THE "SAN KOTEN HONKYOKU" OF THE KINKO-RYŪ:
A STUDY OF TRADITIONAL SOLO MUSIC
FOR THE JAPANESE VERTICAL END-BLOWN FLUTE---
THE SHAKUHACHI

by

NORMAN ALLEN STANFIELD
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Department of Music

The University of British Columbia
2075 Wesbrook Place
Vancouver, Canada
V6T 1W5

Date October, 1977
ABSTRACT

The "San Koten Honkyoku" are three ("san") traditional ("hon") compositions ("kyoku") which are distinguished and venerated for their archetypical ("koten") characteristics. Of the many "schools" ("ryū") of musicians who claim proprietary or proprietary control of versions of these melodies, the Kinko-ryū has the strongest claim to historicity. Their medium of performance is the "shakuhachi"—a bamboo, end-blown, vertical flute—and their aesthetics is founded on Zen Buddhism.

The progenitor of the shakuhachi most likely originates from the Mesopotamian civilizations of the fourth millennium B.C. After diffusion to China, the vertical flute acquired a seminal role as the aural manifestation of the Chinese fundamental pitch, "huang-chung". Some time later it became a melody instrument in the court orchestras, suffering several recondite changes in nomenclature and popularity. When it arrived in Japan as the Imperial "ch'ih pa" (Jp. shakuhachi) it was in rapid decline, but during the 16th century it re-emerged as an ignoble instrument played by Japanese mendicant Buddhists called "Komo-sō". The period between the decline
of the Imperial Court's shakuhachi and the rise of the Komo-sō's vertical flute is a void for historians of the instrument, but it is suggested in this thesis that an earlier group of mendicant Buddhist priests/musicians, the "Mō-sō" biwa players, may have been the source of this renaissance.

By the time of the Edo Period (1600-1868), the vertical flute had passed from the hands of the Komo-sō, through the merchant class who called it the "Hitoyogiri" and a samurai clan who knew it as the "Tenpuku", to a newly-emerged group comprised of "rōnin" or masterless samurai who adopted the then-defunct Komo-sō's way of life in a manner that suited their aristocratic background. They called themselves "Komu-sō", and their colorful history ranges from clandestine malevolence to Buddhist saintliness.

In the 18th century, Kurosawa Kinko and his son (Kinko II, 1741-1811) and grandson (Kinko III, 1772-1816) advanced the positive aspects of the Komu-sō's activity by assembling a unified repertoire and organizing an association of lay flutists devoted to the pursuit of "Takedō"--the "Way" of the bamboo flute--a process of self-enlightenment fashioned after Zen Buddhist precepts.

Today, the music theory of the Kinko-ryū Honkyoku is comprised of a basic system of rudiments tempered by complex
performance practices which are only accessible through the oral/aural instruction of a sensei. His pedagogy is designed to bring the student to a unified understanding of the many aspects of melodic detail by emphasizing their role in animating the simple melodies outlined by the skeletal notation.

Through a systematic analysis of the Kinko-ryū "San Koten Honkyoku", the present study has found that the theoretical principles of these compositions are clearly demonstrable. Their inherent pitches are derived from the Japanese "In" scale and exist in a hierarchy made manifest in tonal proclivities which are naturally or deceptively resolved. The hierarchies also determine the structures of the melodies by articulating their progress.

The conclusion of this thesis draws together the sociology, history, melodic theory and melodic analyses of the Kinko-ryū shakuhachi and its Honkyoku by outlining their respective contributions to a unique musical expression of Zen Buddhism.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

**PREFACE** .......................................................... vi

**CHAPTER**

1. The Kinko-ryū ................................................. 1
2. A History of the Shakuhachi ................................. 36
3. Kinko-ryū Melodic Theory .................................... 85
4. San Koten Honkyoku Melodic Analysis ..................... 117

**CONCLUSION** ....................................................... 164

**NOTES** ............................................................... 167

**APPENDICES**

A. Transcriptions .................................................... 190
B. Senritsukei ......................................................... 223
C. Fingering Chart ................................................... 229
D. Character Index ................................................... 233

**BIBLIOGRAPHY** ..................................................... 256
PREFACE

My graduate studies, culminating with this thesis, were an amalgam of three seemingly disparate interests: flute playing, Buddhism and Japan. The meeting ground of these interests was the Shakuhachi, a vertical flute which combines the magic of the flute sound with the essential spirit of Buddhism and the fascinating temperament of traditional Japan.

The preliminary groundwork for my field studies in Japan was gratefully received from my graduate studies supervisor, Professor Elliot Weisgarber, with further assistance from Professor Shotaro Iida (Buddhist Studies). Since my return from Japan, I must thank Professor Ming-Yueh Liang and Professor Donald McCorkle for their many invaluable comments and criticisms during the drafting of my thesis.

I am also deeply indebted to Takeo Yamashiro, Zeneryu Shirakawa, Michel Roffiaen, and Linda Bennett for their help during the actual preparation of my thesis.

The zenith of my studies occurred in Japan, under the excellent instruction of Tanaka Ōdō, Sensei in the Kinko-ryū, who taught me so much more than how to play the shakuhachi.
A renaissance figure who teaches as much by example as by pedagogy, his dedication to the highest principles of human endeavour was clearly evident in his devotion to "Takedō".

During the same period, I also received a considerable amount of valuable information concerning the Meian-ha from Dr. Toyoaki Kojima Sensei.

It is hoped that this thesis will serve as a temporary intermediary between the tradition as it is found in Japan, and the West which is just discovering it. Ideally, it will soon be replaced with the direct kind of experience between Sensei and students most valued by the Zen Buddhists:

"extrinsic teachings, separate from exegetics
no dependence on words and letters
pointing directly to the human mind
seeing into one's nature and attaining Buddhahood"

Traditionally ascribed to Bodhidharma
CHAPTER 1

THE KINKO-RYŪ

1:1 The Kinko-ryū Organization

The Kinko-ryū is a "school" of shakuhachi players founded by Kurosawa Kinko (1710-1771). The usual translation of ryū as "school" is clearly inadequate, but it is the only English word which approximates its meaning.

One of the central facts of the Japanese people is their particular sense of social relationships which is derived from Chinese Confucian familial ethics tempered by medieval Japanese feudalism. In music circles, this cultural pattern has been made manifest in "families" ("ryū") comprised of patriarchal teachers ("sensei") and "filial" students ("gakusei") who may be real or "adopted". The nature of this teacher-student relationship is discussed in Chapter 3 (see 2:1).

Kurosawa Kinko was followed by Kinko II, III, and IV, who were actual patrilineal descendants. However, Kinko IV was unable to succeed, so the ryū's leadership was passed on to an "adopted" student of Kinko III, a tradition that came to dominate the Kinko-ryū. This type of succession is prone
to divisive factionalism with the result that the kinko-ryū has formed multiple branches and sub-branches. Although internecine conflicts have developed, the result of this dispersion has been an expanded community and a certain amount of freedom for students wishing to assert their musical independence.

The basic tenor of the Kinko school is very conservative, which acts both for and against it. An emphasis on intense teacher-student relationships and a conservative repertoire tends to discourage prospective students, but its Zen Buddhist heritage and conscious conservation of traditional Japanese values more than compensate for such stringency.

The Kinko-ryū is comprised of laymen (upper and middle class) who usually pursue their ryū activities as an avocation, although some might argue that it is their profession which is an avocation, while shakuhachi-playing is the central fact of their life. The ryū is an urban phenomenon with active centers in the Kantō (Tokyo) and Kansai (Osaka-Kyoto) area, the former being the place of the school's origin in the 18th century. Its two major branches stem from the leading students of Hisamatsu Fūyō (the successor of Kinko III), Araki Kodō II and Yoshida Itchō. The more successful line of Kodō also divided into several branches dominated by the lineages of Kawase Junsuke and Araki Kodō III, the former being less conservative than the latter. The total network of branches and sub-branches
is so intricate that it is virtually impossible to outline.

There are four other ryū besides the Kinko school. The
Ikkan-ryū, a recondite school, is conterminous with the Kodō
branch of the Kinko-ryū and various sensei have claimed to be
in both schools simultaneously. This school traces its his-
tory back to Miyagi Ikkan who studied with Kinko I (Sato, 1966:
I,3). The most popular ryū is the Tozan-ryū, founded by Nakao
Tozan (1876-1956) in the Kansai area in 1906. His school is
strongly influenced by the West, as evidenced by its complex
system of bureaucratic pedagogy similar to a national conser-
vatory of music, and its readily available music literature
and shakuhachi. Its repertoire is extensive and varied but
it does not date before the founding of the school. The re-
sult of this populist approach is a membership far in excess
of all the other ryū.

When Araki Kodō II was active in the Tokyo area, Kondō
Sōetsu was replicating the same innovations in Osaka. His
work resulted in the founding of the Chikuō-ryū with a reper-
toire that utilizes the pre-1868 "Fu-Ho-U" syllabary because
of an early association with the Meian-ha (Gekkei, 1971:21).
The Chikuō musicians use particularly long shakuhachi ("chō-
kan") and perform in an intense, sotto voce tone augmented by
a wide variety of subtle melodic embellishments. Finally,
the Kinpū-ryū, an outgrowth of the Nezasa-ha, is another
school which was founded at the turn of the century. Its musicians are also known for their use of chōkan but their sound ideal is more placid, consisting of long tones interpolated with breath pulsations at regular intervals of two or three gentle bursts per second in the manner of an echo.

Aside from the ryū, there are associations of shaku-hachi musicians called "ken" or "ha" which are usually associated with temples ("ji"). These organizations usually consist of independent teachers and their students who may share the same repertoire but who retain their own "family" style. Some of these "families" (ryū) became quite established, such as the Kinpū-ryū. The two most famous ha are the Nezasa-ha in Tōhoku (North-East Honshu Island, Japan) and the Meian-ha in Kyoto. The latter was established at Meian-ji in 1883 as the Meian Kyōkai but the temple itself has a long tradition as the major focal point for the Komusō. Another organization is the "Ueda", which has deep roots in folk music. Although they are considered ignoble, I have encountered them in such prestigious recitals as the National Concerts ("Zenkoku Dai-kai") which are held in Meian-ji.

1:2 The Kinko-ryū Shakuhachi

The shakuhachi\textsuperscript{1} played by the Kinko-ryū are made from
a thick-walled type of bamboo called "odake", Phyllostacus Bambusoides (En. Whangee, from the Ch. Huang, as in Huang-chung Kuan, see 2:1). Because the root-end ("ne") is included in the cut, the word "nedake" is used as a synonym (see Gekkei, 1971:18). However, among Kinko-ryū performers, the word "take" is a more common synonym.

The casual appearance of the final product is deceptive because each instrument requires long hours of meticulous craftsmanship. The "bell" is hewn from a dense knot of roots and bent by applying heat and pressure; the bore is carefully lacquered to create a smooth wall and evenness of pitch; and the mouthpiece, or "utaguchi", is hewn after a buffalo horn or tortoise-shell insert ("hasamigushi") has been placed in it. The instrument is usually made in two pieces for reasons concerning tuning, but this expediency has one flaw, in that the bamboo is weakened and therefore prone to splitting. For this reason, shakuhachi are dangerously susceptible to the surrounding humidity, and antique shakuhachi are extremely rare.

Excellent photographs of the stages of construction may be seen in Bamboo (Austin, 1970:144-51), and the problems of construction are well outlined in "The Shakuhachi and the Kinko-Ryū Notation" (Berger, 1969:35-42).

The three main types of shakuhachi construction are the
Kinko-ryū, Tozan-ryū, and Meian-ha models. There is no uniformity of construction in the Meian-ha type which reflects the casual organization of the association, but two features which are notable are that all of the shakuhachi are made in one piece and the ridges of the inner nodes are retained.

The salient features that differentiate the Kinko and Tozan instruments were outlined by Berger (ibid.) and they may be summarized and supplemented in the following manner:

1. The distance between the thumb-hole and the fourth finger-hole is 5.4 cm. in the Kinko shakuhachi and 3 cm. in the Tozan shakuhachi. All other holes, in the instruments of both schools, are 5.4 cm. from each other.

2. The diameter of the third finger-hole is 1 cm. in the Tozan Shakuhachi and .9 cm. in the Kinko shakuhachi. All other holes in both instruments are 1 cm. in diameter.

3. The inner wall of the Kinko instrument is entirely lacquered, whereas the Tozan instrument has alternate layers of plaster of Paris and lacquer.

4. The decorative band around the ends of the joints is usually made of rattan in the Tozan school, and lacquered in the Kinko school.

5. The bore of the Tozan shakuhachi is larger and flares at the end joint, whereas the Kinko shakuhachi constricts slightly.
6. The hasamiguchi are shaped differently, as in Example 1.

Example 1. The Kinko and Tozan Hasamiguchi

7. The blowing edge of the Tozan utaguchi is shallower and wider than the Kinko, making the Tozan instrument much easier to play. Despite this fact, the Kinko-ryū retain their style of instrument because its "resistance" offers more of a challenge.

The traditional range\(^2\) of the shakuhachi slightly exceeds two octaves.

Example 2. Shakuhachi Traditional Range

All the chromatic notes within the traditional ambitus can be played, but only five notes in both the low (RO) and high (KAN) can be played "naturally", i.e., with the head in
a normal playing position.

Example 3. Natural Shakuhachi Sounds

The other pitches are sounded by lowering the head by degrees so that a "natural" pitch will then sound a half-step lower ("meri") or a whole step lower ("dai-meri"). The opposite motion (i.e., raising the head) is called "kari", and this instruction is used to cancel meri or dai-meri indications.

The term "shakuhachi" is a truncated version of the more correct appellation "ichi-shaku, hachi-sun" (or "isshaku, hassun") which means one foot, eight deci-feet, using the ancient Chinese units of measurement (i.e., multiples of ten as in the metric system). An isshakuhassun is only one member of a consort of identical-looking vertical flutes that vary only in size (see Ongaku Jiten, 1965-66, vol.5, "Kangakki"). Each instrument being one-half step different from the next, the name of the flutes and their lowest pitch can be illustrated in the following manner:
The only other instrument to exhibit this kind of consort arrangement is the "shinobue", a rural flute. The archaic Hitoyogiri, a prototype of the shakuhachi, and the Gagaku Shakuhachi were also built in consorts as evidenced by chronicles and extant collections (Gekkei, 1971:18).

Today, the most frequently used shakuhachi size is the isshaku-hassun, although longer shakuhachi (chōkan) were more often played in the past and are considered more appropriate for performances of Honkyoku (Weisgarber, 1968:316). Two other shakuhachi sizes have become common in the Kinko-ryū
tradition; the "isshaku-sansun" (a "tankan", or short shaku-hachi) and the "nishaku-sansun" (a chōkan). Both instruments, tuned a Perfect Fourth higher and lower, respectively, than the isshaku-hassun, are used in Honkyoku trios (see Example 5).

Example 5. "Mukaiji Reibo" Trio, Final Cadence

1. Kumoi Chōshi (Chōkan)
2. Honte Chōshi
3. Akebono Chōshi (Tankan)

1:3 The Kinko-ryū Repertoire

The repertoire of the Kinko-ryū is comprised of approximately 200 melodic compositions ("kyoku") which are categorized as either "Honkyoku" (intrinsic melodies), "Gaikyoku" (extrinsic melodies), or "Shinkyoku" (contemporary melodies). Honkyoku represent the core of the repertoire because of their sacred and historical connotations; Gaikyoku are later additions which are secular in spirit and context. Shinkyoku is
comprised of music written in the 20th century but the relatively few compositions in this category tend to be thought of as extraneous to the Kinko-ryū corpus.

While Honkyoku are self-contained compositions, Gaikyoku are actually part-books for "Ji-uta" and "Danmono" arrangements. The latter are purely instrumental compositions while the former are medleys of songs with instrumental accompaniment and interludes ("tegoto"), played without pause. The compositional structure of both genres is heterophonic, with a lead koto melody "simultaneously varied" (Meyer, 1956: 234-46) by shamisen and/or shakuhachi (a later substitute for the kokyū (see Malm, 1959:175,55)) and, in the case of Jiuta, an interpolated vocal line (Adriaansz, 1973:226). In Danmono performances any combination of the instruments can be used (including individual solos) but Ji-uta performances always use the entire instrumental ensemble, usually referred to as "Sankyoku" (three-part melodies).

The introduction of Gaikyoku to the repertoire of the Kinko-ryū is credited to Araki Kodō II. (Kondō Sōetsu, the founder of the Chikuō-ryū, attempted the same assimilation but to a lesser extent.) This new "populist" trend was prompted by a proscription of all Komusō activities in 1871, including performances of Honkyoku. In an effort to sustain their ryū (or because they were no longer constrained by
traditional obligations), Kōdō II and Kondō Sōetsu incorporated the shakuhachi parts of the popular music of the time (mainly Jiuta) into their ryū systems of pedagogy and repertoire. History has shown that this innovation was extremely successful, resulting in a continuously expanding repertoire of Sankyoku arrangements which currently number over one hundred. Gaikyoku has also prompted further experimentation, resulting in Shinkkyoku which employ contemporary ensemble combinations and forms (see Toyataka, 1956).

The Kinko-ryū Honkyoku consists of 28 "Dokusō" (solo melodies), 4 "Seisō" (heterophonic trios for three shakuhachi of unequal size), 4 "Jūsō" (polyphonic duets for two shakuhachi of equal size), and 2 "Fue-ondō" (polyphonic duets in free canon for two equal-sized shakuhachi). There are also several "unofficial" Honkyoku written by anonymous composers and some newly-composed Honkyoku ("Sakkyoku") composed by famous shakuhachi performers (Sato, 1966).

The individual histories of the Honkyoku are from anonymous sources which are unverifiable and appear to be based on hearsay (see Tanaka Giichi, 1956:303-307). Kinko I and II gathered the melodies from various temples as far away as Tōhoku in the north and Kyūshū in the south, although their major sources were Reihō-ji and Ichigetsu-ji, the two temples near Tokyo that they directed. They are to be credited with pro-
digious memories, because their appropriations must have been by oral/aural transmission, and with impeccable diplomacy because their sources doubtless claimed the traditional rights of exclusive possession. Each temple "owned" a small number of Honkyoku (if not just one), the origins of which seem to have been forgotten although the Komusō organization was less than a hundred years old. Many of the Honkyoku from different temples had the same name so appellations were devised to distinguish them from each other. Unfortunately, most of these appellations have meanings which have become lost and consequently can only be guessed at (see Kikkawa Eishi: RCA Victor).

The 28 Dokusō can be divided into six categories according to their common surname:

1. Kyorei: Shin Kyorei
   Kinsan Kyorei
   Uchikae Kyorei
   Shimotsuke Kyorei

The word "Kyorei" is comprised of "Kyo", the Japanese word for the Buddhist concept of no-thingness (Sk. śūnyatā), and "Rei", which roughly translates as "spirit" or "soul". "Kinsan" may be an abbreviation for "Koto/Shamisen" indicating some unknown string music background; "Shimotsuke" is an ancient province in Honshu; and "Uchi-kae" ("close-addendum") may be a reference to an interpolation of this
specific "Kyorei" into a Komusō ritual. Shin Kyorei will be dealt with presently.

2. Reibo: Mukaiji Reibo
   - Shin Kyorei

   - Yoshiya Reibo

   - Kokū Reibo

   - Ginryū Kokū (Reibo)

   - Kyō(to) Reibo

   - Izu Reibo

   - Kyūshū Reibo

The word "Reibo" consists of "Rei", "a small handbell", and "Bo", "yearning". Rei are used by Buddhists in every country where Buddhism is practiced. Although Rei are used to articulate Buddhist services, the reference here is to P'u hua (Fuke) who constantly rang his large Rei (i.e., "taku") during his supposed peregrinations through graveyards. A common synonym for Reibo is "Renbo" which simply means "yearning". Kyōto, Izu and Kyūshū are place-names. "Nagashi" ("to flow") means "mendicant musician"; "Namima" is a synonym for "sea" (i.e., "kai", as in "Mukai-ji"); and "Sōkaku" translates as "nesting crane", a symbol of old age and wisdom. Other, more problematical translations are: "Igusa" ("reed"), perhaps a truncated synonym for "ashi-bue" ("reed flute", see 2:1, "Wei-Yueh"); "Yoshiya" ("bucolic"); and "Ginryū" ("sound dragon"), an obtuse reference to the mythology which holds that the
flute could invoke "the sound of a dragon".  

3. Sugagaki:  **Akita Sugagaki**

    **Koro Sugagaki**

    **Sanya Sugagaki**

    **Sayama Sugagaki**

"Sugagaki" is a term found in Wagon and Gaku-sō (Gagaku koto) music which refers to a melodic pattern played in a free, preludial style called "Kaki-awase". It also became the basis for later, metric compositions called "Shirabemono", performed on the koto. Strictly translated, it means "reed panpipes". **Sanya Sugagaki** is particularly venerated as a Honkyoku almost as old as the San Koten Honkyoku. Although its name translates as "three valleys", the word may be an adaptation of the Buddhist Sanskrit term "samaja", meaning "gathering place". "Akita" and "Sayama" are place-names, and "Koro" ("tumble") may be an allusion to the "Ko-Ro, Ko-Ro" technique or some other performance practice contained within its composition.

4. Shirabe:  **Hi, Fu, Mi**

    **Hachi Kaeshi**

    **Banshiki-chō**

"Shirabe" means "Prelude". **Hi, Fu, Mi, Hachi Kaeshi Shirabe** (two combined Honkyoku) may refer to three steps of alms-
begging ("takuhatsu") because it translates as "one, two, three; return the bowl". However, Hi, Fu, Mi probably refers to three constantly recurring tones in its melody (i.e., d\textsuperscript{1}, g\textsuperscript{1}, and d\textsuperscript{2}), while Hachi Kaeshi may be an original takuhatsu melody.\textsuperscript{6} Although Banshiki-cho is a technical term in Gagaku music theory which denotes the Gagaku mode that begins on "b" (both the pitch and the mode do not appear in the Honkyoku), its literal translation is shallow bowl transfer, "chō", (or, more properly, "chōshi" or "shirabe"), an obvious synonym for Hachi Kaeshi no Shirabe.\textsuperscript{7} The "Banshiki-cho" Honkyoku melody explores the musical ambiance found in the two tetrachords bounded by c\textsuperscript{2}-f\textsuperscript{2} and g\textsuperscript{2}-c\textsuperscript{3}. It is only heard as a preamble to "Shin kyorei" and "Shika no Tone", the two most respected Honkyoku in the repertoire.

5. Kyoku: Takiochi no Kyoku
   Shizu no Kyoku
   Yugure no Kyoku
   Sagariha no Kyoku

The word "Kyoku" is a common term for "melody". "Takiochi" translates as "waterfall" (literally, "dragon flight") and "Yugure" means "evening". "Shizu" ("desiderative plan") may be an obtuse reference to religious awakening or takuhatsu protocol, and "Sagari-ha" ("hanging leaves") may be
an allusion to short, low-pitched songs in Nohgaku (Malm, 1963:29) or their related songs, Kami-gata, which use shamisen tunings of 2 P4's (Malm, 1959:22).

6. Shishi: **Sakae Shishi**
   **Meguro Shishi**
   "Shishi" is the mythical lion (an ancient symbol of virility), musically represented in folk festivals by flutes (shinobue) and drums (hayashi). "Meguro" is a place just outside of Tokyo and "Sakae" means "prosperity".

7. **Ho-Shō-Su**
   This composition has a unique title but is similar in style to **Sōkaku Reibo** and **Shika no Tōne** which are programmatic (i.e., contain performance techniques that are supposedly onomatopoeic). The translation, "Young Male Phoenix", is an allusion to the Chinese legend in which special bamboo tuning tubes (Lù Kuan) were adjusted so they would reproduce the sound of phoenix birds (see 2:1). The Phoenix (a Yin symbol) and Dragon (a Yang symbol) represent complementary symbols of Imperial omniscience, and are usually associated with vertical "Kuan." (i.e., vertical bamboo pipes—end blown flute, panpipe, mouth organ) and horizontal "Kuan" (transverse flutes) respectively.

   The first, second, and seventh "genres" are considered sacred, while the third, fifth and sixth are secular ("Gaiten
Honkyoku”). The fourth “genre” consists of purely functional “preludes”. Further research, beyond the scope of this thesis, may determine whether the melodies in each “genre” have a common compositional denominator, but a superficial examination reveals that they do not.

The two Fue-ondo are Shika no Tône and Tsuru no Sugomori (a variation of “Sôkaku Reibo”). Tsuru no Sugomori (which also translates as “nesting cranes”) is more rhythmically constrained than Shika no Tône and is more responsorial than canonic. Shika no Tône is held in the highest regard by shakuhachi players and their audiences; Sato Harebi lists it as a “Hikyoku” (Esoteric Honkyoku) because it is the final and most sophisticated stage of learning and co-operation between sensei and student. It is a programmatic composition depicting two deer calling to each other in Nara Park (a symbolic garden in Nara that reproduces the deer park in Sarnath (Benares), India, where Gautama Buddha gave his first sermon after attaining enlightenment).  

The Jûsô and Seisô are arrangements of related Dokusô. The Jûsô duets juxtapose different sections of their related Dokusô, each section having been arbitrarily defined as “Honte” (original line) or “Kaede” (added line). The resultant harmony is coincidental because the lines never diverge from the same “key” (see "Dan-awase" in Malm, 1959:181–82). The
heterophony in the Seisō trios was achieved by transposing the Honte into two different tunings related to the size of the shakuhachi that performs them. The Seisō compositions only used fragments of related dokusō, chosen in an arbitrary manner, whereas the Jusō usually employed all the related dokusō material.

The titles of the duets and trios are:

**Jusō:** Koku Reibo  
Koro Sugagaki  
Ginryu Kokū (Reibo)  
Akita Sugagaki

**Seisō:** Koku Reibo  
Koro Sugagaki  
Mukaiji Reibo  
Sakae Shishi

The "unofficial" Honkyoku are:

**Kinuta Sugomori:** a metric "shirabemono", usually preceded by one of two short preludes, Ashi no Shirabe (Reed (flute) Prelude) or Kotoji no Shirabe (Koto tuning-bridges Prelude).

**Akebono Sugagaki:** a metric shirabemono in two sections (dan) played in Akebono (high) Chōshi, performed on an isshaku-hassun. Sometimes the two dan are played simultaneously by two shakuhachi (i.e., Jusō).

**Akebono Shirabe:** a Prelude which is an Akebono Chōshi of Hi, Fu, Mi, Hachi.Kaeshi no Shirabe, performed on an isshaku-sansun.

**Nagai Shirabe:** a Prelude (also named Kotobuki Shirabe) which is a lengthy insert for a point about half-way into Hi.
Fu Mi Hachi Kaeshi no Shirabe, making the latter almost twice as long ("Nagai").

Four Sakkyoku are Renritsu no Mai and Tai Hei Raku by Yoshida Itchō, and Yachiyo Sugomori and Tsuki no Kyoku by Araki Kodō II. These two composers were students of Kodō I who helped carry the tradition of shakuhachi playing from the Edo Period to the Meiji Period.

There are two systems of classifying the Honkyoku repertoire—the pedagogical system (see Weisgarber, 1968:340) and the "Omote (Intrinsic)—Ura (Extrinsic)" classifications (see Sato, 1966). The latter system is as follows:

Koten Honkyoku:  1 Mukaiji Reibo
                2 Kokū Reibo
                3 Shin Kyorei (with Banshiki no Shirabe)

Omote Honkyoku: Gyōsō no Te:
                4 Takiochi no Kyoku  7 Kyūshū Reibo
                5 Akita Sugagaki  8 Shizu no Kyoku
                6 Koro Sugagaki  9 Kyō Reibo

Shin no Te:
                10 Kinsan Kyorei  15 Igusa Reibo
                11 Yoshiya Reibo  16 Izu Reibo
                12 Yugure no Kyoku  17 Reibo Nagashi
                13 Sakae Shishi  18a Sōkaku Reibo
                14 Uchikae Kyorei  18b Tsuru no Sugomori
Therefore, the traditional number of Honkyoku in this system is 35 (18 Omote plus 17 Ura). This classification does not include the 2 Shirabe which are so integral to the tradition that their existence is assumed, and the 4 Jūsō which probably did not exist independent of their related dokusō until recently.

