, folios. 9v-10v.
8	*Shukoshi* 酒胡子	Ichikotsu	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	G(r)/F	KomaK No. 8, folios. 11r-12r.

No.	Title	Mode	Composer(s)	Notation(s)	Location and Concordances
9	*Batō* 拔頭	?	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	S/Q/G(r)/F	KomaK No. 9, folios. 12r-14r. Concordances: entry 105 KomaG No.3, folios. 3r-5r; and entry 159 Tachibana Vol. 2, No. 3, folios. 12v-13v.
10	*Shunnōden* (*Sattō*) 春鶯囀 颯踏	Ichikotsu	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 1, No. 1, folios. 2r-6r.
11	*Raryō-ō* (*Kyū*) 羅陵王	Ichikotsu	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 1, No. 2, folios. 7r-9r.
12	*Katen* (*Ha*) 賀殿破	Ichikotsu	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 1, No. 3, folios. 10r-12v.
13	*Hokuteiraku* 北庭樂	Ichikotsu	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 1, No. 4, folios. 13r-14v.
14	*Shōwaraku* 承和樂	Ichikotsu	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 1, No. 5, folios. 15r-16r.
15	*Koinju* (*Ha*) 胡飲酒破	Ichikotsu	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 1, No. 6, folios. 17r-17v.
16	*Jutternraku* 十天樂	Ichikotsu	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 1, No. 7, folios. 18r-19v.
17	*Kasuiraku* 河水樂	Ichikotsu	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 1, No. 8, folios. 19v-20r.

No.	Title	Mode	Composer(s)	Notation(s)	Location and Concordances
18	*Kaibairaku* 廻盃樂	Ichikotsu	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 1, No. 9, folios. 20v-21v.
19	*Shungachō* 盌河鳥	Ichikotsu	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 1, No. 10, folios. 22r-23r.
20	*Karyōbin* (*Ha*) 迦陵頻 破	Ichikotsu	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 1, No. 11, folios. 23v-25v.
21	*Anraku-en* 安樂鹽	Ichikotsu	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 1, No. 12, folios. 25v-26v.
22	*Shukoshi* 酒胡子	Ichikotsu	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 1, No. 13, folios. 26v-27v.
23	*Butokuraku* 武德樂	Ichikotsu	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 1, No. 14, folio. 27v. Title only, for tablature of the piece, see entry 26.
24	*Bosatsu* (*Ha*) 菩薩 破	Ichikotsu	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 1, No. 15, folios. 28r-29r.
25	*Shinraryō-ō* (*Kyū*) 新羅陵王 急	Ichikotsu	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 1, No. 16, folios. 29r-30r.
26	*Butokuraku* 武德樂	Ichikotsu	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 1, No. 17, folios. 30r-31r.
27	*Sandai-en* (*Ha*) 三臺鹽 破	Hyōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 2, No. 1, folios. 2r-6r.

No.	Title	Mode	Composer(s)	Notation(s)	Location and Concordances
28	*Manzairaku* 萬歲樂	Hyōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 2, No. 2, folios. 7r-9r.
29	*Ōjō* (*Kyū*) 皇鸞 急	Hyōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 2, No. 3, folios. 11r-12r.
30	*Katōraku* 裟頭樂	Hyōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 2, No. 4, folios. 12v-14r.
31	*Kyōunraku* 慶雲樂	Hyōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 2, No. 5, folios. 14r-15r.
32	*Kanshū* 甘州	Hyōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 2, No. 6, folios. 15v-16r.
33	*Goshōraku* 五常樂 (*Jo, Ha, Kyū*) 序 破 急	Hyōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 2, No. 7, folios. 17r-19v. No notation for the *Jo* part. Concordances: entry 106 KomaG No.4, folios. 5r-6r (*Kyū* part only); and entry 165 Yamanoi (1844, *Kyū* part only).
34	*Bairo* 陪臚	Hyōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 2, No. 8, folios. 21r-21v.
35	*Sōfuren* 想夫戀	Hyōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 2, No. 9, folios. 22r-23r.
36	*Korōji* 小娘子	Hyōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 2, No. 10, folios. 24r-24v.

