

East Asia: China, Japan, and Korea

THE
GARLAND
ENCYCLOPEDIA
OF
WORLD MUSIC



The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music
Volume 7

East Asia:
China, Japan,
and Korea

THE GARLAND ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD MUSIC

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The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music
Volume 7

East Asia: China, Japan, and Korea

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CD materials can be found at <https://www.routledge.com/9780824060411>

The following examples are included on the accompanying audio compact disk packaged with this volume. Track numbers are also indicated on the pages listed below in parentheses, for easy reference to text discussions. Complete notes on each example may be found on pages 1099–1103; the liner notes accompanying the compact disk are a slightly abridged version of the notes in the text.

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- 2 *Yangguan sandie* (109, 157)
- 3 *Kao shan liu shui* [*Gaoshan liushui*] ‘High Mountain, Flowing Stream’ (111, 171)
- 4 “Moonlight on the Ching Yang River” (112, 167, 175, 186)
- 5 *Sai shang ch’ü* [*Cai sng qu* in pinyin] ‘Song at the Frontier’ (112, 167)
- 6 *Yu wo lang* ‘The Fish Lying on the Wave’ and *Xiao fangniu* ‘The Small Shepherd’ (199)
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About *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*

Scholars have created many kinds of encyclopedias devoted to preserving and transmitting knowledge about the world. The study of music has itself been the subject of numerous encyclopedias in many languages. Yet until now the term *music encyclopedia* has been synonymous with surveys of the history, theory, and performance practice of European-based traditions.

In July 1988, the editors of *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* gathered for a meeting to determine the nature and scope of a massive new undertaking. For this, the first encyclopedia devoted to the music of all the world's peoples, the editors decided against the traditional alphabetic approach to compartmentalizing knowledge from A to Z. Instead, they chose a geographic approach, with each volume devoted to a single region and coverage assigned to the world's experts on specific music cultures.

For several decades, ethnomusicologists (following the practice of previous generations of comparative musicologists) have been documenting the music of the world through fieldwork, recording, and analysis. Now, for the first time, they have created an encyclopedia that summarizes in one place the major findings that have resulted from the explosion in such documentation since the 1960s. The volumes in the series comprise contributions from all those specialists who have from the start defined the field of ethnomusicology: anthropologists, linguists, dance ethnologists, cultural historians, and performers. This multidisciplinary approach continues to enrich the field, and future generations of students and scholars will find *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* to be an invaluable resource that contributes to knowledge in all its varieties.


Each volume (with the exception of the tenth and final volume) has a similar design and organization: large sections that cover the major topics of a region from broad general issues to specific music practices. Each section consists of articles written by leading researchers, and extensive glossaries and indexes give the reader easy access to terms, names, and places of interest.

Part 1: Introduction to the region, its culture, and its music, as well as a survey of previous music scholarship and research.

Part 2: Major issues and processes that link the musics of the region.

Part 3: Detailed accounts of individual music cultures. In Volume 7, East Asia, more than one part serves this function (Part 3, China; Part 4, Japan; Part 5, Korea; and Part 6, Inner Asia).

The editors of each volume have determined how this structure is to be constructed and applied, depending on the nature of their regions of interest. The concepts covered in Part 2 will therefore differ from volume to volume; likewise, the articles in Part 3 might be about the music of nations, ethnic groups, islands, or subregions. The picture of music presented in each volume is thus comprehensive yet remains focused on critical ideas and issues.

Complementing the texts of the encyclopedia's articles are numerous illustrations: photographs, drawings, maps, charts, song texts, and musical examples. At the end of each volume is a useful set of study and research tools, including a glossary of terms, lists of audio and visual resources, and an extensive bibliography. An audio compact disk will be found inside the back cover of each volume, with sound examples that are linked (with a  in the margin) to discussions in the text.

The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music represents the work of hundreds of specialists guided by a team of distinguished editors. With a sense of pride, the publisher offers this new series to readers everywhere.

Preface

When John K. Fairbank, Edwin O. Reischauer, and Albert M. Craig published their monumental historical study *East Asia: Tradition and Transformation* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973), they conceived of the region as comprising the Chinese civilization and its sphere of influence, primarily Korea and Japan and to a lesser extent Vietnam. At least since “East Asia” replaced the more ethnocentric European term “the Far East,” most people have meant something like this when they spoke of East Asia. The present volume of *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, too, devotes the greatest share of space to China, Japan, and Korea, but applies a somewhat more literal interpretation of the geographical designation East Asia or, perhaps more accurately, north-eastern Asia.

Thus, Vietnam is treated in the volume on Southeast Asia, while the present volume includes regions to the north of China: not just Mongolia, which has close historical ties to China, but Tyva and Siberia, which do not. Also included are national minorities living in China and Japan, whose musical culture often differs markedly from that of the surrounding majority population, as well as regions—notably Tibet and Ryūkyū—whose musical traditions have been quite distinct from the modern nation-states to which they now belong. Finally, the introduction of Western music, and the consequent formation of syncretic and Western-focused musical practices, is discussed in reference to each country. The result is intended to be a survey of music in East Asia that recognizes multiple spheres of musical activity rather than a single dominant one with its subordinate branches and offshoots.

This is not to say, however, that Volume 7 pretends to be comprehensive. East Asia is home to a quarter of the world’s population, and its many and varied musical traditions have been documented, diachronically as well as synchronically, in more detail than those of any other part of the non-Western world. Historical sources stretch back three thousand years, and a tradition of compiling massive encyclopedias and chronicles continues to this day with vast government-sponsored research projects. Musical scores and illustrated treatises tell us many details of instrument construction, repertoire, and performance practice from centuries ago, while intensive scholarly activity within the region generates an ever-growing mass of knowledge that can be almost an embarrassment of riches to the researcher from outside. Although many local traditions remain to be studied, so much is known already that no single volume can hope to do full justice to it.

If this volume cannot be complete, it aims at least to be representative, not only in the range of musics it covers but also in its roster of contributing authors, some of whom are, with these essays, being presented to English-language readers for the first time. All of the dozens of scholars who have written for this volume have conducted primary research on the music of East Asia, research that may apply the ethnomusicologist’s methods of fieldwork or the historical musicologist’s methods of archival investigation, or often a combination of both. Many of the writers are skilled performers of the music and dance they describe, and many were born and raised in East Asia. The region had its own highly developed traditions of musical

scholarship long before Western musicologists arrived on the scene, and this volume stands as a tribute to the collaboration between local and outside researchers that has brought our collective knowledge of East Asian music to a level capable of producing such a work.

HOW THIS VOLUME IS ORGANIZED

This volume is organized similarly to the other volumes in *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, but with some variations suggested by the distinctive features of the East Asian region. The primary division is into six parts. Part 1 provides an overview of East Asia as a cultural and musical region, and a summary of the cultural interactions that have taken place between different groups within the region.

Issues and processes

Part 2 introduces selected themes and topics applicable to the musical life of East Asia in general. The articles in this part discuss how the music of East Asia has been shaped by, and also played an active role in, the philosophies and religions of the region, its institutional structures, its modern-day transformations, and its other performing arts such as dance and theater. Attention is given to traditions of historical and theoretical writing on music, and to the methods by which music has been transmitted from one generation to the next. Musical instruments are discussed here insofar as they form broadly distributed “families,” such as the well-known “long zithers”; details on individual instruments are reserved for later articles, as are issues and processes that have been played out differently in different countries. Musical theater, an important phenomenon throughout the region with distinctive local variations, is also discussed in Part 2.

Regions and genres

Parts 3, 4, 5, and 6 divide the broad region of East Asia into smaller regions and discuss individual traditions and genres in depth. These parts, constituting the main body of the book, deal with the major geographical and political divisions of East Asia in descending order of population size: China, Japan, Korea, and Inner Asia. Although political boundaries have changed over time, this division has needed to cover all historical periods, so that the section on China includes Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Tibet; that on Japan includes Ryūkyū; that on Korea includes the two current states, North and South Korea; and the article on Mongol music covers both Inner Mongolia (politically part of China) and Outer Mongolia (an independent republic).

This volume departs from the precedent of previous volumes in this encyclopedia by including a separate “Issues and Processes” section within each of Parts 3 (China), 4 (Japan), and 5 (Korea). The issues and processes addressed, however, are similar for each country: philosophy and aesthetics of music, archaeology and history of musical instruments, theory and notation, scholarship, and historical source materials. Thus the reader may both assess the particular circumstances of each country in these domains and make comparisons between countries by examining how they have dealt differently with similar preoccupations.

In Parts 3, 4, and 5, the section on “Issues and Processes” is followed by a longer section on musical genres, arranged along broadly chronological lines from older and indigenous traditions to those which have been recently developed and influenced by the West. Finally, there is some discussion of the social and regional contexts of music making in contemporary East Asia, and in the case of China and Japan there are several articles on the music of minority peoples.

The music of Inner Asia, which does not readily conform to the categories and models developed for the rest of East Asia, is treated separately in Part 6, in a short series of articles dealing with different geographical areas.

Research tools

Volume 7, like the other volumes in *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, includes a variety of research aids. An accompanying compact disk of audio examples illustrates many of the musical genres discussed in the text, and the relevant pages are indicated in the list of audio examples following the table of contents. General maps appear in the front matter. Illustrations, including photographs, diagrams, tables, and charts, portray the visual as well as the aural culture of music, and convey, better than words alone could, the structural details of both musical instruments and musical sound. Where appropriate, musical examples are given, either in Western notation (perhaps modified to reflect the structure of East Asian music) or in one of the many indigenous notation systems of East Asia, with explanations of symbols included as necessary. Specific topics that do not appear in the table of contents can be looked up in the glossary and index at the back of the volume, where extensive lists of sources in print and audiovisual media will also be found. In addition, almost every article ends with a more specialized list of references on its own topic. The short “snapshot” articles scattered throughout the volume are, like the other articles, founded on rigorous research, but these depart from an “academic” tone to offer evocative portraits of individual musicians or groups whose careers reflect important aspects of the cultural milieus in which they have lived and worked.

Glossary and index

Since the volume itself is not organized alphabetically, an alphabetical index of terms and names is provided at the end. Also provided is a glossary that gives short definitions of East Asian terms used in the volume, listed in English alphabetical order according to the selected romanization system for each language. An understanding of orthography is indispensable in the study of East Asia, where a single term may appear in widely divergent spellings resulting from alternative romanization systems that have competed with each other and in some cases continue to do so. (For instance, the new romanization system for Korean promulgated by the government of South Korea in 2000 has already supplanted the old McCune-Reischauer system within that country, but has so far been largely ignored elsewhere, and is not adopted in this volume.) Assistance in navigating the complexities of romanization for East Asian languages is offered in a note on transliteration following this preface.

Compact disk

This encyclopedia offers not just knowledge *about* music, but knowledge *of* music in its aural dimension, and the actual sounds of many of the musics discussed can be directly encountered through the accompanying compact disk. The examples, some of which are taken from field recordings, bring the text to life and provide brief illustrations of a wide range of styles, suitable for use in teaching world music as well as in research. Notes on the audio examples appear on pages 1099–1103; and a somewhat briefer version of these notes is packaged with the compact disk inside the back cover.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The final form this volume takes has been shaped by a great many contributors and editors, not all of whom have been on board for the whole journey. As it goes to press, the volume bears the imprint of all these past and present members of a large and heterogeneous team, all of whom we thank for their unique individual contributions. We would like to acknowledge especially Bell Yung and Ter Ellingson, who served as volume editors in the early stages of the project; Ruth Stone, who gave valuable help and advice; our consulting editors, Helen Rees, Margaret Sarkissian, Barbara Smith, and Osamu Yamaguti; and the Garland/Routledge editors Leo Balk, Richard Carlin, Soo Mee Kwon, Gillian Rodger, Richard Steins, and Richard Wallis. Our project

editor Susan Gamer has kept us all on track with efficient and cheerful guidance in the face of what must at times have been daunting pressures and obstacles.

We thank our contributing authors for more than their essays: we also thank them for their patience over the long production process, and we owe special thanks to those who wrote new articles on a very short schedule.

Our thanks also to our translators, Scott Cook, Christopher Evans, Mark Georgiev, Terence Lancashire, Frederick Lau, Miri Park, Helen Rees, Valerie Samson, and Akiko Takamatsu; to Jennifer Post, Jessica Anderson Turner, Minako Waseda, Heather Willoughby, and—again—Fred Lau and Miri Park, who compiled the glossary and bibliographies; and to the audio team, Alan Burdette, Patrick Feaster, and John Fenn, who selected, obtained, and annotated the sound examples. We are grateful to the authors who gave photographs from their personal collections, research, and fieldwork; and to Keith Howard, who provided a wealth of photos for Part 5. Oshio Satomi gave us very timely help in completing the list of contributing authors (page *xxi*).

The three volume editors—who lived, respectively, in the United Kingdom, then the United States; in Japan; and in Hong Kong as this volume was being developed—were able to hold open editorial meetings in Japan, Hong Kong, and the United States thanks to the assistance of the Ôsaka office of Mitsui and Company, as well as the help of Ôsaka University, Ochanomizu University, and Chinese University. Yuka Nagatsumo, Yoshiko Shimizu, and Satomi Oshio, former assistants at Ochanomizu University, made an important contribution to our procedures. We are grateful to these organizations and individuals.

Finally, all the editors and associate editors owe a debt of gratitude to each other for their meticulous work in the rigorous review process by which the articles have passed through many hands and been checked by many specialists on their path to eventual publication, always in an atmosphere of the utmost collegiality.

—Andrew P. Killick

Note on Transliteration

This volume uses pinyin romanization for Chinese, the Nippon system for Japanese (including its slightly modified version, the *kunrei* ‘official order’ from the government system), and the McCune-Reischauer system for Korean. Mongolian transliteration follows local practice. With the exception of important words that have moved from Oirat to Khalkha Mongolian, romanization of the official Cyrillic orthography is used for Mongolia, and of the Mongolian classical script for Inner Mongolia. Spellings for Siberia are those supplied by the author of that article.

Because few languages used by ethnic minority groups in China have standard romanization systems, we have adopted various solutions for different regions. Korean terms are given in McCune-Reischauer romanization. Tibetan terms in the main entry on Tibet appear in text in the pinyin transliterations used by the author, with the more usual Wylie and common-practice Tibetan pronunciation romanizations provided in a table at the beginning of the article. Naxi-language terms are romanized in standard Naxi pinyin. Dai, Uighur, and Kazakh terms are given in the romanization the respective authors selected to represent the sounds as written in those languages’ own scripts. Almost all other minority-language terms are given in the pinyin romanization of the Chinese transliterations used by the authors, and in a few cases in Latin alphabet romanizations as provided by the authors.

Spellings of place names and Aboriginal ethnic groups in Taiwan follow standard spellings used in Taiwan; most Aboriginal terms and names of musical instruments are given in pinyin.

For the articles concerned with Hong Kong and Guangdong Province, some spellings in the Cantonese dialect are provided.

Throughout the volume, exceptions to these guidelines are made for certain proper names and other terms that have become widely known in another spelling, and when contributing authors prefer a different spelling for their names. For internationally known performers, composers, and scholars, their own chosen spellings are used; in some cases, standard romanized spellings are also provided.



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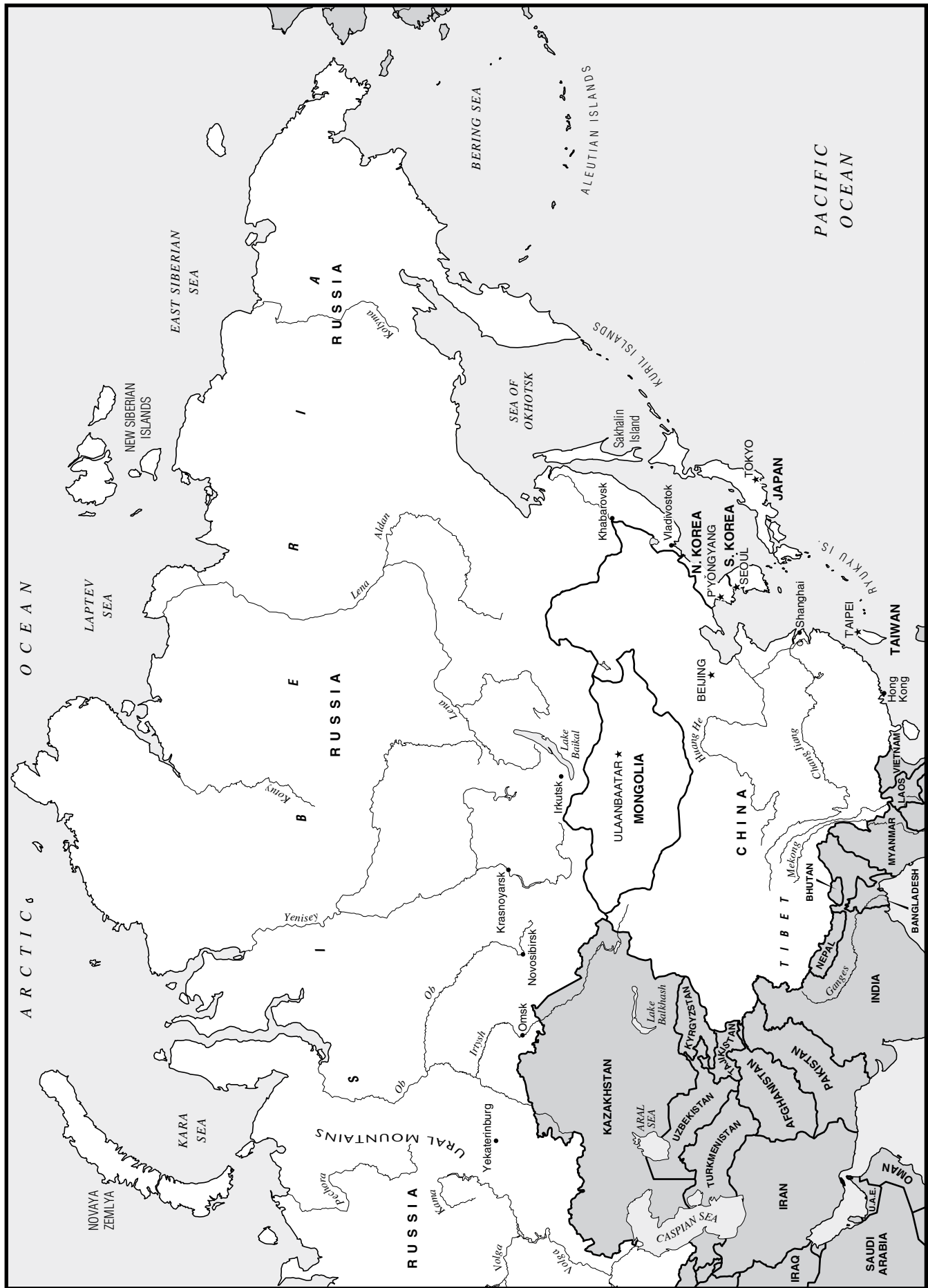
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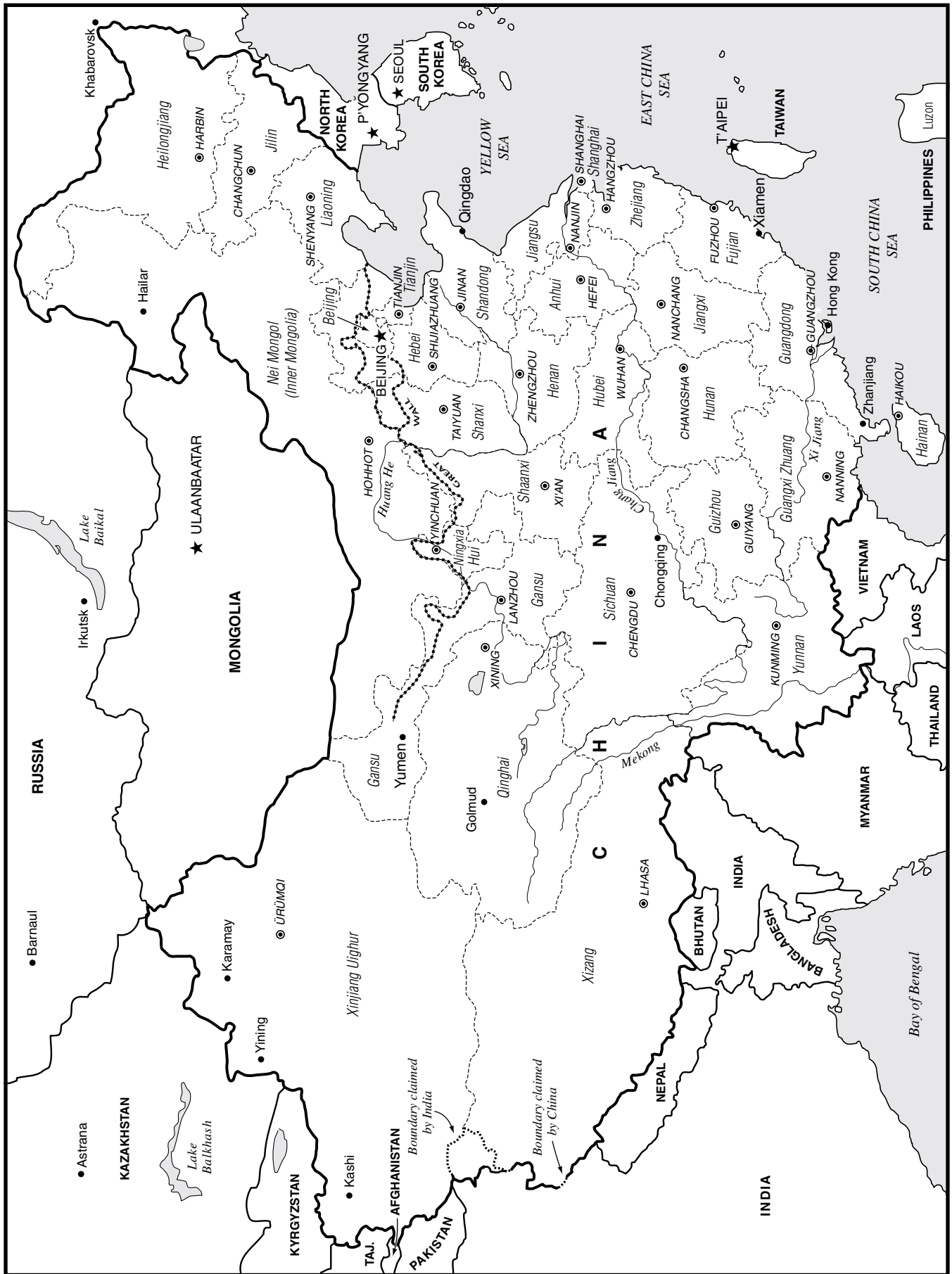
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Maps