The Pedagogical List has 29 titles. It does not include the 4 Akebono and 4 Kumoi Chōshi (or the 4 Jūsō) but it does include the 2 Shirabe. One important difference between the Omote-Ura Classification and the pedagogical list is that the latter has all the Honkyoku arranged in the sequential order of learning. However, this sequence does not begin with easy pieces and progress through more difficult compositions. The rationale for its order would require considerable analysis, not within the parameters of this thesis, but initial impres-
sions suggest that the sequence is arbitrary.

The two classifications are basically alike, as in the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pedagogical List</th>
<th>Omote-Ura List</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shoden (basic tradition)</td>
<td>1 = (Hi, Fu, Mi...)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoden (basic tradition)</td>
<td>2-7 = 4-9 Gyōsō no Te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoden (basic tradition)</td>
<td>8-11 = 1-3 Koten Honkyoku, plus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Banshiki no Shirabe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chūden (intermediate &quot;&quot;)</td>
<td>12-28 = 10-18 Shin no Te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ōden (advanced &quot;&quot;)</td>
<td>21-29 = 27-35 Ura Honkyoku</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The "San Koten Honkyoku", the focus of this thesis, are "Three Sacred Melodies" that are considered the oldest and most venerable Honkyoku in the repertoire. They were supposedly acquired by Kinko I in 1729 in Nagasaki, Kyūshū—the major port of trade for the Dutch and Chinese merchants since its founding in 1570, and an important centre for cultural exchange. Because most temples in Japan had versions of one or more of these three melodies in their small repertoires, it may be assumed that Kinko I had travelled specifically to Nagasaki in order to find the "true" San Koten Honkyoku.

The most important Koten Honkyoku is Shin Kyorei, the "true" Kyorei, supposedly composed by Chang Po, the first disciple of P'u hua (Fuke). It is the only Koten Honkyoku that has its own specific prelude—Banshiki no Shirabe. The
other two Koten Honkyoku are Kokū Reibo (Śūnyatā Reibo) and Mukai-ji Reibo (the "Flute of the Foggy Sea" Reibo). Tradition has it that they were composed, or heard in a dream by Kyochiku, the first disciple of Kakushin, while he was residing at Kokūzō-dō temple in Ise Province. Mukai-ji may be a reference to the following legend quoted by Oga no Motomasa (1077-1138) in his Ryūmeishō (see Harich-Schneider, 1973:254-262): "The dragon sound came from the sea. To hear his voice again, bamboo was cut and blown: in olden times five holes (Shakuhachi ?); in later times, seven (Ryūteki ?).

The "ji" in Mukai-ji probably refers to the Chinese transverse, end-blown flute, "Ch'ih" which was supposedly the aural symbol of the mythical water dragon (see Schafer, 1967:217-221) and negative Yin. The Ryūteki was its opposite as the aural symbol of the "air dragon" (i.e., thunder during rain) and positive Yang. The extensive tradition of the ancient Chinese "Lung-ti" and its Japanese counterpart, Ryūteki, in the later Heian Period is well documented but nothing is known about the repertoire of the "Ch'ih". It does not seem to have appeared in Japan as the "Ji" (although its name can occasionally be encountered in literary settings such as the title, Mukai-ji). It may be significant, however, that the water dragon legend comes from South China (ibid.), one of the possible origins of the shakuhachi (see 2:4:1).
Rather than being an isolated phenomenon, Honkyoku are part of a tradition that has flourished throughout Japanese music history—the "Prelude". Using this Western terminology may disturb some readers, but, in the next few pages, its denotation will be shown to be quite acceptable (see Meyer, 1959:239,247). For the purposes of this thesis, the following definition will hold: a Prelude is a "quasi-improvisation" based on the accordatura of a mode (and its "affect"). It is usually arhythmic but examples of rhythmic preludes do exist. The word "quasi-improvisation" is used because a skeletal notation is utilized for each Prelude type but their performance is interpreted in a manner which allows the performer to improvise within the limitations imposed by his skeletal notation using the information he has acquired from oral/aural tradition. (The reader may be reminded of the "Free Preludes" for harpsichord by Louis Couperin which are, in fact, remarkably similar to Honkyoku and other Japanese Preludes.)

There are two types of Preludes in Japan (and the West): the functional Prelude and the independent Prelude. The former is more traditional in that it always immediately precedes a rhythmically and architectonically structured composition in the same mode. In Gagaku, this introductory music is generally referred to as "Jo" (as in "Jo, Ha, Kyu". See Malm, 1959:102).
The wind musicians refer to their "Jo" music as "Jo-buki" or "Netori", the string players use the terms "Jo-hiki" or "Kaki-awase", and the percussionists denote their specialized "Jo" as "Uchi-awase" (Harich-Schneider, 1973:110,115-17). The popular music of the Edo Period adopted several of the Gagaku functionalist Preludes and named them "Mae-biki" (i.e., "Jo-hiki"). See Malm, 1963:34-35) which precede Koto Kumiuta, and "Shirabe" which precede Koto Danmono (Adriaansz, 1965:65-67,219).

Independent Preludes are a hybrid of the functional Preludes in that they stand on their own and do not introduce other compositions. These have been collectively called "Chōshi" (see Chapter 4, Note 3). The kun-yomi (Japanese Reading) of the Chinese character for Chōshi is pronounced "Shirabe", which means "investigation" or "exploration", clearly implying the study of a given mode accordatura. The earliest Chōshi were Gagaku "Jo-chōshi", and "Ittchōshi" (Harich-Schneider, 1973:557). During the late Heian Period (987-1185), there are frequent references to songs, dances, and instrumental performances performed in the improvisatory style of the chōshi (e.g., ibid., 1973:246). The Ryūteki, Wagon and Gakusō were the most popular mediums, and the many instruction books which survive from that period contain abundant Chōshi (Harich-Schneider, 1973:193,263,272-73). Chōshi also entered the Buddhist temples because the Emperors desired ritual preludial music to accompany
requiems (see Garfias, 1965:22).

During Japan's medieval period (1158-1600), the tradition of Chōshi was adopted by the Noh composers who wrote for the Nohkwan (Noh flute). From that repertoire come two extant Choshi: "O-Shirabe" and "Sō-shidai" ("the mendicant buddhist monk-style", as in Mō-sō and Komu-sō). By the time of the Edo Period (1600-1868), the Chōshi genre had come of age with the development of the koto "Danmono" (also called "Shirabe-mono", see Adriaansz, 1965:10), a development of the Kagura Kaki-awase called "Sugagaki" (see Adriaansz, 1965:68), and the shakuhachi "Honkyoku" which may have sprung from the same source as the Nohkwan Chōshi.

Note that the Honkyoku category described as "Shirabe" (see Number 4 in the discussion concerning Honkyoku nomenclature outlined earlier in this chapter) is comprised of "independent Preludes" which can be performed by themselves, but which usually precede other Honkyoku. The Meian-ha has two famous independent Preludes which also precede performances of other Meian-ha Honkyoku. They are called Chōshi and Yamato Chōshi; they have never appeared in the Kinko-ryū repertoire. Nevertheless, they are the most frequently performed Honkyoku in Japan, and have been used in countless situations as prototypical examples of the sound of the meditative shakuhachi.
"The Japanese characteristic attitude towards music (is that it is) used as a means towards an extra-musical end." (Harich-Schneider, 1973:515). This statement is particularly true of the Honkyoku of all the various ryū. The "end" of the Honkyoku learning process (see 3:1) is enlightenment, an "awakening of the consciousness" (De Ropp, 1968:21,51).

The word "enlightenment" in this context is often confused with the autonomous concept developed during the "Age of Enlightenment". Eighteenth century "enlightenment" was the "new" religion of Europe, founded on rational empiricism.

The men of the Enlightenment foresaw no end to the triumphant expansion of reason into all areas of social life. But here too reason has foundered upon its opposite, upon the surd and unpredictable realities. (The "enlightened" society) requires of man only that he perform competently his own particular social function. (He) becomes identified with this function, and the rest of his being is allowed to subsist as best it can—usually to be dropped below the surface of consciousness and forgotten.

Barrett, 1958:35-36

Japanese Zen Buddhism, particularly during the Edo Period (1600-1867) countered the problem of man as individual and man as a contributing member of a community by developing Buddhist arts which were aimed at enlightening individual consciousnesses while not disturbing the social order of the community. Previous to this period, the prerequisite to attaining enlight-
enment was to "drop out" of society and join a Zen Buddhist establishment. This condition was revised and enlarged by the offering of two options: the individual could still abandon society and join a monastery or, better yet, he could pursue the goals of Zen Buddhism by studying one of its arts while remaining an active member of the community and fulfilling his social responsibilities to his family and associates.

There are two perspectives on this "social" option which offer a kind of parallax of the Buddhist arts. On the positive side, this new development was an evolutionary process of social integration which allowed Zen Buddhism to be practised by laymen as well as by monks and clergy. This is in line with the basic doctrine of Mahayana Buddhism, the source of Zen Buddhism, which states that the "bodhisattva" concept of enlightenment includes lay people as well as the "sangha" (the universal order of Buddhist monks). The prime example of this Mahayana doctrine is found in the first century, A.D. Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa Sūtra (Jp. Yuimagyō) where the main character, Vimalakīrti, is a layman who exhibits all the characteristics of a bodhisattva. This sutra exerted a profound influence on Zen Buddhism and Japan (see Suzuki, 1959:410).

The "social" option also offered an alternative to the harsh realities of the Edo Period social order in Japan. "Neither in his own home or anywhere else could the person do as he
pleased; and the extraordinary person was under the surveil-
ance of zealous dependants whose constant duty was to reprove
any breach of usage." (Hearn, 1904:158). These repressive
conditions were partially the result of the Tokugawa national
policies of Bushidō (Reischauer, 1958:617-18) and Shushigaku
(Chu Hsi, Neo-Confucianism) which were strict systems of class
ethics and morality (Sansom, 1943:509) that discouraged indi-
vidual "eccentricities" while stabilizing Edo Japan's politi-
cal and social order. Whereas the dissolute world of Ukiyo
offered release for most urban Japanese, the Zen Buddhist arts
were the solace of many upper class citizens (notably rōnin)
with the added advantage of being sanctioned by the government.

1:4:1 Zendō

The "way" ("dō") of meditation ("Zen") as a distinct sect
of Buddhism was introduced to Kamakura Japan in the latter half
of the 12th century. At that time it was in its sixth century
of development from the time of its founder, Bodhidharma (fl.
520), through the dominance of the Southern or Abrupt School
of Hui-neng (638-713), the sixth patriarch, to the 9th century
dynasty branches of Lin-chi (Jp. Rinzai) and Ts'ao-tung (Jp.
Sōtō). After arduous pilgrimmages to China, Eisai (1141-1215)
established the former branch in Japan, followed by Dōgen
(1200-1253) who introduced the latter. During the Kamakura
and Muromachi Periods, Rinzai-shū rose to the most dominant position in Japanese Buddhism because it was officially endorsed by the military government. Later, however, Buddhism in general suffered a serious decline during the Tokugawa Period of rule (1600-1868) because of corrupt practices (particularly in the official Rinzai sect) and the Tokugawa governments' allegiance to Neo-Confucianism. One of the few exceptions to this trend was Hakuin (1685-1768), "the founder of the modern Japanese Rinzai school of Zen" (Suzuki, 1927:254), who exerted a profound influence on a large segment of Japanese society. Most Rinzai masters trace their lineage directly to Hakuin.

The essence and goal of Zen is the elimination of anguish (Jp. Ku; Sk. duhkha) by experiencing "self" realization, "ken-shō", through a unique emotional and intellectual catharsis, "satori". The realization per se is resolutely ineffable but it has been characterized as a discovery that the "self" is immaterial (Jp. Kū; Sk. Śūnyatā) and impermanent (Jp. Mujō; Sk. Anitya) because psychological reality is relative (Jp. Mujin Engi; Sk. Pratītya Samutpāda). These facts are equally applicable to all "existents" (Matsunaga, 1969:7). This ultimate knowledge (Jp. Hannya Haramita; Sk. Prajñāpāramitā) is an awakened understanding of the true nature of "mind"—"mu-shin no shin"—the mind of no mind.
It is the basic tenet of Zen Buddhism that Kenshō is not arrived at by dialectics because logic is time-oriented and discriminative, while Kenshō is immediate and "non-dualistic" (Jp. Fumi; Sk. Advaita). The logic that does exist in Zen Buddhism is always paradoxical in its conclusions. Therefore, enlightenment is derived from intuition through action, "kōi teki chokkan".

The novitiate begins by learning Zazen—the act of concentration and absorption. This is done by assuming an advantageous posture and practicing passive meditation ("Shikan-taza" of the Sōtō sub-sect) or active meditation (Rinzai sub-sect). Both practices are begun by developing the powers of concentration by studied breath control, a universal discipline in all societies that practice meditation.

When the Rinzai novitiate has developed his ability to concentrate, he is then graduated to "mondō"—dialogues with his master over the understanding of a paradox in the form of a "koan" (e.g., "What is the sound of one hand clapping?"). The discriminating intellect is purposely brought to an intense impasse called "daigijo". When the level of perplexity and concentration are most intense, the possibility (but not inevitability) of "awakening" is created through an ecstatic dissolution of "self". Through the entire process, and long after, the guiding role of the Rōshi is crucial.
The principles of Zendo may be summarized in the following four lines, usually attributed to Bodhidharma:

A special transmission outside the scriptures
No dependence upon words and letters
Direct pointing to the soul of man
Seeing into one's nature and the attainment of Buddhahood

Zen Buddhism of all religions is the one that most specifically educates the aesthetic impulses, and for that reason alone it is a religion that engages the interest of artists everywhere, even in the Western world.

Read, 1967:19

Almost since the advent of Zen Buddhism, various disciplines outside of the Zen temples have adopted "the way of Zen" to great advantage. The first to do this in Japan were the military, who applied Zen discipline to the martial arts (e.g., bushidō, kendō, jūdō, aikidō); later, it dominated almost every Japanese form of aesthetic expression, particularly in arts and crafts. In effect, artistic expression came to be equated with religious expression so that the former was a manifestation (Jp. Suijaku; Sk. upāya) of the true nature of the latter (Jp. Honji; Sk. prajñā; see Matsunaga, 1969:224-27).

The essence of Zendo in the arts is also "intuition in action". After developing immense powers of concentration and technical discipline under the guidance of a "sensei" (a master
teacher whose role is the same as a Roshi), the art form becomes a koan. The prerequisite paradox inherent in this koan is how to attain the "mind of no-mind" while consciously struggling with the technical elements of the art.

While technical training is of great importance, it is after all something artificially, consciously, calculatingly added or acquired. Unless the mind that avails itself of the technical skill somehow attunes itself to a state of the utmost fluidity or mobility, anything acquired or super-imposed lacks spontaneity of natural growth. This state prevails when the mind is awakened to a satori.

Suzuki, 1959:14-15

Successful intuition of the true nature of the mind and the self may transpire during an artistic action that is spontaneous, effortless, and "non-dualistic" (i.e., the artist is unaware of the physical or mental distinction between himself and his medium). Failure results in the universal artistic transgression—mimicry.

The koan for the shakuhachi performer is his instrument. In order to experience Kenshō he must coincide three basic elements (Sanmi Ittai) of performance:

1. Gi—technique

The performer acquires flawless, rudimentary technique by perfecting Sankyoku and Gaikyoku (see 3:1). When he performs Honkyoku, his technical concerns are concentrated on performance practices (see 3:2) and correct breathing. (The latter discipline explains why flutes have always been the central
instrument in all countries that practice meditation.) The
shakuhachi is ideally suited to Zendō because of the fundamen-
tal and rigorous emphasis on breath control required to play
it properly. Essentially, the performer must breathe from the
diaphragm (Tanden). "The ancient Yoga concepts of anthropolo-
gy and anatomy play a role, according to which the mind lies
a handbreadth below the navel where the home of our true being
is to be found." (Dumoulin, 1963:162).

2. Shin—mind

The "set and setting" of the mind is particularly dif-
cult to attain. The performer must have a tranquil (Jaku)
composure, contrary to such visible displays of "heart-
rending emotion" so common to Japanese (and Western) perfor-
mers. In addition, he must enter a non-dualistic frame of
mind by "non-doing" ("Mu-i"). In other words, he does not
strive for success or attainment, because the very act itself
is divisive. Also, he performs in a "natural" (Shizen) man-
ner. The sound of his shakuhachi may be rough and inconsis-
tent because its "natural sound" (Shizen no Ne) is "Sabi—un-
pretentious or archaic imperfection, apparent simplicity or
effortlessness in execution...and inexplicable elements that
raise the "medium" in question to the rank of an artistic pro-
duction" (Suzuki, 1959:24). This last criteria is referred to
as "Yūgen", or "profound mystery", the highest aesthetic ideal
in Noh (Harich-Schneider, 1973:424-25). "Shizen no Kyoku" is played in a manner which is seemingly improvisatory. In essence, the use of many performance practice elements is decided upon at random, particularly "kiai". A Sabi Honkyoku melody is austere ("Shibui") and aloof, often interpreted as loneliness (Suzuki, 1959:253-57). For these reasons, Honkyoku do not lend themselves easily to audience appreciation.

3. Ken—the instantaneous moment of Satori

Ken, literally translated, means "sword". Mañjuśrī (Mon-ju), a common Buddhist deity, carries a sword in his right hand and a sutra in his left, signifying two different kinds of knowledge. "The mountain flowers are spread out like gold brocades. Here is Mañjuśrī striking right into your eyes." (Suzuki, 1955:199).

Rather than attempt to define or categorize the "inner meaning" of "Ken", Lao-tzu has indirectly suggested the best explanation:

"Those that speak do not know
Those that know do not speak"

Tao Te Ching, Chapter LVI
A History of the Shakuhachi

Any history of Japanese music history is troubled by circumstantial evidence, biased chronicles, and large gaps in chronological information. This is particularly true of the history of the shakuhachi, which suggests a tradition that extends back to the fourth millennium B.C. Despite these adversities, a verisimilar history can be constructed from the meagre facts.

A broad outline of the shakuhachi's history in Japan shows two periods of activity separated by several hundred years of obscurity. The first period (7th to 9th centuries) is associated with the music of the Imperial Court, Gagaku, while the second period (13th century to the present) is dominated by the lives of Buddhist mendicants and middle-class aesthetes. The prevalent view is that each period of activity was initiated by the arrival of vertical flutes from China, but only the first importation from T'ang Dynasty China (618-907) can be successfully accounted for. The 16th century vertical flute may have been imported from Ming
Dynasty China (1368-1644) or the "Indonesian" islands, or it may have been an indigenous renaissance. All three possibilities will be discussed in the next few pages.

2:1 Ch'ih-pa

While there is no doubt that the Gagaku end-blown vertical flute and its Sino-Japanese nomenclature, "shakuhachi", came from China, its Chinese precursor, the "Ch'ih-pa", is surrounded in the same kind of semantic confusion that the later Japanese shakuhachi endured. Although Curt Sachs (1940:178-82) and Sybil Marcuse (1975:575-77) have attempted to unravel the tangle of Chinese vertical flute etymology and organology, the following pages rely more heavily on primary source materials and a greater range of detailed information.

The historical predominance of the Ch'ih-pa seems to be concentrated during the T'ang Dynasty (618-907). The word appears rarely, if at all, before or after this period. Even during the T'ang Dynasty, it eludes some contemporary commentators. Tuan An-chieh (c. 890) does not mention the Ch'ih-pa in his comprehensive music treatise Yüeh-fu Tsa-lu (Gimm, 1966), and Tanabe (1965-66:1,518) and Kishibe (1951:126) did not encounter this instrument in their study of T'ang Dynasty music sources.
Even the word itself is somewhat of a mystery. Rather than translating as "vertical flute", the Japanese and Chinese nomenclature literally means "1.8 feet". In the European-language studies of Japanese music, only Tanabe (1959:25) has suggested a possible explanation in the form of a correlation between the length of the Ch'ih-pa and the standard length of the Huang-chung bamboo tube.

Jōsangō (1971:7) offers a source which substantiates Tanabe's statement and leads to a full explanation of the correlation mentioned above. Liu Hsü (887-946) noted in his records of the T'ang Dynasty, Chiu T'ang Shu (Liu, 1959:3338), that Emperor T'ai-tsung (r. 627-649) commissioned Lū ts'ai (Jp. Rōsai) to "retune the Lū Kuan", a task he performed using a Ch'ih-pa.

The Lū Kuan were bamboo tubes (Kuan) constructed to sound the twelve standard pitches (Lū) within an octave. Their construction was acoustically determined by a scientific process called "San-fen Sun-i Fa" (The law of diminution and augmentation by fractions of a third) which began with a fundamental generating tone called "Huang-chung" (Yellow Bell). This tone was initially sounded on a bamboo tube of "auspicious" proportions and then "preserved" by tuning a bell (chung)² with sympathetic vibrations passed on through a monochord (chū) from the Huang-chung Kuan (Needham and Robinson,
The pitch of the Huang-chung was a subject of intense concern because its frequency was a symbol of cosmological sympathy as perceived by the governing authority embodied in the person of the emperor. This tradition stemmed from the ancient Chinese concept of "ch'i" which may be circuitously defined as "pneumatos".

The ch'i of earth ascends,
The ch'i of heaven descends;
Yang and Yin meet,
Heaven and Earth interact
Thus (it is that) music unites the two.

Shih Chi, "Yo Chi (3), adapted from Needham and Robinson, 1962:205.

In ancient times the pre-historic shamans (Wu) and later Taoist sages used their respiratory faculties as metaphysical "barometers" of the omnipresent ch'i by blowing into a vertical flute. If their "wind" (Feng, i.e., personal ch'i) was "in tune" with the environmental ch'i they would produce the right "sound" (Ko). The assumption in this equation is that the dimensions of the Kuan were "auspicious" (i.e., correct). When the Ko (i.e., pitch) became identified as the imperial "Huang-chung" during the first millennium B.C., the Kuan's dimensions became particularly critical.

The first descriptions of the dimensions of the Huang-chung Kuan date from the Ch'in and Han Dynasties (221 B.C.-
220 A.D.) but for some unknown reason, only the length was discussed (see Needham and Robinson, 1962:212-13). The most complete discussion is found in the Ch'ien Han Shu by Pan Ku (c. 32-92 A.D.), where it is recorded that its length is .9 feet (ch'ih)\(^3\) and its volume equals 1 "Yo" (Dubs, 1938-44: I,276). The Yo was a standard volume that could be occupied by a specific number of millet seeds, and it was also an abstract form of pre-dynastic vertical flute of the same name.

The Yo vertical flute (also pronounced Yüeh) has been identified as one of the earliest instruments in Chinese music history, dating from the mythical Hsia Dynasty (2205-1766 B.C. See Legge, 1885:II,274) and even earlier (ibid., II,35-36). By the time of the Chou Dynasty (1027-249 B.C.) its role as a music instrument was superceded by its function as a Huang-chung generator. The Shih Ching (Karlgren, 1950:24-25,161) and Li Chi (Couvreur, 1950:II2,387;II:2,59) describe the Yo as a dancer's accoutrement in the Dance of Peace (Wen Wu) symbolozing political stability, imperial authority, and cosmological sympathy in the form of the official Huang-chung Kuan. The Wen Wu dance and its paraphenalia survived into China's recent past (cf. Van Aalst, 1884:31-33) allowing us to clearly identify the Yo as an abstract form of a vertical flute.\(^5\)

Suggesting that the Yo became abstracted does not lead to the conclusion that the vertical flute as a music instrument
became extinct during the Chou Dynasty. Two passages in the *Li Chi* indicate that another flute called "Kuan" was paired with the Yo when discussing dance accoutrements (Couvreur, 1950:II:2,384-85) and accompaniments (*ibid.*, II:2,59). Contemporary Kuan, also called Pi-li (Jp. Hichiriki), are single, vertical bamboo tubes with double reeds inserted in one end and finger-holes placed along the length of the body. Although there may appear to be an organological and semantic contradiction between the *Li Chi* Kuan (vertical, flute aerophone with finger-holes, S-H 421.111.12), contemporary Kuan (vertical, double-reed aerophone with finger-holes, S-H 422.111.2) and the Lü Kuan (vertical, flute aerophone without finger-holes, S-H 421.111.11), a resolution is easily attained by re-defining "Kuan". (It should be noted that all three Kuan are indicated with the same Chinese character.)

The beginnings of a new definition of "Kuan" are hinted at in a classic illustration of a T'ang Dynasty court orchestra comprised of females (see Rowley, 1969). Seven of the orchestra's eight pairs of instruments are identical, but the anomalous pair is comprised of a vertical, double-reed instrument and a vertical flute instrument (cf. Kishibe, 1965:116, fn.15). Obviously, the pairing of these instruments is justified in the fact that they are both vertical, end-blown instruments made from a single tube of bamboo.
Further study of the Kuan shows that the Kuan music instrument mentioned in the Chou Dynasty annals was exclusively a flute aerophone. In the Shih Chi (Karlgren, 1950: 245-46) and Li Chi (Couvreur, 1950:I:1,360;II:1,76,91-93) the Kuan is paired with the "Hsiao" in enumerations of instrument pairs. Because these pairings are according to size (e.g., large and small mouth organ, Yu and Sheng; large and small zither, Se and Ch'in) one may safely assume that Kuan and Hsiao are small and large varieties of the same instrument. However, the nature of the instrument is open to two interpretations.

The first interpretation is the more traditional. There is ample evidence dating from the Han Dynasty and earlier showing that the Hsiao were panpipes (i.e., several vertical flutes arranged in sequence and joined together). Assuming that the Kuan and Hsiao are a pair, this substantiates the theory that the early Kuan were the flute type, but it also suggests that Kuan were panpipes. There are many casual references to the fact that Hsiao had 16 to 24 pipes (Couvreur, 1950:II:1,76) and the Kuan had two pipes (Needham and Robinson, 1962:136,152) but a contemporary reference in the Chou-Li (Biot, 1851:II,34 and Chou Li, 1936:Ch.22,p.6) clearly states that the Kuan was a single tube. Further investigation reveals that Kuan were traditionally thought of
as paired, single flutes related according to the acoustic principle of "San-fen Sun-i Fa". Each "superior" (Yang) Kuan could generate an "inferior" (Yin) Kuan or "Thung" (Needham and Robinson, 1962:173). This duality is reflected in the expression "five sheng (pentatonic scale), six Lü (superior pitches), 12 Kuan (12 pipes/notes)" (see Needham and Robinson, 1962:139).

A second, less traditional interpretation could be that the Chou Dynasty Kuan and Hsiao were small and large vertical flutes which became grouped into double and multiple panpipes by the time of the Han Dynasty. In contemporary Chinese parlance, the word "Hsiao" means vertical flute, while clarification of this term is offered in the dual nomenclatures "Tung; Hsiao" (vertical flute) and "P'ai Hsiao" (panpipes).