No.	Title	Mode	Composer(s)	Notation(s)	Location and Concordances
37	*Ōshōkun* 王昭君	Hyōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 2, No. 11, folios. 25r-25v.
38	*Rōkunshi* 老君子	Hyōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 2, No. 12, folios. 25v-26v.
39	*Ringa* 林謌	Hyōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 2, No. 13, folios. 27v-28v.
40	*Etenraku* 越殿樂	Hyōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 2, No. 14, folio. 29r. Concordance: entry 107 KomaG No.5, folios. 8r-8v.
41	*Funan* 扶南	Hyōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 2, No. 15, folios. 31r-31v.
42	*Yōjō* (*Kyū*) 勇勝 急	Hyōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 2, No. 16, folios. 32r-33v.
43	*Shunyōryū* 春楊柳	Hyōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 2, No. 17, folios. 33v-35v.
44	*Yahanraku* 夜半樂	Hyōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 2, No. 18, folios. 36r-38r.
45	*Keitoku* 雞徳	Hyōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 2, No. 19, folios. 38r-38v.
46	*Keibairaku* 傾盃樂	Taishiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 3, No. 1, folios. 2r-3r.

No.	Title	Mode	Composer(s)	Notation(s)	Location and Concordances
47	*Taiheiraku* (*michiyuki*) 太平樂　道行	Taishiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 3, No. 2, folios. 3r-4r.
48	*Taiheiraku* 太平樂 (*Ha Kyū*) 破 急	Taishiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 3, No. 3, folios. 4r-7v.
49	*Kaō-on* 賀王恩	Taishiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 3, No. 4, folios. 9r-11r.
50	*Tagyūraku* 打毬樂	Taishiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 3, No. 5, folios. 11r-12v.
51	*Genjōraku* 還城樂	Taishiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 3, No. 6, folios. 12v-15r.
52	*Tenjin-raku* 天人樂	Taishiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 3, No. 7, folios. 17r-18v.
53	*Rinko-kodatsu* 輪皷褌脫	Taishiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 3, No. 8, folios. 18v-19v.
54	*Sohōhi* 蘇芳菲	Taishiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 3, No. 9, folios. 20r-21r.
55	*Batō* 抜頭	Taishiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 3, No. 10, folios. 23r-24r.
56	*Senyūga* 仙遊霞	Taishiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 3, No. 11, folios. 24r-25r.

No.	Title	Mode	Composer(s)	Notation(s)	Location and Concordances
57	*Sonin-sandai* 庶人三臺	Taishiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 3, No. 12, folios. 25r-26v.
58	*Chōgeishi* 長慶子	Taishiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 3, No. 13, folios. 26v-27r.
59	*Shunteiraku* 春庭樂	Sōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 4, No. 1, folios. 2r-3r.
60	*Ryūkaen* 柳花苑	Sōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 4, No. 2, folios. 3r-5v.
61	*Tori* (*Ha*) 鳥 破	Sōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 4, No. 3, folios. 5v-6v.
62	*Tori* (*Kyū*) 同 急	Sōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 4, No. 4, folios. 6v-7v.
63	*Katen* (*Kyū*) 賀殿 急	Sōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 4, No. 5, folios. 8r-9r.
64	*Shunnōden* 春鶯囀 (*Sattō, Dyuha*) 颯踏 入破	Sōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 4, No. 6, folios. 11r-14v.
65	*Ryō-ō* (*Ha*) 陵王 破	Sōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 4, No. 7, folios. 14v-16v.
66	*Hokuteiraku* 北庭樂	Sōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 4, No. 8, folios. 18r-19v.