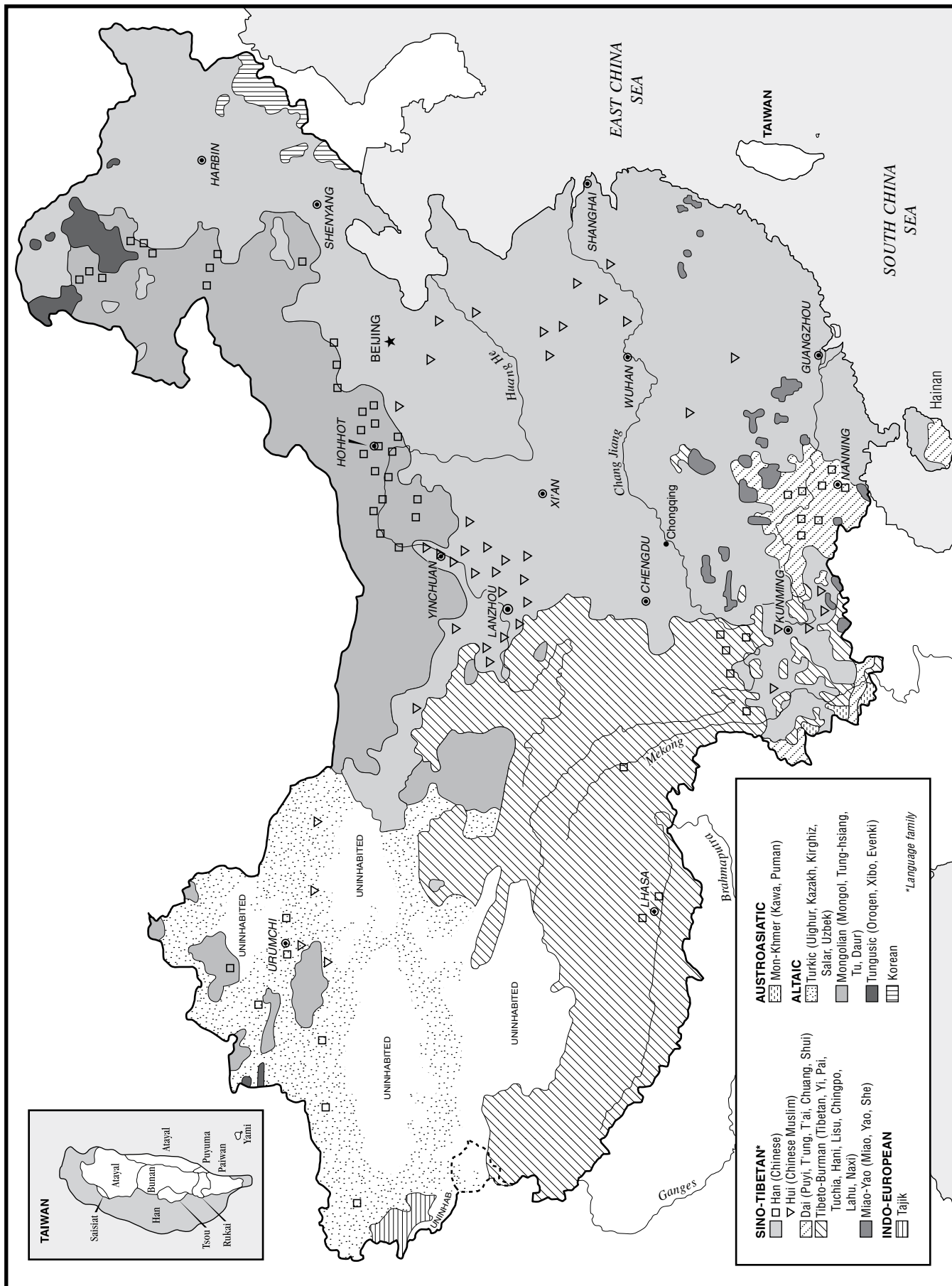
- 1 East Asia
- 2 China
- 3 Minority Peoples of China
- 4 Japan
- 5 Ryûkyû Islands
- 6 The Ainu People
- 7 Korea
- 8 Inner Asia



MAP 1 East Asia.



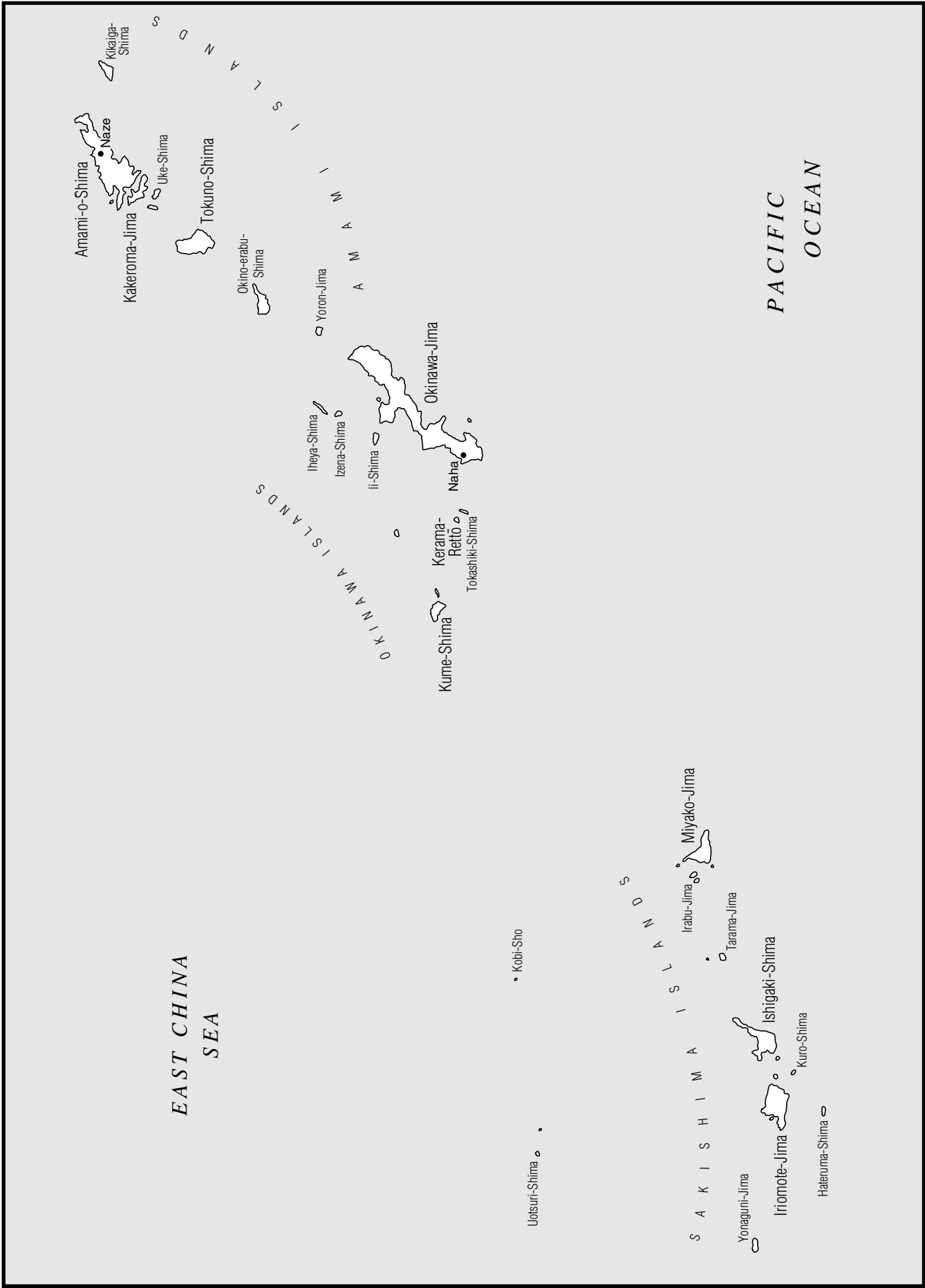
MAP 2. China.



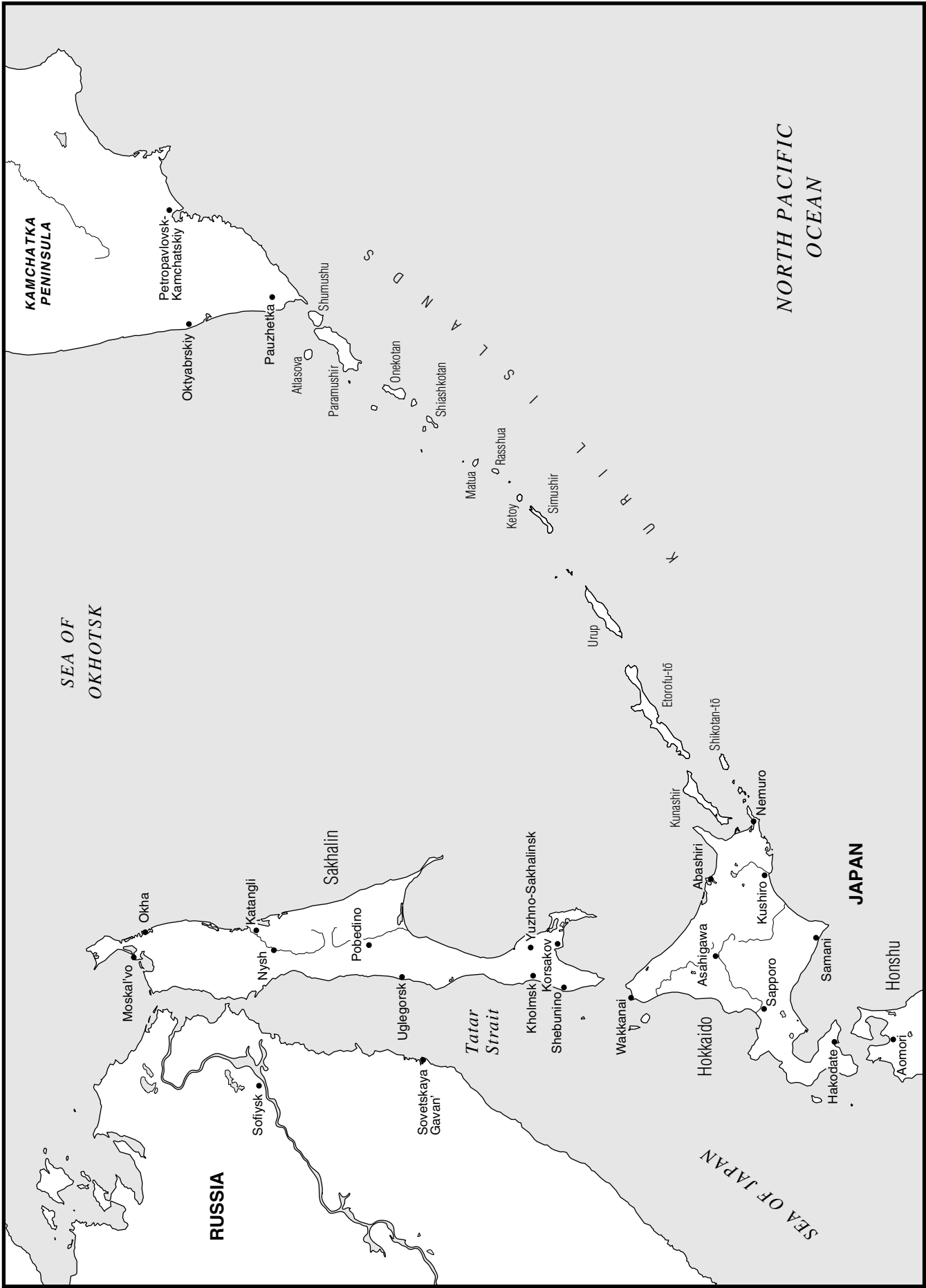
MAP 3 Minority peoples of China.



MAP 4 Japan.

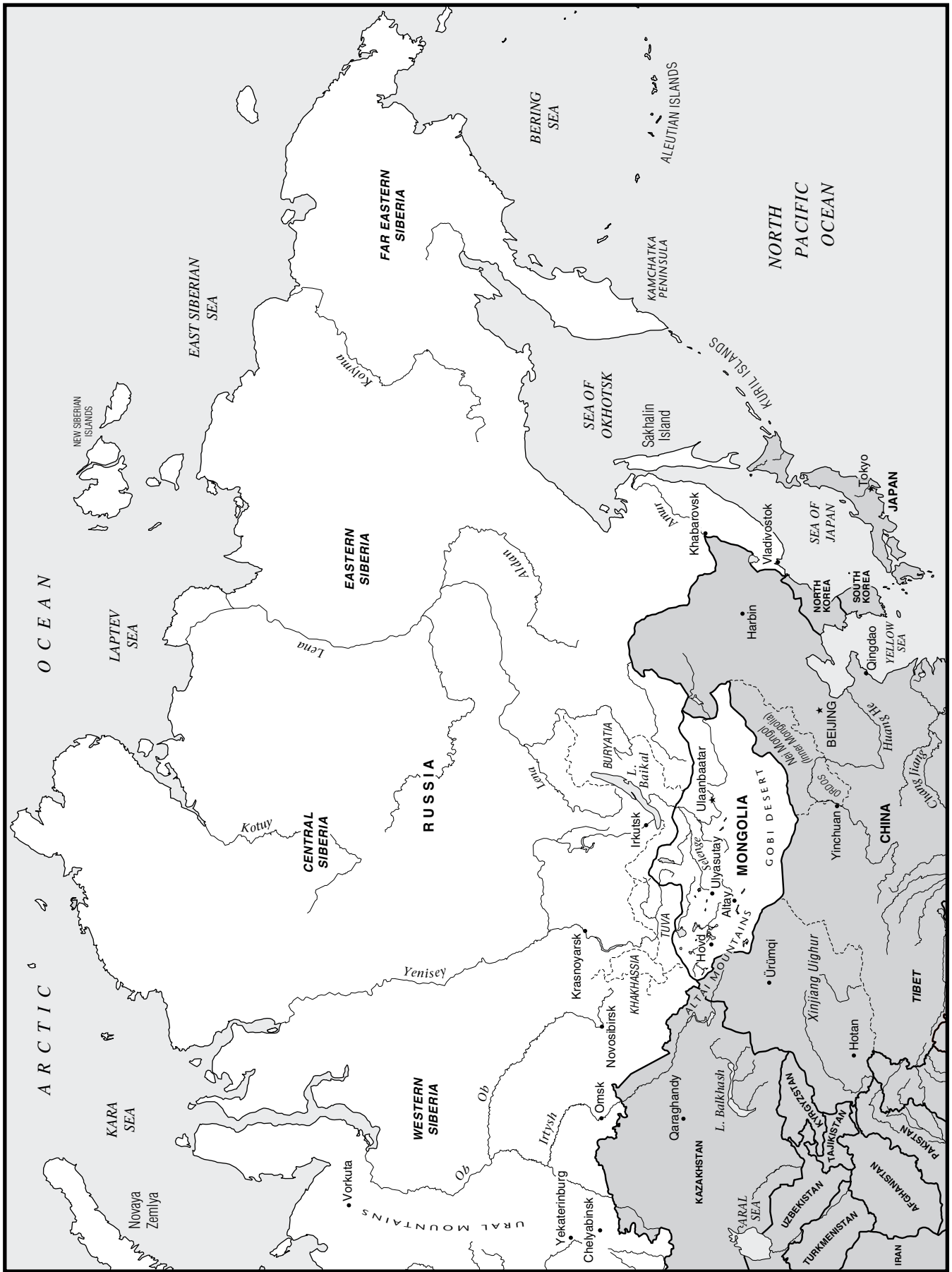


MAP 5 Ryūkyū Islands.



MAP 6 The Ainu people.





MAP 8 Inner Asia.



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The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music
Volume 7

East Asia:
China, Japan,
and Korea



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Part 1

An Introduction to East Asian Musics and Cultures

This volume on East Asia covers China, Japan, Korea, and Inner Asia—Mongolia and Siberia. The region is vast in terms of time as well as space: the chronology in the opening article shows that time in this context can be measured not merely in centuries but in millennia. The music that has developed in such an immense area over such a long span of time is widely diverse, as, of course, are the people who have created it. Music makers in East Asia include emperors, beggars, scholars, farmers, warriors, concubines, wandering monks, fishermen, shamans, actors and actresses, revolutionaries, civil servants, herders, priests, and rock stars. Their musical instruments include those fashioned from bone and stone in prehistory and those devised by sophisticated avant-garde composers of our own time, seeking new sounds and new effects. Contexts of musical creativity and performance include palaces, teahouses, fields and waterways, city streets, private homes, theaters, concert halls, and stadiums.

The two essays in Part 1, although they can only begin to suggest the depth and breadth of this subject, will be a useful starting place for the reader. The first article profiles the region and its musics; the second explores the very significant topic of cultural interactions.

Musicians playing at the emperor's court.
Chinese art. Photo by A.K.G., Berlin/
Superstock.



A Profile of East Asian Musics and Cultures

J. Lawrence WITZLEBEN

Centralization and Regionalism: Urban and Rural Traditions

Classical, Folk, and Popular Music

Sound and Ideas

Oral and Written Traditions

Musical Instruments

Music and Theater

Transnationalism

Acculturation and Western Influences

CENTRALIZATION AND REGIONALISM: URBAN AND RURAL TRADITIONS

Although some scholars have described East Asian societies and their musics in terms of a polarity between “great” traditions (centralized, urban, official, orthodox) and “little” traditions (regionally varied, rural, unofficial, heterodox), there is actually a continuum rather than a sharp division between the national and the regional, and interchange between centers and the periphery has shaped much of the history of East Asian music. Musical regions have developed in conjunction with linguistic dialects.

CLASSICAL, FOLK, AND POPULAR MUSIC

While most English-speakers have a sense of distinction among the terms *classical*, *folk*, and *popular music*, their exact definitions and lines of demarcation are somewhat ambiguous, and in East Asia the situation is even more complex. In East Asia, although some classical music (as in the West) is old, precisely written down, and performed by professional specialists, the tradition of the scholar-amateur who performs for self-cultivation is also widespread, and new dynasties often developed their own new or reconstructed “classical” music to supersede that of the outgoing regime. In modern times, the term “popular music” is associated with the mass media, but for centuries before the advent of radio, television, films, and recordings, a variety of singers, storytellers, and actors provided popular entertainment for the masses. Music in the courts and among the literati has constantly borrowed from folk and popular traditions; in a similar manner, many modern concertized traditions are based on music (and dance) originally performed as entertainment in villages or teahouses, or in ritual contexts such as weddings, funerals, and religious or shamanistic ceremonies.

SOUND AND IDEAS

In many types of East Asian instrumental and vocal music, a great deal of attention is lavished on the production of individual sounds: a single “note” may have subtle and complex changes in pitch, timbre, and volume. Musicians and scholars have developed a large vocabulary for these nuances, which are only hinted at in English terms like *ornament* or *vibrato*. However, many musical phenomena and techniques are so obvious to musicians that they have no special name: for example, the standard downward plucking stroke for the Japanese *syamisen* ‘samisen’ or the diver-

	CHINA	KOREA	JAPAN
	ANTIQUITY		
B.C.E. 1200	Xia 21st to 16th century		
	Shang c. 1600–1045		
1100	Zhou 1045–256		
1000			
900			
800			
700	Spring and Autumn 770–476		ANTIQUITY Zyōmon to c. 200
600			
500			
400	Warring States 475–221		
300	DYNASTIES OF IMPERIAL CHINA		
200	Qin 221–206		Yayoi c. 200 B.C.E.–250 C.E.
100	Han 202 B.C.E.–220 C.E.		
C.E. 0			
100			
200	Three Kingdoms 220–280		
300	Jin 265–420	THREE KINGDOMS	Kohun Culture c. 300–400
400	Northern and Southern Dynasties 420–589	Koguryō ?–668	
500		Paekche ?–660	
600		Silla ?–668	IMPERIAL PERIOD
700	Sui 581–618		Asuka c. 550–710
800	Tang 618–907	DYNASTIES OF ROYAL KOREA	
900		Unified Silla 668–935	Nara 710–794
1000			Heian 794–1192
1100	Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms 902–979	Koryō 918–1392	
1200	Liao (Qidan [Khitan]) 916–1125		
1300	Song 960–1279		
1400	Northern Song 960–1127		
1500	Southern Song 1127–1279		MEDIEVAL PERIOD
1600	Jin (Nüzhēn [Jurchen]) 1115–1234		Kamakura 1192–1333
1700	Yuan (Mongol) 1279–1368		
1800	Ming 1368–1644		Muromachi 1334–1573
1900		Chosŏn 1392–1910	
2000	Qing (Manchu) 1644–1911		PREMODERN PERIOD
			Azuchi–Momoyama 1573–1610
			Edo 1600–1867
	MODERN CHINA	MODERN KOREA	MODERN JAPAN
	Republic of China 1911–	Japanese colonial period 1910–1945	Meiji 1868–1912
	People's Republic of China 1949–	Republic of Korea (South) 1948–	Taiyō 1912–1926
		Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North) 1948–	Syōwa 1926–1989
			Heisei 1989–

FIGURE 1 Chronology of East Asian history.

gence among melodic lines in Chinese ensemble music that Western scholars call “heterophony.”

Natural sounds such as audible breath in playing a bamboo flute or fingers sliding along strings are often integral to East Asian music. A close connection with nature is also exemplified by the idea of program music: an instrumental piece may refer to a historical event or legend, a poem or novel, a scenic locale, a season, a bird, or a flower. Particularly in musical theater, sounds may clearly represent things that are not seen onstage, some as obvious as a rooster’s crow or horses’ hooves, others understood only by those familiar with the conventions of a particular genre.