Therefore, Kuan may be defined as an end-blown, vertical bamboo wind instrument. In the Chou Dynasty it was a flute aerophone that existed in two forms, without finger-holes (i.e., Lü Kuan) and with finger-holes (i.e., music instrument, as in "Yo and Kuan" and "Kuan and Hsiao"). Both Kuan types were combined in the form of the "Yo" (a special Lü Kuan, "Huang-chung Kuan", which was also a music instrument). The double-reed Kuan has a foreign name, "Pi-li", which could be interpreted as a melding of the early Kuan construction with an imported sounding-device (i.e., a double-reed. See Garfias,
During the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.), China's expansive mood generated an intense amount of scholarship and creative activity fed by new contacts with Western, "foreign" cultures introduced via the newly-developed "silk road". One of the many activities initiated by this cultural effluence was the re-establishment of the Imperial Huang-chung, neglected during the dissolution of the Chou Dynasty. According to the author of Feng-su-t'ung (Ying Shao, c. 178 B.C.), Ch'iu Chung designed a flute he called "Ti" and which seemed to have functioned in the same dual role as the Chou Dynasty Yo. During the Liang Dynasty (502-557), the Ti became synonymous with all the Lü Kuan (see T'ung Tien by Tu Yu, 1935:746). The Chinese character for Ti is a combination of "bamboo" (⺳, i.e. bamboo tube) and "source, median, mean" (⚊). Its synonym, "Ti" (also "Chu") (⺳⺳), is a combination of "bamboo" and "purge or cleanse" suggesting that the Ti was introduced to clarify and establish the "true" pitch of the Lü Kuan, especially the Huang-chung. The founding of the word "Ti" was probably necessitated by the fact that the original word for "Huang-chung/music instrument" Kuan, "Yo", had lost its initial meaning and had become a designate for a standard measure of volume and length (see Dubs, 1938-44:I,276-79).
Unfortunately, confusion arises from another meaning of "Ti" which is "horizontal flute". This definition eventually became exclusive with the result that Chinese transverse flutes are now generally called Ti, while vertical flutes are referred to by another name, Tung Hsiao. I suspect that during the Han Dynasty, a transverse flute newly imported into China (see Gimm, 1966:427) and the newly designed vertical flute became associated and named alike by virtue of the fact that they were both single-tube, flute aerophones.

After the Han Dynasty, vertical flutes could be generally referred to as "Kuan" (vertical, single-tube aerophone), "Hsiao" (vertical, flute aerophone) or "Ti" (flute aerophone), but they did not have an all-inclusive (i.e., exclusive) nomenclature (i.e., a term which meant vertical, single-tube, flute aerophone).

By the time of the T'ang Dynasty (618-907), the three synonyms for vertical flute had become completely diffuse. "Kuan" became an exclusive synonym for "Pi-li", "Hsiao" referred to "panpipes", and "Ti" meant transverse flute even though two of its three qualifying adjectives suggested the meaning of vertical flute:

Lüng-ti (Jp. Ryū-keki) -- a flute with a dragon's head carved on the mouthpiece symbolizing the
office of the emperor; 7

Huang-ti (Jp. Ō-teki) -- a flute which sounds the
Huang-chung;

Heng-ti (Jp. Ō-teki) -- a transverse Huang-chung flute.

The nomenclatures that were eventually adopted for vertical flutes were "Tung Hsiao" and "Ch'ih-pa". Organologically, the duality of the terms probably stems from the difference in their mouth-piece construction: The Tung Hsiao has a covering over the mouthpiece with a small opening over the blowing edge which limits the tonal flexibility of the instrument (like a pipe in a P'ai Hsiao), while the Ch'ih-pa resembles the Japanese Shakuhachi in its open-throated mouthpiece, allowing complete tonal flexibility. 8

Semantically, the Ch'ih-pa seems directly related to the Han Dynasty Ti and Chou Dynasty Yo. As mentioned earlier, the Ch'ih-pa was used by Lü ts'ai to re-tune the Lü Kuan, a role strongly reminiscent of Ch'iu Chung's Ti. The translation of Ch'ih-pa, "1.8 feet", is probably a reference to the critical length that is required for the "correct" Huang-chung Kuan, an obligatory element in the definitions of "Ti" and "Yo". 9

After the T'ang Dynasty, the term "Tung Hsiao" seems to have been generalized to include all vertical flutes, including those originally referred to as "Ch'ih-pa". Even the
Tung Hsiao instrument seems to have over-taken the Ch'ih-pa in nation-wide popularity with one important exception. The southern coastal city of Amoy (in Fukien Province) retained many T'ang and Sung Dynasty traditions which had migrated south to avoid the Mongol invasions of the 13th and 14th centuries (see Lieberman, 1971:1). One of these traditions was orchestral music called "Nan-Kuan" (named after the "Southern Kuan" [see Notes, Ch.2:10]) which included a Ch'ih-pa flute now called "Tung Hsiao". In the next pages, I will show that this instrument may have had an important role in the development of the Japanese shakuhachi.

2:2 Indigenous Flutes

Evidence for an indigenous vertical flute that may have contributed to the development of the shakuhachi is scant, if not non-existent. Although Tanabe (1963:18) presents the controversial flute held by a Haniwa figure from the Japanese Tumuli Period (3rd to 7th century A.D.), it is most likely an Ishibue ("Stone flute") -- a stone ocarina or whistle.

Second, a Kagura genre called "Azuma Asobi", entertainment music from the indigenous Japanese "barbarians" of the eastern provinces (ancient Azuma, now Aichi and Shizuoka Prefectures), employed a "Chūkuan" (middle-sized Kuan) -- a term more common to vertical flutes than transverse flutes (usually
called "teki" or "bue"). The "discovery" of this music in the 8th century by the more sophisticated Yamato Clan of the western provinces was followed by a peak of popularity in the 10th century, and then a rapid decline. By the Muromachi Period (1333-1573) the Chükwan had become unknown "and in performances of Azuma Asobi it is replaced by the Koma-bue (the nearest in size)" according to an entry in the 16th century Gagaku encyclopedia Taigenshô (Harich-Schneider, 1973: 392-93). Since then, no new information has come to light.

The "Yamato-bue" ("ancient Japanese flute") has been associated with the Wagon in Kagura (music to accompany Japan's indigenous Shinto faith and its ceremonies) since the Yamato Period (400-645). Emperor Sui Wen-ti (581-604) of the Sui Dynasty (581-618) was informed of these two instruments by the first envoy sent from Japan some time between 581 and 600 (Theodore de Bary, et al., 1958:9). However, the Yamato-bue is transverse and it is generally considered to be an early importation from Korea (Harich-Schneider, 1973:10,12).

Another transverse flute which is traditionally considered indigenous is the instrument played by En no Gyōja (634-707), the patron saint of Japan's mendicant Buddhists and the founder of the Yamabushi. This legend is told in a Gagaku dance called Somakusha, but recent research (see Harich-Schneider, 1973:163, fn.58) has found the origins of this dance
and legend in Central Asia via the imported entertainment of T'ang Dynasty China.

All the available evidence to date seems to support Harich-Schneider's conclusion (ibid., 1973:12) that flutes, vertical or otherwise, were scarcely indigenous to Japan, if at all.

2:3 Gagaku Shakuhachi

During the Yamato Period (400-645) China was the well-spring of Japan's prolific cultural naissance either directly or through Korean intermediaries. Music, no less than any other art or science, fascinated the Japanese from its first official reception in 453 A.D. (Garfias, 1975:7) to the end of the Kōnin Period (794-894) when the last official ambassadorial visit to China was cancelled (Reischauer and Fairbank, 1958:506-507). This bridge of exchange was not re-opened until the Early Muromachi Period (1336-1477) vis-a-vis the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) although there were furtive visits by merchants and pirates (ibid., 560-61) whenever China's turbulent era under the Mongols would allow it. Therefore, Japan's early history falls into two periods in which the first is signaled by wholesale importation of Chinese culture followed by a long period of respite during which the Chinese influences
are assimilated before contact is resumed.

In 701 A.D., the Japanese court founded the Gagaku-ryō ("Office of Gagaku") in order to organize and codify the wealth of music coming from the T'ang Dynasty centres of music. It is in this frenetic and exuberant milieu that the "Ch'ih-pa" arrived to become the Japanese "Shakuhachi" in the Imperial Court Orchestra, Gagaku.

2:3:1 Early Gagaku Shakuhachi (7th-8th Centuries)

The earliest known references to the shakuhachi are associated with Buddhist temples because they were the centre of Japan's new religious celebrations and concomitant court activities. Because many of these celebrations were unique events, many of these temples would immortalize their celebrations by retaining all the costumes, implements (including music instruments), and records for future posterity. Judging by the available material, their foresight has been amply justified.

Seventh century evidence of the shakuhachi's presence is associated with Hōryū-ji temple, founded in 607 and most active during the Asuka (552-645) and Hakuho (645-710) Periods as a focal point for Japan's early Buddhist devotions. Within its confines are one extant shakuhachi (Tanabe, 1964:285-86)
and a small, sculptured "angel" (Tennin) playing a shakuhachi. The latter is one of a group of six heavenly musicians (Akiyama, 1966:v.2,pl.10 and p.186) placed on a canopy above the "Shaka Triad" in the main hall (Kondō) and probably dating from the Hakuho Period. The extant shakuhachi is one of several extant instruments stored in the Treasure-house (Hōko) of Hōryū-ji.

During the eighth century the capital moved to Nara, where it became the recipient of the majority of the Chinese importations. Not surprisingly, the evidence for the existence of the Gagaku shakuhachi is strongest in this century. The most extensive proof comes from the Shōsō-in which is the treasure-house connected to the Tōdai-ji temple, the Nara Period (710-794) equivalent of the earlier Hōryū-ji. The extant evidence is in the form of eight shakuhachi, four of which are actually catalogued in the contemporary Shōsō-in catalogue, Kemmotsuchō (see Harich-Schneider, 1973:59; Jōsangō, 1971:7). They have been amply described by the Shōsō-in Office (1967) and many commentators (e.g., Harich-Schneider, 1973:59-61), so they need not occupy us here.

The Shōsō-in also has a number of illustrations of shakuhachi drawn on various objects within its collection. On the famous Dankyū Bow (Shōsō-in Office, 1967:pls.192-99; Harich-Schneider, 1973:55-58) are line-drawings of two shakuhachi
players, one standing and one sitting, and a bucolic scene painted on a biwa kambachi (plectrum guard) contains a young man playing either an extra-long hichiriki (ō-hichiriki?) or a shakuhachi (Shōsō-in Office, 1967:pls.8,182).

Another iconographic source related to the Tōdai-ji is an eight-sided bronze lamp built in c. 752 in front of the enormous temple. On four of its sides are "musical bodhisattva" (i.e., buddhist "saints"), one of whom is playing a shakuhachi.¹⁰ (The other three are playing ryūteki, "shō" [mouth organ], and "hachi" [small cymbals].)

Two contemporary catalogues document the existence of the shakuhachi in various contexts. The inventory list of the Saidai-ji temple, Saidai-ji Shizaichō (780) includes one mada-radake (mottled bamboo) shakuhachi for a late T'ang ensemble and eight shakuhachi for early T'ang ensembles (cf. Garfias, 1965:40,Table 2). Another catalogue, compiled by a "Grand Council" (Daijōkan) and labelled Daijōkanpu (809), lists twelve "Tōgakushi" (masters of Tōgaku music) including a "Shakuhachi-shi" (Jōsangō, 1971:7).

Finally, a 12th century document, the Shinzei Kogaku Zu, is reputed to be a collection of drawings and anecdotes from Nara and early Heian times illustrating the many facets of contemporary Gagaku (Harich-Schneider, 1973:142-81; Garfias, 1975:fig.26-52). Line-drawings of a solitary shakuhachi player
(copied from the Dankyū Bow?) and a procession of musicians performing Rinyū-Gaku which includes a shakuhachi player add more evidence to the hypothesis that the shakuhachi was active during the 7th and 8th centuries.

2:3:2 Heian Gagaku Shakuhachi (9th-10th Centuries)

During the Heian Period (794-1185) the Japanese began the assimilation and adaption of imported Chinese culture to suit their own national character. For the shakuhachi this process was an anathema. References to the instrument are so rare that one can only assume that it did not survive the cultural metamorphoses.

A document from the 12th century, Ryūmeishō (1133), contains a brief anecdote stating that Sadayasu Shinno (870-924), one of the sons of Emperor Seiwa (r. 858-876) and a famous ryūteki (transverse flute) musician, attempted to revive the shakuhachi part to the Tōgaku Kangen composition, "ōshōkun" (Jōsangō, 1971:8). Considering the time-gap between the anecdote and the actual event, and the fact that this anecdote does not appear in the other Ryūteki manuals written before the Ryūmeishō, this curious piece of information is not above suspicion.

The author of the 10th century dictionary Wa Myō Ruijū
Shō, Minamoto no Shitagu, lists the shakuhachi among related "oddities",¹² the "Yaku" ("a six-hole flute"), "Chō-tekki" (long flute), "Chūkwan" (middle-size flute, see 2:2) and "Tan-tekki" (short flute, cf. Harich-Schneider, 1973:392-93, re: Taigenshō entry for Chūkwan). The entry for shakuhachi simply states that it is opposite to the Tan-tekki (Minamoto, 1968:v.1,p.289,595).

Murasaki Shikibu, a courtier and novelist writing in the first years of the 11th century, vaguely mentions a "sakuhachi (sic) no teki" in her usually punctilious narrative, Genji Monogatari ("Safflower", ch.6, see Jōsangō, 1971:8).¹³ Her obtuse reference most likely stemmed from its rarity.

Koma no Asakuzu noted in his Gagaku encyclopedia Zoku-Kyōkunshō (1270) that in 1158 a party was held in a nobleman's house at which the shakuhachi was played, no doubt as a curiosity. "It is certain that in those last days of Heian, the aristocrats surrounding the ill-starred Goshirakawa (r. 1155-1158) must have attained a rare artistic perfection, before Heian fell" (Harich-Schneider, 1973:272). The revival of the shakuhachi probably played a part in this cultural effluence as a nostalgic reminder of greater times.

These few anecdotes convey the fact that the shakuhachi had become virtually obsolete in the Heian Period. On the other hand, the "ryūteki" (also "ōteki" and "yokobue") transverse
flute had become extremely popular. According to the Sandai-Jitsuroku, one of the first great ryūteki performers was Ōto no Kiyogami (nee Seijō, fl. 833-850) who travelled to China (and died on the return voyage) in order to receive advance instruction in the T'ang flute (Harich-Schneider, 1973:102). Seijō is the first name in a tradition of distinguished noblemen, mainly from the Minamoto clan who pursued the technique of the ryūteki. From the 11th century onwards, Gakunin (professional musicians of Gagaku) from the Ōga clan inherited the reputation of skilled flutists. The result of all this activity was a number of extensive writings in the ryūteki and related subjects (Harich-Schneider, 1973:191-212, 253-263, 274):

- Nanchiku-fu by Sadayasu Shinno (870-924) -- not extant;
- Chōchiku-fu by Minamoto no Hakuga (918-80);
- Kaichikushō by Ōga no Koresue (1026-94);
- Ryūmeishō by Ōga no Motomasa (1077-1138).

In conclusion, it would seem that the transverse flute completely over-shadowed the shakuhachi when Gagaku and its instrumentarium became assimilated and adopted by the Heian aesthetes. No doubt the extensive tradition of the imported Chinese Lüng-ti (Ryūteki) coupled with the early Japanese penchant for "wagon" and "teki" mentioned earlier (see 2:2) combined to establish this preference. After the fall of the Heian court the transverse flute was adopted by such diverse
concerns as Buddhist temples (as tuning standards, see Harich-Schneider, 1973:317,327) and folk ensembles (called "Hayashi", see ibid., 254,414). Certain echoes of the courtly transverse flute tradition also may have found its way into the later shakuhachi tradition, as will be shown in Chapter 4 (see 4:1:2).

2:4 Medieval Shakuhachi

Between the period of the Gagaku shakuhachi and the advent of the Komusō shakuhachi lies several hundred years of clouded history concerning vertical flutes. The period under discussion is concomitant with the Kamakura (1185-1333) and Muromachi (1333-1573) Eras during which time Japan progressed through painful and disruptive changes from a monarchical to a feudal society. Not surprisingly, music in general reflected these changes so much that old forms disappeared or mutated while new genres appeared in transient and rapidly changing forms. Essentially, the chroniclers of Japanese art music found the old Heian court music in a state of attenuation, while the music of the new military class, Nohgaku, and the popular entertainments of the emerging merchant of "middle" class captured their attention.

Some of the confusion surrounding the shakuhachi's history stems from its name. Originally, the word "shakuhachi"
(Ch. "Ch'ih-pa") was a specific denotation for the imported Gagaku vertical flute, but its later meaning became generalized by Imperial chroniclers describing plebian vertical flutes long after the Gagaku instrument became extinct. When the names of these latter flutes finally became acknowledged (i.e., "Tenpuku" and "Hitoyogiri") the term "shakuhachi" disappeared until the advent of the Komuso who named their vertical flute "shakuhachi". It is this final denotation which has come down to us in the present and which belies an historical continuity dating from the 7th century.

The most important distinction between the Gagaku Shakuhachi and Medieval Shakuhachi is that the former was constructed with six holes (sounding the Chinese Ryo mode in the manner of the Chinese Ch'ih-pa) while the latter was built with 5 holes, placed to sound the indigenous Japanese music scale (Ritsu/Yō mode). This tradition has remained unchanged to the present.

2:4:1 Komo-so Shakuhachi

Throughout the history of Japan since its first contact with China, there has always been a maverick class of Japanese, the Buddhist mendicants. Their origins may be roughly traced to the 7th and 8th centuries when rural shamanism, loosely
associated with indigenous Shintoism, melded with Buddhism to create the "Ubasoku-zenji" (Buddhist laymen masters). They did not constitute one coherent class but instead were alike only in their quasi-Buddhist shamanism (Kitagawa, 1966:38-45). En no Gyōja, mentioned earlier (see 2:2), was their unofficial patron saint.

During the Kamakura Period, when Japan was embroiled in constant civil wars and people's lives were constantly disrupted, the number of wandering ascetics increased dramatically, declaring the arrival of "Mappō", (the third Buddhist cycle when the Buddha's teachings, and consequently the world, will end), and paths to salvation. At this time, the mendicants were called "shōnin" or "hijiri", (the latter being a development within the Shingon Sect) and they had abandoned shaman practices some time earlier.

Watanabe (1970:35-37) has only the highest regard for the "popular religionists" but the author of the fourteenth century Tsurezuregusa (Essays in Idleness) speaks of the hijiri or "boroboro" (men of rags) in a contemptuous tone (Keene, 1967:66, 98-99). Remnants of this tradition still exist in the form of "Yamabushi", or Men of the Mountains.

From the very beginning, the biwa played by blind (Buddhist) priests (Mō-sō) was a major element in the ubasoku tradition. The origins of this genre are unknown, although
Haniwa figurines show that the biwa was extant in Japan's protohistorical period and chronicles such as the Kojiki indicate kami (gods), emperors, and noblemen occasionally used string instruments during their shamanistic activities. During the Heian Period the Mosō were loosely organized into a guild (be) and informally aligned with the Tendai Buddhist sect, but their basic roles as mendicants remained largely undisturbed.

At first their music only consisted of sutra recitations with brief interludes played on the biwa. For this reason, pre-reform Buddhist chant (bombai) figures prominently in their musical background, although accounts of their recitations described them as mystical incantations strongly reminiscent of resident Shinto shrine shamans (Mikanko) and their Imperial predecessors (Malm, 1959:42-43). When the shōnin and populist Buddhist sects increased their activity during the violent Kamakura period, the Mosō created unique vehicles for their eschatology in the form of "Sekkyō-bushi", Buddhist ballad dramas, and "Saemon", Buddhist song-sermons. The most important of these narratives was the Heike-monogatari which evolved into its own genre, the Heike-biwa. Their shaman activities were completely replaced by their evangelism.

The succeeding Muromachi Period saw the development of
a group of ubasoku musicians who fashioned themselves after the Kamakura Mō-sō. The "Komo-sō", straw-mat (i.e., mendicant) priests, adopted the vertical flute as a ritual instrument for their "takuhatsu", religious alms-taking. Their movement does not seem to have lasted beyond 1600 (the beginning of the Edo Period) and contemporary references to them are scarce. Perhaps the first mention of their existence is in the Sanjūniban Shokunin Uta-awase (c. 1537) which contains a slightly disparaging "Waka" (31-syllable poem) about "Komo no Shakuhachi"\(^{14}\) (Jōsangō, 1971:9). Within fifty years the Komo-sō were displaced by samurai and chōnin (bourgeoisie) who adopted the vertical flute as a medium of expression and entertainment.

The reasons for this turn of events and the shakuhachi's rapid rise through Japan's social classes will be explained presently.

The renaissance of the shakuhachi in the hands of the Komo-sō has provoked a considerable amount of discussion about its origins. It is generally accepted that the Medieval Shakuhachi does not have a direct lineage to the Gagaku Shakuhachi and that it was re-introduced from China some time in the 15th century.

Impetus for the re-introduction theory stems from the legend of Rōan, a Chinese migrant who emigrated to Japan in the Bummei Era (1469-86) and settled in Uji (just outside Kyoto) where he built a temple which he called Kyūkō-an. It
is said that he introduced the vertical flute which was to become named the "Hitoyogiri" (single-section bamboo cut shakuhachi) one hundred years later. Kinko I is supposed to have acquired four Honkyoku (see Tanaka, 1956:303-304) nearly 250 years later, and another legend has it that Pao Fu (Hōfuku), the first master of the Kinsen branch of the Kinko-ryū, founded a hermitage in Uji some 200 years earlier than Rōan. Whatever the authenticity of these legends, it is interesting that Uji should be the common focal point.

Tanabe (1954:218) says that according to tradition, Rōan may have originally come from Foochow, a city in Fukien Province. In a later book, Tanabe (1959:36) offers another clue by saying that "In 1392, the first ruler of Ming Dynasty China dispatched 36 families of the province of Fukien to the Ryūkyū Islands to make the islanders conform to the manners of China." (At that time the Chinese introduced the "Sanhsien" which was to emigrate to Japan in the 16th century to become the "Shamisen"). The Ryūkyū Islands became a major trading link between the newly formed Ming Dynasty in China (1368-1644) and the expansive Ashikaga Shogunate (1336-1477, see Reischauer and Fairbank, 1958:331). Malm (1975) has offered a fascinating glimpse of music exchange between China and Japan via Korean and Ryukuan intermediaries during the Edo Period (1600-1828) but the preceding 150 years have not
been well documented. Nevertheless, it would seem entirely possible that the vertical flute did find its way to Japan during the 15th century when contact between China and Japan reached the same intensity as it had some seven hundred years earlier.

Tanabe (1954:218) claims that the 15th century vertical flute probably came to Fukien Province from "Indo-China" (e.g., the Thai "khlui") or even "Indonesia" where the Arabian "nay" was probably introduced during the Moslem incursions (13th-15th centuries) to become the Indonesian "suling". He may have come to this conclusion, rather than suggesting that the shakuhachi originated with the native Chinese Tung Hsiao, because the Tung Hsiao and Shakuhachi are so dissimilar. However, recent investigations have revealed the existence of the Amoy Tung Hsiao which is very similar to the shakuhachi and which is probably related to the T'ang Dynasty Ch'ih-pa (see 2:1). Amoy is a major city in Fukien Province.

In contradistinction to the theory of importation is an indigenous theory of development. Using a scattering of often-quoted references, I would like to suggest a direct relationship between the Komo-sō and Mō-sō vis-a-vis the vertical flute.

In the 13th century, Koma no Chikazane reported in his Kyōkunshō (1233) that blind priests (Shinhōshi) and Sarugaku performers (the predecessors of Nohgaku) played the shakuhachi
(Jōsangō, 1971:8). The author of Kojidan (1212), Minamoto no Daiken, related a legend that says the Ennin (nee Jikaku Daishi, 794-864) used the shakuhachi as a supplement to his Shōmyō (Buddhist chant) practices and the author of Zoku-Kyōkunshō (1270), Koma no Asakuza, recorded another unconfirmed anecdote about the revival of the shakuhachi in 1158, already described in this chapter (ibid.).

The 14th century literature seems to contain only one glancing reference. Emperor Godaigo (r. 1318-39), recounting his years of exile in his diary, Yoshino-Shūi (1336-39), mentions that one of his entourage played the shakuhachi (ibid.).

It is in the 15th century that the references begin to proliferate, coincidentally during the same century that Rōan is supposed to have arrived in Japan. Emperor Gokomatsu (r. 1392-1412) reported hearing "shakuhachi and haya-uta" (one of the forms in "Uta-awase" song festivals) in his Yamashina Kyōgen Kyōrikki (1408, ibid.). Prince Sadanari (nee Gosukoin, 1372-1456) noted in his diary Kammongyoki (1417-1449) that he watched itinerant biwa and "flute" players taking part in Uta-awase (Harich-Schneider, 1973:411).

Moving into the 16th century, we note that the Gagaku encyclopedia Taigenshō has more information about the shakuhachi than the 13th century encyclopedias, Kyōkunshō and
Zoku-Kyōkunshō Harich-Schneider, 1973:394). Finally, the most
telling evidence is a picture of a Mōsō in the Shokunin Zuku-
shi Uta-awase by Tosa Mitsunobu (1434-1525; see Harich-
Schneider, 1973:pl.17b). At his feet lie two vertical flute
types: panpipes (Ritsušō) and a small shakuhachi (Dōshō?).

As thin as this evidence is, I would like to propose
that the Mōsō (nee Shinhōshi) of the Heian Tendai Sect (cf.
Ennin) adopted two kinds of tuning devices for their biwa
performances, the Ritsu-shō and Dō-shō (a common synonym for
shakuhachi). Unlike the Gagaku Shakuhachi, the tuning shaku-
hachi would have been much simpler and smaller in construction
(for portability) and tuned to the indigenous scale (Ritsu/Yō
mode) more familiar to the Mōsō. Hence, the development of
five finger-holes rather than six. No doubt the tuning notes
used by the Mōsō became stylized, a tradition long established
in the Gagaku tuning "preludes" called "Netori" and in the
prelude improvisations performed by courtiers (cf. Genji-
monogatari, see Harich-Schneider, 1973:246). During the 15th
and 16th centuries the Mōsō probably utilized their stylized
tuning preludes during their participation in the popular Uta-
awase. Another group of Buddhist mendicants probably realized
the value of the shakuhachi and its "preludes", and adopted
it as their own medium, naming themselves "Komo-sō" to dis-
tinguish themselves from the "Mō-sō".
One final hypothesis can be drawn to support the above. The imported Fukien vertical flute would have had six holes and an alien scale which would probably not have captured the interest of the Japanese, just as the Gagaku Shakuhachi did not.

As mentioned earlier, the Komo-so seemed to have disappeared from 16th-century Japanese society after only fifty-odd years of existence. No reasons are given in contemporary literature but one can easily imagine that the development of the "Tenpuku", "Hitoyogiri", and "Fuke Shakuhachi" (to be discussed next) fostered the Komo-so's dissolution. The former vertical flutes (all simple variations on the shakuhachi) were played by samurai and chōnin (bourgeoisie) who would insure that vertical flutes be restricted to their class (the Komo-so were people from the lower class). In the light of Japan's rigid code of social ethics and their enforcement, particularly in the Edo Period, this restriction would be easy to impose.

A second suggestion may be that Komo-so were one and the same with Mo-so, and the vertical flute did not achieve an independant music and genre status until it moved into the upper classes.
2:4:2 Tenpuku (16th Century)

Rather than appearing on the main island of Honshū, the Tenpuku originated in the southern island of Kyūshū. In the 9th century, the town of Dazaifu was established in northern Kyūshū to act as an administrative centre for the newly-emerging "Nine Southern Provinces". Between 901 and 903, Sugawara no Michizane, a renowned scholar and statesman, was virtually exiled to Dazaifu after various altercations at the court in Kyoto. Despite the fact that he was only there for three years, his cultural influence, particularly in music, is still felt in the environs (Harich-Schneider, 1973:417).

Some of the notable music genres from Northern Kyūshū are the Chikuzen Mōsō-biwa (12th century) and the Tsukushi-goto (17th century).