No.	Title	Mode	Composer(s)	Notation(s)	Location and Concordances
67	*Koinju (Ha)* 胡飲酒 破	Sōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 4, No. 9, folios. 20r-20v.
68	*Shukoshi* 酒胡子	Sōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 4, No. 10, folios. 20v-21r.
69	*Butokuraku* 武徳樂	Sōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 4, No. 11, folios. 21v-22r.
70	*Shinraryō-ō (Kyū)* 新羅陵王 急	Sōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 4, No. 12, folios. 22r-23r.
71	*Kishunraku* 喜春樂	Ōshiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 5, No. 1, folios. 2r-3r.
72	*Sekihaku-tōrika* 赤白桃李花	Ōshiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 5, No. 2, folios. 3r-4v.
73	*Sankin-chōkyūraku* 散吟打毬樂	Ōshiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 5, No. 3, folios. 5r-6v.
74	*Yōgūraku* 央宮樂	Ōshiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 5, No. 4, folios. 6v-8r.
75	*Kanzeiraku* 感城楽	Ōshiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 5, No. 5, folios. 8r-10v.
76	*Anzeiraku* 安城楽	Ōshiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 5, No. 6, folios. 12r-14r.

No.	Title	Mode	Composer(s)	Notation(s)	Location and Concordances
77	*Kananfu* 河南浦	Ōshiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 5, No. 7, folios. 14r-15v.
78	*Heibanraku* 平蠻樂	Ōshiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 5, No. 8, folios. 15v-19r.
79	*Kaiseiraku* 海青樂	Ōshiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 5, No. 9, folios. 18r-19r.
80	*Jusuiraku* (*Kyū*) 拾翠楽 急	Ōshiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 5, No. 10, folios. 19r-20r.
81	*Tori* (*Kyū*) 鳥 急	*Ōshiki*	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 5, No. 11, folios. 22r-23r.
82	*Senshūraku* 千秋樂	Ōshiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 5, No. 12, folios. 23r-24r.
83	*Etenraku* 越天樂	Ōshiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 5, No. 13, folios. 24r-24v.
84	*Sogō* (*Kyū*) 蘇合 急	*Ōshiki*	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 5, No. 14, folios. 25r-26r.
85	*Seigaiha* 青海波	Ōshiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 5, No. 15, folios. 26r-26v.
86	*Sogō* (*Kyū*) 蘇合香 急	Banshiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 6, No. 1, folios. 2r-3v.

No.	Title	Mode	Composer(s)	Notation(s)	Location and Concordances
87	*Manjūraku* (*Ho*) 萬秋樂 破	Banshiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 6, No. 2, folios. 4ar-6r.
88	*Chōkōraku* 鳥向樂	Banshiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 6, No. 3, folios. 6r-8v.
89	*Rindai* 輪臺	Banshiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 6, No. 4, folios. 10r-12r.
90	*Shūfūraku* 秋風樂	Banshiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 6, No. 5, folios. 12r-15r.
91	*Saisōrō* 採桑老	Banshiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 6, No. 6, folios. 15r-16r.
92	*Seigaiha* 青海波	Banshiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 6, No. 7, folios. 18r-19v.
93	*Sōmeiraku* 宗明樂	Banshiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 6, No. 8, folios. 19v-21v.
94	*Chikurinraku* 竹林樂	Banshiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 6, No. 9, folios. 21v-22v.
95	*Hakuchū* 白柱	Banshiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 6, No. 10, folios. 23r-24r.
96	*Etenraku* 越殿樂	Banshiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 6, No. 11, folios. 24r-24v.

No.	Title	Mode	Composer(s)	Notation(s)	Location and Concordances
97	*Kenki-kodatsu* 劍氣禪脫	Banshiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 6, No. 12, folios. 26r-27v.
98	*Senshūraku* 千秋樂	Banshiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 6, No. 13, folios. 27r-28r.
99	*Somakusha* (*Ha*) 藐莫者 破	Banshiki	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 6, No. 14, folios. 28r-29v.
100	*Shuseishi* 酒清司	Ichikotsu	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 7, No. 1, folios. 2r-2v.
101	*Ōjō* (*Ha*) 皇嚮 破	Hyōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 7, No. 2, folios. 3r-4r.
102	*Kaibairaku* 廻盃樂	Sōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaO (1738) Vol. 7, No. 3, folios. 5r-6r.
103	*Etenraku* 越天樂		Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaG No. 1, folios. 1r-1v. Concordances: entry 1 KomaK No. 1, folios. 1r-2r.; entry 154 Murai Vol. 3, No.1, folios. 1r-12v (*qin* part only); and entry 157 Tachibana Vol. 2, No. 1, folios. 10v-11v.
104	*Goshōraku* 五常樂		Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaG No.2, folios. 2r-3r. Concordances: entry 2 KomaK No. 2, folios. 2r-4r; entry 155 Murai Vol. 3, No.2, folios. 13r-24v (qin part only); and entry 158 Tachibana Vol. 2, No. 2, folios. 11v-12v.