The organization of music varies enormously, but in many parts of East Asia, long multisection musical forms have developed. These may be instrumental (Korean *sanjo* or *Yongsan hoesang*, Chinese *xianshiyue* and *Jiangnan sizhu*), vocal (Chinese *nanquan*), a combination of instrumental and vocal sections (Japanese *nagauta* and *sankyoku*), or a mixture of singing and heightened speech (Chinese opera; Korean *p’ansori*). In Xinjiang, the “twelve *muqam*” (*mukam*, *mukamu*) of the Uighur (Uygur) people are long, suite-like forms that also incorporate dance segments.

ORAL AND WRITTEN TRADITIONS

Although some of the oldest surviving examples of musical notation in the world can be found in China, Japan, and Korea, the nature and purpose of written music in these civilizations have often been rather different from those of their Western counterparts. In many cases, melodies are given in skeletal form, with details of ornamentation and technique to be learned aurally, realized in performance, or both. In other cases (most famously in the music for the *qin* zither of China), finger techniques are written with great precision, while rhythms are a function of the player’s memory or imagination. Even in the most refined or carefully notated traditions, aural learning has had a central role, and a wide variety of mnemonic systems have evolved. Although these systems are sometimes written down, they function primarily as a tool for oral teaching, learning, and remembering, with syllables representing everything from court melodies to strokes and combinations for percussion instruments. Improvisation often has a role at a relatively “micro” level, with basic melodies and structures fixed while considerable freedom is allowed in the individual player’s ornamentation and nuances. In the *sanjo* music of Korea, clear, consistent, recognized melodic and rhythmic structures pass from teachers to students, but each player is expected to exercise great individuality in ornamentation and nuance.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Perhaps the strongest case for treating China, Japan, and Korea as a musical region can be made in the related musical instrument types found in the three countries. Long zithers with movable bridges, bowed lutes, transverse and end-blown bamboo flutes, and cylindrical double-reeds are shared by all three countries. Other instrument types are prominent in both China and Japan (three-stringed and four-stringed plucked lutes) or China and Korea (conical double-reed, two-stringed bowed lutes), while still others (such as the bowed zither in Korea and Okinawa) are preserved in one country but are no longer played elsewhere.

Percussion instruments in East Asia tend to be rather specific to individual cultures and to genres within a culture. Virtuoso playing is featured in the music of Korean farmers’ bands and in *samul nori*, Japanese *taiko* drumming, and Chinese *shifan* music; but more often than not, percussion in East Asia functions as articulation or punctuation of phrases, establishing a metrical framework, marking the location of primary and secondary beats, or in other ways having a role secondary to that of the melodic instruments. However, even when overshadowed by voices or melodic instruments, percussion may have an essential role for both performers and audiences: Korean *sanjo*

and many types of Chinese opera would be almost unperformable without percussion instruments. Drums, gongs, cymbals, and other percussion instruments come in a seemingly endless variety of sizes and shapes, and many instruments are used only for a specific type of music, such as the wooden tiger and percussion box, originally played in Chinese court music and still featured in Korean court music.

MUSIC AND THEATER

The relationship between music and theater is extremely important in East Asia, but manifestations of musical theatricality are very diverse, both among and within the countries of this region. In Chinese “opera” (*xiqu*) and Japanese *kabuki*, elaborately costumed and made-up actors and actresses present a multimedia *Gesamtkunstwerk*. In contrast, narrative genres such as Korean *p’ansori* and Chinese *shuochang* are almost minimalist, with sparse instrumentation and a single vocalist representing a multitude of characters. Masked dance and puppet theater are also widespread. In both human and puppet theater, stock characters are common, and an educated audience member will immediately know much about an unfamiliar character through the costume, the makeup, and the style of speaking and singing. Intertextuality is common, with certain pieces or phrases referring to other plays or even to other genres.

TRANSNATIONALISM

While a geographically focused work may give the appearance of a discrete group of countries with a shared present and past, many of the musics and peoples discussed in this volume have close links with those in neighboring—or, sometimes, distant—lands. The musics of the Han Chinese have obvious links to those of Japan and Korea, but ethnic groups such as the Uighurs and Kazakhs share a culture with their counterparts in the former Soviet republics. The mainland Southeast Asian counterparts of the Miao people of Yunnan are known as Hmong, and Tibetan culture extends into Nepal, Bhutan, and India. Over the past few centuries, East Asians have migrated throughout the world. Many of the same traditions discussed in this volume are practiced or have been adapted by the East Asian diaspora in Southeast Asia, Oceania, and the Americas, including notable examples such as the Chinese in Singapore and Thailand and the Japanese in Hawaii and South America.

Both within and beyond East Asia, many ethnic groups have been divided among countries or regions with vastly different political and cultural systems, and this fact has interesting implications for musical developments. The differences between North and South Korea and between the Central Asian peoples in China and their counterparts in the newly independent former Soviet republics are only the most obvious examples. In 1997, Hong Kong was politically reunited with the Chinese mainland, but its musical culture continues to develop in ways of its own, and musical developments in Taiwan have been equally distinct. In different ways, the musics of the Korean minority in China’s northeast contrast with the majority cultures in both North and South Korea.

ACCULTURATION AND WESTERN INFLUENCES

For several millennia, goods and ideas, including musical instruments and concepts about music, have flowed back and forth along the Silk Road linking West, Central, and East Asia, as well as along the borders between China and the Indian subcontinent, the Tibetan plateau, the Korean peninsula, and mainland Southeast Asia, and across the seas from and to India, island Southeast Asia, Japan, and—more recently—the Americas and Europe. During the Tang dynasty (618–907 C.E.; figure 1), musics from present-day Burma, India, Mongolia, Tibet, Xinjiang, and Iran could be heard in the imperial courts of China, and some of these were passed on in turn to Korea and Japan.

Western music and music education have had a profound influence on much of Asia, but in contrast with places such as Indonesia and India, the concept of the symphony orchestra has made a relatively deep impact on China, Japan, and Korea. Large ensembles combining string, wind, and percussion instruments have long been an important part of East Asian musical cultures, and perhaps because of this, not only have local symphony orchestras been enthusiastically promoted and received, but indigenous symphonized ensembles of Asian instruments playing from written parts and coordinated by a conductor with a baton have, especially in China, become central to the development of a modern national music.

In this volume, we will explore these themes in more detail with reference to individual musical traditions in East Asia. It is important to note that—sometimes in contrast to the emphasis on innovation in Western cultures—the peoples of East Asia have tended to have great respect for their heritage from the past. Much attention is often paid to finding ways to keep the music of the past alive in the present. Reverence for the ancient is sometimes associated with Confucianism, but we can also suggest that Confucianism itself is one manifestation of deep-seated values that have helped to shape the musics and societies of East Asia.



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Cultural Interactions in East and Inner Asia

Evelyn S. RAWSKI

Inner Asia

East Asia

Languages of East Asia and Inner Asia

Religious Exchanges between East Asia and Inner Asia

The Export of Chinese Culture to Korea and Japan

Nomads versus Peasants

Cultural Syntheses under Non-Han Rule

The breakdown of the Soviet Union in recent years has enhanced our knowledge of significant cultural interactions among the peoples who have inhabited East Asia and the part of the Eurasian continent that is called Inner Asia. East Asia, defined as the territory occupied by the modern nation-states of Japan, Korea, and China, also includes the Ryukyu Islands and Taiwan. Whereas much of East Asia is coastal, China and Russia control territories that are situated in Inner Asia (figure 1). Inner Asia stretches westward to the Carpathian Mountains of Eastern Europe, and from the Arctic Ocean southward to the Himalayas: as Denis Sinor notes, when one subtracts the sedentary agricultural economies of Europe, the Middle East, India, Southeast Asia, and East Asia, what is left behind is “the central part of the Eurasian continent,” Central Eurasia or Inner Asia (Sinor 1990:2). Because East and Inner Asia are two rather distinct regions, with somewhat separate though mutually interacting histories, we will deal with each as a separate unit before considering their cultural interactions.

INNER ASIA

Geography and climate

Although the frontiers of Inner Asia have fluctuated historically in response to shifting political fortunes, their most fundamental determinants have been climate and geography. Inner Asia is a region unified by distance from the sea, a continental climate, and a shortage of rainfall (Adshead 1993:7). Most of the land is isolated from maritime routes, with major river systems flowing either into the icebound Arctic Ocean or into landlocked seas and lakes such as the Caspian Sea, the Aral Sea, Lake Baikal, and Lake Balkhash. In its northernmost latitudes lies the frozen tundra, a bitterly cold wasteland suited only to herding and hunting reindeer. Further south, the tundra gives way to dense Siberian forests of spruce, fir, pine, and larch, where permafrost confines overland travel to the cold season. The economy of the forest or taiga is dominated by reindeer herding and hunting. Further south are the grasslands, fertile soils whose suitability for cultivation depends on rainfall. In the European and Manchurian grasslands, which may get an average of 20 inches (about 50 centimeters) of rainfall a year, agriculture is an alternative to nomadic pastoralism; but the Mongolian and Xinjiang steppes, which get half the rainfall, are mostly hostile to sedentary agriculture and have been at least since the Neolithic period.

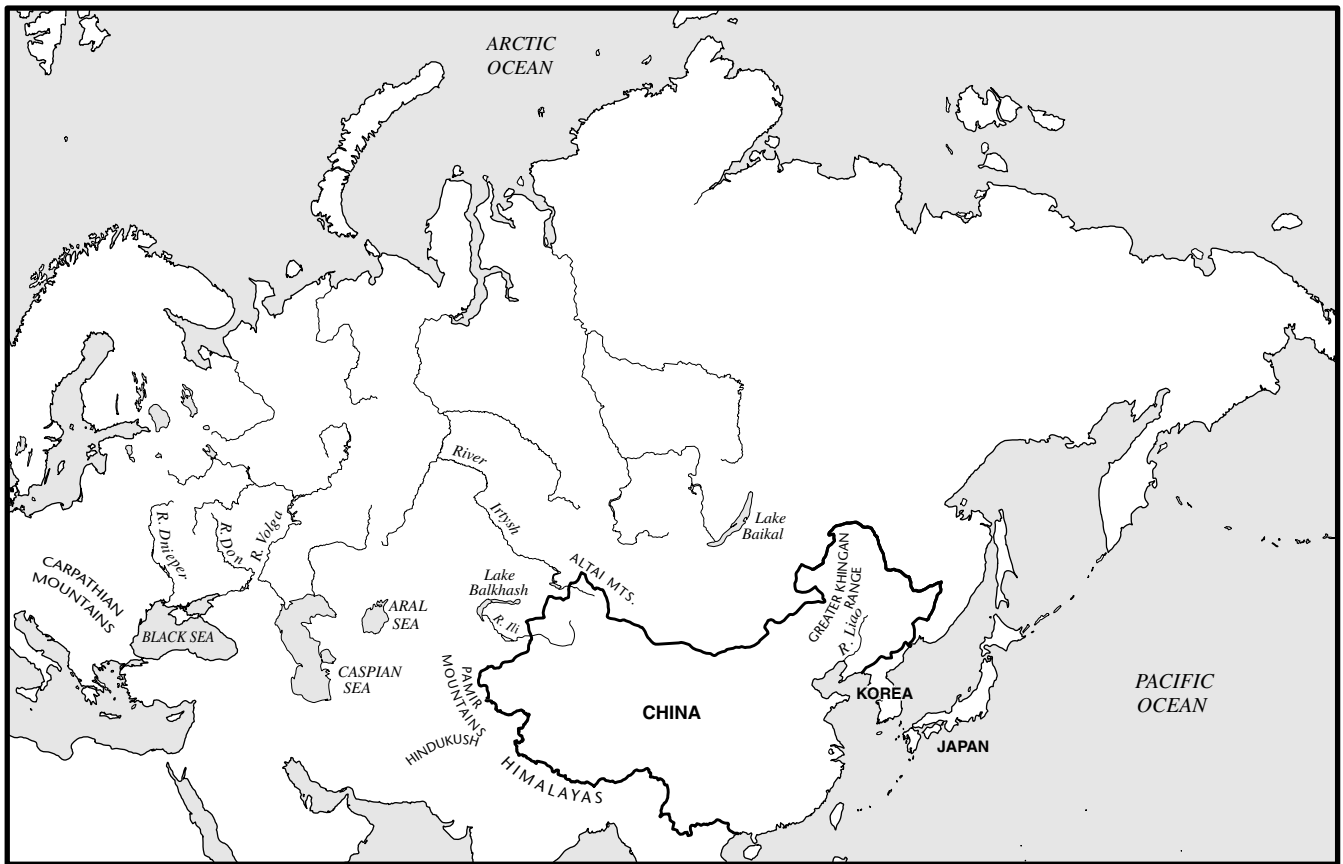


FIGURE 1 Inner Asia.

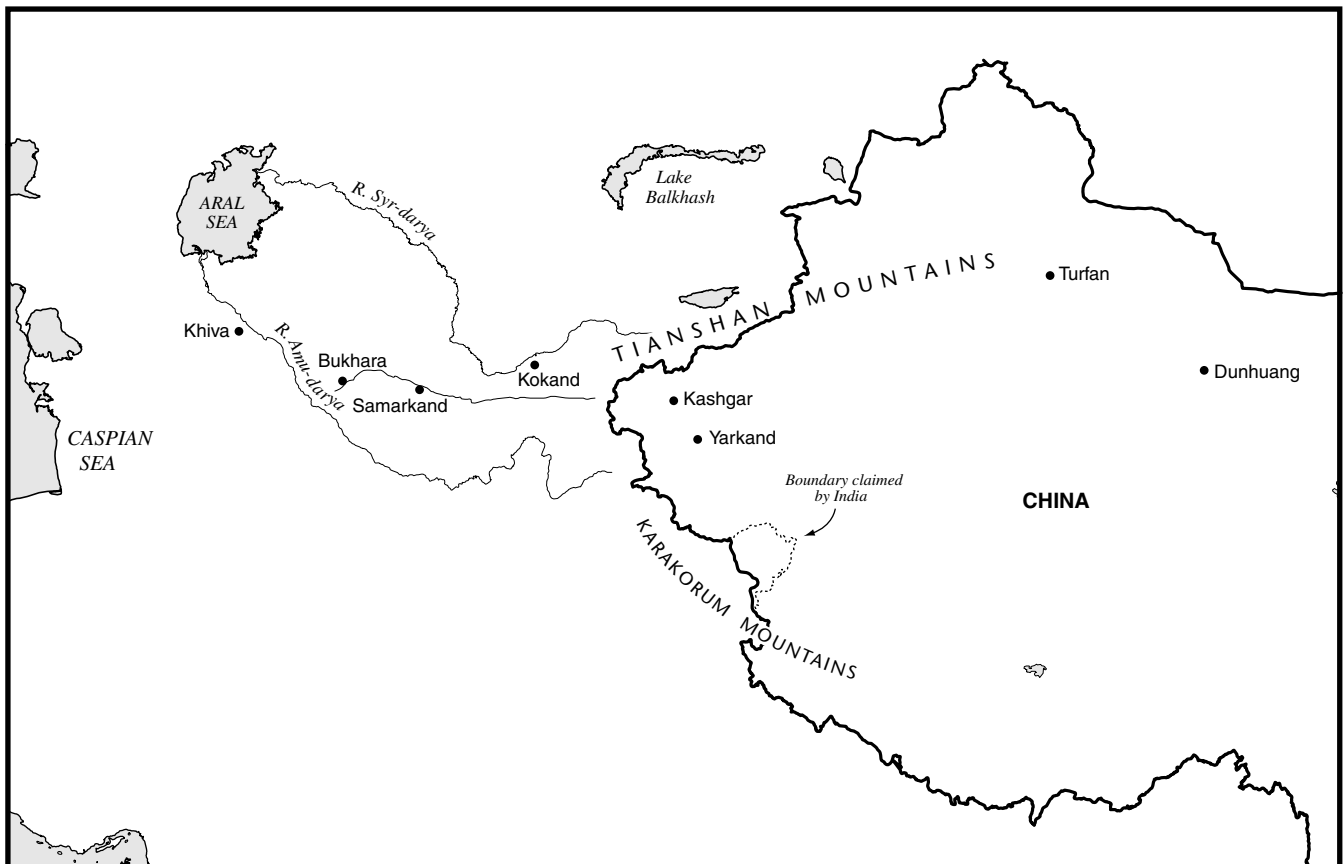


FIGURE 2 Central Asia.

Cut off from India and Tibet by the Hindu Kush and the Pamirs to the south, Inner Asia is internally divided by mountains. From the Carpathians, grasslands stretch north of the Black Sea across the Dnieper, Don, and Volga rivers eastward to the drainage of the Irtysh River north of Lake Balkash and thence to the foothills of the Altai Mountains. This vast steppe is divided into several subregions. Its eastern half, higher in elevation, extends into the present-day People's Republic of Mongolia. On the north and northeast the Mongolian steppe meets the Siberian forests; on the south it abuts the Great Wall of China. Most favored by nature is Semirechie 'the land of seven rivers', in the present Republic of Kazakhstan. Its seven rivers flow into Lake Balkhash; its grasslands extend eastward into the Ili River valley and westward to the Volga. Semirechie's rainfall is sufficient for agriculture as well as nomadic pastoralism. Next to Semirechie in importance and lying to its north are the Dzungarian pasturelands, with the Irtysh River flowing through the territory. The most arid grassland is located to its west, in present-day Kazakhstan. South of the Kazakh steppe lies the region, embedded within Inner Asia, that is called Central Asia, and sometimes Turkistan (figure 2). In its western extremities (called Transoxiana), Central Asia includes the drainage of the Amu Darya, or Oxus, and the Syr Darya, or Jaxartes, which flow into the Aral Sea. Central Asia stretches eastward to the Hindu Kush in what is now part of Afghanistan, and northeastward to the Karakoram range and the Tian Shan, which encompass the Tarim Basin, located in today's Xinjiang Province in the People's Republic of China. Extremely arid and incorporating desert areas, Central Asia had an economy that depended on its oasis towns, such as Samarkand, Bukhara, Khiva, Kokand, Kashi (Kashgar), Yarkand, and Turpan (Turfan), which played an important role in long-distance and local trade, linking Europe to China and the nomads to the great sedentary civilizations of East and West.

The easternmost part of Inner Asia consists of another steppe, separated from the Mongolian steppe by the Khinghan Mountains in the north and the Jehol Mountains to the south. The territory now occupied by Liaoning, Jilin, and Heilongjiang provinces is composed of agricultural lands in the Liao River drainage and a steppe in western Liaoning and Jilin provinces suited to nomadic pastoralism. Much of Heilongjiang and the land north of it is taiga, blending into Arctic tundra. On its southern borders lie the more equable coastal maritime regions of the Korean peninsula and the Japanese islands. South of the Great Wall lies China, a vast expanse of land with great variation in land forms and climate.

Development of culture in Inner Asia

Inner Asia was inhabited by many different peoples over the centuries. Archaeological evidence suggests that Europoid hunters roamed over its territories during the Paleolithic period: toolmaking techniques and cave art found in the southern Gobi and eastern Mongolia resemble those found in Europe. As the melting of the glaciers uncovered the taiga, mammoths disappeared, and to the reindeer was added new fauna: elk, roe deer, and red deer. According to A. P. Okladnikov (in Sinor 1990:41–96), the great local cultures of Inner Asia developed in the Neolithic, when the Siberian forests stretching from the Urals eastward to the Yenisey River were populated by semisedentary or sedentary tribes of fisher-hunters, whose myths and ornamental motifs replicated those of tribes living in Eastern Europe. The forefathers of the Tungus tribes were already leading migratory lives as fisher-hunters in the vast lands extending eastward from the Yenisey to Lake Baikal. From Lake Baikal east to the drainage of the Lena River, agriculture was practiced and seems to have been accompanied by the development of livestock breeding.

Archaeological artifacts indicate that the Amur drainage and coastal lands had a distinctive cultural history as early as the Paleolithic period, with links to the preceramic cultures of Japan, the Korean peninsula, and Alaska. The salmon-rich Amur and

its tributaries permitted sedentary fishing settlements, which also pursued agriculture and cattle breeding. Neolithic artifacts show “unexpectedly strong ties” with contemporary inhabitants of north Siberia such as the Nanays and the Ulchas (Okladnikov, in Sinor 1990:77).

Europoid peoples continued to live in western and southern Siberia into the Bronze Age, when they were cattle breeders and metal workers. During the second millennium B.C.E., the western and central portions of Central Asia were occupied by tribes who had migrated southward from the steppes. The livelihood of these peoples was based on a mixture of stock raising and agriculture. Cattle were the most important domesticated animals, although one-third of the livestock were probably horses. Over time, as a type of fine-wooled sheep that could forage in winter beneath the snow cover was developed, the proportion of horses and sheep increased. Changes in the composition of herds led to the appearance of seasonal transhumance (Masson 1992).

Whereas western Siberia experienced a succession of waves of in-migration, eastern Siberia and Mongolia had a much more stable population history. In Mongolia and around Lake Baikal, the precursor of the nomadic way of life was emerging, stimulated by the invention of the bronze bit, the felt tent, the hooded cart, and a complex dairy cuisine (Okladnikov, in Sinor 1990:94–95). It is possible that the lower temperatures, decreasing rainfall, and shorter growing season occurring in the eastern part of the Inner Asian steppes after the Neolithic period helped promote these shifts (di Cosmo 1994). Shortage of rainfall, or highly variable rainfall, meant that most land in Inner Asia was ill suited to sedentary agriculture. Instead, oases developed in the localities that did have access through irrigation or wells to melted snow or river water. Elsewhere, people chose the pastoral alternative: to follow water wherever it could be found, in the form of pasture for horses, cattle, sheep, and goats. Those who lived in the best-endowed parts of the steppe migrated with their herds from summer to winter pastures; in other, more arid areas, nomads developed complex cycles of movement that might take them on journeys of 500 or even 1,000 miles (about 800 to 1,600 kilometers) in the course of a year.

Scholars of nomadic societies have long recognized the error in thinking of nomads as actors in a self-sufficient economy. From ancient times into the present, nomads have had a symbiotic relationship with those who live in permanent agricultural settlements. Nomads relied on trade or its coercive component, looting, for the grain they consumed. Purchasing iron tools and weapons, textiles, and tea, the nomads also produced goods that were desired by their sedentary neighbors. The nomads’ horses were recognized as superior in quality and were in great demand. Central Asia was also the source of turquoise, jade, and lapis lazuli, stones which were prized by Asians and which became items of long-distance trade.