In the southern end of the island, cultural activity was dominated by the Shimadzu clan. In the 12th century, Shimadzu Tadahisa established the clan in the southern province of Satsuma. During the same century, the Shimadzu sponsored the Satsuma Mōsō with the intention of using them as spies because of their unsuspicious demeanor and unhindered tradition of peregrinations allowing them to freely cross borders and overhear conversations (Malm, 1959:135).

The first mention of the "tenpuku" is in the 16th century,
when Shimadzu Tadayoshi (1492-1568) encouraged the development of "light classics" among his samurai retainers by instructing them to learn how to play the Satsuma-biwa and tenpuku. In 1587 the entire clan was disbanded and dissipated by Hideyoshi (1536-1598), with the result that nothing more was heard about the Tenpuku.

In the only thorough study of the tenpuku, Shirao (1969:153-69) has concluded that very little can be said with certainty about the instrument and its history. One reason for this unfortunate paucity of information may be that the disbanding of the clan just twenty years after Tadayoshi's death may not have allowed enough time for the instrument to establish itself.

Extant tenpuku resemble miniature shakuhachi, unlike hitoyogiri which are constructed with ornamental fixtures resembling ryūteki (Malm, 1959:155). The co-occurrence of the Satsuma biwa and small vertical flute is worth noting in the context of this chapter.17

2:4:3 Hitoyogiri (Late 16th-17th Centuries)

The name "Hito-yo-giri" means "single section cut" because the vertical flute of the time was made of one section of bamboo with the mouthpiece cut obliquely on the bottom of the section. Like the shakuhachi, the nomenclature does not
actually name the instrument, but rather describes it. It was measured in Japanese feet (shaku) and micro-inches (bu) rather than inches (sun), making it shorter than its predecessor. The flute existed in many different sizes, so it was also identified according to the lowest note it sounded. For example, a hitoyogiri that sounded "A" was called "ōshiki-giri". During the height of its popularity, it was constructed in the same manner as the hichiriki and ōteki with strips of dark-colored wood or twine wrapped around its body between the finger-holes (Malm, 1959:155).

Ōmori Sōkun (1568-1625) is the first major figure in the history of the hitoyogiri. He was originally in the service of Nobunaga, until the latter's death in 1582, at which time Ōmōri became a recluse playing the hitoyogiri. His skill became so highly reputed that the Emperor Gōyōzei (1586-1611) requested his presence and a set of his instruments. Ōmōri compiled seven solo hitoyogiri melodies, Tanteki Hidenfu (1608) which were supposedly quiet and introspective in character. A later anonymous collection Ikanobori contained five more compositions. It has been impossible to reproduce the melodies with any certainty because there is no way of knowing what the actual pitches of the notation syllabary are. The titles do not appear in any later repertoires of known shakuhachi music, including the Kinko-ryū (Jōsangō, 1971:8).
According to the Dōshōkyoku, two "schools" of playing developed, the Shūsa-ryū and Nishimi-ryū; they performed with each other in the same manner as the Uta-awase. Illustrations and explanations about hitoyogiri players performing in pairs (Fuku-awase) are found in the Shichiku Shoshinshū (1664) and the Jinrin Kimmo Zui (1689). In the Yamato Kōsaku Eishō, the hitoyogiri is shown being played in an ensemble consisting of shamisen, taiko and ko-tsuzumi, accompanying a Bon-odori dance (ibid.).

The hitoyogiri reached the peak of popularity during the Genroku Era (1688-1703) and then quickly fell into decline because of a new vertical flute that was rapidly becoming more popular — the larger "Nedake" Shakuhachi played by the successors of the Komo-sō, the "Komu-sō".

2:4:4 Komusō Shakuhachi (17th-19th Centuries)

During the Momoyama Period (1573-1600), Japan was steeped in national warfare which generated a difficult situation in the following Edo Period (1600-1868). Thousands of samurai who had been traditionally aligned to clans found themselves without employment because their clans had been defeated and disbanded. These "rōnin" constituted a dangerous, volatile element in the early part of the Edo Period. A group of these
ronin took up the shakuhachi and became wandering mendicant musicians in the komosō tradition. However, they called themselves "Komu-sō" ("empty nothingness -- priests") to differentiate themselves from the decidedly lower class of komosō.

The Komusō were alleged to be members of a radical Zen sect called the Fuke-shū, which was allied to the Rinzai-shū. They claimed that their founder was Kakushin (nee Shinji, Hottō-zenji, Hottō-emmyo-Kōkushī) who lived in the early years of the Kamakura-jidai (i.e., 1207-1298). Between the years 1249 and 1254, he studied Buddhism in Sung Dynasty China in much the same manner as Eisai (1141-1215) and Dōgen (1200-1253), the founders of Rinzai-shū and Sōtō-shū, respectively, in Japan. While in China, Kakushin studied with Wumen Hui-k'ai (1184-1260) who had compiled the Wu-men Kuan (Mumonkan), a collection of Rinzai-shū koans that have become an integral part of Zen Buddhism in Japan (see Miura and Sasaki, 1966:199-203).

A document written in 1779 (published in 1795) and entitled "Kyotaku Denki" Kokujikai -- a Commentary on the "Biography of Kyotaku" in Japanese -- purported to be a history of the Fuke-shū. The author, Yamamoto Morihide, based his commentary on a copy of the biography, the original being "lost" (see Ongaku Jiten, Vol. II, p.777).
Kakushin is said to have studied with Chang Ts'an (Chōsan), the 16th patriarch of the Fuke sect in China extending back to P'u-hua (Jp. Fuke), the source or the Fuke tradition and second generation from Ma-tsu Tao-i (Baso Doichi -- 707-786).

P'u-hua was one of the most eccentric Ch'an (Zen) monks of T'ang Dynasty China as evidenced by the koans built around his association with Lin-Chi (Rinzai, see Moore, 1967:106-107, fn.19). It is said that he wandered through graveyards, feigning madness and shaking a hand-bell (Jp. Rei), a common ritual implement of Buddhism. At that time, Chang Po (Chō Haku) asked P'u-hua if he might be his teacher, but P'u-hua refused. Undeterred, Chang Po followed his master's footsteps, but instead of ringing a bell, he blew a single note from a vertical flute. Renaming himself Hsūto ("Kyotaku"), he became the first patriarch of the P'u-hua-tsung (Fuke-shū).

Kakushin supposedly met Chang Ts'an at Hu-kuo-ssu Temple where Wu-mên was resident patriarch, and the two of them studied under Wu-mên together. One day, after hearing Chang Ts'an perform a composition named after the first patriarch, Kyotaku (or "Kyorei"), Kakushin asked to be initiated into the sect.

After returning to Japan in 1254, Kakushin founded Saihō-ji Temple (later called Kōkoku-ji) in Wakayama Prefec-
ture where he resided for most of his remaining life. Within its confines he allegedly built a small temple called Fuke-an for four Chinese lay disciples of Chang Ts'an who had accompanied Kakushin on his return voyage. One of the laymen, Pao Fu (Hōfuku), is said to have founded a hermitage at Uji some time later. The Kinsen branch of the Fuke-shū trace their origins to this source.

Among Kakushin's Japanese disciples was Yoritake Ryōen (d. 1298) who became initiated in the way of the shakuhachi and renamed himself Kyochiku Zenji. He is credited with initiating the traditions of the mendicant player/priests and composing "Mukai-ji" and "Kokū-ji" (later called "Kokū Reibo") after hearing them in a dream at Kokūzō-dō Temple in Ise Prefecture. Many traditional historians confuse Yoritake Ryōen with another, later legendary figure named Roan.

Kyochiku's successor was Tengai Myōan who founded Kyo-reizan Meian-ji in the 13th century. Thereafter, Meian-ji became the head temple of the Komusō with the statue of Kyochiku enshrined within it. Meian-ha's patriarchs are numbered from Kyochiku Zenji, so that the current "patriarch", Fukumoto Kansai Kyoan, is 39th successor.

In 1614, (Keichō 19), Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616) supposedly issued a proclamation (okitegaki) which eventually became known as the Keichō Okitegaki. Under the brief terms
of the proclamation, Komusō were allowed to "incorporate" and govern their own affairs. The original document was destroyed in a fire; only copies exist.

A critical study of the above two documents conducted by Nakatsuka Chikuzen, who reported his findings in an article entitled Kinko-ryū Shakuhachi Shikan (cf. Tanabe Hisao, 1963:147-48). Nakatsuka was curious about the historicity of the "Kyotaku Denki" Kokujikai, prompting him to visit Kōkoku-ji to study its archives. He found that Kyochiku Zenji and the shakuhachi were not mentioned in Kakushin's writings. He then discovered that during the Kamakura Period, Meian-ji did not exist as a temple but as a hostel for monks who were visiting the greater temple complex, Tōfuku-ji, within which Meian-ji is situated. Finally, Nakatsuka found disparities in the various copies of the Keichō Okitegaki. His conclusion was that the Fuke-shū komusō organization was actually founded sometime during the 4th Tokugawa Shōgun's (1651-1680) reign.

After discounting the traditional history of the Komusō, historians have found it almost impossible to provide an alternative based on new evidence. Conjecture on my part led me to the thought that the Komusō/rōnin were ex-members of the Shimadzu clan which was disbanded in 1587. These warriors would have been familiar with the vertical flute (i.e., Tenpuku) and the kind of underground activity performed by the Satsuma Mōsō.
This would also explain why Hitoyogiri melodies did not find their way into the Komusō (and then Kinko-ryū) repertoires, because the latter instrument and its music was clearly differentiated from the music of the Tenpuku. There is no way of knowing what influence the Komosō exerted on the Komusō other than establishing a precedent, and supplying a ready-made nomenclature, "shakuhachi", to replace their own term, "Tenpuku", which would have thrown suspicion on them.

The Tokugawa government was aware of the newly-established sect and their suspicious origins. Nevertheless, they allowed the Meian temple organization to exist and proliferate because it was to the advantage of the government to exercise nominal control over the potentially dangerous rōnin. In 1677, the government issued a "Reitatsu", an "order-in-council", formally organizing and restricting the growth and movement of the Komusō. Citizens other than "bushi" (an Edo Period synonym for the samurai class) were not allowed to join or to play the shakuhachi. Certification of the Komusō was drawn up and standardized and "passports" for unimpeded travel were issued. This last stipulation stemmed from the far-ranging, extra-legal activities many of the rōnin conducted as spies for the government. The role of clandestine spying became a major factor in the Komusō organization, so much so that they began wearing hats called "Tengai", which entirely
covered their heads (cf. Malm, 1959:pl.51). Although the "tradition" states that these hats symbolized metaphysical "emptiness" (śūnyatā), they were actually a disguise for the spies from the 18th century until the abolition of the movement in 1871. Previous to this time, their dress included a simple, shallow hat. This can be seen in the illustration of two Komusō playing in front of a typical urban house in Jinrin Kimmo Zui (1689; see Jōsangō, 1971:12).

The Komusō organization rapidly expanded to other parts of Japan, either because it was to the government's advantage to expand their network of spies, or because the concept of wandering monks playing shakuhachi appealed to many dissolute rōnin. No doubt both reasons were current but the proportion of spies to sincere komusō will never be known. Two temples which figured prominently in the early dissemination of the Komusō organization were Reiho-ji in Ome and Ichigetsu-ji in Musashi, both of which were close to Edo (Tokyo). Each temple would venerate the "San Koten Honkyoku" (Three Sacred Melodies) and add a few compositions drawn from the locality. All music was memorized and learned through an oral/aural tradition.

2:4:5 Chōnin Shakuhachi

During the 18th century, the shakuhachi was adopted by
widely disparate groups of the urban "chōnin" (bourgeoisie)
class (see Jōsangō, 1971:12-14).

Despite the fact that the shakuhachi was supposedly
religious in nature, it became part of the world of the
Japanese demimonde (Ukiyo). On the one hand, the instrument
succeeded the weaker Hitoyogiri in "popular" music (Zokugaku)
ensembles. More important, however, was the fact that Komusō
became regular visitors to the Ukiyo in order to spy for the
government. The costume and legal immunity of the Komusō were
often taken advantage of by the Edo "mafia". At this time,
the Nedake Shakuhachi developed into its final form with rem-
nants of the roots of the bamboo left intact on the end of
the instrument to become a deadly club. Moreover, the instru-
ment became a synonym for fellatio, and to this day, women
"of proper breeding" will not even say the word "shakuhachi",
let alone play the instrument.21 Diametrically opposite to
the vulgarizing of the shakuhachi was a movement initiated by
Kurosawa Kinko (1710-1771). Born in Fukuoka Province, Kyūshū,
into a samurai family attached to the Kuroda clan, Kinko I
moved to the Tokyo area where he became the chief director of
shakuhachi playing at Ichigetsu-ji and Reihō-ji. His most
important contribution was the acquisition of several Honkyoku
which he added to the repertoire of his own temples. In all,
he enlarged their collection to a total of 21 titles. His son
and successor added 6 more Honkyoku and arranged 4 Honkyoku into trios.

Kurosawa Kinko II (nee Kōemon, 1747-1811), succeeded his father at the two temples and continued to propagate the repertoire compiled by his father and himself. Sometime during the latter part of Kinko I's life, a clandestine movement at Reihsō-ji was begun, supposedly by Kinko II, called "Suichikumei" -- a system of instruction and certification for laymen (ubasoku). Despite the pleadings of Reihō-ji officials that their lay organization was harmless, the Tokugawa government issued Reitatsu in 1759 and 1774 reaffirming their proscription of laymen in the Fuke-shū. Therefore, a clandestine movement of "Fuku-awase" (performances of shakuhachi music) was initiated, and in 1792 the school had 19 teachers including Kinko II. Kinko Kurosawa III (nee Masajirō, 1772-1816) did not succeed his father's place at the two temples but, instead, lived in Nihombashi, Tokyo, devoting himself entirely to playing the shakuhachi. His most famous student was Hisamatsu Fuyō, who will be mentioned in context presently. The younger brother of Kinko III, Kurosawa Kinko IV (nee Otojirō, d. 1860) was apparently lacking in talent, so the Kinko patrilineage ended with him, but the ideals and repertoire of the Kinko-ryū continued to flourish. However, the only concession made by the military government was to allow
men other than samurai into the ranks of the Komuso in 1847.

In apposition to the Kinko line was the Ikkan-ryū line, begun by Miyagi Ikkan, a student of Kinko I. Miyagi's successor was Ikeda Ikki (Senzuke) who also studied with Kinko II. The lineage then passed from Ikeda to Yamada Jodo and then to Toyoda Kodō I (Katsugoro) who was contemporary with Hisamatsu Fuyō. These last two "sensei" (teachers) were active just prior to Japan's great watershed, the Meiji Restoration.

Before proceeding to the shakuhachi in the Meiji Era, it is important to discuss the motivating force that sparked the enthusiasm of so many Buddhist laymen during the 18th century.

Tokugawa urban society may be divided into two roughly-defined groups. One group consisted of members of the affluent merchant class, dissolute samurai, "demimonde" characters, and the like who populated and enlivened the pleasure quarters of "Ukiyo" (floating world) in Edo, Osaka, Kyoto, and countless minor centres at cross-roads, and Tōkaidō hostels. The other group was comprised of members of the warrior and middle class who aspired to the lofty ethics and morality encouraged by the bakufu (Tokugawa junta). This idealistic code of behavior stemmed from a study of "shūji" (Chu Hsi, 1130-1200), a Sung Dynasty scholar who created a renaissance
of Confucian studies that was enthusiastically adopted by the Chinese and Japanese. The first important manifestation to arise from this activity was "bushidō" -- the way of the warrior. It was developed partly as an artificial control of the thousands of samurai who found themselves anachronistic in their society, and partly as a sincere attempt to present the warriors with a new code that they could live by. Many townsmen followed suit so that a group of arts common to both groups arose which were antithetical to the Ukiyo arts. The idealistic arts of these people were collectively called Dō (Tao), because each art reflected the Zen Buddhist emphasis on a personal search for the way (Dō) to enlightenment. Many of the arts were martial-oriented, such as "kendō" (the way of the sword) and "jūdō" (the way of the wrestler), while other popular arts were the tea ceremony (Cha no Yu, or "chadō"), writing and painting with India Ink and a bamboo brush ("shodō"), and flower arranging ("kadō"), to name only a few. The playing of the shakuhachi became "Takedō", the way of the bamboo flute (see 4:3).

The immediate source of the aesthetics inherent in each Dō was the austere principles found in Ashikaga art with its melding of Heian sensibility to Zen metaphysics and frugality. During the Tokugawa period, the "Dō" arts were infused with a multitude of moral obligations (giri) to oneself and to
one's sensei and peers which became the foundation of the Ryū, quasi-patrilineal organizations that were exclusive and often internecine despite their selfless ideals.

2:5 The Shakuhachi After the Meiji Restoration (1868)

In a sweeping effort to eliminate the abuses of the previous regime, the Meiji government disbanded and outlawed all itinerant music guilds including the Komusō. This prohibition, known as the "Meiji Proscription", only lasted ten years (1871-1881) but it effectively ended the existence of the Komusō. On the other hand, the lifting of the prohibition was contingent on the Komusō temples allowing laymen to study their music and form lay organizations within their jurisdictions. In 1883, the most famous of these temples, Meian-ji, became the focal point for a new lay organization called "Meian Kyōkai" headed by Prince Kujō. This democratization movement also allowed the many clandestine shakuhachi organizations and their independent teachers to come out of hiding.

One of the central figures in the metamorphosis of the Komusō tradition was Araki Kodō II (nee Hanzaburō, then Chikuō), 1823-1908). He studied with Hisamatsu Fuyō and Toyoda Kodō I, allowing him to combine the teachings of the Ikkan and Kinko schools. In an effort to keep the tradition alive, he instituted a whole new body of literature called "Gaikyoku" (see
1:3) which incorporated the popular music of the time into the established Kinko-ryū system of instruction and certification. The "Honkyoku" became esoteric in that the novitiate was only allowed to study them after gaining his technical background playing Gaikyoku and his requisite respect of the sensei by establishing a rapport.

The shakuhachi had already been used in popular music for some time but Araki Kodō II offered two incentives to draw attention to his own repertoire. First, he was more systematic in his approach to their musical arrangements. In particular, he displaced the Kokyū in the traditional Sankyoku ensemble (Kokyū, Koto, and Shamisen) by replicating its role; an arrangement which was highly successful as evidenced by the almost total lack of Kokyu in today's typical Sankyoku ensemble. Second, he devised a rudimentary notation system which proved to be revolutionary for the shakuhachi (see 4:1:2).

Uehara Kyodō (1848-1913) and Kawase Junsuke (1870-1959) were two prominent students of Araki Kodō II who assured the shakuhachi a place in modern Japan. Uehara Kyodō devised a system of rhythmic diacritical signs for Kodō II's notation and published a book in 1896 entitled Zokugaku Senritsu Kō which contained a study of "Popular Music" theory partly based on his experiences with the shakuhachi. Kawase Junsuke founded a movement which eventually became a separate branch
of the Kinko lineage devoted to the popularizing of the Kinkoryū by publishing Uehara Kyōdō's notated music (Harich-Schneider, 1973:591).

Araki Kodō II was succeeded by his son, Araki Kodō III (nee Shinnosue). One of the latter's students was Notomi Judō (1895-1974) who was designated a National Living Treasure in 1963. His son and successor, Notomi Haruhiko, having died, he appointed Ikeda Kōdō his successor. The lineage then extended to the final and current successor, Tanaka Yūdō (nee Motonobu). This particular line of succession is only one of many.

The proliferation of the Kinko school, and all the others as well, has resulted in a tangled web of relationships and lineages which is almost impossible to satisfactorily outline. Rather than being discouraging, it only points to further democratization of the tradition and the fascinating cross-fertilization it should produce.
CHAPTER 3

KINKO-RYU MELODIC THEORY

The traditional music theory of Honkyoku consists of rudiments and performance practices taught in the light of "the Way of the Bamboo Flute", Takedō. Rudiments consist of basic information concerning the notation and fingerings, while performance practices are a more advanced stage of knowledge concerning the techniques and ethos ("Shin") of performing Honkyoku. The former is readily available in print but the performance practices are only acquired from a "sensei" through oral/aural transmission. Therefore, rudiments will be referred to as exoteric, while performance practices shall be described as esoteric.

3:1 Rudiments

Beginner students are exclusively concerned with improving their understanding of rudiments by practicing progressively more difficult compositions from the Sankyoku literature. Concomitant with the instruction is the gradual founding of a student-teacher relationship acceptable to the sensei.¹

83
After attaining a prescribed level of rapport and technical proficiency (far above what is required for Honkyoku), the student graduates to Honkyoku.

3:1:1 Contemporary Sources

For the purposes of this paper, three sources of rudiments have been utilized. The most accessible source is the Japanese-language publication *Kinko-ryū Shakuhachi Kaisetsu* by Jūdō Nōtomi (1968), a beginner's instruction manual for learning Gaikyoku.

Second, the Honkyoku music per se is a viable source for the ethnomusicologist who can extract rudiments and organize them in meaningful groups. After successfully completing the study of one Honkyoku, the student or "Hipkin's Ethnomusicologist" (Hood, 1971:90–93) is "awarded" a copy of the score from which he has just learned. The more conservative and traditional the sensei, the more authentic the student's copy. The author has collected a number of the Honkyoku, including the SKH studied in the following analyses, from Tanaka Yūdō.

Another source of music is a published collection called *Kinko-ryū Shakuhachi Honkyoku* (ed., Sato Harebi, 1966), which contains the entire repertoire plus several precursors and an extensive glossary. Where the scores are at variance with the editor's version, alternate sequences once played by either
Kodô II, Ikeda Senzuke, or Yoshida Itchô have been diacritically added. Material found in this thesis originates from both the Tanaka Scores (henceforth called TS) and the Sato Scores (SS). In most respects they are identical.

3:1:2 Honkyoku Notation

The notation of Honkyoku is essentially a tablature using solmization syllables supplemented by diacritical marks (including rhythmic information). The notation vocabulary may be divided into three groups:

1. syllables which denote pitch;
2. syllables and "kanji" (Chinese characters) which indicate pitch repetition;
3. signs, syllables, numbers and kanji which are diacritical.

The syllables are derived from one of the syllabaries in the Japanese language, "katakana". In the following complete list of notation syllables, underlined syllables are pitch repetition signals (see 3:1:2:2).

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{RA} & \text{RI} & \text{RU} & \text{RE} & \text{RO} & \text{HA} & \text{HI} & \text{U} & \text{KO} & \text{CHI} & \text{TSU}
\end{array}
\]
The syllables are printed or handwritten in a semi-cursive style. For example, shakuhachi students not familiar with this style of writing are often confused by the similarity of the syllables TSU, RI and U.

\[ TSU \quad RI \quad U \]

In the context of all the Japanese music notation systems, shakuhachi solmization must be listed in the tablature solmizations rather than "shōka" solmizations. The former category consists of individual fingerings represented by syllables while the latter represent various melodic cells. Shōka were devised as a mnemonic aid which had to be mastered before the student was allowed to actually play the given melody on his instrument.

The individual shōka systems for all the wind instruments in Gagaku are supplemented with diacritical tablature solmizations but Nohkan shōka are not (Minagawa, 1957:194-95). The koto "shōfu" and shamisen "kuchi-shamisen" shōka have become almost redundant since the inception of their tablature systems. Although the syllables in shakuhachi music represent definite fingerings rather than abstract melodic contours, they strongly resemble Gagaku shōka because of their marked similarity to the Gagaku Shōka vocabulary (see Garfias, 1965:68-71).

According to Gekkei (1971:18-19), the earliest score of
shakuhachi notation is dated Ansei 4 (1858) and originates from Meian-ji. It is written in the older FU-HO-U solmization which was changed to the current RO-TSU-RE system after the Meiji Restoration (1861). Kodo II (1832-1908) is credited with the origination of the latter solmization. A comparative chart of both systems is shown in Malm (1959:271): the "Meian-ji" line is pre-Meiji notation (note that RO should be HO) and the Kinko and Tozan lines (the latter copied the former) is the post-Meiji solmization. Uehara Kyodo (1848-1913) is credited with devising a complementary system of rhythmic notation based on "ura" and "omote" "byōshi" (rhythmic apostrophes).

The earliest extant notation for vertical flute is the Tanteki Hiden-fu (1608) by Ōmori Sōkun, but there seems to be no direct connection between his solmization for hitoyogiri and the later shakuhachi notation (see Gekkei, 1971:19).

Diacritical marks in shakuhachi music are mnemonic aids for recalling esoteric performance practices, special fingerings, rhythms, pitch tessituras, and general melodic ambiti. Although they resemble Gagaku diacritical marks such as the signs found in Hakuga's Chōchiku-fu glossary (Harich-Schneider, 1973:212,319), they are strongly reminiscent of shōmyō vocal techniques. For example, pitch oscillation ("yuri") is particularly common to shōmyō melodies (Malm, 1959:67).
The following list has all the diacritical marks for Honkyoku categorized according to their syllabic and kanji symbols.² The diacritical numbers ("sūji") that represent special fingerings are listed in Appendix C.

**Syllables:**

\[ \text{me(ri)} \] -- flattened pitch (i.e., \( \tilde{\ddot{\text{h}}} \))

(Note: meri-kari ("temporary lowering")

meri-komu ("permanent lowering");

\[ \text{ka(ri)} \] -- normal pitch (i.e., \( \ddot{\text{h}} \));

\[ \text{su(ri)} \] -- portamento glissando from a lower to a higher pitch;

\[ \text{ko(mu)} \] -- portamento movement downwards to meri pitch

(Note: 1) meri-komu

2) yuri-komu);

\[ \text{yuri} \] -- pitch oscillations in logarithmic succession;

\[ \text{shakuri} \] -- a single oscillation downward (i.e., portamento mordent);

\[ \text{komi} \] -- hushed, excited breath pulsations (Because

komi is performed at meri pitch, this notation is sometimes seen as "merikomi");

\[ \text{tsuki} \] -- hushed, excited interruptions of a tone produced by shaking the shakuhachi against the jaw;
muraiki -- sforzando breath articulation.

Kanji:

ちゅ (meri) -- flattened pitch by one half tone (i.e., b)
(i.e., same as meri);

dai (meri) -- flattened pitch by one whole tone (i.e., bb);

ろ -- lower octave (c¹ - d²);

おつ -- lower octave (c¹ - d²);

かん -- higher octave (c² - eᵇ³);

だい - かん -- highest notes (d³ - eᵇ³);

あkarui -- raise the pitch of c² or c³ one whole tone
(i.e., X);

ちゅ あkarui -- raise the pitch of c² or c³ one half tone
(i.e., #);

みな -- perform c² "HA" before "RO" with one full
beat (byōshi);

う (tsu) -- ("tap") inverted mordent (also seen as
"utsu meru");

押し (su) -- ("press") inverted mordent

でんじ はやく -- sempre accelerando

だんだん はやく -- progressively more
accelerando

はじめ はやく -- "begin fast" (then
ritardando)
3:1:2:1 Individual Pitch Notations

The following survey of pitch notations is confined to the "isshaku-hassun (i.e., "shakuhachi") because it is commonly understood to be the "standard" instrument. However, each notation within the Kinko-ryū tablature system refers to a specific fingering rather than a specific pitch. Therefore, music composed or arranged for different-sized shakuhachi must be transposed (see 1:2, Example 5).