No.	Title	Mode	Composer(s)	Notation(s)	Location and Concordances
105	*Batō* 拔頭		Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaG No.3, folios. 3r-5r. Concordances: entry 9 KomaK No. 9, folios. 12r-14r; and entry 159 Tachibana Vol. 2, No. 3, folios. 12v-13v.
106	*Goshōraku* (*Kyū*) 五常樂 急		Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaG No.4, folios. 5r-6r. Concordances: entry 33 KomaO (1738) Vol. 2, No. 7, folios. 17r-19v; and entry 165 Yamanoi (1844, *Kyū* part only).
107	*Etenraku* 越殿樂		Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/S(r)	KomaG No.5, folios. 8r-8v. Concordance: entry 40 KomaO (1738) Vol. 2, No. 14, folio. 29r.
108	*Etenraku* 越天樂	Hyōjō	Yamagata Daini	Q	Yamagata No. 1, folio. 14r.
109	*Goshōraku* (*Kyū*) 五常樂 急	Hyōjō	Yamagata Daini	Q	Yamagata No. 2, folios. 14r-14v.
110	*Senshūraku* 千秋樂	Banshiki	Yamagata Daini	Q	Yamagata No. 3, folio. 14v.
111	*Jusuiraku* 拾翠樂	Sui	Yamagata Daini	Q	Yamagata No. 4, folios. 14v-15r.
112	*Gatsukaen* 合歡鹽	Taishiki	Yamagata Daini	Q	Yamagata No. 5, folios. 15r.

No.	Title	Mode	Composer(s)	Notation(s)	Location and Concordances
113	*Kishunraku* 喜春樂	Ōshiki	Yamagata Daini		Yamagata No. 6, folios. 15r-15v.
114	*Shinraryō-ō* (*Kyū*) 新羅陵王 急	Sada	Yamagata Daini	Q	Yamagata No. 7, folio. 15v.
115	*Butokuraku* 武德樂	Ichikotsu	Yamagata Daini	Q	Yamagata No. 8, folio. 16r.
116	*Koinju* (*Ha*) 胡飲酒 破	Sōjō	Yamagata Daini	Q	Yamagata No. 9, folio. 16r.
117	*Batō* 拔頭	Kotsujiki	Yamagata Daini	Q	Yamagata No. 10, folios. 16r-16v.
118	*Aoyagi* 青柳	Gong	Uragami Gyokudō	Q/L(r)	GyokudōK Vol. 1, No. 1, folios. 1r-2r.
119	*Sakurabito* 櫻人	Gong	Uragami Gyokudō	Q/L(r)	GyokudōK Vol. 1, No. 2, folios. 2v-5r.
120	*Minoyama* 美乃山	Gong	Uragami Gyokudō	Q/L(r)	GyokudōK Vol. 1, No. 3, folios. 5r-6r.
121	*Ki no kuni* 紀伊州	Gong	Uragami Gyokudō	Q/L(r)	GyokudōK Vol. 1, No. 4, folios. 6r-8r.
122	*Tanaka no i* 田中井	Jue	Uragami Gyokudō	Q/L(r)	GyokudōK Vol. 1, No. 5, folios. 8r-8v.