Recent archaeological findings in Mongolia, Siberia, and Central Asia have modified the stereotype of nomads as having no agriculture. The wide distribution of ancient settlements indicates that agriculture existed throughout the steppe in the Bronze and Iron ages, when the climate may have been both warmer and more moist. From northeast Asia westward to the lands around Lake Baikal, and down to the Tarim basin in present-day Xinjiang Province, there is evidence of farm implements, domesticated animals, and fortified settlements associated with farming (di Cosmo 1994). Even after mounted pastoral nomadism became dominant, pockets of agriculture remained within the nomadic territories, sources of cereals for the pastoral peoples.

The nomadic world was thus composed not only of peoples pursuing pastoral nomadism but also of agricultural settlements and trading centers that supplied foods and goods to the nomads. Different types of agriculture coexisted with nomadism “in a symbiotic, interdependent, socioeconomic system” (di Cosmo 1994:1115). Moreover, the discovery that metallurgy and ceramic technology were known and practiced

among Central Asian nomads in the Ili region blurs the traditional boundaries that were believed to differentiate the agrarian cultures from their nomadic counterparts.

Nomadic empires of the steppe

Nomadic pastoralism seems to become fully formed as a steppe way of life in the beginning of the first millennium B.C.E. By the late eighth or seventh century B.C.E., many tribes in northern Central Asia were nomads. This transition to nomadism was “comparable in its economic, cultural, and political consequences with the so-called urban revolution in the settled oases of the southern regions” (Askarov et al. 1992:470). The great nomadic empires that began with the Scythians (seventh to third centuries B.C.E.) were based on the horse. Although the horse probably originated in Eastern Europe (Masson 1992), it is easily bred on the steppe. Horses were the most important form of wealth for nomads and were a product much in demand in the sedentary agricultural societies with whom the nomads traded. As Rudi Lindner (1981) has pointed out, nomadic pastoralism in and of itself does not require horses. Horses, however, permitted nomadic pastoralists to take up an alternative mode of survival—predation. The horse gave nomads the ability to choose the site of battle, to ambush an opponent, and to escape to the steppe where they could not easily be found. Nomadic warriors were able to take into the battle a large number of remounts: Sinor estimates from three to eighteen per warrior (1990:8).

Nomadic predation rested on several technological advances. Although the invention of the bit was important, it was the addition of the bridle and the stirrup that enabled nomads to become mounted archers and nomadic armies to sweep through Europe and China. The stirrup enabled riders to use the knees to control the horse, drop the reins, and devote their attention to shooting. Yet another invention that gave nomads a competitive edge, at least in Europe, was the Asian reverse or composite bow (Keegan 1993; Sokol 1994). The reverse bow may have been invented in China; it was later adopted by the Scythians. It was significantly more powerful than the European simple bow. The reverse bow attains extra force because it is curved in the direction opposite to its pull—an application of the principle of reversibility. Unlike the English longbow, the composite bow was short enough to be used on horseback. The arrow used with the composite bow was also lighter, enabling a mounted warrior to carry up to fifty arrows in his quiver. Accurate up to at least three hundred yards, the composite bow was capable of piercing armor at a hundred yards (about 130 meters). This bow was a major factor in the success of the nomadic warriors.

Nomadic empires that would dominate Inner Asia's eastern borders were based on control of a few locales favored with the resources (including ample water) that allowed agriculture. Because nomad leaders competing to unify the steppe tribes required grain and weapons, accessible only from sedentary communities, they tried to occupy these critical localities and deny them to their rivals (Waldron 1990:62). Waldron identifies four such strategic “base areas.” Two lay within the territories that were normally controlled by nomads: the Orkhon River valley in eastern Mongolia, and the Tarim basin in eastern Turkestan. A third was normally inhabited by agriculturalists: this was the Liao River valley in northeast Asia. The fourth, the Ordos, the area under the loop of the Yellow River, consists partly of desert, partly of grassland, and partly of lands with sufficient water for agriculture. A frontier between steppe and sown land, the Ordos was historically a battleground where Chinese and nomads fought for control.

The earliest nomads were of Indo-Iranian stock. The Scythians and Sarmatians, who inhabited the steppe north of the Black Sea from the late seventh century B.C.E. to the fourth century C.E., were Iranian-speaking nomads. The nature of their writing suggests that the Tocharians, known as Yuezhi to the Chinese, were Indo-European in origin. The Tocharians lived in the oases towns of Turpan, Karashar, and Kucha;

other Indo-European peoples, the Sogdians, inhabited the oases of Bukhara and Samarkand and helped transmit Buddhism in Inner Asia. The Sakas, a people of Iranian stock, occupied and perhaps founded the oasis towns of Kashi, Yarkand, and Hotan (Khotan), important links in the overland trade between Europe and China. Later, in the first centuries of the Christian era, the Indo-Iranian peoples were supplanted in Inner Asia by Turkic- and Mongolian-speakers, but nomadic pastoralism and its alternative, predation, continued to dominate the steppe economy. By that time, the peoples inhabiting areas of Asia favored with heavier rainfall and milder temperatures evolved an alternative way of life based on sedentary agriculture.

Turkic-speakers began to supplant Indo-Europeans and Indo-Iranians in Inner Asia from the beginning of the Christian era. The first Turkic empire was founded in the sixth century by metal workers who had sought refuge in the Altai. According to Denis Sinor (1990:295), "The Gold Mountain where they worked had the shape of a helmet which in their language was called *türk*." The Türk empire lasted from 552 to 744, and at its peak it extended from the Chinese borders to the Byzantine Empire. The last kaghan of the Eastern Türks was defeated in 742 by a coalition led by Uighurs. These people emerged in the Mongol steppe and created an empire that lasted for about a century (Mackerras, in Sinor 1990:317–342).

The importance of the nomadic empires for East Asia lay in their trade and information networks that spanned the steppes to touch the sedentary civilizations of India, the Middle East, and Europe. The Türks acted as middlemen between the Greek, Indian, Iranian, and Chinese cultural worlds. Their successors the Uighurs were in close touch with both the Chinese and Sogdians from western Central Asia. Many Uighur kaghans had Chinese wives, and the kaghans allied themselves with the Tang court. These alliances helped them link up with the overland trade from western Central Asia to obtain revenues from trade through annual "embassies" to the Tang capital. And the nomadic empires that succeeded the Uighurs performed the same functions.

The nomad and Chinese worlds met at several points. One of the most important was Dunhuang, a town at the western end of the Gansu corridor, which stretches from the edge of the desert to the loess plateaus of the Yellow River valley. The corridor is bordered to its north and south by mountains, sometimes less than 50 miles (80 kilometers) apart (Mair 1989). Dunhuang was founded in 91 B.C.E., after the Han defeat of the Xiongnu (119 B.C.E.). The Great Wall extended to Dunhuang, ending about 50 miles west of the town in a fortress known as the Jade Gate. Beyond the Jade Gate lay the caravan routes through eastern Turkestan, and thence across the desert to Persia, India, and Europe. Although Dunhuang was the Chinese forward point for the Han thrust into Central Asia, it was not always Chinese territory. Before 91 B.C.E. it had been held by the Tocharians, an Indo-European people; from 781 to 850 it was controlled by the Tibetans; and from 1035 into the thirteenth century it was controlled by the Tanguts. Until at least the second half of the fourteenth century, the overland trade routes through the corridor were extremely important, and Dunhuang was an active entrepôt for the silk trade (Strickmann 1982).

EAST ASIA

Geography and climate

The part of the Asian continent occupied by China is separated on its northwest from the Mongolian steppe by the Gobi Desert and the Ordos and on its east by the Greater Khingan Range. The Ordos, lying in the upward bend of the Yellow River, was traditionally a transitional zone between nomadic pastoralism and sedentary agriculture. To its west, the Gansu corridor linked the Wei River valley to the Tarim basin in Central Asia. Mountain ranges and high plateaus shield western China from Central

Asia and extend from China's northwest to its southwestern border with Vietnam. The northern demarcation between Inner Asia and China begins with the Ordos Desert and stretches eastward to the Taihang Mountains. This mountain range acts as a western boundary for the North China or Central Plain, which runs to the sea. Loess, an extremely fine yellow silt, is an important feature of the landscape of the middle reaches of the Yellow River. The Yellow Sea basin begins at the Shanghai delta and stretches northward along the coast to the deltas of the Yellow and Liao rivers, then follows the western coastline of the Korean peninsula. The Manchurian plain, which opens up from the Gulf of Bohai, is dominated by the Liao River in the south and the drainage of the Sungari River in the north. Although the Changbai Mountains partially bar passage between the Manchurian plain and the Korean peninsula, they have not prevented cultural movement from northeastern Asia southward.

China has a wide range of temperatures and rainfall. In terms of agriculture, it can be divided in half by a line drawn from the Qinling Mountains eastward to the Huai River, which flows into the Yellow Sea. To the north of this line, the rainfall permits dryland cultivation: millet and, later, wheat have been important staple crops. South of the line, longer growing seasons and ample rainfall encouraged wet rice cultivation.

The land that became Korea occupies a large peninsula separated from the continent of Asia by the Yellow Sea. Its northern regions share the natural environment of the Liao River drainage, its southern half the climate of Japan. Although continental in nature, Korea's climate was milder because it was surrounded by water on three sides. Even in the winter, alternations in the flow of the monsoon winds brought warm as well as cold days, while the summers were humid and warm. Most of the peninsula is mountainous and covered with forest. There are many short river systems (as in Japan), and the river valleys are suited to agriculture. The peninsula was an easy distance (less than about 125 miles, or 200 kilometers) from the Shandong peninsula of China, and the distance from southeast Korea to Kyushu in the Japanese islands was even shorter.

The Japanese islands of Kyushu, Shikoku, Honshu, and Hokkaido lie on the edge of the Asian continent. The region has volcanoes and is extremely mountainous, and less than a fifth of the land is level enough for cultivation. The climate is temperate, and there is abundant rainfall, so that rice could be cultivated through most of the islands. Initially, Japan must have been heavily forested.

Cultural development in East Asia

The earliest human skeletal remains found in East Asia seem to go back to the Late Pleistocene period, and in the Korean peninsula to a period over 30,000 years ago. During this period and earlier ice ages, humans probably also migrated from northern Asia into North America over a land bridge (Barnes 1993). Although human sites of earlier date have been found, scholars hypothesize that the population of Japan swelled during the last glacial age, about 18,000 years ago, when hunters pursuing their prey crossed a land bridge into the Japanese islands. Later, another group entered Japan, perhaps from Southeast Asia. Skeletal remains found in western Japan show that the men and women living there during the Jōmon period (10,000 to 300 B.C.E.) were of a different stock from the people of the Yayoi period (300 B.C.E. to 300 C.E.), and archaeologists have suggested that the latter were immigrants from the Asian continent.

According to Sarah Nelson (1993), recent archaeological discoveries suggest that the people who settled in villages along Korea's east coast during the period 6000–2000 B.C.E. and those who settled southern Japan shared the same culture, while those who lived along the western coast of the Korean peninsula shared a culture with others living to their north in the Liao River basin. From around 2000 B.C.E. new waves of

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migrants entered the Korean peninsula, perhaps from northeastern Asia. Archaeological discoveries indicate commonalities in burial forms and bronze daggers across the Manchurian basin southward into the Korean peninsula. Artifacts of Korean Bronze Age culture dating from the ninth to the fourth centuries B.C.E. strongly resemble those found as far north as the Sungari and Liao River basins, and a similar distribution of pottery forms links Korean sites with sites in present-day Liaoning and Heilongjiang.

Archaeological finds suggest that pottery preceded agriculture in East Asia. The pottery makers in Korea (c. 8000–700 B.C.E.) and Japan (c. 10,000–300 B.C.E.) seem to have grown some crops but were still primarily fishers and gatherers. Even at Chinese sites from a slightly later period—Cishan in north China (sixth millennium B.C.E.), where foxtail millet was grown; and Hemudu (c. 5000 B.C.E.), south of the Yangzi delta, which grew paddy rice—the transition to a sedentary agrarian economy was incomplete. The millet at Cishan was probably indigenous to the locality, but scholars are still debating whether the Hemudu finds indicate an autonomous domestication of *Oryza sativa*, which was domesticated in southern and southeastern Asia. Although the finds also indicate that the pig, dog, water buffalo (in Hemudu), and chicken (Cishan) had been domesticated, both communities still relied for part of their diet on hunting wild animals and collecting wild flora. What was permanent, however, was the geographical specialization of staple crops. Other sites, of slightly later date, repeat the geographical division between northern millet-growing cultures and southern rice-growing cultures exemplified by Cishan and Hemudu.

The transition to sedentary agriculture was achieved at a slightly later date in the Korean peninsula, where the introduction of rice cultivation, probably via an overland route from the Shanghai delta, can be dated to the late second millennium B.C.E. The short-grained variety of *Oryza sativa*, which was more resistant to cold, was the type of rice favored both in the peninsula and in the Japanese islands. In Japan, rice seems to have entered northern Kyushu with migrants from the continent, and diffused gradually, encountering severe resistance from the earlier inhabitants, hunting-gathering groups in northeast Honshu. The ties of the new immigrants with the south Korean peninsula remained strong for at least a millennium, and this network served as a channel for continental culture to enter the islands.

Formation of states

Before the complete emergence of nomadic pastoralism on the steppe, different localities were developing complex political and social structures based on permanent agriculture. The formation of protostates in East Asia follows roughly the same chronology as the emergence and diffusion of agriculture—from the continent to the peninsula and thence to the islands of Japan. Archaeological findings of recent years suggest a major reinterpretation of the origins of what we call Chinese civilization. In sharp contrast to the earlier hypothesis of a single regional origin, there is now evidence of contemporaneous developments of advanced culture during the fourth millennium

B.C.E., emerging in sites scattered over an arc from Hongshan culture in present-day Liaoning Province in the northeast to the Liangzhu culture of the Shanghai delta in the south. Bronze is now thought to have been produced at roughly the same time in a number of communities: the Qijia culture in present-day Gansu Province, the Zhu-kaigou culture in Inner Mongolia, the Lower Xiajiadian culture of the northeast, the Erlitou culture of the Central Plain, and the eastern Yueshi culture (Linduff 1994). The use of jade in rituals, and evidence found in these sites of the formation of states—over a hundred sites from the Neolithic era onward have been excavated in Inner Mongolia alone (Empires 1994)—are also related to the historical existence of societies based on agriculture in areas once thought to be too arid for agriculture.

Hongshan, Dawenkou (in the Shandong peninsula), and Liangzhu displayed evidence of trends toward differentiated statuses, specialized crafts, and public architecture, suggesting that these communities were moving toward complex early states. The appearance of the early Shang state at Erlitou (1750–1530 B.C.E.) must now be placed in a context of competition with rival states, of which some had emerged from a steppe bronze tradition and others from separate regional bronze traditions across a broad territory, from the far west to the east (Barnes 1993).

The territory of the Shang state (1750–1027 B.C.E.) on the Central Plain was probably significantly smaller than the cultural influence it exercised. The Shang kings constituted a royal lineage that presided over a stratified society of nobles, commoners, and slaves. Cities were primarily political and ritual centers, where specialized craftspeople produced piece-molded bronze vessels for sacrificial purposes and to bury with the royal dead. Monumental burials, on a scale far surpassing those of earlier periods, testified to the ability of the rulers to extract resources from their subjects. These trends continued under the Zhou, who conquered the Shang (1027 to c. 400 B.C.E.). It is during the Zhou, in the seventh to fifth centuries B.C.E., that the Central Plain moved from the Bronze into the Iron Age. Perhaps because of the nature of the available ores, the iron produced was almost immediately high-carbon “cast” iron. Steel was also produced very early in China.

The increased power of the rulers over their subjects is evident in shifting modes of warfare. The late Shang and early Zhou kings used the chariot, which was invented in southwest Central Asia, as a “mobile command station” from which to direct battles (Barnes 1993). During the sixth century B.C.E., however, infantry was used more and more frequently, perhaps because the armies of the Central Plain confronted massed infantry attacking from the north. The organization of infantry forces was itself a testimonial to the enhanced control of the rulers over peasants, which was also revealed in the development of taxation. First infantry and then mounted cavalry, adopted in the Central Plain in the fifth century B.C.E., made the chariot obsolete.

The unification of the competing city-states on the Central Plain by Qin in 221 B.C.E. has been hailed by historians as the beginning of a centralized rule that would henceforth characterize China. A distinctive ideology of rule was well developed by 221 B.C.E., even though Confucianism, named after the philosopher Confucius (551–479 B.C.E.), would undergo significant modifications in subsequent periods. Adopted as state doctrine in the second century B.C.E., Confucianism was able to maintain its preeminence with very few exceptions until the early twentieth century. In many ways, Confucianism was a radical doctrine for its time. It provided a political theory—the “mandate of Heaven”—that legitimated a change of ruling house by vesting ultimate authority in a supreme deity, Heaven, and by positing benevolent rule as the prerequisite for Heaven’s mandate. It emphasized education as a vehicle for societal transformation and argued for a hierarchy of rank based on merit rather than birth.

The formation of complex polities in the Korean peninsula comes in the period of the Iron Age on the Central Plain and was probably influenced by the expansion of the state of Yan, which pushed for control of the entire Bo Hai region. The first

historically documented Korean polity was an ally of Yan, named Chosŏn, whose capital was on the site of present-day P'yongyang. Chosŏn was probably one of several rivals for control of the north part of the Korean peninsula. Chosŏn appears in Han dynastic sources in 194 B.C.E. It contested Han supremacy and was vanquished in 108 B.C.E. The Han then established five commanderies in the lower Liaodong peninsula and the northwestern Korean peninsula. One of these commanderies, Lelang, seems to have prospered, at least initially. The creation of Lelang had consequences for the southern half of the Korean peninsula and, through communication links, for northern Kyushu and southern Honshu. We hear first about the kingdom of "Wa"—which many specialists identify as an early protostate in the Japanese islands—through Lelang, where petitions were turned in to be transmitted to the Han court in 57 and 107 C.E. Perhaps Lelang was also a transmission point in the export of Han products southward: Han mirrors, bronze and iron daggers, spear points, and halberds are among the artifacts excavated from burials in Kyushu of the second century C.E.

Bronze and iron objects were imported from Korea by the first century C.E. A shortage of iron motivated attempts by the Japanese to control Korean lands, and the relations of Yamato with the Korean walled city-state of Kaya seem to have been very close. During the Kofun period (280–700), as the process of state building unfolded in the Kinai region of Japan, the Kinai region received many Korean immigrants. They brought skills that the Japanese initially lacked: writing, advanced techniques of governance, weaving, pottery, and metallurgy. Studies of mound tomb clusters in different parts of Kyoto and Nara prefectures suggest a direct link between shifts at the embryonic imperial court and changes in the dominant local lineage, as well as major political transitions in the fifth and early sixth centuries (Barnes 1993; Tsude 1990).

Evidence of an increasingly stratified society on the Korean peninsula can be found in the fourth to eighth centuries, when Koguryŏ, Paekche, and Silla assumed a dominant position among local chiefs of city-states. Like their continental counterparts, members of the ruling elite built impressive tombs, and filled them with precious objects consonant with their elevated status. In the Kinai region of south Honshu, similar political competition among local chieftains climaxed in political unification under the Yamato house in the seventh century C.E.

LANGUAGES OF EAST ASIA AND INNER ASIA

The movement and social interaction of the peoples inhabiting East and Inner Asia can be seen from the languages they speak. Perhaps the largest language group (in terms of spatial distribution) is the Altaic languages, which are spoken over the great territories of Inner Asia, from northeast Asia all the way to Turkey, "the part of the Eurasian continent that . . . lay beyond the civilizations of Europe, the Middle East, India, and China" (Ramsey 1987:173). The early Altaic-speakers were nomadic pastoralists who interacted with these great civilizations, borrowing words from Slavic, Semitic, Iranian, Indic, and Chinese over the long span of history.

The Altaic languages are divided into three subgroups: Turkic, Mongolian, and Tungusic. It is not surprising, when one looks at the map, that Mongolian is the linguistic center of Altaic (Ramsey 1987:178). Mongols have from earliest times lived between Turkic-speakers to their west and Tungus-speakers to their east; it is therefore natural that Mongolian shares many more linguistic features with Turkic and with Tungusic than the latter two language families share with each other. The Turkic languages originated in western and central Mongolia and then expanded westward with the expansion of the Türk empire in the sixth and seventh centuries. Tungusic languages were spoken by peoples in Siberia from the Arctic Ocean down to the northeastern Korean peninsula, and from Sakhalin Island in the Pacific Ocean westward to the Ob River. Northern Tungusic-speakers were reindeer herders, hunters,

and fishermen; southern Tungusic-speakers were able in some areas to shift to sedentary agriculture, but most retained a strong cultural affinity for the hunt.

Attempts to trace the historical movements of Tungusic-speakers suggest a pattern of cyclical north-south migrations ranging from the middle reaches of the Yellow River up to Siberia and southward into the Amur and Liao river basins. Northeastern Asian tribes were in contact with the cultures of their more mobile neighbors, the Mongols, and the sedentary agriculturalists in China and Korea for all of recorded history. Some northeastern Asians became agriculturalists; some adopted the horse-riding culture of the Mongols.

A common northeastern cultural origin may lie behind the structural similarities of Japanese and Korean, which are sometimes identified as a single language family. Some scholars assign both Korean and Japanese to the Altaic group of languages and estimate that the differentiation of the Korean and Japanese languages from a common Altaic stem occurred about 4,000 years ago.

Altaic languages form a northern boundary in the linguistic map of East and Inner Asia. To its south lay the Chinese-speaking peoples, with, on the southwest, the presence of Tibetan. The history of the Chinese language can be traced back to the middle of the second millennium B.C.E., which historians identify as the era of the Shang dynasty. Oracle bone inscriptions from that period and the subsequent Zhou dynasty are “unquestionably ancestral to all later stages of Chinese, including the modern dialects” (Norman 1988:4). Compared with the other languages spoken in Asia, Chinese seems to occupy a middle ground between the “nontonal, polysyllabic Altaic languages of North Asia and the tonal, monosyllabic languages of Southeast Asia,” and may even have had a common origin with Tibetan (Norman 1988:12–16).