Because of the many significant differences, the notations in both the SS and TS will be outlined (see Examples 1 and 2). These differences mainly stem from Sato Harebi's abstract diacritical marks which have replaced the standard signs. In the SS, a horizontal line across a syllable indicates "chū-meri", while an oblique line across a syllable represents "meri". For example, the notations for C, B♭, and B♭ in the TS and SS appear as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>C</th>
<th>B♭</th>
<th>B♭</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Meri RO and meri TSU tend to be ambiguous pitches but the skilful musicians play them as low in pitch as possible, resulting in the pitches "c" and "e♯" respectively. The U notation fluctuates in pitch from a flat A♭ to a G, depending on whether it is in an ascending or descending passage, respectively. When the c² pitch is in an ascending melodic movement it is notated HI. In practically all cases, it culminates in d² (all fingers off), appropriately marked akarui HI (i.e., "opened" HI). If c² is followed by a lower pitch (usually U), it is notated RI. The c² pitch is also found in a whole-step progression from RO octave "c²" to KAN octave d² (all fingers down), referred to as "the break" in Western mu-
sic. In this case, $c^2$ is notated HA (see Example 2).

The reader may have noticed a curious discrepancy in the scale outlined by the "basic" (i.e., non-diacritically marked) syllables in the previous example. In a simplified form (and discounting the U syllable because it is a variant of $A^\flat$ common to both notation systems), the scale and syllables for both systems appear as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TS/SS</th>
<th>D E♭ G A♭ C D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>D F G A C D</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These two scale forms will be discussed at length in the next chapter (see 4:2). For now, it can be stated that the TS tablature is based on the In "Scale" while the SS tablature is founded on the Yo "Scale" (i.e., the "natural" scale of the shakuhachi, see 1:2).

The notations in the KAN octave are, for the most part, the same as those in the RO octave, except for the syllabic notations outlined in Example 2.

Example 2. KAN Octave Pitch Notations with Alternates

\[
\text{TS} \quad \text{SS}
\]
The top line in Example 2 shows three forms of the HA-RO pattern which is essentially a cadence pattern. (Hence, the use of arrows in the patterns shown.) The pattern on the left is the standard notation which indicates standard fingerings and pitches. The pattern in the middle calls for the same pitches, but with alternate fingerings which change the timbre of the final $d^2$ pitch. The pattern on the right has the same alternate fingerings as the pattern in the middle (although the first HA is not blown "meri") but it is over-blown into the next harmonic series, resulting in a descending "cadence" ending on a $d^3$ pitch which has a different timbre than the standard $d^3$ produced by fingering akarui HI. Both the alternate $d^2$ and $d^3$ pitches are perceived by the Kinko musicians as "false" sounds which have the same impact as the "false" cadence in Western music.

Another "false" pitch is produced by U in descending passages. Although it "sounds" $g^1$ or $g^2$, its timbre is markedly different from the $g^1$ or $g^2$ pitch produced by fingering RE.
The alternate fingering for $B_b^2$ shown on the right of the standard fingering (which is the same in the RO octave), is more "open-sounding" than the latter. It is also considered "false" even though it is considerably more "stable" than meri HI.

3:1:2:2 Pitch Repetition Notations

Example 3 has representative examples of the three Kanji, RU, RA, and RO, and the three symbols, kiri, odoriji, and nayashi, which signal the repetition of the preceding pitch.

Example 3. Pitch Repetition Notations

The syllable RU, preceded by a lower grace note, may follow TSU, CHI, or U, and is performed in a hushed manner with a special fingering (see Weisgarber, 1968:324). Whereas "TSU-RU"
and "U-RU" seem to be natural combinations (see Garfias, 1965: 68), "CHI-U" is awkward and is considered "deviant". Odoriji may follow any of the eight basic pitches and it is usually preceded by grace notes unique to the performer. For example, Goro Yamaguchi precedes odoriji by upper grace notes while Tanaka Yūdō adds "changing tones" before odoriji. Kiri is a special form of RU that follows akarui HI. KO(RO) is a rapid trill pattern that usually is found on d² pitch. When it is used on any other pitch, it appears as a diacritical mark with one consonant change, ²□ (i.e., GORO). KORO is an onomatopoetic term which is sometimes pronounced "koro, koro, koro, koro", etc., in rapid succession.

Nayashi is a special cadential figure that may follow RE or RO, acting as an iambic, "arsis-thesis" portamento cadence. It is almost always preceded by g or d.

Example 4. Nayashi Cadences

There are three special notations which may be viewed as variants of nayashi: "yuri", "yuri-komu" and "hiku" (see Example 5). Yuri is played as a sequence of slow, wide
nayashi which accelerate and diminuendo into a continuous meri sound that is then subjected to "tsuki" (shaking of the instrument) and "komi" (breath spasms), and then a calm nayashi to the original (kari) pitch. Yuri-komu ends in meri and does not involve the final tsuki, komi or nayashi. Hiku is a nayashi in reverse; it can also be followed by an inverted Hiku (as in the right hand illustration).

Example 5. Nayashi Variants
Two elements are employed to delineate rhythm: vertical lines and "byōshi" (rhythmic "commas").

Rhythm patterns are indicated by vertical lines joining syllables within melodic cells (senritsukei). Although the TS and SS use different line groups, the meanings are essentially the same, indicating one-half, one-quarter and one-eighth the value of a "beat" (in the following Example 6, one half note). Note that the final note always has the value of one complete "beat", giving each senritsukei a distinctive arsis-thesis, rhythmic cadence. A "beat" is understood to be a "byōshi" which is similar to the medieval Western "tactus". Its fluctuating value depends on the spontaneous feelings of the performer. Therefore, the lines merely indicate the ratios of time values (see 3:2:3).

Example 6. Line Patterns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>TS</th>
<th>Rhythm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td><img src="image1" alt="Half-value SS" /></td>
<td><img src="image2" alt="Half-value TS" /></td>
<td><img src="image3" alt="Half-value Rhythm" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td><img src="image4" alt="Quarter-value SS" /></td>
<td><img src="image5" alt="Quarter-value TS" /></td>
<td><img src="image6" alt="Quarter-value Rhythm" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td><img src="image7" alt="Eighth-value SS" /></td>
<td><img src="image8" alt="Eighth-value TS" /></td>
<td><img src="image9" alt="Eighth-value Rhythm" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The word "byōshi" is also used to describe diacritical marks that establish meter within the rhythmic groups delineated by the lines (see Berger, 1969:48-72). Strong beats (omote) are on the right side of syllables and weak beats (ura) are shown on the left. All Honkyoku are in duple rhythm.

The only byōshi found in TS are the omote-byōshi that elongate TSU in a common variation of TSU-RE (see Example 7). All other metric values are synonymous with the rhythmic ratios. Values which are one-half or one-quarter following values are weaker beats.

Example 7. TS byōshi

(As in the tradition of the nayashi, a breath is taken on the reprise, despite the fact that it is not notated.)

In the SS, byōshi are used constantly, in contrast to their sparse presence in TS, although the time values are exactly the same in both scores. White byōshi are equal to one beat while black byōshi equal one-half beat, and combinations of the two can appear as Ura or Omote. Example 7 would appear in the SS as follows:
Example 8. SS byōshi

One technical criticism may be made of the SS byōshi. Rather than progressing through a series of weak and strong beats, lined patterns are successions of weak beats followed by one strong beat (i.e., arsis-thesis cadences). For example, if four syllables are joined by a single line, the pulse would be \( v^*v^*N\) rather than \( v/v\).

A more important criticism can be made on an aesthetic level. The performers purposely interpret the rhythmic notation in the most free manner possible and often stretch the rhythms to the point of almost altering their ratios. The TS notation allows for this necessary freedom by its sparsity, but the SS seemingly does not because of its pedantic appearance. When Uehara Kyodō (Rokushiro) devised the byōshi dia-critical marks before the turn of the century, he designed them for Gaikyoku. Their later incursion into Honkyoku has been a mixed blessing.
Articulation

In Western music, articulation in wind instruments is achieved by beginning the sound of each note with a sharp release of air caused by a fricative action of the tongue. In effect, sounds are initiated by consonants such as "t(oo)".

Articulation in shakuhachi music is executed by preceding an assigned pitch with an inverted mordent played in fast succession and initiated by an aspirate, "h" (see Berger, 1969:43). The upper note moving to the assigned pitch results in a finger slap which adds an imperceptible percussion. The inverted mordent sometimes does not even sound because of its rapidity.

The following patterns in Example 9 illustrate common articulations for "natural" (kari) and "chromatic" (meri) notes (see Appendix III). The performer has the option of varying these patterns or omitting them altogether, depending on his spontaneous aesthetic impulses during a performance.

Example 9. Articulations for Natural Notes

KAN Octave
RO Octave

KAN Octave, pattern 1, is in brackets because its execution is so central to Honkyoku that it is the only instance of a notated articulation, HA-RO (see Example 2).

Patterns 4 and 7 are variants of 3 and 6 respectively. Pattern 4 occurs at the end of phrases, while Pattern 3 usually occurs in isolated passages. Pattern 7 is used to articulate the notation RI. Pattern 8 is only applied to HI.

Example 10. Articulations for Chromatic Notes in Both Octaves

also 8va

All the upper changing notes in these patterns are flatter in pitch than their normal, "fingered" sound, because these patterns are played in meri position. The actual pitch of the upper notes is considered immaterial.
The right hand index finger that covers hole 2 is the only active element in this set, moving from an open to a closed position with a quick inverted mordent in-between.

HA, and any notation in one-eighth value, is not articulated with an inverted mordent; these two exceptions constitute notated articulation.

Articulations within senritsukei are performed by sounding the upper changing note of the inverted mordent of each assigned pitch. Note that the portamento effect in the descending step-wise motions is sometimes interrupted with "pregnant", split-second silences (kiai) just after each changing tone has sounded. These silences are optional according to the mood of the performer.
There are several variations of the preceding maxims. Some of these variations are notated diacritically while others are found in the oral/aural traditions.

Diacritically-marked variations fall into two general groups. The first group is comprised of single grace notes. "Osu" may denote upper or lower grace notes but "utsu" is always a lower grace note pattern. Both are reminiscent of RU, RA and kiri. Example 13 shows "osu" and "utsu" in their most common context.

Example 13. Special Inner-phrase Articulations
Variations of the o(su) and u(tsu) technique are used on RI, HI and U to create moments of heightened melodic tension. The following examples (in Example 14) are the most common. Note the stylized odoriji following the notated pitch and the two accelerando and one ritardando diacritical indications. The "u(tsu)-meru" is the same as "u(tsu)". (Note that the following example is a stylized representation; the number of repeated pitches is purely arbitrary.)

Example 14. Special Inner-phrase Articulations

One other special effect, muraiki, can be listed with the preceding group because of its similar nature. It is a technique involving explosive breath attacks (muraiki) and
violent shakuhachi motions (tsuki-yuri) (see Weisgarber, 1968: 317, 321, 326).

Example 15. "Muraiki"

The second group of inner-phrase diacritically-marked articulations has "suri" in its format. The technique of suri is a very sophisticated form of portamento phrasing with the fingers rolling off the holes; no actual articulation occurs.

Example 16. "Suri"
The number of variants that are part of the oral/aural tradition is incalculable because of their variety and number. The following examples are common to the San Koten Honkyoku.

Example 17. SKH Oral/Aural Inner-phrase Articulations
3:2 Performance Practices

The multitudinous techniques of performing Honkyoku lie within the realm of the oral/aural pedagogy of each sensei. They vary between teachers and even between performances of one teacher, so it is impossible to state inviolate rules regarding performance techniques. The practices outlined in the following pages are part of the repertoire of Tanaka Yūdō, compiled in 1973.

Performance techniques may be loosely categorized under the headings of inflection, amplitude, timbre and tempo. Each of these tonal characteristics will be defined and described in the next pages.

3:2:1 Melodic Inflection

The Japanese term for tonal inflection is utaguchi, "song-mouth", which is also synonymous with the mouthpiece of the shakuhachi. The technique involves a raising or lowering of the jaw which raises (kari) or lowers (meri) the pitch in a portamento manner. Hence, another term for this technique is "meri-kari". Essentially, the inflections put the finger articulations into high relief.

Melodic inflection is one of the most distinctive characteristics of Japanese vocal music, especially the slowly
paced forms. The source for this technique may be Shōmyō, which has the most elaborate system of vocal ornamentations, called "embai". Gagaku music also employs meri-kari techniques (Harich-Schneider, 1973:224), as do all the Shōmyō-derived genres such as Noh and Biwa-gaku. One may even encounter specialized meri-kari techniques in string and percussion techniques where select strings are pushed or squeezed in order to increase the tension of the plucked string or drum-head and raise the pitch.

The SS has eleven types of melodic inflection by employing nine abstract, diacritical lines (see Sato, 1966: 9-10). Although Tanaka Yūdō performs all these nuances, his score has only one diacritical mark (i.e., "meri-shita"). One can only acquire the knowledge of his other nuances by taking part in his aural/oral instruction.

All melodic inflections are optional. That is, the performer is free to use them or not, depending on his aesthetic inclinations at the very moment he is performing. Like the SS byoshi, the SS notated melodic inflections tend to militate against this spontaneous musical behavior.

In the following pages, the melodic inflections (in idealized form) will be presented in three groups according to their basic direction: downward (meri); upward (suri); and combinations of both directions. The diagrams that pre-
cede the explanations in each group are special staves with each line representing a half step, except the bottom line, which represents approximate time marked in quarter-seconds. Note that the solid black lines represent sound duration. The grace notes representing finger articulations are not placed on stave or leger lines because they may vary according to their context. Each diagram is numbered for identification; on their left is drawn their representative SS diacritical marks. Note that the size of the diacritical marks is quite small in relation to the syllables. For example, meri-kari between TSU and RO would appear as follows:

3:2:1:1 Meri Inflections

Example 18. Meri Inflections
Graphs la and lb illustrate two different examples of "meri-kari". This inflection is so basic to shakuhachi that it has acquired another name, "shakuri". The contour of graph la is slow and deliberate, a common technique of Kinko-ryū performers, whereas the meri-kari in graph lb is rapid and almost inconsequential, a common performance practice in the Meian-ha. Graph 2 is also an inner-phrase inflection, but it is a variation of meri-kari in that the kari is non-existent. Graph 3, meri-komu, shows the final resolution of many sen­ritsukei. Malm singled out this technique as the most character­istic sound of shakuhachi Honkyoku (1959:159-60).

There are two variations of meri-komu that occur on d₁ and d₂ pitches. One form is a diacritical mark called "meri­shita" while the other is the kanji called "hiku" (see 3:1: 2:2).
Example 19. Meri-komu Variations

![Diagram of Meri-komu Variations]

3:2:1:2 Suri Inflections

Example 20. Suri Inflections

![Graphs 1, 2, and 3 for Suri Inflections]

As in the description of Meri inflections, Graphs 1 and 2 are inner-phrase inflections between two notes, while Graph 3 is the inflection used at the end of particular phrases.

Graph 1 is an illustration of "suri-kari"; in essence, it is an intentional emphasis of the upper changing tone be-
between two syllables.

Graph 2 illustrates a variation of "suri-kari" in which the kari is replaced by a caesura of silence called "kiai". "The pause is never a lessening of intensity, but on the contrary, the projection of highest intensity into the empty space of the pause" (Harich-Schneider, 1973:435).

Graph 3 is a diagram of "suri-ageru", which is performed as a decrescendo to an inaudible pitch.

3:2:1:3 Meri-Suri Combinations

Example 21. Meri-Suri Combinations
Graphs 1 and 2 are inner-phrase inflections, while Graph 3 is a phrase ending. Graph 1 shows a "meri-kari-suri-kari*" inflection which is essentially a meri-kari technique which has the following upper changing tone drawn out and emphasized. The suri-kari-meri-kari is the exact opposite of the movement in Graph 1 and it is found far less frequently. Graph 3 is a variation of suri-ageru called "meri-suri-ageru" which occurs on senritsukei endings.

3:2:1:4 Summary

The following chart summarizes micro-tonal inflections and the notes that they follow. Certain inflections connect notes within senritsukei, while others are found at the end of senritsukei. Of this latter group, I have further divided the inflections into movements that proceed upward and downwards.
Melodic inflection and metre is supplemented by amplitude and timbre which are inextricably relative to each other. The most eloquent statement of this basic relation was composed by Malm:

From a whispery, reedy piano, the sound swells to a ringing, metallic forte, only to sink back into a cotton-wrapped softness, ending with an almost inaudible grace note, seemingly as an after-thought.

(1959:160)

In other words, timbre becomes richer in harmonics as the amplitude increases, and vice versa. The Kinko-ryū performer does this with a highly sophisticated technique of adjusting the focus of his air stream with his embouchure.

Despite the extreme variety of amplitude and timbre, a few generalizations can be made. As the Honkyoku melody moves from low to high tessitura the dynamic level generally increases. Meri notes are performed with a soft, focused dynamic level which creates a muted timbre. Alternate fingerings (see Example 2) produce a different timbre although they are blown at the same dynamic level as pitches indicated by the standard fingerings. Meri and Suri inflections are usually blown decrescendo, especially in moments of "kiai". Melodic movements usually are played crescendo if they progress to G or D. Accelerando motifs like "yuri" are decrescendo figures, played like fading
echoes. Final "theses" on G and D are played exactly as described by Malm above.

3:2:3 Tactus

The tempo of all Honkyoku is determined by "byōshi" (as it is understood in Shōmyō practice) and "breath cadences".

Shōmyō and Shakuhachi "byōshi" have almost exactly the same meaning as the Gregorian Chant "tactus" (Apel, 1969:832). The tempo is sub-consciously determined by the heart-beat of the performer, and because the performer purposefully assumes a meditation posture (Zazen) when he performs, his pulse rate is slower than usual. The dynamic tension that exists between the exertion of performing and the calmness of mind and body reflects the aggressive discipline encouraged by the Rinzai Zen sect.

"Breath cadences" were first described by Malm (1972:98) in order to account for the caesuras that occur at the end of phrases in Gagaku and Noh. The pauses are just long enough to take one deep breath but their exact time limit is almost impossible to notate because each breath is unique. Small breaths may also occur within phrases but they are always taken "in-tempo".
In the SS, caesura and minor "in-tempo" breaths are indicated by short, horizontal dashes on the left and right side, respectively, of a column of syllables. Only major caesura pauses are indicated in TS, using small circles.

3:3 Conclusion

The skilful performer of Honkyoku basically strives for "organic melody". That is, melody which is continually evolving and shifting from one dynamic state to another. This basic principle of dynamism, aptly referred to as "becoming sound" by Smith (1969:248) is the sublime aspiration of every Kinko-ryū musician (as well as every other ryū performer).

The essential quality of organic Honkyoku is expressed in a meticulous devotion to melodic detail. Within the limitations imposed by the rudiments and performance practices, the performer is at liberty to modify any moment of the Honkyoku he is performing to suit the immediate requirements of his aesthetic judgment about its "becoming-ness". To this end, the notation (as best exemplified by the Tanaka Yūdō score) and oral/aural tradition is eminently suited. The written music is purposely "skeletal" while the performance practices (i.e., the "flesh") are consciously designed to be flexible. The words which describe the full musical experience are "quasi-improvisation".
CHAPTER 4

SAN KOTEN HONKYOKU MELODIC ANALYSIS

4:1 Introduction

The hypothesis of the following analysis is that the central element that governs Honkyoku melodies is pitch hierarchy and proclivity. The hierarchy of a given pitch is determined by its "tendency" (i.e., proclivity) to resolve to another specific pitch (see Meyer, 1956:34,54). Further, if the resolution is realized, the melodic movement is considered "normative"; if the tendency is inhibited by a rhythmic caesura or a resolution to another, unexpected pitch, the movement is perceived as "deviant". On an aesthetic level, these moments of deviancy "heighten listener expectations" and stimulate affective tension (see Meyer, 1956:1-42). The preceding principles are only understood at an intuitive level by members and followers of the Kinko-ryū, but their features are readily apparent when the written music is analysed in the light of the traditional oral and written elements of "Honkyoku: music theory" (see Chapter 3).

The melodic constituents of the Honkyoku melodies are
"senritsukei" ("melodic patterns"), phrases, and sentences. All the senritsukei used in this analysis are found in Appendix B where they have been arranged in "sets" according to their first note and shared, inherent melodic movement.

In the following pages, the pitches which are utilized in the San Koten Honkyoku (and Honkyoku in general) will first be described in the framework common to recent Japanese music studies, a scale ("onkai") outlined in terms of its traditional modality ("senpō") and tonal transpositions ("chōshi"). Then their hierarchy and proclivity will be defined by describing how they interact within their contexts (i.e., the melodic constituents). Finally, the arrangement of the melodic constituents of the San Koten Honkyoku will be discussed with a view to describing possible melodic forms.

The "sample" that has been examined for the purposes of this chapter is the three Honkyoku, Mukaiji, Shin Kyorei, and Kokū Reibo, which are collectively called the "San Koten Honkyoku", hereafter referred to as SKH. Generations of performers have acknowledged the SKH as the "three most venerable Honkyoku" in the entire repertoire (see Malm, 1959:161). In the following pages, numbers following references to any of the SKH refer to locations notated in the transcriptions in Appendix A.
4:2 San Koten Honkyoku Scale

The SKH "practical scale", of all the SKH tones (see Hood, 1971:324), is simply derived by cataloguing all the pitches that are called for in the written music of the SKH. (The TS and SS are equal in this regard.) The following list includes the frequency of their occurrence, irrespective of octave placement:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pitch</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E♭</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>(14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A♭</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B♭</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The bracketed numbers indicate pitches that are only heard as the first note in the portamento "nayashi" cadence (see 3:1:2:2). The A♭ sum includes all pitches indicated by U and meri CHI.

A perusal of the transcriptions in Appendix A and Examples 2 to 21 in Chapter 3 shows that the notes E, F♯, and C♯ indicated in the notation equivalents drawn in Example 1 of Chapter 3 (i.e., "the theoretical scale", see Hood, 1971:324) do not exist in Honkyoku. These notes are most likely used in the Kinko-ryū Gaikyoku and Shinkyoku which share the same notation. The note C♯ (as D♭) also appears in the "Kumoi Chōshi"
which will be discussed in the next few pages.

All authors are agreed that the "scale" of Honkyoku is "In", usually illustrated as:

D  E♭  (F)  G  A  B♭  (C)  D

The bracketed notes indicate the two hennon. Comparing this scale with the previous SKH practical scale, the notes A♭ and B♭ may be considered "foreign tones".

Looking at the previous chart of the SKH pitch distribution, B♭ can easily be seen as a "foreign tone" merely by its rarity. However, the ample existence of A♭ and A♯ pitches, and the substantial majority of the former over the latter, is problematical. One of these two tones must be a candidate for the nomenclature of "foreign tone" if we are to formulate a heptatonic scale appropriate for the SKH.

The notation used in the TS suggests the A♭ is more appropriate than A♯. As shown in Example 1, the former does not require diacritical information. (Note that the symmetrical equivalent of A♭ in the right hand, E♭, also does not have diacritical information added to its notation).

Example 1. TS Notation, Honkyoku Scale
When $A^7$ (and $F$) is called for in the TS notation, as in the following example of the "natural" scale\textsuperscript{5} of the shaku-hachi (i.e., $A$ and $F$ are not blown "meri"), a special diacritical notation, $KA$ (kari), is required.

Example 2. TS Notation, "Natural" Scale

The $A^b$ is so intrinsic to descending passages (see Example 1) in both the TS and SS notation systems that it rates its own unique notation, $U$, (which is never subject to "kari" alteration). Therefore, there are two notations which draw attention to $A^b$, meri CHI and $U$.

The preceding evidence suggests that the heptatonic scale of the SKH (and Honkyoku in general) is:

$$D \quad E^b \quad (F) \quad G \quad A^b \quad B^b \quad (C) \quad D$$

The disparity between the In scales with $A^b$ and $A^7$ can be easily explained by re-defining "scale" as "mode" (senpō). Assuming that the heptatonic In "scale" outlined by all authors (i.e., the scale with $A^7$) has a configuration of tones and semi-tones which is basic to Japanese music written in that scale, it may be labelled Kyū-senpō. Considering that hennon are never used for modal "tonics" (Adriaansz, 1973:31), the
following description can be established:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kyū-senpō} & : S\quad T\quad T\quad T\quad S\quad T\quad T \\
\text{Shō-senpō} & : T\quad T\quad T\quad S\quad T\quad T\quad S \\
\text{Kaku-senpō} & : T\quad S\quad T\quad T\quad S\quad T\quad T \\
\text{Chi-senpō} & : S\quad T\quad T\quad S\quad T\quad T\quad T \\
\text{Ū-senpō} & : T\quad S\quad T\quad T\quad T\quad S\quad T \\
\end{align*}
\]

"T" represents "tone", while "S" represents "semi-tone".

Assuming that the scale outlined for the SKH (i.e., the scale containing A\(^b\)) is correct, the next step is to decide which pitch in its arrangement is the fundamental tone. The choice clearly centres on D and G because of the emphasis they receive, as outlined in the previous chapter. For example, these two notes are the only pitches which receive constant cadential emphasis with the use of "nayashi", "hiku" (see 3:1:2:2), and "meri-shita" (see 3:2:1:1).

If G is the fundamental tone, the SKH mode will be Kyū-senpō and appear as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
G & \quad A^b\quad B^b\quad C\quad D\quad E^b\quad F\quad G \\
S & \quad T\quad T\quad T\quad S\quad T\quad T \\
\end{align*}
\]

If D is the fundamental tone, the scale will be Chi-senpō:

\[
\begin{align*}
D & \quad E^b\quad F\quad G\quad A^b\quad B^b\quad C\quad D \\
S & \quad T\quad T\quad S\quad T\quad T\quad T \\
\end{align*}
\]

In the SKH, two factors in favor of G are its frequency, (it occurs more than twice as often as D) and the three sets of finger articulations (see 4:1:3) which constantly emphasize its
presence. However, D receives more cadential treatment than G; the nayashi cadence which signals a major cadential resolution occurs more often on D than G (44/13) and the major meri-komu inflections, hiku and meri-shita, only occur after D. All three SKH end on D, after an anacrusis on G.

Correlative evidence in favor of the D fundamental tone may be culled from several other examinations. A cursory study of the entire Kinko-ryū repertoire finds 20 Honkyoku (68%) that end on D in the same manner as the SKH. Another 7 Honkyoku end on G after cadencing on D. (Hi, Fu, Mi, Hachi Kaeshi no Shirabe best exemplifies this pattern with its "HA-RO, HA-RE" echoes in its final motifs.) Of the last three Honkyoku to be accounted for, Banshiki no Shirabe (ending on c₁), and Sanya Sugagaki (ending on g₁) have the following inherent scale structure:

Example 3. Sanya Sugagaki Scale

Finally, Sōkaku Reibo (final cadence on d₁) has yet another, and unique, inherent scale system:

Example 4. Sōkaku Reibo Scale
The SKH scale with D fundamental tone fits the description of the most popular In mode, Chi-senpō, according to Kubo's study. Also the natural scale of the shakuhachi with D fundamental tone is the most popular Yō mode, Chi-senpō (Kitahara, 1966:282).

Finally, D is used as the fundamental tone equivalent when the shakuhachi plays with the Koto and Shamisen (Adriaansz, 1973:472). The equivalent modes are called "Honjōshi" in shakuhachi and koto music, and "Hirajōshi" in shamisen music; in each case the first word means "basic, premier".

All the preceding evidence strongly suggests that the fundamental tone of the SKH (and Honkyoku in general) is D. Therefore, the inherent scale system is Chi-senpō and B⁷ and A⁷ are foreign tones. The other scale, outlined on page 120, is either an expedient but obtuse illustration of the Honkyoku in "scale" per se, or an example of a common but mistaken assumption that the mode of Honkyoku is Kyū-senpō.

The scale found in Sanya Sugagaki is Chi-senpō, G chō (i.e., sōjō), and in Sōkaku Riebo, Kyū-senpō, D chō (i.e., ichikotsu-chō). The modality of Banshiki no Shirabe (see 1:3, No. 4) may be explained as a Chi-senpō, D chō (i.e., ichikotsu-chō) Honkyoku which also explores the tensions created by simultaneously reiterating the two "leading tones", c² and f².