No.	Title	Mode	Composer(s)	Notation(s)	Location and Concordances
123	*Mushiroda* 席田	Jue	Uragami Gyokudō	Q/L(r)	GyokudōK Vol. 1, No. 6, folios. 9r-10r.
124	*Mumegae* 梅枝	Jue	Uragami Gyokudō	Q/L(r)	GyokudōK Vol. 1, No. 7, folios. 10r-11v.
125	*Ise no umi* 伊勢海	Zhi	Uragami Gyokudō	Q/L(r)	GyokudōK Vol. 1, No. 8, folios. 12r-13r.
126	*Waga koma* 我駒	Jue	Uragami Gyokudō	Q/L(r)	GyokudōK Vol. 1, No. 9, folios. 13r-14v.
127	*Waga koma* 我駒	Shang	Uragami Gyokudō	Q/L(r)	GyokudōK Vol. 2, No. 1, folios. 1r-2r.
128	*Waga koma* (*Kyū*) 我駒 急	Shang	Uragami Gyokudō	Q/L(r)	GyokudōK Vol. 2, No. 2, folios. 2r-2v.
129	*Maganefuku* 真金吹	Jue	Uragami Gyokudō	Q/L(r)	GyokudōK Vol. 2, No. 3, folios. 2v-5r.
130	*Mimasaka* (*Soku*) 美作 促	Jue	Uragami Gyokudō	Q/L(r)	GyokudōK Vol. 2, No. 4, folios. 5r-6r.
131	*Asa midori* 淺綠	Jue	Uragami Gyokudō	Q/L(r)	GyokudōK Vol. 2, No. 5, folios. 6r-7r.
132	*Karakami* 韓神	Jue	Uragami Gyokudō	Q/L(r)	GyokudōK Vol. 2, No. 6, folios. 7r-9r.

No.	Title	Mode	Composer(s)	Notation(s)	Location and Concordances
133	*Hito* 人者	Zhi	Uragami Gyokudō	Q/L(r)	GyokudōK Vol. 2, No. 7, folios. 9r-10r.
134	*Oi nezumi* (*Soku*) 老鼠 促	Zhi	Uragami Gyokudō	Q/L(r)	GyokudōK Vol. 2, No. 8, folios. 10r-11v.
135	*Takasago* 高砂		Uragami Gyokudō	K(r)/Q+L	GyokudōG No. 1, folios. 1r-4v.
136	*Natsubiki* 夏引		Uragami Gyokudō	K(r)/Q+L	GyokudōG No. 2, folios. 4v-7v.
137	*Azumaya* 東屋		Uragami Gyokudō	K(r)/Q+L	GyokudōG No. 3, folios. 7v-10r.
138	*Hashiri-i* 走井		Uragami Gyokudō	K(r)/Q+L	GyokudōG No. 4, folios. 10r-11r.
139	*Azuka-i* 飛鳥井		Uragami Gyokudō	K(r)/Q+L	GyokudōG No. 5, folios. 11v-12r.
140	*Niwa ni ōru* 庭生		Uragami Gyokudō	K(r)/Q+L	GyokudōG No. 6, folios. 12v-13v.
141	*Waga kado ni* 我門		Uragami Gyokudō	K(r)/Q+L	GyokudōG No. 7, folios. 13v-16r.
142	*Waga kado o* 我門乎		Uragami Gyokudō	K(r)/Q+L	GyokudōG No. 8, folios. 13v-16r.

No.	Title	Mode	Composer(s)	Notation(s)	Location and Concordances
143	*Ōzeri* 大芹		Uragami Gyokudō	K(r)/Q+L	GyokudōG No. 9, folios. 19r-21r.
144	*Asamuzu* 淺水橋		Uragami Gyokudō	K(r)/Q+L	GyokudōG No. 10, folios. 21r-22v.
145	*Sashigushi* 刺櫛		Uragami Gyokudō	K(r)/Q+L	GyokudōG No. 11, folios. 22v-23v.
146	*Taka no ko* 鷹子		Uragami Gyokudō	K(r)/Q+L	GyokudōG No. 12, folios. 23v-24v.
147	*Ōmiji* 逢路		Uragami Gyokudō	K(r)/Q+L	GyokudōG No. 13, folios. 24v-25v.
148	*Koromogae* 更衣		Uragami Gyokudō	K(r)/Q+L	GyokudōG No. 14, folios. 25v-29v.
149	*Gatsukaen* 合歡鹽	Zhi	Uragami Gyokudō	L/K/Q/G	GyokudōD No. 1. The lyric is *Oi nezumi*, but the *qin* notation is different from entry 134.
150	*Bairo* 倍臚		Uragami Gyokudō	F/Q/G	GyokudōD No. 2. Concordance: entry 161 Tachibana Vol. 2, No. 5, 15v-17r.
151	*Goshōraku* 五常樂		Uragami Gyokudō	F/Q/G	GyokudōD No. 3. Concordances: entry 156 Murai Vol. 3, No. 3, folios. 25r-33r (*qin* part only); and entry 160 Tachibana Vol. 2, No. 4, folios. 14r-15v.