Norman (1988:1) has observed, “Few language names are as all-encompassing as that of Chinese.” Even though China’s pioneering role in East Asian literacy resulted in the export of Chinese words into the languages of its neighbors, it would be erroneous to conclude that Chinese was not influenced by the spoken languages of the Indo-Europeans, Indo-Iranians, and Altaic peoples of Inner and East Asia. Loanwords from Austroasiatic, Indo-Iranian, and Altaic found in Chinese prompt one scholar, Victor Mair, to point to evidence of “Altaicization” of northern Chinese (Mandarin), “under the impact of Turkic, Mongolian, and Tungusic languages during the more than 1,500 years when speakers of these languages were dominant in north China. These changes affected not only the lexicon of Mandarin languages and dialects, but the phonology, grammar, and syntax as well” (1994a:86–87). According to Mair, the impact of Indo-European on Chinese was most marked in the period 2000–800 B.C.E.; the impact of Austroasiatic was greatest between 600 B.C.E. and 300 C.E.; and the influence of the Altaic languages dates from 400 to 1900 C.E.

From its earliest beginnings, written Chinese, or “literary Sinitic,” was distinct and separate from a written vernacular system, “vernacular Sinitic” (Mair 1994b). Literary Sinitic was largely immune to the changes that occurred in the spoken language, so that texts written before the birth of Christ continued to occupy a central place in the traditional curriculum in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Some people say that persistence of Chinese elite culture over such great distances and such long periods of time is attributable to this separation between the written and spoken styles: peoples speaking mutually unintelligible languages could still read (and comprehend) the same classical texts, and thus subscribe to the same moral ideals and ethical values. The educated Chinese elite, regardless of their regional origin, thus performed an integrative function for the empire as a whole.

RELIGIOUS EXCHANGES BETWEEN EAST AND INNER ASIA

It was through Inner Asia that two of the world’s great religions, Buddhism and Islam, entered China. These new religions interacted with shamanic beliefs that East Asian

and Inner Asian peoples seem to have shared. Buddhism moved through China to Korea and thence to Japan, in both instances as part of a much larger assemblage of Chinese culture.

Shamanism

Shamanism seems to have existed in Inner and East Asia from very ancient times. The term *šamān* is found in every Tunguso-Manchurian language and also in some Mongol and Turkic languages. Although suggestions that shamanism originated in Northeast Asia, based in part on the derivation of the word *shaman* from the Tungusic *šamān*, have been hotly disputed (Atkinson 1991; Humphrey 1980), shamanism appears in various forms in ancient China, Korea, and Japan, and among the steppe nomads.

Although scholars seem to agree on the existence of shamanic beliefs among the regional cultures that formed Chinese civilization, it is exceedingly difficult to sort out what these beliefs were and how they were differentiated by region. Shamanism was an important element in early Korean kingship (Nelson 1993). Bronze Age sites have yielded ceremonial implements that are thought to have been used in shamanic rites. *Kosogan* ‘shaman’ was one term for rulers of the walled-town units that preceded the emergence of kingdoms; and the second king of Silla, Namhae (r. 4–23 c.e.) was a shaman. The mother of the first queen of Silla was worshiped as a goddess who could send rain. Shamans cured sickness, foretold the future, and presided at Koguryō state rites for blessings. In the seventh century, a Koguryō king appointed a female shaman to help the kingdom resist invaders.

Shamanism seems to have entered Japan from the south and from northeast Asia: the Japanese terms for a shaman (*ichiko*, *itako*) come from the Siberian tradition (Blacker 1975). Female shamans (*miko*) served powerful regional clan leaders in ancient Japan. Himiko (Pimiko), a female ruler of the early Japanese state of Yamatai in northern Kyushu, seems to have had religious powers. Archaeological evidence suggests that a “ritual revolution” took place during her reign (190–238 c.e.). Shrines built at that time constitute the first independent religious structures in Japan; a new ritual system focused on mirrors and tomb mounds was developed.

Jane Atkinson (1991:315) has noted that “shamanic traditions have long been the target of institutionalized religion and state powers.” In China, shamanism was submerged by the development of Daoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism, though it has survived until the present day as a folk practice among peasants. Much the same fate befell Korean shamanism, which became the religious practice of women, especially after the Confucianization of Korea. Only in the last two decades of the twentieth century was Korean shamanism revived as a symbol of cultural identity that could be asserted against the central government. In Japan, shamanism survived the introduction of Buddhism by recasting and systematizing its belief system. Shamanic rituals for healing continue to be practiced in Japan, but the practitioners—and their clientele—are of low status. At the same time, the late-nineteenth-century Meiji (Meiji) reformers created a national system of state Sintō (in English, Shinto) that supported the new ideology of the nation-state. Although state Shinto was dismantled after World War II, Shinto shrines remain as cultural markers in Japan’s landscape today.

Linguistic analysis suggests that shamanism may have entered northeast Asia with the Tungus peoples. Pushed out of the middle reaches of the Yellow and Yangzi river drainage by the coastal peoples, the Tungus moved northward. They became hunters on the forested taiga in Siberia and took up reindeer breeding as a primary occupation in the steppe. At a later date, some nomadic northern Tungus reindeer herders sought new pastures by following the Amur River downstream into Manchuria. Migrations were also spurred by the seventeenth-century movement of Russians into Siberia and

the efforts of the Manchu rulers to stop Russian penetration into the region by building up defenses along the Amur.

We know about the religious beliefs of these Tungus peoples from Russian ethnographies of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These studies depict a world dominated by nature deities, many of whom were female. Although some people believe that the world was created by two brothers, others speak of an old woman who is the mistress of the universe. Some say the sky is a mother and the earth a father, but for others the earth, sun, and moon are all female. "Mother-fire" was worshiped; clan totems were often female spirits who manifested themselves in the form of animals. Many people believed that certain animals had been human in earlier times. Each Tungus clan worshiped an ancestral spirit, which was frequently identified with animals, such as the bear or elk, that the clan hunted (Bharati 1976; Michael 1972).

The Tungus peoples who call themselves *evenki* say that the world is divided into three realms (Vasilevich, in Michael 1972:46–83). Above the sky is the upper world, which may be "slightly superior" but is fundamentally like the human world. Below the earth, through openings in the bottom of lakes and other bodies of water, lies another copy of the middle world. If by accident ordinary people wander into these worlds, they are invisible, just as the denizens of the upper and lower worlds are invisible to humans. Humans are invisible in the upper and lower worlds, but their touch will cause sickness among the inhabitants, just as sickness is caused among humans when spirits from other worlds enter the world of man.

The disparate beliefs concerning animal-spirit ancestors and nature deities that existed among the peoples of northeast Asia were transformed by the emergence of shamans. According to one scholar (Anisimov, in Michael 1972:184), the shamans destroyed the autonomous totemic cults and transformed the clan totems into deities attached to larger tribal units. Totemic deities now populated a world of spirits which was under the control of the shaman. With their coming, the upper and lower worlds were closed to ordinary humans. Only shamans could journey to the upper and lower worlds and communicate with the deities through the aid of spirit helpers. By traveling to the underworld, shamans could redeem spirits that had been stolen and bring the dead back to life. The shaman could also heal the sick by forcing malicious spirits to return the spirit of the sick person.

The Turkic-speaking peoples who supplanted the Indo-Iranians in the steppes also held shamanic beliefs. The primary deity of the Türks was Tängri, the Sky (or Heaven). Sheep and horses were sacrificed to Tängri in the fifth month of every year, and to the wolf, which seems to have been worshiped as a totem by some Türks. This cult was linked with a sacred forest. The influence of sky worship on ideas of legitimacy can be seen in the titles of kaghans, who styled themselves with references to *tängri* 'Heaven'. An inscription in the Uighur capital referred to one of the later kaghans as "the great Turkic ruler of the world who has received his splendor from Heaven" (Sinor 1990:326).

Shamanism was also the indigenous belief system of the Mongol-speaking nomadic pastoralists (Heissig 1980). Records indicate that during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the highest Mongol deity was *köke tengri* 'blue heaven' or *mönke tengri* 'eternal heaven', just as it had been with the Türk half a millennium earlier. The shaman was the ruler among some of the Mongol tribes living in the taiga; on the steppe, he was granted the same respect that was given to the tribal leader (Ratchnevsky 1991:96–101). Mongol shamans had several major functions: they were exorcists and healers of the sick, and they could end droughts, prophesy, and bring victory in battle. A shaman, Kököchu, was an important supporter of Chinggis (Genghis Khan) during his rise to power, and Chinggis is known to have used shamans to determine his war strategy.

Buddhism

Buddhism, one of the three great world religions, emerged first in India after 483 B.C.E., when Sakyamuni, the historical Buddha, is said to have died (Snellgrove 1982). Although many oral teachings seem to have already existed, the large written corpus that constitutes the Buddhist canon is of much later date. Early Buddhism in the first century B.C.E. was a philosophical doctrine, a monastic rule for monks and nuns, and a religious cult that centered on Sakyamuni or, more precisely, on his relics. According to tradition, after Sakyamuni's death his cremated remains, the shovel used on the remains, and the remains of the fire that had consumed his body were divided among ten townships and interred in stupas or tumuli. The emperor Asoka (d. 232 B.C.E.), after his conversion, excavated the relics to divide them among many more stupas constructed by his order. The stupa came to symbolize the ideal of buddhahood as well as indicating a tomb, and this significance has persisted in Buddhist societies.

During the reign of Asoka, Buddhism traveled out of India to the Central Asian kingdom of Gandhara, in what is now eastern Afghanistan and northern Pakistan. Greeks, Scythians, and Parthians carried the faith into the oasis towns of Central Asia, which became largely Buddhist in the first centuries of the Christian era. Buddhism entered China via Kashi and Hotan on the southern route, and Kucha and Turpan on the northern route through present-day Xinjiang. The northern and southern routes converged on Dunhuang, the route through which Buddhism entered China. Central Asians—Tocharians, Parthians, and Sogdians—were among the earliest translators of Buddhist works into Chinese (Narain, in Sinor 1990). From the fourth century onward, pious laymen donated funds to decorate the grottoes of Dunhuang with wall paintings and sculpture; that the town also supported a large monastic community is evident from the more than 40,000 ancient manuscripts recovered here in the early twentieth century (Mair 1989).

From Dunhuang, Buddhism traveled into the non-Han kingdoms that had taken control of north China, and into the Han-held territories of the south. The introduction of Buddhism in the second century was an epochal event in Chinese civilization. Buddhism profoundly influenced the systems of thought and belief that already existed in China—Confucianism and Daoism. Daoists adopted the framework of the Buddhist canon to create their great scriptures of the fourth century and later (Strickmann 1982). From the Buddhist monastic rules, Daoists borrowed the practice of celibacy and vegetarianism for their own monastic orders. Somewhat later, the neo-Confucian movement of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, while explicitly rejecting Buddhism, took a cue from Buddhism in developing a Confucian metaphysics.

Buddhist belief in the religious merit accrued by producing multiple copies of Buddhist chants and charms stimulated the invention of printing. The earliest extant examples of printing are Buddhist charms of the eighth century, discovered in a pagoda in Kyōngju, the capital of the Korean Koryō dynasty, and in Japan. The Chinese ancestors of these woodblock-printed Buddhist charms (*dharaṇī*) are block-printed Buddhist images and charms from the sixth century, found in Xinjiang and Gansu provinces (Twitchett 1983). Later, state sponsorship of Confucian canonical writings would elevate the social status of printed works in the tenth century and would lead to the expansion of printing in subsequent dynasties, but the desire of pious persons to accumulate merit through multiplication of sacred texts was an important motivation for the early phase of printing.

Buddhism also influenced the development of the Chinese language and Chinese literature. According to Mair (1994b), the translation projects that introduced Buddhist texts to the Chinese prompted the development of phonology as a field of study. The predilection of Buddhism to emphasize the spoken word introduced into China texts written not in the highly condensed literary language but in vernacular or semivernacular Chinese. Virtually all premodern Chinese texts written in the vernacular

or semivernacular are Buddhist. The Buddhist *bianwen* 'transformation texts', the ancestors of Chinese vernacular fiction, and storytelling with pictures in other parts of Asia have a common Indian genesis (Mair 1988).

Of course, Buddhism was also transformed by its adherents in East Asia. Scholars have noted how Buddhism had to accommodate the family ethic which argued that since an individual's first duty was to perpetuate his line of descent, joining a monastic order was a serious crime. Original Chinese sutras legitimized filiality, mortuary customs, and modes of divination, as well as prescribing protective rituals for the state. Many of these works seem to have journeyed westward from their place of origin, south China, into Central Asia via Dunhuang (Strickmann 1982).

In East Asia, the Buddhist order was subject to state control and did not enjoy the autonomy that the *sangha* had enjoyed in India. It is perhaps just that the East Asian states gave back to Buddhism the compilation and printing of the complete Buddhist canon or Tripitaka, an enterprise which was "a uniquely Chinese conception" (Strickmann 1982:56) and would not have been possible under the extreme atomization of individual schools in India. Chinese Buddhists also initiated the genre of religious biographies (hagiography), which became extremely influential not only in East Asia but in Tibetan Buddhism as well.

Buddhism was also extremely important in the culture of nomads. This was especially true of the nomadic empires that challenged the Chinese state. On the one hand, these empires found Buddhism (and later Islam) an acceptable alternative to Chinese religious and ethical doctrines, which assumed Chinese superiority and were hence unpalatable. On the other hand, Buddhism was patronized by many nomadic empires, because, as the founder of the Khitan empire declared, "Buddhism is not a Chinese religion" (Wittfogel and Feng, cited in Khazanov 1994:24).

Islam

The eighth century was the period, after the battle of Talas (751), when Arab expansion into the Oxus brought Islam into western Central Asia. Islam was carried into the oasis towns of western Central Asia by Muslim caravans of traders and merchants, and into the Turkic-speaking nomadic tribes by mystics—Sufis who propagated the new faith and won many converts (Golden, in Sinor 1990:343–370). The Karluq peoples converted to Islam in the middle of the tenth century and the Oghuz shortly thereafter. These Turkic-speaking nomads found that a weak Abbasid empire could no longer defend its frontier against them, and they began to migrate into western Central Asia.

Conversion to Islam aided the Turkish nomads in several ways. The religion provided a common commitment binding various ethnic groups to the new regime. Conversion also defused the rationale—the defense of Muslim civilization against the infidel—that had animated the frontier of the Abbasid empire, which controlled the territory of present-day Iraq, western Iran, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Khorasan. Frontier warriors were not so willing to fight fellow Muslims. With the eastern defenses in disarray, the Karluq, led by the Karakhanid dynasty, captured Bukhara in 992 and Samarkand in 999. At its height, the Karakhanid empire was divided into a western khanate (Transoxiana) and an eastern khanate (Ferghana and Kashgaria) (Lapidus 1988). Karakhanid control extended to the borders of the Tangut Xia empire in the eleventh century.

The Karakhanid empire was only the first of several Turkic empires that took over the Middle East. The Karakhanid movement into Transoxania stimulated a southward movement of the Oghuz people. Under Saljuk leadership, the Oghuz created an empire that eventually extended from Khurasan to the Mediterranean and lasted from the middle of the eleventh century until the Mongol conquest in the thirteenth century. The Mongol Ilkhan khanate also converted to Islam; according to one scholar,

a factor in their conversion was the ease with which Sufi shaykhs were able to adapt themselves to the political role that had formerly been filled by the shamans (Fletcher 1986). Allah supplanted Tengri as the preeminent deity of the Ilkhan rulers. Conversion was accompanied by cultural assimilation. As the Mongol empire dissolved into competing provincial states, Transoxiana was again conquered by another Turkic group, led by Timur (1370–1405).

The conversion of Inner Asian Turkish peoples to Islam had momentous consequences for the expansion of the faith into Inner Asia and China. Inner Asia gradually became Muslim. The Uighurs, who became Buddhists after the ninth century, converted to Islam beginning in the fourteenth century. As the “golden horde” disintegrated, its component peoples—the “Tatars,” Uzbeks and Kazakhs—also became Muslim. The collapse of the Timurid empire in the fifteenth century brought a disruption in the trading contacts between Transoxiana, now controlled by the Uzbeks, and eastern Iran, conquered by the Safavid dynasty. From the sixteenth century Transoxiana became the center of an Inner Asian Islamic civilization that penetrated the Tarim basin (now under Uzbek rule) to the doors of China.

THE EXPORT OF CHINESE CULTURE TO KOREA AND JAPAN

The penetration of Chinese cultural values eastward into the Korean peninsula and the islands of Japan is well documented. Chinese contacts with north Korea can be traced from the end of the fourth century B.C.E., when the state of Yan, which occupied the coastline of Bohai Bay, invaded the Liaodong peninsula. Han rulers established military colonies in north Korea that persisted from 108 B.C.E. to 313 C.E. These commanderies provided a market for a new iron industry located in south Korea, and for goods exported by the Wa peoples who inhabited northern Kyushu. Traders also carried Chinese goods to Japan, where they have been discovered in tombs of the Kofun period (200–700 C.E.).

Among China’s exports to the countries on its perimeter were its writing system, its kinship system, its material culture, and Confucianism. Many elements, such as ancestor worship and patrilineal kinship, predated Confucianism but, as Martina Deuchler shows, were adopted by Chosŏn Korean Confucianists as part of the Confucian ensemble. It was not Confucianism, however, but Buddhism and state building that dominated the first wave of Chinese cultural imports into Korea and Japan.

Chinese models of rulership served as a catalyst for state formation in Korea and Japan. The kingdoms of Silla, Paekche, and Koguryŏ, created out of a congeries of walled-town units during the fourth and fifth centuries, were in contact with Chinese states. King Kŭnch’ogo (346–375) of Paekche, for example, tried to ally himself with the Eastern Jin state in the Yangzi delta as well as with the Japanese. Kaya, the small state that lay between Paekche and its rival, Silla, had extensive ties with China and Japan. The political unification of the Korean peninsula in 668 occurred in a period of consolidation in China proper: Unified Silla was a replica of the Tang state. The centralization of Chinese rule in the Sui and Tang dynasties, and the emergence of Unified Silla in Korea, “speeded the development of Japanese kingship and its centralized state” (Waida 1976:331). The adoption of Chinese models of government by the Japanese during the late seventh century enabled the Yamato rulers to create a unified state.

Buddhism was adopted by the Korean kingdom of Koguryŏ in 372 C.E., and by the southern kingdom of Paekche shortly thereafter. In Silla, where the ruling aristocratic families opposed its introduction, Buddhism was not officially recognized until 527. Thenceforth, and at least until the fifteenth century, Buddhism was important in Korea as a bulwark of rulership.

As in Silla, the introduction of Buddhism into Japan in 538 pitted the elite families who monopolized shamanic rituals against the Yamato ruler. Overcoming this

resistance with the help of another elite lineage, the Soga, the Yamato ruler promulgated a “Seventeen Article Constitution” in 604 which included an exhortation to “fervently revere the Three Treasures” (the Buddha, dharma, and sangha). The role of Buddhism in Japan closely paralleled its historical role in Korea. Buddhism became a vehicle for the acquisition of information about many aspects of Chinese thought and culture. As a universalistic religion, Buddhism helped the throne expand its authority over elite kinship groups that dominated different localities in Japan. The aristocracy and court believed that Buddhism could protect individuals and the country from disaster. The Taihō Code (701) and the Yōrō Code (718) officially incorporated Buddhism into the state structure. Each province was directed to build a temple and a convent, and the monks and nuns housed in these institutions were to recite sutras for the benefit of the state. Buddhist rituals were performed at court functions, and priests conducted special services when there was illness in the imperial family, or a military crisis.

But China exerted a negative as well as a positive influence on state formation. Gina Barnes has noted that state formation in Korea and in Japan occurred in a “power vacuum,” when China was divided into a number of regional kingdoms. The strongest states (Koguryō, Silla, and Yamato) evolved in localities that had the least contact with Chinese courts, and each had idiosyncratic features. Moreover, the most important military innovation was derived from the Eurasian steppe. “Trained in the steppe traditions of horsemanship and clad in full body armour,” the Toba Wei, who emerged in the late fourth century to control northern China, inspired the elites of Koguryō, Paekche, Kaya, and Yamato to adopt the equestrian technology that transformed warfare in Korea and Japan (Barnes 1993; Farris 1992). One of the most momentous innovations of ancient Japanese military history—mounted archery—was stimulated by Japanese military campaigns in southern Korea around 400 C.E. Chinese control of land that is now part of Korea was transitory. Beginning in the fourth century, attempts by the Chinese to take the Korean peninsula met with fierce resistance from the confederated Korean states. During the fifth century the powerful northern kingdom of Koguryō expanded into the Liao River basin and challenged the Chinese grasp over this part of northeast Asia. The Koreans rebuffed subsequent attempts by the Sui and Tang dynasties to conquer Korean territory. Nonetheless, despite their independence, Korean states became vassals in the Chinese tributary system beginning in the late seventh century, when a unified Korean state appeared. Regular communications with the Chinese were maintained over the long span of Korean history.

Perhaps because they were less vulnerable to attack, the Japanese adopted an independent stance from the beginning of their direct contacts with China. Letters exchanged with the Sui court indicate that Empress Suiko tried to address the Sui emperor on terms of equality. Instead of referring to herself as a king, the empress chose a variant of the Chinese term for emperor, *tennō* (in Chinese, *tianhuang*). Used for the first time in 608 C.E. by Empress Suiko in her third communication with the Sui court, *tennō* continues until today to be the designation for the Japanese emperor. According to one scholar, the assumption of this title, which “expressed the intention to recast the monarchy into a despotic, bureaucratically supported emperorship of the Chinese type,” marks the end of Japan’s archaic period (Kiley 1973:25).

The attraction of the Chinese bureaucratic model was obvious. The concept of a supreme ruler, a “son of heaven,” which was created with the Qin unification of China (221 B.C.E.), offered ambitious local magnates in Korea and Japan a justification for concentrating political power in the hands of a supreme ruler. The Korean kingdom of Old Chosŏn first adopted the Chinese term *wang* ‘king’ around the fourth century B.C.E. from the north Chinese state of Yan. Gradually *wang* replaced other native titles for a king. Chinese bureaucratic institutions were quickly adopted, even if only partially implemented, in Korea and Japan. Tang regional administration served as a

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model for Unified Silla and the Yamato court in the seventh century. The Koryŏ king, Kwanjong, adopted the Chinese civil service examination system in 958 as part of an attempt to indoctrinate officials with "the Confucian stress on an absolute monarchical authority." With the examinations, a "new breed of Confucian-oriented civil official" supplanted the officials who had been recruited from the Koryŏ military aristocracy (Kang 1974:121). Rulers in Korea and Japan adopted Chinese rituals as well as what we might call the paraphernalia of rulership, including symbols, clothing, court music, and dance. Rituals, ideology, and a symbolic vocabulary were used to create a political culture that would support centralized rule.