The 7 Honkyoku that end with D and then G are examples of
Honkyoku that end on a P5 inversion of the typical G-D (RE-RO) P4 cadence. In other words, their final cadence, HA-RO, HA-RE is actually RO-RE, D to G.

Chi-senpō has exactly the same configuration as the "gamme plagale" outlined by Péri (1934:61). Several authors have found this mode to be labelled "Iwato", but Malm, Garfias, Adriaansz and Harich-Schneider make no mention of it. Malm (1963:84) outlined Iwato drum patterns in Kabuki Nagauta and Harich-Schneider (1973:594) implied an Iwato scale structure in her diagrams of the In-senpō. Weisgarber (1968:331) identified the Iwato mode in connection with one specific Honkyoku, Sanya Sugagaki, but he did not generalize its use. The standard Japanese reference, Ongaku Jiten, defines Iwato as a genre of folk music, but no specific information is given. Obviously, a thorough study of the Iwato senpō would reveal a vital Japanese music system that has, until now, only been hinted at.

The Honkyoku Chi-senpō is manifest in three different chōshi (tunings):

Akebono          A  B♭  C  D  E♭  F  G  A

Hon               D  E♭  F  G  A♭  B♭  C  D

Kumoi            G  A♭  B♭  C  D♭  E♭  F  G
The Chi-senpō A chō and G chō are found in the Honkyoku trio literature, and Sanya Sugagaki is obviously composed in Kumoi chōshi, although it is not specified in the title. All other Honkyoku are in "Hon chōshi" (more properly, Honjōshi) except Sōkaku Reibo, which is the only Honkyoku composed in Kyū-senpō, D chō.

Rather than dismissing G as inconsequential, now that D has been established as the fundamental tone, the evidence that is in favor of G substantiates its importance in the ambitus of the SKH senpō. Its special treatment is illustrated in Honkyoku melodic theory and its position, a Perfect Fourth above D and a Perfect Fifth below D\(^1\) can be interpreted as a "mid-way" point in the ambitus. The resulting "articulated" senpō creates a juxtaposed tetrachord and pentachord (see Example 5) which will prove to be pertinent to the following discussion of pitch hierarchy.\(^8\)

Example 5. Tetra-Pentachord Articulation
All other pitches (including "foreign tones") will be shown to be auxiliary to this basic configuration.

The elaborate emphasis given to $c^2$ and $c^3$ (i.e., three different notation syllables) suggests a tetra/tetrachord articulation juxtaposed on the tetra/pentachord configuration just outlined (see Goro, 1975:60-87).

Example 6. Tetrachord Articulation

![Diagram of tetrachord articulation]

4:3 SKH Melodic Constituents

After establishing the SKH senpō and its tonic and tetra/pentachord configuration, the hierarchy and proclivity of the pitches can be determined by examining their manifestation, Honkyoku melodic constituents.

4:3:1 SKH Senritsukei

Because the "various melodic germs (i.e., senritsukei) do not have definite names as they do in biwa music and some of the forms already studied," (Malm, 1959:162) several Western authors have taken it upon themselves to catalogue and label
them. Weisgarber (1968:318) has in his possession a catalogue of some 300 or so senritsukei.

On first hearing, Honkyoku senritsukei appear to be similar to the stereotyped and modular senritsukei which are represented by shōka (see 3:1:2). This impression is reinforced by the slow tempo and the relatively few number of syllables in the notation, resulting in a limited number of syllables in each Honkyoku senritsukei. However, the variety of Honkyoku senritsukei that outline any given general melodic movement (see Appendix B) and the presence of anomalies in those "sets" belies any stereotypography. The stereotyped melodic behavior is not among the senritsukei, but among the proclivities, and hierarchy of the pitches.

The main distinguishing feature of senritsukei is their cadential structure suggested by their iambic rhythm (see 3:1:2:3), supplemented by performance practices such as the melodic inflections (see 3:2:1). In other words, each note in a senritsukei seems to cadence (i.e., resolve) to the last note in its series.

The first fact to emerge from an examination of the senritsukei in the SKH is the large number which cadentially resolve to D or G: 80 senritsukei end on G; 105 end on D; and 85 end on other notes. No SKH senritsukei begin with D, and only 6 begin with G. All 6 of the latter cadences end on D.
A closer study of D and G shows that they are complemented by "leading tones" from below (C to D, and F to G) and even from above (E♭ to D, and A♭ to G). The leading tones from below are easily recognizable in the form of nayashi, but the "upper leading tones" (see Kitahara, 1966:282) are not readily apparent in the SKH senritsukei. However, their presence is clearly evident in the context of "melodic inflections" (see 3:2:1). An examination of the examples (Chapter 3, Nos. 18-21) and the summary (3:2:1:4) shows that the meri and suri inflections are "anticipations" of the lower tone resolution which normally follows. This process occurs on E♭ and A♭ (U and meri CHI), as well as A, B♭, and C (specifically on RI, which anticipates a resolution on a lower note, i.e., A♭ (see 3:1:2:1)).

Example 7 shows the matrix of the proclivities of all the notes just outlined in the previous paragraph. Note that C pointing to A♭ is notated RI and the same C pointing to D can be notated HI or HA (see 3:1:2:1). The RI notation is only found in the low (RO) octave. The HA notation represents C in the low octave and E♭ in the high (KAN) octave (see 3:1:2:1, Example 2).
When melodic movement within or between senritsukei resolves the tension of a note by moving according to its proclivity, such movement may be called "normative". When the opposite occurs, it may be referred to as "deviant". The following "sets" of downward and upward deviant movements are culled from the SKH senritsukei which exhibit more deviant movements than normative movements. This curious situation will be explained in the next few pages.
SKH Deviant Upward Progressions:

Deviant Movement | Normative Movement

1. This deviant melodic movement (also found in the RO octave) is the most common in Honkyoku. Note the esoteric interjection of F which is a leading tone of RE.

2. The TSU-U deviant melodic movement exists in a multitude of variant forms (see Appendix B).

3. The deviant HA is marked "minna" ("full value") so that its extended sound heightens the listener's expectations.

4.
In this case, the deviance is not in the melodic progression as such, but in the final sound of D. Instead of a standard fingering of RO, an alternate fingering is substituted which "sounds" d\(^2\) but with a slightly different timbre which is considered "deceptive" (as in "deceptive cadence", [see Chapter 3, Example 2]).

The KORO figure is almost as common as the meri TSU-RE figure. It is always followed by a downward deviant resolution of HA.

The deviant movement on the left delays the resolution to RE (G) by vacillating from the low A\(^{b}\) to regular A\(^{b}\).

The introduction of the foreign tone A\(^{b}\) from the A\(^{b}\) serves to expand the melodic framework of the Honkyoku. Its most common context is in the following "phrase" (Example 8).
Note how the $A^b$ is "cancelled" almost immediately by the introduction of a normative melodic movement containing $A^b$.

Example 8. KORO Resolution

![Example 8](image)

In effect, a new tetrachord is introduced into the pantheon of Honkyoku tetrachords.\(^10\)

Example 9. Honkyoku Tetrachords

![Example 9](image)

Examples of $A^b - A^b$ melodic movements can be seen in Koku Reibo, 27-29, 45-47, 53-55 and 103-105.

8. $A^b - A^b$

This deviant movement is quite rare (see *Koku Reibo*, 65-66).
The fingering for the B♭ in the deviant resolution is a more "open" sound than the fingering for the B♭ in the right hand example (hence, the difference in notation), but the normative resolution for the former is still A ♯ although it never seems to occur (see Koku Reibo, 65-66).

SKH Deviant Downward Progressions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deviant Movement</th>
<th>Normative Movement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This deviant melodic progression usually follows another deviant progression, HA-(RO), in quick succession. In both cases, the HA is "altered" to heighten listener expectation. It is also subject to variation in the following KORO resolution:
The meri CHI-U cadence shares the same characteristics as the HA-(RO) cadence in that the final note is a "false" sound because it is a different timbre than the expected resolution. The U is always "blown" as "meri" as possible so it will sound G, but its timbre is markedly muted, whereas the G sounded by RE is very open.

This particular deviance is very rare in the Honkyoku literature (see Koku Reibo 30-31, 56-57). It is not brought into high relief like the foreign tone A♭ (see SKH Deviant Upward Progressions, 7) so it is not considered a moment of melodic expansion but a variation of the "meri-shita" inflection.

The preceding lists of upward and downward deviances have not taken into account the variations that exist for each example.
Most of these variations take the form of rhythmic delays of resolution brought about by pitch repetition and rhythmic pauses (see 3:1:2:2 and 3:1:2:3). A perusal of Appendix B will readily show the many forms that exist.

The number of deviancies in the SKH far outweigh the normative movements, thereby creating a sense of constant expectancy and interest on the part of the listener.

4:3:2 SKH Phrases

Even though all senritsukei are cadential, the senritsukei that end on D or G seem to have a greater sense of "completeness" or resolution than other senritsukei. This is particularly obvious in the light of the special finger articulations (see 3:1:3), tonal dynamics (3:2:2) and cadential figures (3:1:2:2) which occur on D and G. Therefore, a group of senritsukei which consist of cadential figures comprised of subsidiary tones and progressing through a sequence of normative and deviant pitch proclivities until they come to rest on D or G, may be called a "phrase" (a word used for the purposes of this thesis, but unknown to the Kinko-ryū). Each phrase, consisting of two or more senritsukei, follows on the heels of another phrase, resulting in the fact that D and G act as "pivot tones".
Practically all phrases begin with one of four "incipits" or their variants. By far the most common incipit is meri TSU-RE, followed by KO-RO. Although both contain pivot tones in their cadential movement, their melodic "deviancy" creates a sense of melodic tension that "demands" a resolution by one or more normative cadential movements to pivot tones in the following senritsukei. RO octave RI-U and its equivalent in the KAN octave, HI-meri CHI, is an incipit which is a normative melodic movement but which does not contain a pivot tone. These senritsukei, and their many variants (e.g., Shin Kyorei, 40,43,50,63,73), signal the beginning of a downward melodic progression to a G pivot tone. This also holds true for the fourth incipit, akarui HI. Although it is a normative senritsukei, its usual context is between a phrase which has completed itself and melodic progressions which move down to $g^1$ or $g^2$ (e.g., Kokū Reibo, 60,82,87).

Phrases end with normative melodic movements to pivot tones which are sometimes re-iterated to insure their sense of resolution (see 3:1:2:2). A second possible ending for phrases is the "false cadence" which is a deviant senritsukei where a normative senritsukei is expected. The most common variety is the meri TSU-RE senritsukei (see Example 10) and deviant resolutions based on HA-RO (see Example 11).
False cadences usually act as "bridges" between phrases (e.g., Mukaiji, see Example 23, line 2). Occasionally, HA and TSU occur in isolation with no resolution at all (e.g., Mukaiji, 16-17, 50-51). The tonal affect is akin to the incompleted cadence which leaves the listener with a feeling of "suspension" and expectation.

4:3:3 SKH Sentences

It is at the level of the sentence that "g" pivot tones are directly relative to the more dominant "d" pivot tones, which represent the tonic of Honkyoku modality. This relationship is born out by the earlier discussion of Honkyoku modality.
(4:2) and the relevant traditional melodic theory that surrounds the "d" tonic.

A description of the construction of a typical Honkyoku sentence may be illustrated by outlining the "themes" of the three Honkyoku in the SKH. Despite the capacity for prolific variation, the actual sound materials of Honkyoku are quite limited, resulting in a sameness that permeates the entire repertoire (see Weisgarber, 1968:332). To counter-balance this homogeneity, each Honkyoku has a "theme" which is unique. Although each theme has some generative melodic material which establishes "inter-opus norms" (see Meyer, 1956:140), they do not act as a point of departure for melodic development, but rather as unique sentences which individuate their respective Honkyoku.

In the following Examples (14-16), the senritsukei are illustrated in their basic form, bereft of pitch repetitions and traditional performance practices. The context of the themes within their Honkyoku will be shown in the next section concerning Honkyoku "forms".

The Kokū Reibo theme is particularly distinctive for its conspicuous lack of "virtuosic" senritsukei and its uncommon symmetry. It is also one of the longest themes in the Honkyoku repertoire, consisting of 22 senritsukei.
Sentence A is almost exactly the same as Sentence B, with one minor exception. Both sentences are comprised of two phrases, a and b; the a's are the same but B,b has one extra senritsukei which adds a zenithal climax to the second sentence. The two phrases in C are codas, the second being more elaborate than the first, which finalize Sentence B and the entire name-theme in general.

The complete theme reflects a normative and uncomplicated approach to melodic progression, thereby establishing inter-opus norms for the rest of the composition and perhaps all Honkyoku in general, considering the special status of Kokū Reibo.
The theme for **Mukaiji** is one long sentence followed by three cadential phrases. The sentence is a complex variation of "HA-RO" in a typical four note, two senritsukei phrase, e^b-d, c-d (TSU-RO, HA-RO), which is then "completed" by three short "codas" (i.e., phrases which are "cadences" for the previous sentence) that act as inter-opus norms confirming the normative resolution of TSU-RE and RI-U incipit and the resolution of HA-RO and TSU-RO finalis. (Note that KORO figures do not appear in this Honkyoku).

Example 13. **Mukaiji** theme (see Mukaiji, Appendix I, 1-16)
Shin Kyorei's theme resembles Mukaiji in that it is also a complex variation of a simple normative senritsukei, HA-RO. However, it is placed within the context of a normative resolution of KORO. The first sentence contains the theme bracketed by distinctive TSU-RE-RO, normative senritsukei. The KORO figure in the theme is reiterated first without the HA-RO variation but also without resolution, and then finally with the normative resolution pattern.

Example 14. Shin Kyorei theme (see Shin Kyorei, Appendix I, 1-16)
Like the theme in Mukaiji, the Shin Kyorei theme appears a second time but in the context of the normative resolution of a RI-U phrase.

4:4 San Koten Honkyoku Melodic Forms

A study of Honkyoku "form" (see Meyer, 1956:45-47) may be drawn from traditional cues and melodic analyses. There are several elements of diacritical information within each Honkyoku "score" which indirectly suggest large divisions. Further, the melodies can be analysed by defining their melodic constituents and comparing their configurations.

4:4:1 SKH Traditional Formal Indications

Formal articulation in many Honkyoku may be seen in the use of double bar lines (found in the new, printed repertoire of the Kinko-ryū and Meian-ha) and paired numbers that bracket sections of Honkyoku melody (found in SS and TS). Out of a total of 30 Honkyoku, 18 have double bar lines and 16 have paired number sections.

No traditional explanation seems to exist for the function of double bar lines, but the paired numbered sections are utilized as esoteric variations. In the exoteric manuscript version of a Honkyoku the paired numbers are not in sequence,
so the performer has the option of playing the Honkyoku sequentially if he wishes to perform the esoteric version. This practice is extremely rare.

Koku Reibo is articulated with four double bar lines and eight numbers forming five sections. The final section is only one senritsukei long, so this Honkyoku is essentially divided into four major units. Note that the four double bar line sections and four large numbered sections do not coincide exactly.

Example 15. Koku Reibo Sections

Re-arranged sequentially, the Honkyoku becomes:

In other words, sections II and IV are interchangeable but the divisions outlined by double bar lines are not disturbed. In both the TS and SS, part II is called Zendan and part IV, Kōdan, which mean "former section" and "latter section" respec-
tively. Also, both sections have the added diacritical information, Kawa-teru, which means the performer has an option of being accompanied at the unison by another shakuhachi. In the analyses to follow, parts II and IV will be shown to be similar in melodic information.

In Shin Kyorei there is no overlap between the double bar sections and numbered sections but the numerical sequence is highly complex, resulting in repeated numbered sections in the esoteric arrangement. The original version appears in the following manner:

Example 16. Shin Kyorei Sections

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c}
\frac{2}{6} & \frac{3}{7} & \frac{1}{4} & \frac{5}{8} & \\
\hline
i & II & III & IV & V \\
\end{array}
\]

The esoteric re-arrangement has a curious symmetry:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c|c|c}
III & ii & III & IV & ii & IV & V \\
\end{array}
\]

Mukaiji has no double lines but it does have numbered sections. The numbers are supplemented by syllables which are derived from the first six syllables of a didactic poem that is universally known in Japan (see Nelson, 1966:1014).
The esoteric version is:

\[
\begin{array}{c|cccc}
I & II & III & IV \\
\hline
| ni & ha & re & ha & he \\
| 2 & 3 & 1 & 4
\end{array}
\]

Sections II and III are interchangeable codas and they have similar melodic material. Further, section III is a newly composed addendum—"ireko no te". The composer is anonymous.

4:4:2 SKH Formal Analyses

The SKH sample has been analysed from comparative, architectonic and contour perspectives in order to present three complementary pictures of SKH structures.

4:4:2:1 SKH Comparative Analysis

Because Kokū Reibo and Mukaiji exist in duet (seisō) and trio (jūsō) versions as well as solo (dokusō), several conclusions may be drawn by comparing the former with the latter.

The Kokū Reibo seisō (duet) is constructed in four contrasting parts (see Example 18), two of which are unison (A and D) and two of which are "Fuku-awase" (B/E and C/F). The
G section only consists of one senritsukei. The entire seisō is a composite of most of the dokusō. (Note that the numbers in Example 18 are the same numbers used to identify moments in the dokusō transcriptions in Appendix I.) Two segments of the original solo are missing: the repeat of the first sentence in the theme and the sentence between the second numbered section and the third double bar section (i.e., 54-59).

Example 18. **Kokū Reibo Duet Sections**

Using this information it is possible to further clarify the structure of **Kokū Reibo** as outlined earlier.

Example 19. **Kokū Reibo, Sections Clarified**

The Zendan (II) and Kōdan (IV) are not only interchangeable but apparently are even symmetrical and complementary enough to have their internal parts interchangeable as well.

The trio (jūsō) versions of **Kokū Reibo** and Mukaiji do
not fall into neat divisions. The following diagrams include wavy lines which illustrate those sections of the solos which are used in the trios.

Example 20. Trio Sections

Koku Reibo

Mukaiji

No consistent use of material is obvious. For example, the Mukaiji theme appears both times but the Koku Reibo trio does not even contain the dokusō theme. Basically the trios are constructed of perfunctory fragments which are mostly highlights of their respective solo Honkyoku.

4:4:2:2 SKH Architectonic Analysis

Using all of the previous information regarding senritsukei, phrases, sentences, and traditional formal indications, it is possible to draw composite pictures of each of the SKH, illus-
trating their "architectonic structure" (i.e., form). In the
diagrams to follow, a number of symbols will be used which are
defined, using the schematic theoretical diagram in Example 21,
in the following manner:

Example 21. Theoretical Melodic Line

\[ \begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{a, e} & \text{melodic section indicated by a pair of circled numbers} \\
\text{g} & \text{double bar line} \\
\text{c} & \text{phrase ending in an incomplete manner (e.g., false cadence)} \\
\{ \text{a-b, b-c, c-d, d-e} \} & \text{phrases (defined by "incipit" and final note)} \\
\text{Incipits:} & T & \text{meri TSU-RE senritsukei} \\
& t & \text{meri TSU (unresolved by RO)} \\
& K & \text{KO-RO senritsukei} \\
& R & \text{RI-U senritsukei} \\
& (R) & \text{variation of RI-U senritsukei} \\
& H & \text{akarui HI} \\
& h & \text{HA (unresolved by RO)} \\
\text{a-d} & \text{sentence} \\
\text{f} & \text{phrase (d-e) which acts as a coda to the previous sentence} \\
\text{a-b} & \text{phrase, repeated exactly in another part of the Honkyoku} \\
\text{b-c} & \text{phrase, appearing in similar form in another part of the} \\
& \text{Honkyoku, identified by a capital letter} \\
\end{array} \]
c-d phrase, repeated exactly in the related Trio
a-e complete melodic line consisting of related sentences and codas
h the number denotes the sentence

Shin Kyorei

1. This line begins with a senritsukei (identified by a short, heavy, black line) which occurs seven times throughout the Honkyoku. Although it creates a sense of unity, its occurrences are highly varied contextually and are never identified as symmetrical "brackets". The entire line is the theme sentence (see 5:4:2:2) with the core of the sentence being a repeated, elaborate yuri-komu statement.

2. After a TSU-RE incipit (D), a dramatic variation of HA-RO (bracket 1) is presented and then resolved with material similar to A, and then new cadential material (E).

3. Beginning with a TSU-RE incipit variant of D, melodic material vaguely similar to Line 1 is presented, but in the context of a RI-U motif.

4. An incomplete TSU-RE incipit acts as a bridge between Lines 3 and 4, and introduces the RI-U motif from Line 3. What follows, however, is new introductory material leading to a re-statement of the core of the theme.

5. Bridge. A single phrase introduces the three numbered parameters which all have similar material reminiscent of B in
Example 22. Shin Kyorei

1 \[ T \begin{pmatrix} d^2 \\ K \end{pmatrix} \] Name Theme \[ \begin{pmatrix} \frac{1}{a} d^2 \\ \frac{1}{a} d^2 \end{pmatrix} K \begin{pmatrix} iK d^2 \\ \end{pmatrix} \]

2 \[ T \begin{pmatrix} 2 \frac{1}{a} h \\ D \frac{1}{a} \end{pmatrix} \begin{pmatrix} 2 \frac{1}{a} h \\ A \frac{1}{a} \end{pmatrix} \begin{pmatrix} \frac{1}{a} h \\ E \frac{1}{a} \end{pmatrix} \]

3 \[ T \begin{pmatrix} \frac{1}{a} d^2 \\ R \end{pmatrix} \begin{pmatrix} \frac{1}{a} d^2 \\ D \frac{1}{a} \end{pmatrix} \begin{pmatrix} \frac{1}{a} d^2 \\ 2 \frac{1}{a} \end{pmatrix} \begin{pmatrix} \frac{1}{a} d^2 \\ 2 \frac{1}{a} \end{pmatrix} \]

4 \[ T \begin{pmatrix} \frac{1}{a} d^2 \\ R \end{pmatrix} \begin{pmatrix} \frac{1}{a} d^2 \\ 2 \frac{1}{a} \end{pmatrix} \begin{pmatrix} \frac{1}{a} d^2 \\ 2 \frac{1}{a} \end{pmatrix} \]

5 \[ (R) \begin{pmatrix} \frac{1}{a} d^2 \\ B \frac{1}{a} \end{pmatrix} \begin{pmatrix} \frac{1}{a} d^2 \\ B \frac{1}{a} \end{pmatrix} \begin{pmatrix} \frac{1}{a} d^2 \\ 4 \frac{1}{a} \end{pmatrix} \]

6 \[ \text{BRIDGE} \]

7 \[ h \begin{pmatrix} \frac{1}{a} (R) \\ E \frac{1}{a} \end{pmatrix} \begin{pmatrix} \frac{1}{a} (R) \\ B \frac{1}{a} \end{pmatrix} \begin{pmatrix} \frac{1}{a} (R) \\ C \frac{1}{a} \end{pmatrix} \]

8 \[ \begin{pmatrix} \frac{1}{a} d^2 \\ 2 \frac{1}{a} \end{pmatrix} \begin{pmatrix} \frac{1}{a} d^2 \\ 2 \frac{1}{a} \end{pmatrix} \begin{pmatrix} \frac{1}{a} d^2 \\ 2 \frac{1}{a} \end{pmatrix} \]

9 \[ \begin{pmatrix} \frac{1}{a} d^2 \\ 2 \frac{1}{a} \end{pmatrix} \begin{pmatrix} \frac{1}{a} d^2 \\ 2 \frac{1}{a} \end{pmatrix} \begin{pmatrix} \frac{1}{a} d^2 \\ 2 \frac{1}{a} \end{pmatrix} \]
Line 1.

5 and 6. These two interchangeable lines contain similar ma-
terial which is progressively made more complex. Between
59 and 62 there is an elaborate TSU-RE motif which is
unique in the entire repertoire. In the final sentence,
the melodic development reaches a penultimate climax at
55-56 where the performer is admonished in the SS to
"seize the moment" ("ki-o toru") which is described as
"traditional nothingness" ("oko mu"). Bracket 2 is an
extended coda introduced by KO-RO.

7. The entire line is an elaborate coda that completes the
Honkyoku with cadential material similar to motifs from
Line 1.

Mukaiji

1. After a short introduction, the theme and four codas are
presented, followed by an unresolved "HA" senritsukei which
acts as a bridge to the next line. This entire line has
already been discussed at length (see 4:4:2:2).

2. An extremely long and complex sentence that is bi-partite
in form follows sentence 1. Their central motif (C) is
a melody in arched form followed by two complementary co-
das. The whole sentence is completed by two cadences (A)
which echo a major cadential formula found in Line 1. A
suspended TSU-RE cadence, (t...), links Line 2 to the next
Example 23. MukaiJi

1

\[ \text{Name Theme} \]

2

\[ \text{BRIDGE} \]

3

\[ \text{Name Theme} \]

4

\[ \text{153} \]

5

\[ \text{Ireko no Te} \]

(Asserted Part)
sentence. Note the irregular occurrence of a specific TSU-RE senritsukei which appears eight times throughout the entire Honkyoku—four times in Line 2, twice in 5 and twice in 6. This figure acts as a motif that constantly re-appears in new contexts, creating a sense of unity. The dramatic "muraiki" senritsukei that received such prominence in Shin Kyorei is also used in the second C motif in this sentence, creating a highly dramatic moment.

3. The theme is re-introduced and repeated, but in the context of RI-U. It is completed by a coda similar to the one found at the end of Line 1.

4. A simple line containing two sentences which are both variations on thematic material presented in Line 2. The second variation, being more elaborate than the first, is completed by an echo from Line 1 (A).

5. Bridge. This is simply a RI-U senritsukei that creates a sense of over-lapping sentence structures between the numbered parameters in 5 and 6.

5. This line is comprised of new material (E) which contains variations on RI-U senritsukei that seem to complete the entire Honkyoku.

6. The "Ireko no Te", which can exchange positions with Line 5, is also comprised of coda variations based on falling senritsukei which are themselves variations on the basic
7. The final closing cadences signal the end of the composition.

**Koku Reibo**

Because *Koku Reibo* falls so neatly into traditional and comparative parameters, the following resumé will be presented according to the sections outlined in 4:4:2:1. Letters indicate exactly repeated material within the tripartite sections.

A. Theme (discussed in 4:4:2:2)

B. After a TSU-RE incipit, contrasting melodic material is introduced by a new incipit, RI-U. The two KORO codas at the end of Lines 4 and 5 are deviant resolutions in comparison to the KORO resolutions presented in the theme. The curious suspension in Line 5, 30-32 re-appears in resolved form in Line 13. The final senritsukei at the end of the third line are particularly cadential because of the skilful use of hiku.

C. The first sentence and the immediately following phrase act as a bridge between B and C. The two KORO codas re-appear in new, deviant forms. Note the repeat signs in the second and third lines, and a similar sequence, written out instead of repeated, in the equivalent section (F) in Lines 18, 19 and 20. The final two lines (*Koku Reibo*, 54-59), already discussed in 4:4:2:1, disrupt the apparent
Example 24. Kokū Reibo

A

\[ \begin{align*}
1 & \quad T \\
2 & \quad A \\
3 & \quad K \\
& \quad \vdots
\end{align*} \]

Theme

B

\[ \begin{align*}
1 & \quad T \\
2 & \quad K \\
3 & \quad \vdots
\end{align*} \]

C

\[ \begin{align*}
1 & \quad T \\
2 & \quad K \\
3 & \quad \vdots
\end{align*} \]

D

\[ \begin{align*}
1 & \quad T \\
2 & \quad K \\
3 & \quad \vdots
\end{align*} \]

E

\[ \begin{align*}
1 & \quad T \\
2 & \quad K \\
3 & \quad \vdots
\end{align*} \]

F

\[ \begin{align*}
1 & \quad T \\
2 & \quad K \\
3 & \quad \vdots
\end{align*} \]
symmetry of the two tripartite divisions (A, B, C and D, E, F). Note that it is a direct repeat of the third and fourth phrases in B, but with one important difference—the suspended E at 32 is finally resolved. To add to the ambiguity, this line acts as a coda to the first tripartite division and a bridge between the two divisions.