No.	Title	Mode	Composer(s)	Notation(s)	Location and Concordances
152	*Etenraku* 越天樂		Uragami Gyokudō	K/G/Q/L	GyokudōD No. 4.
153	*Gatsukaen* 合歡鹽		Uragami Gyokudō	Q/G	GyokudōD No. 5.
154	*Etenraku* 越天樂	Zhi	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q	Murai Vol. 3, No.1, folios. 1r-12v. Concordances: entry 1 KomaK No. 1, folios. 1r-2r; entry 103 KomaG No. 1(*qin* and *shō* parts), folios. 1r-1v; and entry 152 Tachibana Vol. 2, No. 1, folios. 10v-11v.
155	*Goshōraku* 五常樂		Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q	Murai Vol. 3, No.2, folios. 13r-24v. Concordances: entry 2 KomaK No. 2, folios. 2r-4r; and entry 104 KomaG No.2, folios. 2r-3r (*qin* and *shō* parts); and entry 153 Tachibana Vol. 2, No. 2, folios. 11v-12v.
156	*Goshōraku* 五常樂		Uragami Gyokudō	Q	Murai Vol. 3, No.3, folios. 25r-33r. Concordance: entry 155 Tachibana Vol. 2, No. 4, folios. 14r-15v.
157	*Etenraku* 越天樂	Hyōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	S/Q/G(r)/F	Tachibana Vol. 2, No. 1, folios. 10v-11v. Concordances: entry 1 KomaK No. 1, folios. 1r-2r.; entry 103 KomaG No. 1, folios. 1r-1v (*qin* and *shō* parts); and entry 149 Murai Vol. 3, No.1, folios. 1r-12v (*qin* part only).

No.	Title	Mode	Composer(s)	Notation(s)	Location and Concordances
158	*Goshōraku* 五常樂	Hyōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q/G/F	Tachibana Vol. 2, No. 2, folios. 11v-12v. Concordances: entry 2 KomaK No. 2, folios. 2r-4r; and entry 104 KomaG No.2, folios. 2r-3r (*qin* and *shō* parts); and entry 150 Murai Vol. 3, No.2, folios. 13r-24v (*qin* part only).
159	*Batō* 拔頭	Hyōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	S/Q/G/F	Tachibana Vol. 2, No. 3, folios. 12v-13v. Concordances: entry 9 KomaK No. 9, folios. 12r-14r; and entry 105 KomaG No.3, folios. 3r-5r.
160	*Goshōraku* 五常樂	zhi	Uragami Gyokudō	F/G/?/?	Tachibana Vol. 2, No. 4, folios. 14r-15v. Concordance: entry 151 Murai Vol. 3, No.3, folios. 25r-33r (*qin* part only).
161	*Bairo* 倍臚	zhi	Uragami Gyokudō	F/Q/G(r)	Tachibana Vol. 2, No. 5, folios. 15v-17r.
162	*Ōshōkun* 王昭君	zhi	Uragami Gyokudō	Q/G(r)	Tachibana Vol. 2, No. 6, folios. 17r-18r.
163	*Goshōraku* 五常樂	zhi	Murai Kinzan	Q/S	Tachibana Vol. 2, No. 7, folios. 19r-19v.
164	*Etenraku* 越天樂		Murai Kinzan	Q/S	Tachibana Vol. 2, No. 8, folios. 19v-20r.
165	*Goshōraku* (*Kyū*) 五常樂 急	Hyōjō	Onoda Tōzen, Koma Chikatō	Q(r)	Yamanoi (1844, *Kyū* part only). Concordances: entry 33 KomaO (1738) Vol. 2, No. 7, folios. 17r-19v; and entry 106 KomaG No.4, folios. 5r-6r.

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