A brief comparison of China, Korea, and Japan in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries demonstrates that adoption of Chinese-type institutions did not result in a convergence of political structures. In China, the long-term historical trend, culminating in the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), was toward a centralization of power in the throne. A powerful landed aristocracy, which had dominated local and central government, was wiped out when, beginning in the twelfth century, examinations became the primary channel for recruitment into the civil service. The gradual diminution of the right of high-ranking officials to name one son to office without an examination degree challenged the ability of a family from among the literati to perpetuate its status. Partible inheritance, coupled with polygyny (multiple marriage partners for one man) among well-to-do households, quickly dissipated large fortunes, just as the sixteenth-century commercialization enabled social upstarts to aspire to the elite. The ability of the elites of the Ming and Qing dynasties to resist the ruler was significantly weakened. As Benjamin Elman (1991) has noted, the Qing state controlled the curriculum and hence the mode of cultural reproduction of the Han Chinese scholar-officials. It monopolized virtually all legitimate cultural symbols. Although the bureaucracy as a whole continued to be capable of resisting the emperor's administrative dictates, Qing rulers in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were effective at reorganizing the bureaucracy to increase its responsiveness to imperial command.

In both Korea and Japan, we find precisely the opposite situation. According to James Palais (1975), weak royal authority was a hallmark of Korean history. During the Chosŏn dynasty (1392–1910) the authority of the Korean king was checked by a strong hereditary landed elite that monopolized education and access to bureaucratic office. *Yangban* were one of the three status groups into which the population was divided; and although the examinations were theoretically open to all, in reality it was very rare for anyone outside the *yangban* registers to compete. Formal charts of governmental organization veiled the real constraints on royal authority imposed by the *yangban* officials, who could challenge the king's fidelity to Confucian norms through the institution of the censorate and daily royal lectures. The king's subordinate status in the Chinese tributary system, which diluted his ability to appeal to heaven to legitimate his rule, was supported by the bureaucracy. They consistently opposed the king's performance of the sacrifice to heaven, which was forbidden to vassal states by China. The Chosŏn king used prolonged drought and other national crises as occa-

sions to break the ban in the period 1392–1465, but the sixteenth-century victory of Confucianism in Korea ended these acts of ritual defiance until 1897, and the sacrifices were omitted from the ritual books (Provine 1996).

In Japan, direct imperial rule ended in 1185, when the first military ruler established his authority. Military rule continued from that period until 1868. Many Japanese scholars contend that the emperor was never a ruler in his own right, either before or after 1185. The ideology created from the eighth century onward gave the Yamato house an unassailable legitimacy as descendants of a deity that was promoted and accepted as a national protector, but actual authority was shared within a narrow circle of extended kinsmen, tied to the emperor by marriage. Ancestry or descent was perhaps the principal source of legitimacy throughout premodern Japanese history (Lebra 1993). In the secular realm, the Fujiwara and later the shogunal (military government) houses held the reins of authority; in the religious realm, sacerdotal lineages monopolized access to the gods. The ideological system of shared rule was challenged by Japanese Confucians such as Arai Hakuseki (1657–1725), but Confucian thought did not override the traditional foundations of aristocratic rule in Japan. In Japan, it was the military rulers and not the emperor who patronized Confucianism.

Despite the Chinese claims to superiority set forth in the tributary framework, China exerted minimal control over Korea and Japan. Foreign relations were conducted by each political center in a spirit of self-interested pragmatism. During the struggle to bring the Korean peninsula under one rule, Paekche tried to ally itself with the Liang dynasty against Koguryō while Silla allied itself with the Tang against Koguryō. Having won control over the Liao River basin, Koguryō tried to strengthen its northern frontier through alliances with the southern dynasties as well as nomadic peoples in the northeast. The Song dynasty (420–478 c.e.) in southern China received petitions from “five kings of Wa” asking for “imposing titles,” presumably for use in internal political competition. Having rejected an attempt by the Northern Song court to draw it into an alliance against the Jin, the Koryō dynasty was forced by Mongol invaders to make peace on the Mongols’ terms. It was the Mongols who also constituted the most direct threat to Japanese autonomy in the fourteenth century; the failure of the Mongol invasions reinforced the faith that Japan was a *shinkoku* ‘land of the gods’.

During the Chosŏn dynasty (1392–1910), Korea maintained close cultural relations with first the Ming (1368–1644) and later the Qing (1644–1911) rulers of China. This relationship was placed in the Chinese tributary context: the Korean king was a “vassal” who symbolically placed himself under the authority of the Chinese emperor. The performance of tributary duties such as sending embassies to the Chinese capital and “receiving” the kingship from the emperor did not mean that China had any real control over Korean affairs. Moreover, the Koreans had to be coerced (through invasion) to pay tribute to the Manchus, who conquered and ruled China as the Qing, since they viewed the Jurchen ancestors of the Manchus as a primitive people who had alternately been subjugated by Korean states (Koguryō, Parhae) or threatened Korea with military force (Jin). The Koreans’ cultural superiority to these barbarians was self-evident; with the Ming empire being controlled by the Manchus, “Korea was now the only bastion of Confucian civilization” (Haboush 1988:23–24).

Japan had never been invaded by a continental power, and it too contested Chinese claims in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. After Toyotomi Hideyoshi succeeded in unifying Japan, he pursued his dream of bringing Korea and even China “to pay homage to the emperor of Japan.” Even though his invasion of Korea in 1592 failed, Hideyoshi’s successors in the Tokugawa shogunal line vigorously tried to pull Korea out of the Chinese orbit and into the Japanese orbit, even as Korean embassies reiterated that Korean-Japanese relations were to be conducted on the basis of diplomatic parity (Berry 1982; Totman 1983). The Tokugawa made a distinction

between Chinese culture, for which they had high respect, and their relations with the Qing dynasty, whose claims to the headship of the tributary system they repudiated. They, like the Koreans, claimed that since China was now ruled by “eastern barbarians,” Japan had become the “Middle Kingdom” (Toby 1984).

Chinese Confucianism was thus appropriated and its political significance adapted to local circumstances. In Korea, the final triumph of Confucianism came with its adoption by the powerful landed *yangban*, who monopolized the philosophy and used it to maintain their privileged status. In Korea—unlike China, where Confucianism was appropriated by the ruler and used to justify a centralized bureaucratic monarchy—the king remained weak. In Japan, Confucianism was used to legitimate a system of military rule, even though an emperor continued to reign in a system of dual capitals.

Chinese cultural exports were significantly modified to meet Korean and Japanese needs. An excellent example is the adoption of the Chinese writing system, which continues to be used today by both Korea and Japan. Under King Sejong (r. 1418–1450), the fourth ruler of the Chosŏn dynasty, a native Korean “vernacular script” (*ŏnmun*, now known as *han’gŭl*) was promulgated in 1443. King Sejong’s motivation for the new alphabet is recorded (Ramsey 1992:49):

The sounds of our country’s language are different from those of the Middle Kingdom . . . Therefore, among the ignorant people, there have been many who, having something they want to put into words, have in the end been unable to express their feelings. I . . . have newly designed twenty-eight letters, which I wish to have everyone practice at his ease and make convenient for their daily use.

Twenty-eight letters make up the alphabet, and these letters are grouped to form syllables. Thus “vernacular script” is an alphabet and at the same time functions as a syllabary. According to Ramsey, this was a unique achievement because it represented the “articulatory features” of the Korean language, demonstrating “a sophisticated understanding of the Korean alphabet that was not equaled in the West until modern times” (1992:43). Although King Sejong’s alphabet was probably originally intended to facilitate Koreans’ mastery of Chinese writing, his invention has in the twentieth century supplanted Chinese characters and created an appropriate framework for the expression of modern Korean nationalism.

Into the late nineteenth century, all educated Korean and Japanese men were therefore able to read Chinese, and thus to form part of the audience for Chinese writers. There can be no question that Chinese literacy profoundly influenced Korean and Japanese literature and thought. At the same time, the expression of national sentiments led both Korea and Japan to create syllabaries. Two syllabaries emerged during the ninth century in Japan and enabled Japanese to be written using only forty-seven symbols, instead of thousands of Chinese characters. The syllabaries allowed poetry and Japanese literature to be written in the vernacular, much of it by court women. *Genji monogatari* ‘The Tale of Genji’, perhaps Japan’s greatest literary work, was written by a court lady in the twelfth century.

NOMADS VERSUS PEASANTS

Although nomadic peoples like the Scythians began to appear in European records at an earlier date, the city-states emerging in what would later become China met their first real nomadic threat in the Xiongnu in the fourth century B.C.E. The Xiongnu emerged from the central steppe as a unified body in the third century B.C.E. By the first half of the second century B.C.E. they were the “leading military power in East Asia” (di Cosmo 1994:1095), controlling lands from northeast Asia to the Western Regions (that is, Central Asia), and from Lake Baikal southward to the lands of the Chinese. After unifying the Chinese city-states, Qin attempted to hold back the

Xiongnu by building what would be the first Great Wall, defending the Chinese border from the far northwest to the Korean peninsula. The founder of the Han dynasty formed an alliance with the Xiongnu ruler, setting a precedent for later times: he sent an imperial bride and gifts (stipulated by treaty) of silk, wine, and food to the Xiongnu “brother state” (Yu, in Sinor 1990:122). After 134 B.C.E. the peace policy was supplanted by a war policy: from 115 to 60 B.C.E. the Han and Xiongnu contested with each other. The Han-Xiongnu struggle was the first of a succession of encounters between nomadic empires and China that would significantly affect Chinese history.

Conquest dynasties from Inner Asia have ruled part or all of the territories south of the Great Wall that constituted China for over half of recorded history. Northern China was ruled by the Xiongnu, proto-Mongolian Xianbei, and Tibetan-speaking Qiang during the period of the Sixteen Kingdoms (304–439 C.E.); by the Toba, offshoots of the Xianbei (Wei dynasty, 386–534); by the Khitan (Liao dynasty, 916–1125); and by the Jurchen (Jin dynasty, 1115–1234). The Tang dynasty (618–907) was founded by men who were closely related to the Türks. The Mongols (r. 1279–1368) and the Manchus (r. 1644–1911) both came from the periphery to conquer China. The importance of the relationship between nomads and China also goes beyond these instances of the nomads’ success, which constitute only part of a long history.

In a study first published in 1940, Owen Lattimore analyzed the long-term historical relationship of China with the steppes of Manchuria, Mongolia, and Turkestan in terms of alternations of power. Beginning in the fourth to third centuries B.C.E., when irrigated agriculture developed in China and nomadic pastoralism appeared on the steppe, two types of society formed and became mutually exclusive. Lattimore posited that as the two societies became more and more different, the region of contact between them became “a series of zones of impact and recoil, conquest and counter conquest, assertion and compromise” (1951:511). Lattimore described the interaction of Inner Asia with China in terms of a cycle of tribal dispersion and unification in the steppe, which responded to a cycle of dynastic integration and collapse in China. When a strong dynasty arose in China, it was able to push out the nomads, and they dispersed into the steppe; conversely, a weakened dynasty stimulated the nomads to unify for the purpose of extracting the riches of the sedentary society.

Lattimore’s characterization of the nomads’ relationship with China as fundamentally reactive to the Chinese dynastic cycle was challenged in 1989 by an anthropologist, Thomas Barfield, who argued that the relationship was not so much confrontational as symbiotic. Cycles of unification and dissolution within China and the steppe were closely tied to one another, Barfield said, because “ultimately the state organization of the steppe needed a stable China to exploit” (131). What nomads desired was not permanent control over China but the textiles and other products of China: the most efficient method of obtaining these goods was not conquest—which took place only if central authority collapsed within China—but extortion. The strategy the nomads preferred was to ally themselves with the Chinese rulers and thus obtain the desired goods by treaty. Chinese states, for their part, also learned that a more effective (and cheaper) alternative to fighting the nomads was to co-opt them with subsidies in exchange for military aid. This was the strategy adopted during the Tang dynasty after the An Lushan uprising of 755. The Tang dynasty was preserved by the military support of its ally, the Uighur kaghan. As Barfield notes (1989:131), “A relationship that began as predatory became symbiotic. When the Uighurs fell in 840, the Tang dynasty lost its protector and collapsed in internal revolt within a generation.”

The nomad confederacy was a loosely organized coalition of tribes, which would dissolve without a continual flow of resources. Barfield argued that the steppe environment severely restricted the development of complex political organizations. It was

not the steppe, but the mixed ecological zones found in Turkestan and Manchuria, that nurtured successful dynasties capable of ruling China. Manchurian states took advantage of periods of weakness in the steppe and China to invade China and then prevent the emergence of a new nomadic challenger in Inner Asia. They were ultimately more successful in integrating the steppe and agrarian societies because they shared important cultural elements from both worlds.

CULTURAL SYNTHESSES UNDER NON-HAN RULE

What neither Lattimore nor Barfield sufficiently emphasized in these models of the interaction of nomads and peasants is the extent to which contact with Chinese culture stimulated nomadic groups to create complex political structures that could rule sedentary and nomadic peoples. Recent scholarship on the border states and conquest regimes in China during the tenth to fourteenth centuries (Franke and Twitchett 1994) provides an alternative vision of the interaction of nomads and the Chinese—an interaction that begins with migration. During the first centuries of the Christian era, and again during the fourth and fifth centuries, thousands of Xiongnu, Xianbei, and Qiang peoples from Inner Asia moved into northern and northwestern China. Military leaders of these formerly nomadic groups founded the many states that ruled northern China during the fourth and fifth centuries, and the reunification of China under first the Sui and then the Tang dynasty was achieved by commanders from the borders.

The takeover of north China by border peoples after 755 was the result of Tang policies. The Tang used many Inner Asian peoples to man the Chinese garrisons defending the frontiers, so that the military establishment and the populations of the northwestern provinces of Shanxi, Shaanxi, Gansu, and present-day Qinghai were predominantly non-Han. When Tang control weakened, northern and northwestern China broke up into local regimes led by non-Han former garrison commanders. A prime example is An Lushan, a Turkic-speaking commander whose rebellion in 755 marked the beginning of the long decline of Tang power.

According to Franke and Twitchett, the Tang marked a turning point in the political and cultural evolution of the Inner Asian polities on China's borders. Before the seventh century, virtually none of these peoples had a written language or a state structure; 150 years later, when China was plunged into disorder by the An Lushan rebellion, a number of polities, each with a literate elite, sat on China's borders. "Chinese-style bureaucratic governance became the political norm . . . and was adopted and adapted by regimes outside Chinese control and beyond what had been traditionally Chinese territory" (Franke and Twitchett 1994:2). There was the state of Nanzhao, in present-day Yunnan, and also the kingdom of Tibet, which had supplanted the Tang as the dominant power in the Tarim basin; the Türk and Uighur empires in the steppe; and the kingdom of Parhae, controlling the Liaodong peninsula and Manchurian plain.

The Khitan, Tangut, Jurchen, and Mongols who ruled northern China from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries each served periods of political apprenticeship with other emerging states and frequently had relations with several competing regimes. The Khitan, who were descendants of Xianbei peoples from the Manchurian plateau, had a typically diverse history. The nomadic Khitan were traditionally organized into eight tribes. They were vassals of the Toba in the fifth century; in the sixth century, some submitted to the Türks and others to the Sui, while still others migrated to the Korean state of Koguryō. The Tangut, a Tibetan-speaking people from the Kokonor region, had been ruled from the fourth to seventh centuries by the Xianbei. When Tibet took over their homeland in the seventh century, they migrated into the Gansu corridor and became vassals of the Tang court. They had extensive contact not only with the Chinese court but with their major rivals the Khitan, and later the Uighurs and the Karakhanid empire.

The Jurchen were Tungusic-speakers who migrated from the southern banks of the Amur to the Sungari River drainage in the tenth century. Some Jurchen were hunters and fishers; others, who lived in the fertile plains, raised cattle and horses and farmed. The Jurchen living in the Liaodong peninsula were subjects of Parhae during the Tang dynasty. In the tenth century they became vassals of the Khitan Liao. The ancestors of the Jin rulers held Liao titles: A-ku-ta, the founder of the Jin dynasty, was the third generation of his family to be appointed military governor of Manchuria by the Liao.

Nor were the Mongols an exception to this historical pattern. Although the *Secret History of the Mongols* represents Chinggis as emerging from a steppe that was not in touch with complex politics, Chinese sources of the Song period indicate that the Mongols submitted to the Jin in the second half of the twelfth century, when the process of confederation building had already begun, perhaps under the Chinggis's grandfather. Chinggis was thus not "an adventurer with an obscure tribal background but the descendant of a princely family that had received recognition, investiture, and gifts from the Chin court" (Franke and Twitchett 1994:15).

The atomized political context facilitated pragmatic, fluid diplomacy. Most regimes had at least two borders whose security was essential for survival. Looking toward East Asia, the Khitan Liao faced the Xia and Song regimes; looking toward Central and Inner Asia, they confronted the powerful Jurchen and Khara-khitai khanates (Dunnell 1989). Beginning in the seventh century, when they submitted to the Tang, the Khitan alternated between sending missions to the Tang court and raiding Tang territory. After 755, they continued sending embassies while also "submitting" to the Uighurs. Ruth Dunnell has noted that the Tanguts "conceived of political and economic relations on a contractual basis, susceptible to negotiation and not rigidly prescribed by dogma" (1989:160). To the Tangut mind, sending an embassy to the Song court did not signify acceptance of Song suzerainty. The Tanguts carried out marriage exchanges with the Kereyid, who themselves also sent daughters as brides to the Mongol khans.

The conquest of China was neither the first nor necessarily the primary goal for these hybrid states. A-pao-chi, the founder of the Khitan Liao, spent most of his years unifying the tribes and winning the title of *kaghan*, which he obtained in 916. The conquest of Parhae (926) was succeeded in 937 by the cession of sixteen formerly Chinese prefectures, which included "all the strategic passes that defended north China" (Twitchett and Tietze, in Franke and Twitchett 1994:70). The Jin founder, A-ku-ta, first made himself master of northeastern Asia before attacking the sedentary states. A similar pattern can be found in the evolution of the Xia state. During the first decades of the eleventh century, the Tanguts first attacked the Uighurs and took the Dzungarian pasturelands before turning toward the Liao and the Chinese state.

The Liao, Xia, Jin, and Mongol empires encompassed large portions of Inner Asia. By far the greater part of the Khitan territory lay north of the Great Wall, covering present-day Mongolia and the three northeastern Chinese provinces of Heilongjiang, Jilin, and Liaoning. The Tangut Xia empire stretched from the Ordos and Gansu corridor westward into much of present-day Inner Mongolia. The Jin empire controlled the southern half of the Liao lands, as well as a much greater part of northern China from the Huai River as far west as Qinghai. Under Chinggis, Mongol troops swept in campaigns of conquest to the eastern and western borders of Inner Asia. Eventually, Chinggis's successors were to rule Russia, the Middle East, and China.

What emerges from this reevaluation of the politics of the tenth to fourteenth centuries is important for our overview of Chinese history. For 400 years (and not for the first time), East Asia and Inner Asia were not separate political entities but constituent parts of multiethnic empires that spanned both the steppe and sown land.

The non-Han ruling houses successfully created empires after long periods of contact with more sophisticated polities. The influence of the Chinese model of government was sometimes direct but frequently mediated by the earlier Toba, Türk, and Uighur regimes. Analyses of the Khitan language, for example, indicate that the bulk of titles of offices are Turkic, while other aspects of the language make it impossible for scholars to determine whether Khitan is a “proto-Mongolian language influenced by Tungusic vocabulary or a Tungusic language influenced by Mongolian vocabulary” (Twitchett and Tietze, in Franke and Twitchett 1994:46). The inspiration for Chinggis Khan’s reorganization of the Mongols’ number system into decimal units may have been borrowed from the Liao, via the Uighurs; the Jin also adopted this decimal system. Buddhist institutions such as the post of imperial preceptor were later transferred to Qubilai’s court by Tibetans and Tanguts. The concept of universal emperorship, which was raised to new heights by Chinggis Khan, owed as much to Uighur as to Chinese influence.

Although the conquest regimes used Han Chinese in government service, there is clear evidence that each resisted sinicization. All employed non-Han as well as Han Chinese and created administrations that were differentiated by the ethnicity of the regional population. There were different laws for different peoples. The conquest regimes all created their own national scripts and pursued policies of bilingualism or multilingualism. The Khitan large script (920) and small script (925) were the basis for the Jurchen large and small script, devised in the twelfth century. Mongol writing, created in the twelfth century, borrowed the Uighur script, which was itself borrowed from the Sogdians. Unlike Khitan, Jurchen, and Tangut, which were neither alphabetic nor phonetic, the early Mongol script (and later Manchu, which was based on it) was alphabetic. Coins of the Khitan, Jurchen, Tangut, and Yuan had bilingual inscriptions. Creation of a national script stimulated translations of Buddhist, Confucian, and other works in each national language and enhanced the ability to construct cultural policies to bolster the legitimacy of the regime. The Jin, for example, retained the small Khitan script even after they had invented a Jurchen writing system: Khitan continued to be used in the Jin bureaucracy until the last decade of the twelfth century.

The dissolution of these hybrid border regimes was sometimes accomplished by new challengers from the steppe and sometimes by the Chinese. The Khitan Liao were brought down by the Jurchen Jin, the Jin and Xia regimes by the Mongols. When the Yuan dynasty collapsed, the rulers returned to the steppe, where they continued to rule for several centuries. And the Chinese world, or at least the central plain, which had been ruled by non-Han for so many centuries, was never quite the same again. The political center of China shifted away from Chang’an (Xi’an) and Loyang, the capitals of earlier dynasties, to Beijing (Peking). Beijing was first the capital of the state of Yan; it became one of the five capitals of the Khitan Liao; and it was retained as a capital by the Jin and Yuan. Although the founder of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) designated Nanjing as his capital, the third emperor moved the capital to Beijing, thus continuing the Yuan tradition, which tacitly recognized the enhanced importance of the northeast in its security.