D. The first and second phrases constitute the penultimate climax preceding the climactic apogee in E. The next three phrases echo the closing phrases in A.

E. The first half of the sentence is an intense introduction to the climactic melodic material which occurs in the second half. The entire sentence is unusually long and is finalized by the dramatic TSU RO cadence/coda labelled "x".

F. Mirroring section C in outline, section F is a complex denouement with unique KORO figures which closely resemble the trill in European art music.

g. The RE-RO cadence culminates the entire Honkyoku.

One general comment can be made about the preceding information. At first glance, the analysis of the entire Honkyoku might lead one to assume that it is symmetrical. However, a closer examination reveals that the apparent symmetry is entirely disrupted by the melodic material that is not repeated. A rough graph of the contour of the melodic intensity (as a function of tessitura) illustrates this fact.
Although there are many repeated phrases, they are constantly presented in new contexts, discouraging the listener from apprehending large units in symmetrical repetitions.

4:4:2:3 SKH Contour Analysis

One final study of the SKH may be drawn which presents an over-view. Using the pivot tones of each SKH and their frequency of occurrence, each SKH may be seen in profile. The pivot tones used in the diagrams (and numbered along the "y" axis) represent the basic pivot tones in each senritsukei, not the actual number of pivot tones which would include pivot tone re-iterations in the form of repetitions. (One exception to this general rule is the "nayashi" which have been included in all cases.) The following presentation invites comparison between SKH as well. The obvious conclusion one may draw from this form of analysis is that there is no particular form of repetition or symmetry in any of the Honkyoku, and no points
Example 26. SKH Contour Analysis

Koko Reiko

Mukaiji Reiko

Shinku Rei
of similarity between the three Honkyoku. In particular, note the disparity that exists between the four major sections of Kokū Reibo.

4:4:2:4 Summary

Malm (1959:161) suggested that shakuhachi music was "rondo-like" and Weisgarber (1968:324) tacitly supported his conclusion by developing the idea into a "principle of motivic alternation". However, a close examination of the SKH has shown that any formal elements such as melodic or thematic repetition, or traditional cues are incidental to the many complex melodic events (i.e., normative and deviant cadences) which occur between pitches. What large architectonic structures there are (i.e., phrases and sentences) are "lost" in a maze of melodic detail, with no inherent relationships to each other. Touma (1971:41) alludes to the same conclusion when he states that "the singular feature of (the form of Middle Eastern "Maqam") is that it is not built upon motifs, their elaboration, variation and development but through a number of melodic passages of different length which realize one or more tone-levels in space and thus establish the various phases in the development".

The "tone-levels" in Honkyoku are sentences governed by tonic tones ($d^1$, $d^2$, $d^3$) and phrases governed by pivot tones.
The fundamental tones just illustrated in the above analyses are not all equally fundamental; \(d^3\) has a melodic proclivity to \(d^2\) and \(d^2\) has an attraction to \(d^1\). In effect, \(d^1\) is a "home tone" and generative tone. Akarui HI (\(d^2\) and \(d^3\) seem to function more as "peak tones" than as points of repose because they are always immediately followed by downward progressions. This corroborates with the general tendency of normative movements to point downwards and deviant movements which move upwards. As the Honkyoku melody rises in pitch, the degree of affective tension rises in the listener (see Meyer, 1956:139); hence the fact that \(d^1\) is a generative tone. As the Honkyoku melody "falls" through its series of normative resolutions, the degree of affective tension decreases until the melody reaches the point of absolute repose, \(d^1\). Hence, \(d^1\) also can be considered a "home tone". This principle of affective tension relative to tessitura also applies to pivot tones (i.e., phrases) but not to senritsuken where the proclivities of individual pitches (e.g., upward moving leading tones) are the central musical experience.

4:5 Conclusion

The melodies of the San Koten Honkyoku are "composed" in the "Iwato" mode ("Chi-senpō") of the In "scale". Although
"d" is the fundamental tone ("chō") of the mode, \( d^1 \) is the generative tone and point of absolute repose (i.e., "home tonic") while \( d^2 \) and \( d^3 \) act as secondary "tonics" and "peak tones". The melodies are further delimited by tetrachords and pentachords articulated by "pivot tones" \((d^1, g^1, d^2, g^2, d^3)\) which get special cadential emphasis. All the other tones in the mode (i.e., c, e\(^b\), f, a\(^b\), b\(^b\)) and "foreign" to the mode \((a^\#_7, b^\#_7)\) which comprise the rest of the Honkyoku tonal material, "gravitate" according to their respective proclivities.

Tonal proclivity functions on three different levels. At the most immediate level, senritsu kei, each tone has a proclivity to another specific tone. This level represents the most obvious aesthetic experience for the listener, because the slow tempo and deliberate melodic movements, supplemented by performance practices, bring the tonal proclivities and their resolutions into the highest relief. On the next two levels, pivot tones delimiting phrases and fundamental tones delimiting sentences also act with proclivities. Because of the relationship of affective tension to tessitura, higher pivot tones gravitate to lower pivot tones, and higher fundamental tones gravitate to lower fundamental tones.

The "form" of the SKH melodies may be roughly described as "Fortspinnung" (see Apel, 1969:329) with occasional melodic
repetitions that appear almost in an aleatoric manner, rather than as points of macro-structural reference.
CONCLUSION

The Kinko-ryū is a fraternity of musicians who share a common legacy and a deep commitment to its inherent philosophy and aesthetics. Its unique medium, the shakuhachi, and its oldest traditional music, Honkyoku, were designed to act as a vehicle for Zen Buddhist enlightenment in much the same manner as the "ox" in the famous "Ten Ox-herding Pictures" of Zen Buddhism (see Suzuki, 1961:363-376). Both the instrument and its music were adapted from previous traditions which had the roots of their meditative style within their historical development.

The vertical flute in ancient China and Japan has had a long and colorful history which has been most prominent when its function was meditative. Whether in the context of ancient Chinese Shamanism, Taoism, or Japanese Buddhism, it has served as an expression of spiritual harmony (whether achieved or longed for) between the inner and outer realities of individuals. Whenever it has been relegated to a purely entertainment medium, it has never flourished as well as it has in its more meditative role.
Traditional Honkyoku melodic theory is divided into two basic areas. The rudiments (i.e., the basic meaning of the symbols of notation) are exoteric information in that they can be acquired from many sources including printed information. However, the multitudinous performance practices which are applied to the skeletal notation are esoteric in that they can only be acquired from a sensei. In this way, the historical continuity of the essential spirit of their performance is insured. This spirit is reflected in the spontaneous freedom of interpretation that each performer is allowed to bring to the music, resulting in a sense of improvisation despite the restrictions of a notation.

An analysis of the San Koten Honkyoku, a representative sample of the Honkyoku literature, has shown that they are through-composed (i.e., a-formal) because "the concept of a form involves abstraction and generalization" (Meyer, 1956:57) --a noetic frame of mind which is unequivocally antithetical to Zen Buddhism. Honkyoku melodic events only function at an immediate architectonic level, "co-existing in an all-encompassing, but fluctuating, present" (Meyer, 1967:167). However, they are not aleatoric or fragmentary because each event is intimately related to its immediate neighbour according to specific laws of modality. This system of immediacy is referred to by Zen Buddhists as "Inga-Inchinyo"--cause-and--
effect oneness, a central concern of the phenomenologists (e.g., Pike, 1970) and existentialists in the West, and the meditative philosophies in the East.

The quasi-improvisatory style of Honkyoku performance practices coalesce with another key Zen Buddhist concept—"mu-shin no shin" (the mind of no-mind). Ornamentation, amplitude, timbre, and rhythmic idiosyncracies which are obligatory in lessons become optional and variable in performances after the student has acquired this Zen Buddhist perspective with the guidance of a Sensei. Those students who fail to do so become mimics, some of whom, however, develop the highest level of technical mastery and public adulation. However, "mu-shin no shin" exists in inverse proportion to the level of self aggrandizement, resulting in few performers who exemplify and practice "the way of the bamboo flute"—Takedō.

True Honkyoku performances are a solitary act of meditation, even in the occasional presence of an audience. It is during these moments that the performer may catch a glimpse of Kensho, irrespective of a technically flawed or perfect performance. And, like Chikan Zenji's perception of "the clatter of a broken tile" (Ross, 1960:61-64), the listener may also experience Kensho if his powers of meditation and understanding equal the moment.
NOTES

CHAPTER 1

1. Note that Japanese nouns do not have a plural form.

2. Through experimentation, Yoshio Kanamori (1969:459-73) has discovered an extended range that includes 93 different kinds of sounds and more than a 3-octave ambitus.

3. Williams (1960:100) has found that the crane is "the bird who carries away the souls of the dead in China", suggesting a shamanist influence. It is interesting to compare the same ancient reverence for cranes in Europe. This fascination in the powers of the crane even extends to the use of the word "tibiae" in Renaissance music (see Arbeau, 1967:39). This word refers to the shin bone and legs of the crane, and small, vertical flutes (as in "pipe and tabors"). "Tibia" is the Latin equivalent for "Aulos".

4. The more common appearance of this term is "Ryūgin" (dragon sound), a mythological and shamanistic reference to the sound of thunder in rain clouds (an auspicious sign). Ryūgin is also a technical term for the Gagaku note "F♯" (i.e., shimomu). I wonder if "Ginryū" is an example of an early
scribe's error becoming sacrosanct tradition?

5. The Chinese character for Suga ((stdin) is comprised of the Chinese radicals for "reed" (kusa (stdin) and "vertical flute-pipe" (kuan (stdin). The Chinese character "gaki" is synonymous with "byo" which means "fence" but which is actually a technical term for the linear arrangement of pipes in pan-pipes (shō) and mouth organ (shō).

6. Preliminary study on my part has shown that the "Hachikaeshi" melody has the same recurring notes as "Hi, Pu, Mi" but an octave higher (i.e., d², g², d³).

7. Garfias (1975:143) writes that "Banshiki-chō is perhaps the most evocative and expressive of the Tōgaku chōshi. It is traditionally associated with the season of Autumn, which because of the decay of life brought forth in the Spring is valued as the season of meditation and deeper aesthetic sentiments. Compositions in this chōshi are selected for performance at Imperial and Noble funerals." Later he says that "much of the character of Banshiki-chō for both the fue and hichiriki lies in the fact that almost every degree except the fundamental and fifth is treated with some type of embellishment." (ibid., 144). Both of these quotes are strongly reminiscent of the aesthetics surrounding Honkyoku and their melodic configurations.

8. "One of the oldest datable motifs in Asian mythology
is that of the listening deer. It appears in the form of two deer flanking a priest on seals from Mohenjo-daro, earlier than 2000 B.C. "A Tibetan monk said he believed Tibetan hunters had actually used music to attract deer. Musical deer hunting is a widespread practice in Asia. In every case (reported in this article), a musical instrument is used for the same purpose: to imitate the deer's mating call." (Ellingson-Waugh, 1974:23-24).

9. The use of the word "true" may stem from the fact that the Kinko-ryū and Meian-ha Shin Kyorei are quite different. A superficial examination of the Meian-ha version readily uncovers the fact that it is melodically similar to the Kinko-ryū Banshiki-chō Honkyoku, but in a simplified form.

10. The earliest names of the San Koten Honkyoku, and the names still utilized by the Meian-ha, are Kyorei, Kokū-ji and Mukai-ji.

11. Japan is not the only Asian country to have functional and independent Prelude types. The most notable examples of functional Preludes are the Indian "alap", Indonesian "buka", and Middle Eastern "Taqsim". Significant independent Preludes are the Persian "Avaz" (Nettl, 1972; Zonis, 1973), the Arabian independent "Taqsim" (Touma, 1971), and the Chinese "Tao-I" (Liang, 1975). The most important difference between
the Japanese and Chinese Preludes and the other Asian Preludes is that the former have a skeletal notation.

12. "Chikudō" is the more grammatically correct term, because it employs the on-yomi (Chinese) readings for both kanji, instead of mixing a kun-yomi (Japanese) reading (i.e., "Take") with an on-yomi reading (i.e., "Dō"). However, "Take" seems more appropriate because it is a traditional synonym for "shakuhachi" among the Kinko-ryū musicians, and because the tradition of Honkyoku is as indigenous to Japan as the word "Take".

13. A most interesting and curious fact is that the transliteration of "Shikan" is "themeless" (i.e., non-structural), while its literal meaning is "wandering flute".

14. Adriaansz (1973:227) brings this same point forward in his outline of koto performance practices. It should be noted that some of the techniques required for performing Honkyoku, particularly the movement of the head during "merikari" tonal inflections, militate against a perfectly "tranquil" composure. However, it has been my experience that a number of shakuhachi performers exploit these techniques for purely dramatic effect. Whether the drama of performance detracts from or enhances their musical expression will be discussed in the Conclusion.
1. It may seem redundant to use the word "end-blown" in a description of vertical or horizontal flutes, but there are flutes which are blown in the middle (see "The Classification of the Flute," by Adolf Veenstra in *Galpin Society Journal*, Vol. XVII (1964), pp. 54-63). The Chinese "Ch'ih" (see Gimm, 1966:127) has had two forms: an end-blown transverse flute (S-H 421.121.12) and a middle-blown transverse flute with one end closed (S-H 421.121.32). The latter flute has a short, vertical tube in the middle of a horizontal body which is blown in the same manner as a vertical flute. On either side of the duct are three finger-holes.

The end-blown, transverse Ch'ih (e.g., Needham and Robinson, 1962:146) may have been more common in later Chinese music as a "foil" for the end-blown transverse Ti, (hence the title of *Mukai-ji* rather than *Mukai-ti*).

2. The meaning of "Huang" in "Huang-chung" may be derived from the name of the mythical "Yellow Emperor", Huang-ti (c. 2697 B.C.) who initiated the founding of the fundamental tone by commissioning Ling Lun to find the note in "the West" (see Needham and Robinson, 1962, 178-79), or it may stem from
the color of the "chung" when it was newly cast (Kuttner, 1965: 24).

3. In the Shih Chi by Ssu-ma Chien (145-90 B.C.), the length of the Yo is usually recorded as 8.1 inches (ts'un), i.e., .81 feet (ch'ih). (See Chavannes, 1897:III,314 and Needham and Robinson, 1962:187.)

4. A study of the Chinese character for Yo reveals an interesting theory concerning its organology. The earliest Yo mentioned in the Li Chi (Legge, 1885:II,35-36); Couvreur, 1950: I:2,736-37) is described as a reed vertical flute, "Wei Yo". Later forms of the word Yo show it associated with the bamboo radical (a grass rather than a reed, in the popular rather than botanical sense) implying that it was assimilated into Chinese culture by making it with a more indigenous material. This etymological change has been used by Josango (1971:7) to support Tanabe's diffusionist theories (see Tanabe, 1959:25) that the origin of the Chinese vertical flute is in the ancient Middle East. In the fourth millennium B.C., the vertical reed flute was recorded in Sumeria (Galpin, 1937:13-14) and Egypt (Farmer, 1957:268-69; Hickmann, 1961:180) where it was called the "Sebi". The reed flute can still be found in the Arab countries as the "Nay" and in the outermost reaches of Moslem influence, Indonesia, where it is referred to as the "Suling" (Malm, 1967:22). Tanabe suggested two possible periods of diffusion, both of
which are dependent on Alexander the Great's eastern conquests in the 4th century B.C. The vertical flute may have proceeded directly across central Asia via the Silk Road in the 4th century B.C., or it may have first found its way into India, and then accompanied Indian Buddhist evangelists when they traveled to China in the 1st century A.D. Although both theories are now suspect, the basic idea of West-East diffusion is still considered valid. Using Legge's date (Legge, 1885:II,35), the flute may have been imported not later than the 3rd millennium B.C., but, more probably, during the Hsia Dynasty (2nd millennium B.C.).

Another perspective of the Chinese character for Yo suggests a different definition. The lower half of the character can be interpreted as "three mouths" (ooo) in one (ooo), blowing over three pipes ( ), i.e., panpipe, while the upper half suggests a ritual sanction in the form of a "roof" ( ), i.e., temple, sign. However, Morohashi (1955-60:XII,1159), one of the foremost authorities on Chinese character etymology, does not support this view.

Finally, the Yo vertical flute is often described as having three finger-holes (as opposed to three pipes in the above interpretation) which suggests a performance practice similar to the medieval European Pipe (as in Pipe and Tabor). Whereas the European Pipe and Tabor performers carried a drum stick
in their other hand, the Wen Wu dancers carried a pheasant feather, Ti (see Schafer, 1963:111).

5. Neither the Wen Wu dance or its associated Yo is found in Japanese court dance music (Bugaku) because they were incorporated in Chinese ritual music (Ya Yueh) which was not imported into Japan. The latter only received Chinese secular and "foreign" music (see Malm, 1959:78 and Garfias, 1965:9-11).

In the present-day Korean court orchestra (A-ak), the Yo appears as a three-hole vertical flute called "Yak". However, the Wen Wu dance and symbolic Yo disappeared from the A-ak repertoire some time after the 8th century (Chang, 1969:291,318).

6. It is interesting to compare the same confusion of information that surrounds the Greek "Aulos", supposedly imported into Greece in the 1st millennium B.C., the same time period that saw the movement of the Yo from the Middle East into China. Although the final consensus was that the Aulos was a double-reed wind instrument, I wonder if the original, "mistaken" definition of Aulos as "flutes" might be re-investigated in the light of the Kuan re-definition.

7. Needham and Robinson (1962:145(e)) describe a vertical flute which they call Ti, dating from the Warring States Period (480-221 B.C.), with a dragon head on its mouthpiece.

8. Another distinction between the Tung hsiao and Ch'ih-ppa that is usually cited is the oblique cut on the blowing edge
of the mouthpiece. The former is cut inward while the Ch'ih-pa is cut outward. It has been my experience that the direction of the cut is moot.

9. Although the length of the Yo (.9 feet) seems to have remained consistent, the pitch of the Huang-chung and, therefore, the length of the Huang-chung Kuan, was highly variable. Yang Yinniliou found "thirty-five pitch reforms, extending from the late Chou Period to the Ch'ing Dynasty, during which the pitch varied from c♯1 to a1" (Pian, 1969:154). Some of the lengths of Huang-chung equivalents suggested by authors mentioned in this paper are "1.8" (Liu Hsu), "3.8" (Tu Yu) and "2.4" (Ying Shao).

10. Sato Harebi (1966:1) describes the musical bodhisattvas as "Gigaku Bosatsu". Gigaku, a music genre which accompanied dance-pantomimes, was imported by Mimashi (c. 7th century) from the ancient Chinese province of "Wu" (also "Kure" and "Go" in Japanese). Although the province's political fortunes waxed and waned, the dialect of the area, also named Wu, remained extant allowing us to locate Wu in the vicinity of the lower Yangtze River around Nanking and Shanghai (Reischauer and Fairbank, 1958:60). The province of Wu is co-incidentally the traditional source of the most treasured species of bamboo, the "purple bamboo" (Kuretake) and "mottled bamboo" (Madaradake), (see Harich-Schneider 1973:61 and Schafer, 1963:133-34). Hence,
the frequent references to "southern bamboo" such as the title of Hakuga's major source, \textit{Nanchiku-fu}.

11. It is apparent that Harich-Schneider (1973:102,195) mis-translated this piece of information.

12. The relation may be interpreted as three lengths of vertical flutes under the generic name of "Yaku" (Ch. Yo).

13. The passage in question was incorrectly translated by Waley (1960:110) as a "large flute". Kencho Suematsu (1974:133) translates the passage as "A large hichiriki and a saku-hachi (sic) (two kinds of flute)\ldots".

14. "Flowers in full bloom / should loathe / the unexpected wind / of someone blowing and blowing; / a Komoso with his shakuhachi." (my translation).

15. This theory offers fresh support for Tanabe's diffusionist theories outlined in Note 4.

16. "With the collapse of the Ashikaga Shogunate as a central governing body in the Onin War (1467-77), initiative in Ming trade was more and more assumed by certain daimyo houses in Kyūshū." (Varley, 1973:96). No doubt the Shimadzu
was one of the daimyo concerned, necessitating the question, "Did the Tenpuku originate in China?". Again, the answer should probably be "no" in the light of my discussion regarding Mō-sō and Komo-sō.

17. Major sources of music and information concerning the hitoyogiri are:

1. Dōshōkyoku (1657), anon.;

2. Shichiku Taizen: Ikanobori (1687), anon. (see Kishibe, 1960:160);

3. Shichiku Shoshinshū (1664) by Nakamura Sosan.

18. In the Japanese-English Buddhist Dictionary (1965:159), the entry under "Kakushin" indicates that the shakuhachi teacher was Chang Hsiung (Chō Yu), the 15th patriarch.

19. Conterminous with the Kakushin legend is a lesser-known myth concerning Kakua (fl. 1180), a Buddhist priest and scholar of the Shingon Sect who studied Zen in China before Eisai (1141-1215), the traditional founder of Zen in Japan. Mujū Ichien (1226-1312) recorded in his Shaseki-shū (Book of Sand and Stone, 1279) that Kakua was such a recluse that his pilgrimage to China and his subsequent learning went unrecorded. However, one piece of information has survived; Emperor Takakura (r. 1168-1180) requested Kakua's presence as a tutor of Zen Buddhism, whereupon Kakua arrived at the court, blew a single note on a "flute", and then left, never to be
heard from again.

20. Weisgarber (1968:314) cites 1642 as a founding date.

21. For this reason, the illustration of a woman holding a shakuhachi in *The Music and Musical Instruments of Japan* (Pig-got, 1893:43) is very curious.

22. Despite the popularity of the shakuhachi in the San-kyoku ensemble, it has been my personal experience that the "transplant" is actually unsuccessful. The kokyū is eminently compatible because it shares many of the same characteristics of the shamisen (see Malm, 1975:163) and it offers an excellent balance of sound in the ensemble. On the other hand, the shakuhachi is barely audible in the live performances and the pyrotechniques of performing Gaikyoku (especially the meri-kari notes which require almost constant bobbing of the head) are unnerving. Further, the traditional nuances are entirely lost in the scramble for notes. Other than the satisfaction of successfully completing a Gaikyoku performance, I have yet to be convinced of its aesthetic pleasure.

23. After having been introduced to Tanaka Sensei by Mr. Weisgarber, I was fortunate to study with him during the Fall and Winter of 1972-73 in Kwansei Gakuin University (Nishi-nomiya, Japan).
CHAPTER 3

1. The process of developing a rapport between sensei and student is one of the most interesting aspects of Japanese sociology. The spectrum of relationships ranges from the unpretentious homilies depicted by Malm (1959:170-77) to the sublime and yet pragmatic "mondō" related by Suzuki (1959:13-15). They all stem from the prototypical relationship of the Zen Master to his disciples in which his "medium is the message".

2. The syllables theoretically have kanji equivalents but they are not recognized by the ryū.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{me(ri)} & \quad 减り \quad \hspace{2cm} \text{shaku(ri)} & \quad 磷り \\
\text{ka(ri)} & \quad 仮り \quad \hspace{2cm} \text{tsu(ki)} & \quad 突き \\
\text{su(ri)} & \quad 拡り \quad \hspace{2cm} \text{yu(ri)} & \quad 揚り \\
\text{ko(mu)} & \quad 返る \quad \hspace{2cm} \text{mura-iki} & \quad 斑息 \\
\text{ko(mi)} & \quad 返す \quad \hspace{2cm} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Also, kanji equivalents exist for the two abstract symbols:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Na(i)yashi} & \quad 内やし \quad \hspace{2cm} \text{Odoriji} & \quad 舞字
\end{align*}
\]

3. One may find the technique of moving the head and jaw throughout the history of the Western flute, but only in the context of tuning—never as melodic ornamentation.

179
CHAPTER 4

1. After formulating this hypothesis from my own studies, I found a similar hypothesis (albeit with no supporting evidence) stated by Hornbostel (1975:50-51, 65-66) in his "Studien über das Tonsystem und die Musik der Japaner", (1903), and found in Hornbostel Opera Omnia I (Martinus Nijhoff: The Hague, 1975).

2. Various authors have described the phenomenon of senritsukei as:

"melodic germs" (Malm, 1959:162);
"melodic patterns" (Malm, 1963:64);
"melodic cells" (Weisgarber, 1968:319);
"stereotyped interval units" (Kishibe, 1969:53);
"stereotyped motives" (Harich-Schneider, 1973:333);
"stereotyped mosaic" (Harich-Schneider, 1973:333).

In the music theory vocabulary of Shōmyō, vocal senritsukei are referred to as "kyokusetsu" ("vocales formules", see "Bombai", 1930:106).

3. There is some controversy surrounding the definitions of the words "onkai", "senpō", and "chōshi". In the following pages, each word will be introduced with detailed explanations.

"Onkai is a relatively new word coined by Japanese music
scholars to translate the Western music term, "scale" (Ongaku Jiten, 1965-66:1,369).

The four basic scales of Japanese music, Ritsu, Ryo, In and Yō, have traditionally been labelled as "senpō" ("circular law"), or simply "sen", which is translated as "mode" (Ongaku Jiten, 1965-66:III,1626). The reason for this nomenclature lies in the fact that each of the four scales can be modally permuted (e.g., Kitahara, 1966) and modally related to each other (e.g., "Bombai", 1930:103-104).

The modal "solfeggio" that is used to identify note positions in any given mode is adopted from Chinese nomenclature. It consists of two variant systems which are adapted to individual scale systems. The Ryo senpō consists of the following syllables:

Degree No.: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Degree Name: Kyū Shō Kaku hen-Chi Chi Ū hen-Kyu

The Ritsu/Yo and In senpō mode degrees are labelled:

Degree No.: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Degree Name: Kyū Shō ei-Shō Kaku Chi Ū ei-Ū

The syllables that are preceded by "ei" or "hen" are called "hennon". Their nomenclature is adopted from Chinese ("pien") but their function seems to differ from Chinese music and other Asian cultures that adopted Chinese music. Current definitions of related hennon range from Rulan Pian (1969:677),
who defined pien notes as secondary notes (see Yasser, 1932),
to Tran Van Khe (1967:225), who found that Vietnamese hennon
were exchange tones ("metaboles") which signaled a modal modu-
lation he called metabolation (also see Reese, 1940:160-61).

The definition of hennon in Japanese music is currently
understood to be as follows: They are used in conjunction with
Japanese pentatonic scales, making Japanese scales essentially
heptatonic, and they are never used as fundamental tones for
modes (see Adriaansz, 1973:31-33) or as metaboles. (An excep-
tion to the latter may exist in Shōmyō which are essentially
pentatonic. See Dōchō, 1969:73-120.)

A second interpretation of their role as "exchange tones"
can be posited without reference to Tran Van Khe's theory of
metaboles. Assuming that the hennon are related to their lower
neighbours (sho/ei-sho = E♭/F, and u/ei-u = B♭/C), one can see
their "exchange" roles in the "Miyako-bushi" system (see Kishibe,

The relationships shown by the arrows will be described in this
thesis as upper and lower leading tone cadences.

Returning to the subject of definitions, the word which
has provoked the most confusion is "chōshi". Even the anonymous
author of the entry for "chōshi" in Ongaku Jiten (III, 1876) did not supply the customary English translation because of the obtuse understanding of this term. Malm (1959, 1963: index) and Minagawa (1963: 237) omitted this central word in their glossaries. I believe that Harada (1963: 962), Weisgarber (1968: 325), and Harich-Schneider (1973: 631) incorrectly translated "chōshi" as "mode". Translations (some by inference) which are closer to the facts are supplied by Malm ("modulatory scale"; 1963: 61), Adriaansz ("tuning scale"; 1973: 484), and Masumoto ("tonality"; 1969: 325). The words which are probably closest to the meaning of "chōshi" are "tonal transpositions" (as opposed to modal transpositions) clearly evident in the following chart of Ryosenpō and Ritsu-senpō "transpositions" (brackets indicate hennon).

### Ritsu Chōshi

- ōshiki-chō
- hyōjō
- banshiki-chō
- taishiki-chō
Ryo Chōshi

sōjō

ichikotsu-chō

suichō

taishiki-chō

(Cconcerning the bracket around the F♯ in sōjō chōshi, see Harich-Schneider, 1973:128-129).

Each of these scales is identified by the name of its fundamental tone ("chō" or "jō") which, in Western music, is called the tonic. The names of all Japanese tones are immutable and independent of modal or tonal transpositions, or octave placement. The reader should not confuse these scales with Western music modes. For example, the illustrated scale of ōshiki-chō is not the "re" mode of G Major Mode (see Apel, 1969:753 under "Scale, III") but rather the Kyu mode (i.e., "do" mode) of A Ritsu Mode (i.e., ōshiki-chō, Ritsu-senpō).

The difference between "chō" and "chōshi" is that the former can be translated as "key" (e.g., the "key" of ichikotsu,
i.e., tonic = D), whereas the latter (literally translated as "key off-spring") refers to the entire musical entity, whether it be a scale or a composition.

It is interesting to note the transliteration of the kanji for the Zokugaku (Edo Period popular music) chōshi nomenclature hints at extra-musical associations. The common chōshi are:

- Hira — common, standard
- Akebono — dawn
- Nakazora — mid-day
- Kumoi — sky, high noon

Masumoto (1969:291-326) has suggested that extra-musical associations constitute part of the meanings of Gagaku chōshi.

Another relevant definition is that of "senritsu", an elegant and ancient denotation for "melody". (A more humble synonym is "kyoku".) From this word are derived "senritsu-kei" and "senritsu-pō" ("music theory").

4. Both the In scale and the Fuke shakuhachi were indigenous to urban Japan at about the same time (i.e., 16th century, see Adriaansz, 1965:9,33). I have wondered if the Hito-yogiri and its music went the way of the extinct Tsukushi-goto because both genres did not adopt the "new" In scale, unlike the Fuke shakuhachi and Zoku-so.

5. The "natural" scale of the shakuhachi is the "rural" scale, Yō-senpō, which has the same basic configuration as the
Gagaku scale, Ritsu-senpō. Several authors (e.g., Harada, 1963:962) have suggested that only two scales actually exist in Japan, a "Sino-Japanese" scale (Yo/Ritsu-senpō and its variant, Ryo-senpō) and a "National" scale (In-senpō). The former probably preceded the latter because the In-senpō is not heard of until the Edo Period. The Yo/Ritsu-senpō was the most popular scale during the golden age of Gagaku (Adriaansz, 1973:33) and may very well have been indigenous.

The "Miyako-bushi" equivalent for Yo-senpō is called Inaka-bushi, and appears in the following manner:

![Inaka-bushi diagram]

6. Malm (1959:160-161) suggested the same conclusion in an obtuse footnote. His reference to the Home Tones D and A originates from the example labelled "figure 16" which is a transposed transcription of the first seven senritsukei of Hi, Fu, Mi, Hachi Kaeshi no Shirabe. The first bar (which should be notated an octave lower) is written in three flats (i.e., Chi-senpō, D chō). The same bar is then transposed down a perfect fourth to Chi-senpō IV, A chō, and the rest of the example continues in this same tuning, supposedly so that the In scale diagrammed below with two flats concurs with the music example. If the entire music example were transcribed
correctly, the text on page 161 would read, "Figure 16 is the first phrase of a composition whose final pitch is G...; D seems to prevail throughout. It might prove enlightening to forget the Japanese classical theory of Yō and In scales and re-analyze Edo music on the basis of scales on what is now considered to be the dominant pitch (D)".


8. Examples of ambitus articulated by pivot tones are found in Nohgaku and Biwagaku which, in turn, were directly influenced by Shōmyō music theory. In Nohgaku, the three pivot tones are labelled "Jō" (low), "Chū" (middle) and "Ge" (high), and they are a Perfect 4th apart (Akira Tamba, 1968: 217).

By comparing the melodic theories of the above genres with Honkyoku, a more direct link may be uncovered between them.

9. There are two other types of rhythmic delays which can be used to delay the resolution of HA to RO. Both include the interjection of RA.
10. The purposeful interjection of a foreign tone (i.e., A♭) into a Honkyoku may be interpreted as a "modulation", but the evidence does not support the use of this word (despite the fact that Honkyoku syllables may be chromatically altered to accommodate a movable "do").

The direct evidence is very simple. The A♭ never replaces A♭, it acts in conjunction with it, creating a brief sense of melodic expansion.

Two traditional facts also indicate that modulation does not exist in Honkyoku. First, the shakuhachi comes in a wide variety of sizes similar to the consorts of instruments in Renaissance Europe, but differing in that their sizes are one-half tone apart, amounting to approximately twenty sizes. Like the shinobue (Malm, 1963:99), this arrangement grew out of the need to accommodate any variation in "tunings" (Ryutaro Hattori, 1966:223), i.e., modulations from one key to another. Second, the Honkyoku duets are composed in a style called Fuku-awase, which is almost exactly the same compositional procedure as Dangaeshi, a specialized form of Koto Uchi-awase (Adriaansz, 1973:16). Any two melodic lines of common tuning may be juxta-
posed because they have an "unchanging melodic structure" (Malm, 1959:182), i.e., they do not modulate. In the Honkyoku duets, different melodic sections (not called "Dan", however) of the related solo are juxtaposed to form the duet version.

11. See "thematic germs" (Malm, 1959:162) and "theme motifs" in Persian avaz (Nettl, 1972:25-28). Neither of these concepts is relevant to the idea of Honkyoku "themes" because the latter is comprised of many "germs" or "motifs".
APPENDIX A

SAN KOTEN HONKYOKU TRANSCRIPTIONS

The decision to transcribe these compositions in the following manner was arrived at through consideration of the nature of the music. Individual performances are subject to countless variables tempered by the Zen Buddhist sense of immediacy which does not judge one performance better than another. In fact, the aesthetics of "shibui" allow for spontaneous melodic events which a new listener might interpret as mistakes. Therefore, a detailed transcription of any one performance runs counter to the "gestalt" of the music.

The following transcriptions represent an ideal application of performance practice details taught by Tanaka Yūdō. Melodic ornamentation and articulation have been illustrated by juxtaposing them against the given notation; the former were drawn with upward-turned flags, while the latter were drawn with downward-turned flags. Melodic inflections have been shown using heavy, black lines that follow a given note. The five-line staff has been utilized in the following manner in order to illustrate the various inflections. (Note that
the unusual key signature is comprised in a configuration that avoids the suggestion of $E_b$ Major.)

The short, vertical lines placed at regular intervals along the bottom line of the staves suggest a progression of time representing approximately 30 beats per minute. Tonal dynamics are so subtle that only a sonograph can do them justice; therefore, they have been omitted. The numbers found in the top line (i.e., Japanese notation) are added for reference purposes; the vertical dashes on which they rest are major breath marks. Trills are marked with a "+".
Mukaiji Reibo
Koku Reibo
Shin Kyorei
APPENDIX B

THE SAN KOTEN HONKYOKU SENRITSUKEI

The following senritsukei (Total = 270) have been grouped according to their first and last notes. The number at the top of each senritsukei indicates frequency of occurrence. Those few anomalies which occur because of staggered breath marks have been corrected in order to illustrate their original forms. For example, a TSU-RE senritsukei that has been divided by a breath mark is recorded in the following pages under TSU-RE, rather than a singular TSU in one place and a lone RE in another. For the sake of convenience, SS notations have been employed.
APPENDIX C

FINGERING CHART

The holes in the shakuhachi are numbered one to five from bottom to top. Diacritical numbers (sūji) usually indicate open holes, while the other holes are assumed to be closed.

Note that Finger 2 in both left and right hands remain constantly on the instrument, acting as braces.

Kari fingerings are executed with the head and jaw in the normal playing position. Meri (or chū-meri) and dai-meri fingerings require the head and jaw to be lowered in order to lower the pitch to the required degree.

For the sake of convenience, SS notation has been used.
Kari Finger Articulations
also 8va

Meri Finger Articulations
also 8va

Dai-Kan Finger Articulations
Special Fingering Sequences

Notated Finger Articulations

N.B.: † and * signs above refer to the explanatory diagrams opposite.
APPENDIX D

CHARACTER INDEX

1. Names

Throughout this list, all professional names ("Natori") have been underlined and placed in front of the full name, (i.e., natori, surname, personal name). For example, Hisamatsu Fūyō appears as Fūyō, Hisamatsu Masagorō.

Chang Hsiung 張雄
Chang Po 張伯
Chang Ts'an 張參
Chikan Zenji 智閑禪師
Ch'iu chung 丘仲
Dōgen 道元
Eisai 棟西
En no Gyōja (Shōkaku) 役行者 小角

Ennin (Jikaku Daishi) 圓仁 慈覚大師
Fujiwara no Tokihara 藤原 時平
Fūyō, Hisamatsu Masagorō 風陽 久松 雅五郎
Godaigo 後醍醐
Gokomatsu 後小松
Gorō Yamaguchi 五郎山口
Goshirakawa 後白河
Gosukōin 後崇光院

233
Goyozei
後陽成
Hakuin
白隠
Hideyoshi, Toyotomi
秀吉 豊臣
Hitofu, Kojima Toyoaki
一吹 児島 豊明
Hottō Emmyō Kokushi
法燈 國明 国師
Hottō Zenji
法燈 禅師
Hsŭto (Kyotaku)
虛鐙
Huang-ti
黃帝
Hui-nêng
慧能
Ikkan, Miyagi uemon
一開 宮地字右衛門
Ikki, Ikeda Sensuke
一枝 池田仙助
Ingyō
允恭
Itchō, Yoshida Kōzō
一調 吉田耕之三
Jodō, Yamada Benzō
如童 山田 弁蔵
Judō, Nōtomi
寿童 鈴富
Kakua
覚阿
Kakushin
覚心
Kawase Junsuke
川瀬 順輔
Kinko I, Kurosawa Kōhachi
琴古 黒沢 幸八
Kinko II, Kurosawa Kōemon
琴古 黒沢 幸衛門
Kinko III, Kurosawa Masajirō
琴古 黒沢 雅次郎
Kinko IV, Kurosawa Otojirō
琴古 黒沢 音次郎
Kodō I, Toyoda Katsugorō
古童 豊田 勝五郎
*Kodō II, Araki Hanzaburō
古童 荒木 半三郎
Kodō III, Araki Shinnosue
古童 荒木 真之助
Kōdō, Ikeda
童童 池田
Koma no Asakuzu
狆朝葛
Koma no Chikazane
狆 近真
Kondō Soetsu
近藤 宗悦
Kujō Michitaka
九条 道孝
Kyoan, Fukumoto Kansai
虚庵福木関斎

Kyochiku Zenji
虚竹禪師

Kyodo, Uehara Rokushirom
虚洞上原六四郎

Lin-chi
臨済

Ling Lun
伶倫

Liu Hsü
劉昫

Lü ts'ai
呂才

Ma-tsu Tao-i
馬祖道一

Mimashi
味摩丈

Minamoto no Daiken
源頼兼

Minamoto no Hakuga
源博雅

Minamoto no Shitagau
源順

Mujü Ichien
無住一園

Murasaki Shikibu
紫式部

Nakamura Sōsan
中村宗三

Nobunaga, Oda no
信長織田

Nōtomi Haruhiko
納富治彦

Ōga no Koresue
大神惟季

Ōga no Motomasa
大神基

Ōmori Sōkun
大森宗勲

Ōto no Kiyogami
大戸清上

Pan Ku
班固

Pao Fu
宝伏

P'u-hua
普化

Roan / Rōan
朗庵（蘆安）

Sadayasu Shinno
貞保親王

Seijō
清上

Seiwa
清和

Shimadzu Tadahisa
島津忠久

Shimadzu Tadayoshi
島津忠義
Shinji
心 地
Shuji (Chü Hsi)
朱 祼
Ssu-ma Chieh
司 馬 鶴
Sugawara no Michizane
菅 原 道 眞
Sui Wen-ti
隋 文 帝
T'ai-tsung
太 宗
Takakura
高 倉
Tengai Myōan
天 外 明 普
Tokugawa Ieyasu
德 川 家 康
Tosa Mitsunobu
土 佐 光 信
Tozan, Nakao Rinzo
河 山 中 尾 琳 三
Tu Yu
杜 佑
Tuan An-chieh
段 安 節
Wu-mên Hui-k'ai
無 門 慧 開
Yamamoto Morihide
山 本 守 秀

Ying Shao
應 助
Yoritake Ryōen
寄 竹 了 圓
Yūdō, Tanaka Motonobu
右 童 田 中 基 展

*Kodō II was also known as "Chikuō".
2. Music Titles, Terms and Place Names

A number of Japanese words in this list do not match their counterparts in the text because the latter have dashes separating syllables (e.g., Komusō, Komu-sō). The dashes have been added in order to clarify the relationship of certain words to other, similar words (e.g., Komu-sō, Komo-sō, Mō-sō), or to clarify their meaning.

<table>
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<th>bakufu</th>
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<tr>
<td>愛知</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>分</td>
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bue (fue)
笛

bugaku
舞

bushi
武士

Bushidō
武士道

Bushū
武州

byo
屏

byōshi (hyōshi)
拍子

Cha no Yu
茶の湯

Chadō
茶道

ch'i
気

Chi
徳

ch'ih (flute)
篳

ch'ih (foot)
尺

ch'ih-pa
尺八

Ch'ien Han Shū
前漢書

Chikuō-ryū
竹保流

Chikuzen-biwa
筑前琵琶

ch'in
琴

Chiu T'ang Shū
旧唐書

chō
調

Chōchiku-fu
長竹譜

chōkan
長管

chōnin
町人

chōshi
調子

Chō-teki
長笛

chū
鈴

Chū
中

Chūden
中伝

chūkuan
中管

chung
鐘
Daibutsu Kaigon-e
大仏開眼会

daigijo
大疑情

Daishokanpu
太政官符

daimyō
大名

Dai Tōgaku Chūgaku
大唐業中楽

Dan
段

Danawase
段合わせ

dangaeshi
段返し

Dankyū
弾弓

danmono
段物

Dazaifu
太宰府

Dō (ch. Tao)
道

Dōkusō
独奏

dōshō
洞箏

Dōshōkyoku
洞箏曲

Edo (Tōkyō)
江戸（東京）
ei-on
嬰音
ei-shō
嬰商
ei-u
嬰羽
embai
塩梅
feng
風

Feng-su-t'ung
風俗通

"Fu-Ho-U"
フホウ

Fue-ondō
次音頭

Fuke
普化

Fuke-an
普化庵

Fuke-shū
普化宗

Fuku-awase
次合わせ

Fukuoka
福岡

Funi
不二
Gagaku
雅楽
Gagaku-ryō
雅楽寮
Gaikyoku
外 曲
Gaiten Honkyoku
外典本曲
Gaki
撮 (垣)
Gakkaroku
楽家録
Gakunin
楽人
Gakusei
学生
Gakusō
楽箏
Ge
下
Genji Monogatari "Suetsumā Hana"
源氏物語 末摘花
Gi
技
Gigaku
技 楽
Gigaku Bosatsu
技楽菩薩
Ginryū
吟 龍
Ginryū Kokū (Reibo)
吟 龍 虚空 (鈴 慕)
giri
義 理
Go
呉
Gyōsō no Te
行草の手
Ha (association)
派
Ha (as in Jo Ha Kyū)
破
hachi
鉢
Hachikaeshi no Shirabe
鉢 返の調べ
Hakata
博 多
Haniwa
塼 輪
Hannya Haramitta
般若 波羅蜜
hasamiguchi
箏口
hayashi
糸子
haya-uta
早 歌
Heike-biwa
平 家 琵琶
Heike-monogatari
平家物語

Hen-chi
変撤

Hen-kyū
変宮

Hennon
変音

Heng-ti
黄笛

Hi Fu Mi, Hachikaeshi no Shirabe
— 三三鉢返の調

Hi Fu Mi Kyoku
— 三三曲

Hichiriki
箏箏

Hijiri
聖

Hikyoku
秘曲

Hira-jōshi
平調子

Hitoyogiri
一節切

Hō Shō Su
鳳将雛

Hogaku
邦楽

Hōko
宝庫

Hon
本

Honji-Suijaku
本地垂遠

Honjōshi
本調子

Honkyoku
本曲

Honshū
本州

Honte
本手

Hōryū-ji
法隆寺

Hsiao
箏

Hu-kuo-ssu
護国寺

Huang
黄

Huang-chung
黄鍾

Huang-ti
横笛

Hyōjō
平調

Hyōshi
拍子

Ichigetsu-ji
— 月寺
ichikotsu
巻越

ichi-shaku, hachi-sun
(isshaku-hassun)
一 尺 八 寸

Igusa
蓑 草

Igusa Reibo
蓑 草 鈴 蔦

Ikkwan
一 管

Ikkan-ryu
一 関 流

In
陰

Inaka-bushi
田舎 武士

Inga-Ichinyo
因 果 一 如

ireko no te
入 レ 子 手

Ise
伊 勢

Isshaku-sansun
一 尺 三 寸

ishibue
石 笛

Ittchōshi
意 調 子

Iwato
岩 戸

Izu
伊 豆

Izu Reibo
伊 豆 鈴 鶴

Jaku
寂

ji (flute)
虎

ji (temple)
寺

Jinrin Kimmo Zui
人 倫 訓 蒙 因 窮

Ji-uta
地 歌

Jo (prelude)
序

Jō (Noh term)
上

Jo-buki
序 吹

Jo-chōshi
序 調 子

Jo-hiku
序 弾

jūdō
柔 道

Jūsō
重 奏

Kabuki
歌舞伎
kado
道

kaede
替え手

Kagura
神楽

Kaichikusho
懷竹抄

kaki-awase
揺合わせ

kaku
角

kambachi
樁掻

Kami
神

Kami-gata
上方

Kamomongyoki
看聞御記

Kanji
漢字

Kanto (Tokyo)
関東

Kansai (Osaka-Kyoto)
関西（大阪）

Katakana
片仮名

kawa teru (i.e., te iru)
替え手入る

Kayokyoku
歌謡曲

Keicho Okitegaki
慶長掻書

Kemmotsuchou
献物帳

ken
剣

Kendo
剣道

Kensho
見性

Kiai
気合

Kinko-ryu
琴古流

Kinpu-ryu
錦風流

Kinsan Kyorei
琴三虚霊

Kinsen
金先

Kinuta Sugomori
関東（東京）

ki-o toru
気ヲ取

ko
歌

koan
公案
Kōdan
後段
Kogaku
古楽
"kōi teki chokkan"
行為的直観
Kojidan
古事談
Kojiki
古事記
Kōkoku-ji
興國寺
Kokū-ji
虚空寺
Kokū Reibo
虚空銘幕
Kokūzō-dō
虚空閾堂
kokyū
胡弓
Koma-bue
高麗笛
komosō
薦僧
komusō
虚無僧
kondō
金堂
"ko-ro, ko-ro"
コ コ コ コ
Koro Sugagaki
転管塚
koten
古典
koto
筝
Kotobuki Shirabe
壽調べ
Kotoji no Shirabe
琴柱の調べ
ko-tsuzumi
小鼓
kū (anguish)
苦
kū (no-thingness)
空
kuan
管
kuchi-shamisen
□ 三味線
kuden
□ 伝
Kumoi
雲井
kun-yomi
訓読
Kure
呉
Kuretake
呉竹
Kuroda
黑田
kyoku
曲
Kyōkunshō
教訓抄
Kyokusetsu
曲折
Kyoreizan Meian-ji
虚霊山明暗寺
"Kyotaku Denki" Kokujikai
虚鐸伝記国字解
Kyoto
京都
Kyō(to) Reibo
京都鈴慕
kyū (scale degree)
宮
Kyū (as in Jo Ha Kyū)
急
Kyūkō-an
吸江庵
Kyūshū
九州
Kyūshū Reibo
九州鈴慕
Li Chi, "Ming T'ang Wei"
礼記 明堂位
Li Chi, "Yüeh Chi"
礼記 楚記
Lü
呂
Lü Kuan
呂菅
Lüng-ti
龍笛
madaradake
斑竹
Mae-biki
前彈き
Mappō
末法
Meguro Shishi
目黒獅子
Meian-ha
明暗派
Meian-ji
明暗寺
Meian Kyōkai
明暗協会
Mikanko
御巫
Miyako-bushi
都節
mondō
問答
Monju (Sk. Mañjuśrī)
文殊 (also 文殊)
Mōsō
盲僧
Mu-i
無為

Mujin Engi
無尽縁起

Mujo
無常

Mukai-ji
霧海麓

Mukaiji Reibo
霧海麓鈴幕

mu-shin no shin
無心の心

Musashi
武蔵

Nagai Shirabe
長調

Nagasaki
長崎

Nagauta
長歌

Nakazora
中空

Namima Reibo
波間鈴幕

Nan-Kuan
南管

Nanchiku-fu
南竹譜

Nara
奈良

Natori
名取り

Nedake
根竹

Netori
音取

Nezasa-ha
根笹派

Nihombashi
日本橋

Nishaku-sansun
二尺三寸

Nishimi-ryū
西実流

Noh
能

Nohgaku
能楽

Nohkwan
能管

Ō-daiko
大太鼓

Odake
雄竹

Ōden
奥伝

Ō-hichiriki
大箏笛

Ōko mu
往古無
Omote

応仁

Onkai

音階

On-yomi

音御読

Oshika

大阪

Oshiki

黄鐘

Oshiki-giri

黄鐘切

O-shirabe

大調べ

Oshōkun

王 昭君

Oteki

黄笛

P'ai Hsiao

排箫

Pien

変

Pi-li

筆業

P'u-hua-tsung

普化宗

Rei

鈴

Reibo

鈴幕

Reibo Nagashi

鈴幕流し

Reihō-ji

鈴法寺

Reitatsu

令達

Rembo

恋慕

Renritsu no Mai

麟率の舞

Rinyū-gaku

林邑楽

Rinzai-shū

臨済宗

Ritsu

律

Ritsukan

律管

Ritsusho

律篇

"RO-Tsu-Re"

rōnin

浪人

rōshi

老死師
Ryo
呂
ryū
琉
ryūgin
龍吟
Ryūkyū
琉球
Ryūmeishō
龍鳴抄
ryūteki
龍笛
Sabi
寂
Saemon
左衛門
Sagariha no Kyoku
下り薬の曲
Saidai-ji Shizaichō
西大寺資材帳
Saihō-ji
西方寺
Sakae Shishi
栄獅子
Sakkyoku
作曲
"sakuhachinoteki"
さくはちの笛
samurai
侍
Sandai Jitsuroku
三代実録
san-fen sun-i fa
三分損益法
Sango Yōroku
三五要録
San Koten Honkyoku
三古典本曲
Sanjūniban Shokunin Uta-awase
三十二番職人歌合わせ
Sankyoku
三曲
Sanmi Ittai
三位一体
Sanya Sugagaki
三谷管垣
Sarugaku
猿楽
satori
悟
Satsuma
薩摩
Sayama Sugagaki
佐山管垣
Sè
瑟
Seisō
済奏
Sekkyō-bushi
説経節
仙台

旋 法

旋 律 型

先生

尺 八

尺 八 師

三 味 線

沙 石 集

笙

淡 い

糸竹初心集

糸竹大全紙鳥

史 記

詩 経

鹿の遠音

只管 打 坐

島 原

島 津

下 無

下 野 虚 靈

心

真 虚 靈

真の手

新 曲

篳 筆

真言 宗

真 法 師

神 道

信 西 古 楽 図
Shirabe
調 べ

Shirabe-mono
調 べ 物

Shishi
獅 子

Shizen no Ne
自然 の 音

Shizu no Kyoku
志 図 之 曲

Shizuoka
静 岡

shō (mouth organ)
箏

shō (pan-pipe)
篫

shō (scale degree)
商

Shoden
初 伝

shodō
総 謌 道

shōfu

Shōgun
将 軍

shōka
唱 歌

shokunin
職 人

Shokunin Zukushi Uta-awase
職 人 尽 し 歌 合 せ

shōmyō
声 明

shōnin
商 人

Shōsōin
正 倉 院

Shūsa-ryū
宗 左 流

Shushigaku
朱 子 学

Sō
箏

sōjō
双 調

Sōkaku Reibo
巢 鶴 鈴 慕

Somakusha
蘇 莫 者

Sō-shidai
僧 次 第

Sōtō-shū
曹 洞 宗

Suga
菅

Sugagaki
菅 垣

Suichikumei
吹 竹 名
suichō
水調
sūji
数字
Suijaku
垂迹
Tai Hei Raku
太平洋
Taigenshō
体源絹
taiko
太鼓
taishiki
太食
take
竹
Takedō
竹道
Takiochi no Kyoku
滝落之曲	
taku
鑼
takuhatsu
托胎鉢
Tanden
丹田
tankan
- 短管
Tan-tekī
短笛

Tanteki Hidenfu
短笛秘伝譜
tatebue
堅笛
tegoto
手事
teki
笛
Tendai-shū
天台宗
Tengai
天蓋
Tennin
天人
Tenpuku
天吹
Thung
同
Ti (feather)
箏
Ti (flute)
笛
Tōdai-ji
東大寺
Tōfuku-ji
東福寺
Tōgaku
東楽
Tōgakushi
東楽師
東北
東海道
者山流
曹洞
月の曲
筑紫
筑紫箏
寸
徒然早
鶴の巣築
洞箏
典通
羽
優婆塞禅師
打合わせ

打撃止
打撃始
打替虚幕
上田
宇治
浮世
裏
歌合わせ
歌口
和名類聚抄
和琴
和歌
若山
文舞
Wu (province)

呉

Wu (shaman)

巫

Wu-men Kuan (Mumonkan)

無門関

Ya Yueh

雅楽

Yachiyo Sugomori

八千代巢

Yaku

山伏

Yamabushi

山伏

Yamashina Kyogen Kyorikki

山科教言卿日記

Yamato

大和

Yamato Kōsaku Eishō

大和耕作絵抄

Yamoto-bue

大和笛

Yang

陽

Yin

陰

Yo (flute)

陽

Yo (scale)

陽

Yokobue

横笛

Yoshino-Shūi

吉野拾遺

Yoshiya Reibo

吉野鈴慕

Yü

竿

Yüeh

嶽

Yüeh-fu Tsa-lü

楽府雅錄

Yüeh Shū

楽書

Yūgen

幽玄

Yūgure no Kyoku

夕暮之曲

Yuimagyo

維摩経

Zazen

坐禅

Zen

禅

Zendan

前段

Zendō

禅道

Zenkoku Daikai

全国大会
Zokugaku

俗楽

Zokugaku Senritsu Kō

俗楽 旋律 考

Zoku-Kyōkunshō

続 教 訓 鈔

Zokusō

俗 続 筝
3. Japanese Historical Periods

Jōmon (from ca. 8000 B.C.)

Yamato (300-710)

Asuka (552-646)

Hakuhō (646-710)

Nara (710-794)

Early Heian / Kōnin (794-897)

Later Heian / Fujiwara (897-1185)

Kamakura (1185-1333)

Muromachi (1333-1573)

Bummei (1469-1486)

Momoyama (1573-1600)

Edo / Tokugawa (1600-1867)

Meiji (1868-1912)
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