We might argue that the post-Tang hybrid regimes represented a new phase in the long history of cultural interactions between Inner Asia and China. In the Ming dynasty, China and the steppe polities became more closely related. Many scholars have interpreted the increased proximity of the nomadic and sedentary societies as part of a trend toward sinicization; it can equally well be interpreted as evidence of a new ability on the part of steppe rulers to incorporate the sedentary society of East Asia into their empires.

Examples of continuity between the post-Tang border regimes and the “nativist” Ming include the Ming patronage of Tibetan Buddhism. Tibet, a powerful unified

kingdom with its own imperial aspirations, had wrested control of the Tarim basin from the Tang during the eighth century. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Tibet had broken down into a number of regions, none of which was powerful enough to subjugate the others. Under the Yuan, Tibet had been indirectly ruled by Sa skya pa prelates who received Mongol patronage.

Missions from Tibet had been received at court during the Hongwu reign (1391, 1394). Shortly after ascending the throne, the Yongle emperor sent an emissary to Tibet to invite the head of the Karma pa order to visit the Ming court in order to recite sutras for the emperor's deceased parents. The Karma pa prelate's appearance in Nanjing (1407) heralded the beginning of Ming relations with Tibetan orders. The emperor awarded titles to prelates in the major Tibetan Buddhist orders and received visits from the heads of the Sa skya pa (1413), dGe lugs pa (1415), and Phag-mo gru pa orders (1406; Sperling 1983). These visits and the Ming missions to Tibet achieved secular as well as religious goals: the desire on the part of Yongle to maintain border security and to protect the trade routes, which served as an alternative source of horses, from Mongol raids.

The culminating phase of the unification of Inner and East Asia took place under the Qing dynasty (1644–1911). In many aspects, its history parallels that of the border regimes of the tenth to fourteenth centuries. The Qing rulers claimed descent from the Jurchen rulers of the Jin. Residents of south Manchuria, the Jurchen were farmers and stockbreeders who were excellent riders and prized mounted archery. The ancestors of the founder of the Qing ruling house had long enjoyed trading and diplomatic contacts with the Ming dynasty, which had established a commandery system in their locality, but Chinese ideas had frequently been put “through a Mongolian strainer” and Jurchen political organization was heavily influenced by Mongol institutions (Farquhar 1968).

The empire that the Manchus constructed was historically unprecedented and was larger than the territory of the present-day People's Republic of China. Conquest took place in several phases. From the late sixteenth century through the early seventeenth century, Nurgaci and his son Hongtaiji (1592–1643) conquered the many Tungus and other northeastern Asian tribes and obtained the submission of a reluctant Korean court. Hongtaiji reorganized these tribes into a new group in 1636: he rejected the name Jurchen and declared that henceforth his people would call themselves Manchu (*manju* in the Manchu language). In 1644, responding to an appeal for aid from the Ming imperial house, the Manchu armies marched south of the Great Wall. From 1644 to 1683, Manchu banner armies stamped out remnants of Ming resistance within the former Ming lands. In the late 1680s, the Manchu rulers turned their attention to the subjugation of the Mongol tribes on the steppe. This third phase of conquest culminated in 1759 with the incorporation of the Tarim basin, Dzungaria, Mongolia, and Tibet under Manchu rule.

Until recently, the huge success of the Qing dynasty was explained in terms of its sinicization (Michael 1979). New challenges to this historical paradigm (Crossley 1990, Dunnell 1995), which form part of a general reconsideration of the role of non-Han dynasties in Chinese history, lead us to reexamine the nature of the Qing polity. The Qing conquest elite—banner nobles, Mongol affines, and imperial kinsmen—existed as a political entity separate from the Han Chinese literati. This conquest elite controlled Qing relations with the regions and peoples lying outside China proper and filled the military posts charged with administering the lands outside the Great Wall: the northeast homeland of the Manchus, Mongolia, Tibet, and eastern Turkestan. While the civil service bureaucracy, dominated by Han Chinese, dealt with provincial administration within China proper, the *Li fan yuan* ‘Court of Colonial Affairs’ and banner officials supervised ritual and administrative matters in these non-Han territories (Chia 1993).

Like the Liao, Jin, Xia, and Yuan, the Manchu rulers created a written language of their own. Standard written Manchu was the official state language. The dynasty had two official scripts: Manchu and Chinese. Manchu-language documents did not simply duplicate Chinese texts. Manchu functioned as a security language in military affairs: until at least the 1760s, military matters were reported only in Manchu. Manchu was also the language used for intelligence reports from frontier regions; it was the language of imperial family affairs; and the language which, along with Mongolian, dominated official correspondence regarding Central Asia.

Even as the Manchus entered the Ming capital, Beijing, and performed the Confucian rituals that enabled them to become “sons of heaven”—that is, Chinese emperors—they kept one foot in the Inner Asian world. Their incorporation of Inner Asian and Chinese ideological themes into a new kind of rulership was, we would argue, precisely what lies behind their extraordinary achievements: not only the conquest of a vast territory spanning the nomadic and sedentary worlds, but the creation of a stable empire that lasted for several centuries.

The army of the conquerors was in reality a multiethnic force composed of Mongols, Manchus, and northeastern transfrontiersmen (Naquin and Rawski 1987). The Qing empire was also multiethnic, based on the “khaghan” ideal and the Mongols’ claim to emperorship over all peoples. Whereas Confucians assumed that their principles were universally applicable, the core of the Qing policy was a universal rulership based on the submission of divergent peoples, whose cultures would remain separate. The Qianlong emperor (r. 1736–1795) was thus the ruler of five peoples: the Manchus, Mongols, Tibetans, Uighurs, and Chinese (Crossley 1985). Under his reign, the Qing tried to preserve the cultural boundaries separating these five peoples, while attempting to sinicize the ethnic minorities living in south and southwest China.

The titles that the Qing emperors claimed correspond to the political demands of ruling a multiethnic empire. The earliest title to which the Manchus laid claim was the Mongol title of khan. Since Mongols may have occupied about half of present-day Manchuria, winning Mongol allies was vital to the Manchus’ unification of northeastern Asia. In 1606, Nurgaci received the title *kundulen han* ‘honorable khan’ from Khalkha Mongol chieftains. He later claimed the title *genggiyen han* ‘wise khan’ on 17 February 1616, when he proclaimed the beginning of the Later Jin dynasty.

As Pamela Crossley (1992) has explained, the concepts that lie behind the khan-ship differ significantly from those that form the Chinese emperorship. After Chinggis, the title “khan of khans” or supreme khan (kaghan) was sought by ambitious tribal leaders in the steppe world as the ultimate political goal. But the “khan of khans” was not a Chinese emperor. His power was based on the much more loosely integrated tribal confederations that emerged from time to time in the steppe world and was conditional on the acquiescence of tribal chieftains. This title—and the political conditions it implied—formed the political context of Nurgaci’s Later Jin dynastic rule. The Qing dynasty was to preserve its claim to this title throughout its life.

The Qing dynasty also followed the precedent set by the Liao, Xia, and Mongol regimes in adopting Tibetan Buddhism as a symbolic language of rule. Tibetan Buddhism provided legitimation in a model of rulership that served as an alternative to the Confucian emperorship. The *cakravartin* or Buddhist king emerged in China after the fall of the Han dynasty (202 C.E.) and can be found throughout the Buddhist world. The *cakravartin* is a world conqueror, a universal ruler (Tambiah 1976). In the fourteenth century, *cakravartin* kingship was modified by the incorporation of the Tibetan notion of reincarnated lines of spiritual descent. In what we might interpret as a synthesis of the Confucian idea of an “orthodox line of descent” linking legitimate dynasties to one another in a continuous genealogy of rulership (*zhengtong*), we have after the fourteenth century a Buddhist “orthodox line of descent” identifying a line

of reincarnated *cakravartin* rulers that began with Chinggis Khan and continued through Khubilai, linking these rulers to Buddhist deities.

In 1635, a year before he proclaimed the establishment of the Qing dynasty, the Manchu ruler Hongtaiji (r. 1626–1643) received the *yi-dam* consecration and thus the powers of the deity Mahākāla, a seven-armed warlike god known as a Protector of the (Buddhist) Law (Grupper 1980). Later Qing rulers were depicted as Manjusri, the bodhisattva of compassion and wisdom, whose cult was centered on the temples at Wutaishan in north China (Farquhar 1968). Thangkas paintings depicting the Qianlong emperor as Manjusri were produced in the palace workshops in Beijing; one now hangs in a chapel in the Potala in Lhasa, Tibet (Lin 1991).

The permanence of the Manchu achievement is evident in the contemporary shape of China. Shortly after the Qing dynasty was ended by the revolution of 1911, Sun Yat-sen and other nationalist leaders rejected a definition that would have made the Chinese nation-state coterminous with the Han Chinese people, who constitute the majority of the population. Instead, successive constitutions have defined China as a multiethnic political community, which includes the ethnic minorities identified by the Qianlong emperor 200 years ago. The modern Chinese state is a product of the long historical interaction of Inner and East Asia.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw, for the first time, a convergence of sedentary societies on the steppe. The profits of the fur trade had since the sixteenth century enticed Russian exploration east of the Urals (Bergholz 1993). By the 1660s, a search for sources of grain to supply the Russian settlements led explorers to the Amur valley, where they were checked by Manchu forces. For at least the next century, both the Russians and the Qing were involved in multistate diplomacy with themselves and the various nomadic khanates as the major participants.

Several seventeenth-century nomadic confederations occupied Inner Asia. Under Altan Khan the Khalkha (eastern Mongol) tribes had expanded their power, exerting pressure on the Oirat (western Mongols), who were pushed out of the Dzungarian basin toward the pastures between the Ili and Irtysh rivers. The westward migration of the Oirat brought them into conflict with the Kazakh. The Kazakh, a Turkic-speaking group that had converted to Islam, had broken free of their overlords, the Uzbek, to create their own khanate in the last half of the fifteenth century. Their collision with the Oirat over water, pasturelands, and the oasis towns of the Syr Darya river in Transoxiana continued after leadership within the Oirat confederation shifted in the latter part of the seventeenth century to the Dzungars, who were unified in a strong confederation under Galdan. Eventually, the Russians and the Qing were to divide and swallow up these khanates, permanently incorporating Inner Asia within the political systems of sedentary states.

With the incorporation of Inner Asia into the Russian and Qing empires, Asian nomadic pastoralists were subsumed under the bureaucratic authority of sedentary societies. To recognize this historical development is not to conclude that Inner Asian culture was either inferior to or subsumed by the cultures of agrarian peoples. As we have seen, the historical interaction of these cultures has involved mutual borrowing and synthesis. For two millennia, Inner Asia served not only as a bridge across which Buddhism and Islam entered China, but also as a powerful rival to the sedentary agrarian societies on the Asian continent. Throughout that period, the nomads and the agrarian peoples never lived in isolation from one another. Just as Korea and Japan developed distinct self-identities and cultures despite their adaptation of Chinese institutions and ideas, so the peoples of Inner Asia have retained distinct identities and cultures into the present day. Inner Asian cultures continue to shape ethnic minorities dwelling in the new territories added to China by the Qing dynasty—the northeast, Inner Mongolia, Qinghai, Xinjiang, and Tibet. Very similarly, we have seen, with the

breakup of the Soviet Union, the emergence of Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan, republics representing major Inner Asian ethnic groups. In the 1990s, when ethnic nationalism emerged as perhaps the world's most pressing political issue, the historical revival of Inner Asia was a political force on both the Russian and the Chinese scene.

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Part 2

Issues and Processes in East Asian Musics

The range of theoretical topics studied by ethnomusicologists today makes it impossible for any single volume to address every issue and process that has been deemed important. Nevertheless, certain themes continually recur in the study of East Asian music, and some of these have been selected for general consideration in this section before their particular manifestations in various cultures and genres within the region are examined. Throughout East Asia, musical practices and institutions have been shaped by philosophical and religious ideas, often concerning the role of music in the maintenance of a harmonious state. The region's rich store of historical data has encouraged the study of the musical past and the continual reinterpretation of that past through the changing ideological perspectives of the present. The transmission of existing repertoires through written and oral means has been studied alongside the adaptation of the same repertoires to the sweeping social and political changes of the modern era. Other studies have focused on the functions of music within theater and dance performances, and on musical instruments with their widely distributed families and distinctive local variants. Each of these themes is explored with reference to East Asia as a whole in the articles that follow.

Class on traditional musical instruments in the Children's Palace, Shanghai, China. The children shown are playing the *ruan* and *pipa*. Photo by SuperStock.



Musical Historiography in East Asia

Andrew P. KILLICK

Music History Nationalistic Effects

East Asia has inherited an exceptionally rich store of both documentary materials and archaeological remains (figure 1) for the study of music history. The survival of treatises, notations, musical instruments, and depictions of performances often makes it possible to give precise dates for important musical events, or to trace the long-term evolution of particular repertoires, at any time during the past two millennia. This abundance of resources tends to encourage a strong historical bent that has emerged in studies of the region's music whenever contemporary circumstances were propitious. For instance, when the Chinese Communist Party granted a new measure of freedom to intellectuals in the "Hundred Flowers" campaign of 1956, one result was a spate of primarily historical research on Chinese music that drew on a vast body of literary and other sources.

MUSIC HISTORY

Interest in music history itself has a long history in East Asia. Historical writing in general has been treated as one of the main types of literature in China since Han times (c. 202 B.C.E. to 220 C.E.), and each of the standard dynastic histories (*zhengshi*) includes substantial discussion of music. Similarly in Korea, each dynasty has produced a history of the previous dynasty's music: the *Samguk sagi* 'History of the Three Kingdoms', written in 1145 under the Koryŏ dynasty (918–1392 C.E.), discusses the music of three earlier states on the Korean peninsula, Silla (57 B.C.E. to 935 C.E.), Koguryŏ (37 B.C.E. to 668 C.E.), and Paekche (18 B.C.E. to 660 C.E.); and the music of Koryŏ is in turn described in *Koryŏsa* 'History of the Koryŏ Dynasty', promulgated in 1451 under the succeeding Chosŏn dynasty (1392–1910). The fact that music history was studied alongside political history was a natural consequence of the belief, traceable to Confucian texts of the fifth century B.C.E., that properly regulated music would not only reinforce state-sanctioned norms of behavior but bring the state itself into harmony with the cosmic order, ensuring a stable and prosperous rule.

Awareness of the history of particular pieces of music is reflected in the long-standing practice of differentiating repertoires on the basis of their place of origin. As early as the Jin dynasty (265–420 C.E.), the Han Chinese had established a distinction between the multimovement suites of their own music, *Qingshang yue*, and the repertoires of instruments imported from Persia or other places west of China, such as

FIGURE 1 Brick from a tomb structure with impressed entertainers, panpipe (*paixiao*) players, jugglers, and dancers. Han dynasty, c. 200 B.C.E. to 200 C.E. Copyright 1997 Werner Forman/Art Resource, New York.



the *pipa* lute, *bili* oboe, *konghou* harp, and *jiegu* hourglass drum. By the eighth century, Japanese court musicians were categorizing the orchestral repertoire of *gagaku* into *wagaku* from Japan, *sankangaku* from the three former kingdoms on the Korean peninsula, and *tôgaku* from the contemporary Tang dynasty of China (618–907). Meanwhile, most of the Korean peninsula had come under the control of the Unified Silla kingdom (668–935), and its indigenous music was collectively developed into the *hyangak* component of Silla court music, in opposition to the Chinese-derived *tangak* component. Nomenclature reflecting these separate origins persisted in each country even as the imported music was transformed to satisfy local taste: the word *tangak*, for instance, is still used in Korea, more than a thousand years after the demise of China's Tang dynasty.

Another reflection of early interest in music history is a tendency to venerate the lost music of the past and to regard contemporary practice as an imperfect attempt to reconstruct it. This trend was already present in China's Han dynasty, whose official musical culture was founded on an effort to revive the ancient music lost under the book-burning anti-intellectual regime of the preceding Qin dynasty (221–206 B.C.E.). It was present again in Korea's fifteenth-century reform of court music, which professed to restore the authentic Confucian ritual music of earlier Chinese dynasties.

The reconstruction of past forms of music has been pursued in more recent times by scholars from outside the country in question. In the early twentieth century, for instance, Tanabe Hisao (1883–1984) and other Japanese musicologists began to investigate the court music traditions of China and Korea and their historical relationship to Japanese *gagaku*. Later, scholars from the West studied similar questions, though they often came to quite different conclusions. A notable example is the group that formed around the British musicologist Laurence Picken (b. 1909) in the 1970s. After studying both Chinese and Japanese notated sources, Picken concluded that while the Japanese were correct in believing that their *tôgaku* repertoire had originated in Tang China, the music had been substantially altered since its arrival in Japan; in particular, the tempo had become much slower, leaving room for a profusion of ornamentation

in all the melodic parts that had rendered the original melodies unrecognizable except by special paleographic techniques like those of Picken himself. This view has not been well received in Japan, where, since the current repertoire of *gagaku* was standardized in the late nineteenth century, there has been a strong belief and pride in an essentially unchanging court music that is claimed to be the world's oldest continuous orchestral tradition.

NATIONALISTIC EFFECTS

It was perhaps inevitable that native and foreign scholars should tend to take different views of music history in East Asia. The region had its own well-established traditions of scholarly writing on music long before Western ethnomusicologists (or their forebears, students of "national music" or "comparative musicology") arrived on the scene with their alien theories and methodologies; and the objectives of the two were bound to be different if not opposed. This was all the more so in modern times, as Western culture and music swept into the region, often to the detriment of home-grown traditions, even while political nationalist movements were taking shape in each country. Writing on the history and culture of the home country was often nationalistically motivated and adopted a chauvinistic tone that alienated many Western scholars and widened the ideological gap.

Thus, in East Asia, the international dialogue on music history, like that on history in general, sometimes seems to gravitate irresistably toward the debunking and defending of cherished national myths. To take some examples from the area most familiar to the present writer: when Western historians argue that Korea during the Koryŏ period (918–1392) and the Chosŏn period (1392–1910) was a slave society rather than a feudal one, that the Chosŏn government consistently encouraged immigration and intermarriage rather than maintaining a racially homogeneous population, or that the sprouts of nascent Korean capitalism were implanted, rather than uprooted, during the Japanese colonial period (1910–1945), few Koreans will be receptive. Western musicologists must be prepared for a similar response (or for no response at all) if they argue, as Robert Provine has done, that the fifteenth-century reform of Korean court music was more a new creation than a re-creation of Chinese ritual music, or, as the present writer has done, that Korean *ch'anggŭk* opera arose in the early twentieth century from a combination of American and Japanese influences and not from the more acceptable model of Chinese opera supposedly performed in Seoul at the time.

The nationalist agenda in much East Asian writing on music history has manifested itself as a tendency to treat the writer's own country as a unified and independent entity since time immemorial, and a reluctance to acknowledge foreign influences other than the usually prestigious influence of imperial China. In recent decades, however, as the modern East Asian nations gained a more secure sense of their position in the world, some of this reluctance has been worn away. Japanese scholars, for instance, have produced a series of volumes comprising essays on the music of other cultures posited as possible antecedents or sources of Japanese music. Traditions of musical historiography that predate modern nationalism seem to have resurfaced to provide a sound basis for the idea that music, after all, *has* a history.

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Musical Institutions in East Asia

Andrew P. KILLICK

Offices of Music
Schools and Guilds
Twentieth-Century Initiatives

Institutions devoted to the administration, transmission, and scholarly study of music have been documented in East Asia for more than two thousand years. As each form of government and polity has bequeathed its own ways of managing the often prominent role accorded to music, the region displays innumerable types of musical organization, large and small, many of which are discussed in more narrowly focused articles in this volume. The present overview will confine itself to a few important types of institution distinctive to the region: the offices of music attached to royal and imperial courts, the “schools” and lineages maintained within particular performance traditions, and various twentieth-century initiatives aimed at preserving traditional music in the face of rapid cultural westernization.

OFFICES OF MUSIC

In China and the neighboring countries that came under its influence, music and government have been closely linked for as long as there have been historical records of either one. Confucian theories of government held that proper *yayue* ‘refined music’ could not only promote behavior conforming to Confucian ideals but also bring the state into harmony with the universe through the correct adjustment of pitch systems. To that end, the first *yuefu*, or government office of music, was established under the Zhou dynasty (c. 1045–256 B.C.E.) and was made responsible for setting an absolute pitch standard for the empire as well as training musicians and supervising performances. Each succeeding dynasty followed the example of the Zhou, and each new office of music began by retuning the standard pitches to correct the disharmony that had evidently contributed to the fall of the previous dynasty. The tradition was also carried on in Korea, where the Silla kingdom (57 B.C.E. to 935 C.E.) established the first court music institution, of which today’s Kungnip Kugagwŏn ‘National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts’ claims to be a direct if remote lineal successor.

In Japan, a bureau called the Gagaku-ryō was established in 701 C.E. to supervise the teaching and performance of the court music and dance known as *gagaku*. This term was simply a Japanese pronunciation of the Chinese term *yayue*, though both had by now come to refer to performances for entertainment rather than Confucian ritual, and the court music institutions had clearly gone beyond their original mandate of contributing to morality and a stable government. Throughout East Asia, these

institutions tended to split into more specialized bodies handling different functions of music and different categories of performers. For instance, instrumental musicians might well be low-class professional performers, while vocal music in classical Chinese would have to be performed by members of the literate elite, and the use of female dancers might be criticized as inimical to music's ostensible objective of promoting virtue in the male ruling order. Factors like these led to the frequent restructuring of government music offices.

SCHOOLS AND GUILDS

A second type of musical institution characteristic of East Asia is the tendency to form "schools" or "guilds" of performers within particular traditions, in some respects comparable to the *gharānā* of Indian classical music, with carefully maintained pedagogical lineages that may or may not coincide with lines of familial descent. This tendency is most fully developed in Japan, where tight restrictions on the right to perform certain kinds of music are evident from the earliest documentary sources on music. Each instrument or other role within Japan's court music tradition was passed down in a separate lineage from father to son; several other instrumental traditions were legally restricted to guilds of blind musicians; and the Fuke sect of Zen long held a monopoly of *syakuhati* (*shakuhachi*) flute performance. Though these restrictions were lifted in the modernization program of the Meiji (or Meizi) era (1868–1912), the *iemoto* system of lineage-based schools (*ryū*) remains the primary form of institution for training in traditional music. Each school is structured hierarchically under an autocratic *iemoto* 'househead' who is the arbiter not only of stylistic matters but also of the granting of credentials to teachers representing the school. In *koto* zither performance, such schools can be traced to the late sixteenth century, and most types of classical Japanese music and dance, and recently even folk song, came to be practiced somewhat differently by a number of distinct schools.

In Korea, when several alternative traditions of *sanjo* instrumental performance developed during the first half of the twentieth century, each became known, following Japanese usage, as the *ryu* of a certain revered founder, as in "Ham Tongjŏngwŏl-ryu *kayagŭm sanjo*." A longer tradition of lineage consciousness was maintained by singers of *p'ansori* narratives, who took pride in knowing several generations of their pedagogical past and often acknowledged in performance the teacher who had developed the particular version of each passage they adopted. In China, distinct schools (*liupai*) of *qin* zither performance can be documented from the eleventh century, each recording its lineage of masters and disciples and defining its repertoire in anthologies of tablatures.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY INITIATIVES

In the sometimes precipitate westernization of the twentieth century, these long-guarded traditions have often seemed threatened with alteration beyond recognition, if not with outright extinction. Japan, the first to embrace a Western model of modernity, was also the first to develop institutions for preserving traditional performing arts against the potential ravages of modernization. This began around 1900 with the formation of *hōzonkai* 'preservation societies', local bodies devoted to the perpetuation and dissemination of particular folk songs and dances from their own area. The preservation societies operated with government approval and encouragement, but a more substantial government initiative was the Intangible Cultural Properties system inaugurated in 1950. Tangible cultural properties, such as historic monuments and treasures of art and architecture, had been protected under law for some time, but the new legislation extended the principle to music, dance, and theater. In some respects, the policy was founded on the old *iemoto* system, focusing on the designation of a single authoritative "holder" (albeit in some cases a group) for each tradition, and on



FIGURE 1 A “national treasure,” Toshio Tjuji, chief of court musicians, plays a *san-no-tsuzumi* drum during an orchestra, or *kangen*, performance by the Imperial Gagaku Troupe. Photo by James L. Stanfield, National Geographic Image Collection.

the training of legitimate successors, while the addition of government sponsorship and monitoring would serve both to guarantee the survival of the tradition and to arrest its further development.

The Japanese system was somewhat elitist, making a distinction between “important intangible cultural properties” of historical or artistic value, whose leading practitioners were designated “living national treasures” (figure 1) and awarded a government stipend, and “intangible folk-cultural properties,” which were considered valuable only for understanding traditional Japanese lifestyles and were recognized only by unpaid appointments without the title “living national treasure.” When a similar system was adopted in the Republic of Korea in 1962, this distinction was avoided; and of the initial group of seven Intangible Cultural Properties designated in 1964, all but one were folk genres. This probably reflects the fact that, since the period of Japanese colonial rule (1910–1945), Korean nationalists had come to regard folk arts as a better expression of national identity than the culture of the ruling class, which had been not only more cosmopolitan but often harsh and exploitative in its management of the general population. The ideology of intangible cultural properties has been criticized as an artificial fossilization of traditions that took shape through continuous adaptation to circumstances; but it has undoubtedly perpetuated a number of traditions that would otherwise have become extinct, and its success in this regard has been taken as a model in places as disparate as the Philippines, Thailand, and Romania.

The People’s Republic of China has developed its own legislation and institutions for the maintenance of traditional music, all of them rooted in the age-old partnership between music and government, even though the government’s view of particular kinds of music has gone through some radical changes (for instance, during the Cultural Revolution of 1966–1976). Communist governments in general, including those of North Korea, the Mongolian People’s Republic, and the former Soviet Union, have adopted Maksim Gorky’s view of artists as “engineers of the soul” and have sought to control artistic expression as a vehicle of state propaganda. In pursuing that goal, they have often been less interested in preservation than in modification and reform of traditional performing arts, though in recent decades the international attention given to such art forms as Peking opera and Mongolian throat singing has helped persuade governments to support these arts in a more traditional form.

Institutions in the communist parts of East Asia stand out for their ability to undertake projects on a scale that could be contemplated only with support from a strong and intrusive central government. A notable example is the immense *Encyclopedia of Chinese Literature and Art*, begun in 1979 under the aegis of the Chinese Communist Party’s propaganda department as well as the ministry of culture, and scheduled for completion as a set of 450 volumes around 2003. But this too continues a tradition, for not only has China produced a number of monumental encyclopedias in the past (often under equally powerful regimes), but in the largest of all such works, the eighteenth-century *Gujin tushu jicheng*, discussion of music is included not in the section “Arts and Sciences” but under “Political Economy.” The legacy of the ancient government offices of music lives on in the often highly political purposes served by musical knowledge and institutions in East Asia today.

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Cultural Exchange

NAKA Mamiko

The Reception of Western Culture and the Positioning of Indigenous Culture

Multilayered Cultural Exchanges

Parallels in Musical Practice

Music Education

Cultural Transmission and Diffusion

East Asia, the easternmost region of the Orient, has been described from a Western perspective as “imaginative geography” (Said 1978). Arguably, each country in East Asia maintained its own traditional culture and developed in its own original ways on an equal footing with the Occident, until it accepted modern Western civilization. However, although the cultures that are the focus of this essay—China (including Taiwan and Hong Kong,) Japan, Korea, and Mongolia, including the ethnic groups within each—experienced a significant negative effect as a result of their encounter with modern Western civilization, their traditions have been revived, with a sense of pan-Asian identity, through exchanges among them.

THE RECEPTION OF WESTERN CULTURE AND THE POSITIONING OF INDIGENOUS CULTURE

Against a background of modern state building—social, political, and economic—the countries of East Asia strove for assimilation to what their progressives, historically, considered “advanced” Western culture. In these circumstances, Japan, whose perspective on the West was brought to less “advanced” East Asian countries, often became prominent in complex cultural exchanges.

In music, when Western researchers, composers, and other practitioners began to visit East Asia, performance spaces were created for modern Western music, and Asians began to write new compositions in Western styles. But cultural influences have not been unilateral: East Asia has not been content simply to receive Western culture; rather, for the past 150 years or so, the region has served as base for transmitting Oriental culture to the West. Today, as one result of the remarkable expansion of media such as radio, television, and recordings, East Asia is participating actively in the promulgation of world music.

MULTILAYERED CULTURAL EXCHANGES

Cultural transplants took place within East Asia at the same time as this region received musical culture directly from the West, and each of the East Asian countries was intricately involved in developing and implementing a national policy. From the mid-nineteenth century, for example, Protestant missions flourished in East Asia and—among other activities—introduced the church hymn. In Japan, this Western music not only was introduced in mission churches and mission schools but also became

part of education in Japanese schools, where it was converted into *gakkô syôka* ‘school songs’. These newly created Japanese songs were transplanted to China, where they were modified and became established as *xuetang yuege*, a term with the same meaning—school songs. Japanese school songs were also used in education in Korea and Taiwan, with Japanese lyrics, during the Japanese occupation (which ended in 1945). This is an instance of what can be called “multilayered” cultural exchange. That is, although Western culture, such as Western music, might of course be transmitted directly, it was also transmitted in some contexts with Japan as a mediator, spreading in this way to other regions of East Asia.

Another instance of multilayered exchange can be found in Mongolia. There, musical modernization was affected greatly not only by Russian traditions but also by contact with China.

PARALLELS IN MUSICAL PRACTICE

Since ancient times—a thousand years ago or more—Japan and Korea have both experienced a “cultural acceptance” of foreign music; one example is the introduction in both countries of *yayue* (pronounced *gagaku* in Japanese and *aak* in Korean) from China. This process of exchange between each of these two countries and a foreign country—China—is sometimes said to have a parallel in the process of acceptance and development of Western musical culture in East Asia in the modern period (Luo 1987).

In these countries, as elsewhere, music has multiple purposes; one of its functions is exemplified by the military band, and in each country Western-type military bands were organized. Western leaders introduced military music, and then new pieces were composed in the same style. A similar process was the modernization of traditional music; in this context, new pieces were composed for original (preserved) or altered traditional instruments. For example, during the 1920s Michio Miyagi (Miyagi Mitio, 1894–1956) of Japan and Liu Tianhua (1895–1932) of China altered certain traditional instruments and created a new type of traditional music based on the traditions of their own countries. More recently, East Asian composers such as Takemitsu Toru (1930–1996), Yun Isang (1917–1995), and Tan Dun (b. 1957) have written pieces that are based on Western musical styles but have an Asian sound or “flavor,” achieved by incorporating traditional instruments. Musical notation is another example. Each country had a system of its own for notating traditional music. However, beginning in the nineteenth century, the standardized Western notation system was commonly adopted for transcribing folk tunes, which had formerly been orally transmitted; and cipher notation was introduced to China from Japan after the turn of the twentieth century.

MUSIC EDUCATION

With regard to professional education, classes in traditional music and those in Western music were separate in both Japan and Korea. In China, by contrast, beginning with the introduction of Western music, traditional music of the Han or of ethnic minorities was taught simultaneously with Western art music. Today in China—after a period characterized by a cultural imbalance—Western music and Chinese traditional music are often presented together not only in professional education but also on the same program in a concert hall. Also, music academies or conservatories, in the Western sense, were founded; these institutions trained professional performers, composers, and music teachers who would work in public education.

Some private companies created music studios for amateurs. For example, to teach his own violin method (the “Suzuki method”), Suzuki Sin’ichi (1897–1998) established a Western-style training system. When the idea of such Western-type training was transplanted to Japan, it was structured so as to adapt the framework of traditional

oral transmission, which is very common in the East. Later, this system was reexported to the West.

CULTURAL TRANSMISSION AND DIFFUSION

We have already seen one example of cultural transmission and diffusion: the adoption and adaptation of Western church hymns as Japanese school songs in the nineteenth century. A related phenomenon is the integration of a folk song into a school song. Another example of transmission and diffusion is the quotation of folk songs in art songs and opera. Such developments have been called “cultural transcontextualization” (Yamaguti 1995).

In the twentieth century, the media had a remarkable effect on transmission and diffusion, making it possible for music to transcend the limits of time and space. Today, of course, the experience of music is not confined to a live performance in a particular site but can happen anywhere at any time through electronic media such as radio, television, satellite broadcasting, and the Internet.

It must be noted that the new media have led to a considerable loss of ethnic (folk) music—an outcome that is sometimes attributed to intentional manipulation by producers and others. On the other hand, exposure in the mass media has also made it possible to revive nearly extinct music, for example by adapting traditional tunes in popular songs. Moreover, many people have become familiar with their own folk music through the media. In Japan, for instance, young people’s amateur choruses have had an opportunity to become familiar with Japanese folk music through the work of Sibata Minao (1916–1995).

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Transmission of Music in East Asia

Frederick LAU

Oral Transmission

Notation

Mnemonics

Schools and Music Institutions

Transmission is the process by which music, performance techniques, and musical knowledge are passed from teacher to student or between musicians.

In East Asia, as elsewhere, music is transmitted by either oral or written means, and in some cases a combination of the two. Contrary to an outdated notion that associates written tradition with advanced civilizations and oral transmission with illiterate peoples, ethnomusicologists have found that in many cultures these two modes of transmission often coexist rather than being mutually exclusive. Understanding how music is transmitted in a specific culture also involves understanding the role of music, the social status of musicians, access to and restrictions on music, performance practices, and musical aesthetics in that culture. In this essay, I focus on common types of music transmission in China, Japan, and Korea in order to establish some trends and patterns for transmission in the region as a whole.

ORAL TRANSMISSION

In intimate settings and among nonliterate groups, oral transmission continues to be the predominant mode. Elsewhere, oral and written transmission coexist, but a clear distinction remains in East Asia between music in print and music as practice. The emergence of notation in a particular cultural context does not necessarily mean that notation will replace oral-aural methods of transmission; oral means may still be needed to transmit information absent in music notation. In Western classical music and music for the zither *qin* and flute *syakuhati*, notation and written scores are often considered by most musicians the most important source of information for prospective students of a tradition, but in order to learn correct style and performance practice, reading a score alone is inadequate. One has to learn from a teacher who uses oral transmission to provide additional information regarding conventional practice in realizing the score. Through this process, the student gains access to additional knowledge not indicated by the notation.

Although music transmission in East Asia has relied for centuries on both oral and written methods, and despite the abundance of music scores and notations in the region, rote learning and oral tradition remain primary modes of transmission. What is communicated through a page of written music is by nature partial because of the limitations of written language and symbols. Pitch and rhythm can be shown in music

Understanding how music is transmitted in a culture also involves understanding the role of music, the social status of musicians, access to and restrictions on music, performance practices, and musical aesthetics in that culture.

notation, but other pertinent information such as ideal sonic quality, appropriate expressions, the proper way of holding an instrument, and the length of certain notes can be learned only through oral-aural means. In this regard, as well as in the teaching of cultural meanings and values, oral transmission fulfills an important function in the transmission of music regardless of the existence of written notation.

NOTATION

The history of notation is well documented in all three countries. Among the many types of notation, pitch notation seems to be most widespread. Using written characters (Chinese in most cases) to indicate pitches, pitch notation provides the main melody. The prevalence of text-based pitch notation indicates the centrality of music within elite and literati cultures. One of the earliest Chinese pitch notations is a type of archaic notation known as *lülüpu*. In *lülüpu*, Chinese characters were used to indicate pitches, for example, *huang zhong* ‘yellow bell’ as the first note of the mode or scale, *dalü* as the second note, and so on. The twelve pitches were represented by twelve sets of Chinese terms. Later, in the tenth century, a much more simplified pitch notation called *gongchepu* was developed for both vocal and instrumental scores. In this notation, rhythm is sometimes shown through punctuation marks placed alongside the music.

The pitch notation that appeared in the Korean music treatise *Akhak kwebŏm* in the late fifteenth century was *yulchapo* ‘letter notation’. *Yulchapo* borrowed the same twelve Chinese characters to indicate the twelve pitches in the octave. A similar mensural notation called *chŏngganbo* ‘square notation’ also came into practice in the fifteenth century. In *chŏngganbo*, approximate durational values were indicated by columns of squares that could contain pitch-name symbols from the *yulchapo* notation or other symbols for absolute or relative pitch, melodic ornaments, vocal texts, or instrumental playing techniques.

It is clear that the primary purpose of pitch notation is to serve as a memory aid for musicians. What is absent in pitch notation is information pertaining to the manner of performance, detailed ornamentation of the music, and sometimes the exact rhythm of the melody.

To ensure that a performance technique is properly transmitted, a form of notation was created that indicated actual playing techniques. Sometimes known as prescriptive notation, this form of notation contains codes or musical shorthand providing detailed instructions for performing on specific instruments. A good example is *wenzipu* and *jianzipu* notation for the Chinese seven-stringed zither *qin*. *Wenzipu*—which reads like classical prose—consists of sentences and words indicating which string the right hand should pluck and where the left hand should stop the sound. *Jianzipu* evolved from *wenzipu* around the eighth century. The symbols or codes in *jianzipu* are created by condensing the sentences of *wenzipu*. In Japan, this type of instrument-specific tablature is quite developed and can be used for a number of instruments. For example, the *hichiriki* finger chart and *koto* part in the *gagaku* score, the *nō-kan* tablature, and the *syakuhati* and *syamisen* tablature were all created to show the place-

ment of the fingers. Since Japanese traditional music is taught as a sonic rather than visual or graphic event, having a clear aural understanding of the musical gesture is of utmost importance (Malm 1986:43). In Korean music, this form of notation is called *hapchabo*. Its popularity is limited, but evidently there was a flood of *hapchabo* scores during the mid-Chosŏn period, created by the literati of the time. Nowadays, only the zither *kŏmun'go* uses this notation to any extent, while many instruments continue to use pitch notations in conjunction with *chŏngganbo*. Prescriptive notation not only is limited to specific instruments but also, in general, restricts access to music to members of the literati class.

MNEMONICS

In many genres, music is transmitted through mnemonics: speech sounds that represent rhythms, pitches, and other elements. Mnemonics might be best thought of as oral-aural transmission devices that may be written down afterward, thus becoming notation.

Mnemonics are used for both melodic and percussion instruments. Some percussion mnemonics are for ensembles and designate not only rhythms but specific instruments or combinations of instruments. Chinese percussion notation developed into a type of mnemonics called *luogujing* that is used to denote specific instrumental ensembles and overall rhythm patterns. Using onomatopoeic syllables for each instrument, and composite syllables for a combination of instruments, it is capable of recording playing techniques, instrumentation, and the contour of a melody. In addition, *luogujing* also serves as a creative pedagogical tool for introducing a variety of rhythmic combinations. The most famous examples of *luogujing* are found in *shifan luogu* (ten variations of gongs and drums), *Zhedong luogu* (percussion from eastern Zhejiang Province), *Su'nan chuida* (music for percussion and winds from southern Jiangsu Province), and Peking (Beijing) opera. The percussion mnemonics of Japanese *nô* drama became part of the musical performance, in which the drummers recite their syllables in a highly stylized form. The *nô-kan* flute notation is based on mnemonics reflecting the contour but not the specific pitches of a melody. Of China, Japan, and Korea, it is Korea that perhaps has the most developed mnemonic notation. As recorded in the Annals of King Sejo (r. 1455–1468), *yukpo* mnemonic notation was the only notation used for *pipa*, *kŏmun'go*, *kayagŭm*, *chŏk*, and *p'iri* (Lee 1993:31). At present, mnemonics for instruments such as *changgo* and *kayagŭm* exist side by side with other written forms such as *yulchapo* and *chŏngganbo*.

SCHOOLS AND MUSIC INSTITUTIONS

Apart from the use of music notation, many types of music are passed on through schools and music institutions. “School” in this sense refers not so much to a physical setting for learning as to a set of stylistic traditions associated with a region or an individual. Once students are accepted into a lineage, they are expected to adhere to the performance style of that school. Most genres of traditional music have been taught through institutions that exerted complete control over access to this knowledge. For example, in Japan entry into a school known as *iemoto* ‘family tradition’ or *ryu* ‘lineage’ has often been hereditary, and the pedagogy has been quite systematic, with a formalized progression of pieces to be learned. In many traditions, loyalty to a single school is the norm; but in others, such as Korean *p'ansori* training, it is common for a singer to learn from many teachers, so that different stories may be learned and sung in various styles.

In China, regional style is taught for instruments such as the *qin*, *pipa*, and *zheng*. In storytelling and operatic singing, the idea of a school was mostly focused on famous individual performers such as the Mei Lanfang school in Peking opera, the Hua Wenyi style of *kunqu* singing, and the Hong Xian'nü school of female singing in Cantonese opera.

In some traditions, students are expected to begin with precise imitation of their teacher or teachers, but they are not considered serious musicians until they move beyond slavish imitation to develop a unique and recognizable style. Korean *sanjo* is a typical example of this phenomenon: a good student will gradually make alterations and introduce his or her own individual materials, eventually evolving a unique performance style. The success of the famous *kayagŭm* player Hwang Byung-ki (Hwang Pyŏnggi) is a good example.

For centuries, the formation of regional and individual schools has produced a diversity of performance styles for each genre. However, the emergence of standardized music education and the establishment of government-sponsored music conservatories in the early twentieth century challenged this trend. In the mid-nineteenth century, Western music was introduced into East Asia through the military and Christian missionaries, resulting in a full-scale adoption of Western musical concepts, aesthetics, and practices. This westernization was most noticeable in China and Japan, where many native musicians began to infuse new ideas into traditional music and to promote the popularity of Western instruments. Early twentieth-century music pioneers in China—Xiao Youmei, Li Shutong, Wang Zhi, and others—devoted their efforts to improving Western classical music. Under the influence of these musicians, the first music education conservatory in China was established in Shanghai in 1927, creating a foundation for the standardization of music practice. In Japan, the National Conservatory, Tokyo University of Fine Arts, and national training schools based in national theaters are all part of an attempt by the government to promote and foster a national music culture.

The situation in Korea was slightly different, partly because of the Japanese occupation and internal Korean politics. The Royal Conservatory Chongagwŏn, which had a long history at the Korean court, was maintained under the colonial government and provided traditional music through live performances and radio broadcasts for the public. After World War II and Korean independence, the *Kungnip kugagwŏn* ‘National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts’ was founded in 1951. *Kungnip kugagwŏn*, one of the most comprehensive traditional music institutions, is responsible for training Korean traditional musicians and establishing a national standard for various music genres. At present, most of the teaching is done through a combination of music notation and oral-aural means. In addition to the activities of *Kungnip kugagwŏn*, the ministry of culture has also instituted a system whereby individual musicians can be designated “living national treasures” and objects such as artifacts and temples can be designated “tangible cultural assets.” This large-scale governmental support, which is based on the Japanese model, provides much-needed funding for the promotion and transmission of traditional music in Korea.

Although the overall goal of transmission is similar in China, Japan, and Korea, there are differences among the three countries with regard to the procedures deemed most appropriate for passing music from one musician to the next. The choice of a mode of transmission is heavily influenced by the particular features of each culture. In Japanese music, imitation—to ensure exact duplication of a model—is highly praised; to ensure proper reproduction of the music, students are expected not to deviate from the teacher, and the choice of instructional methods emphasizes this valuation. In sharp contrast to this, transmission of Korean music is a matter not so much of exact reproduction as of cultivating an individual personal style. There are three stages in mastering this feature of Korean music. First, a student learns by rote from one teacher; second, after acquiring the basic performance style, the student learns from other teachers; third and finally, the student moves into innovation and creation. The concept of a school or lineage, therefore, is not clearly identifiable in Korean music, because the final focus is on the individual’s musical innovation rather than on repro-

duction of the style of a school or lineage. The Japanese *iemoto* style of musical lineage was not accepted in Korean music until the 1960s.

The Chinese attitude toward music schools lies somewhere closer to the Korean aesthetic. While learning by rote is the norm in many folk and elite genres, the goal is not to reproduce exactly what is notated in the score but to elaborate and add ornaments to the melody. The concept of *dapu*—a process of realizing the *qin* notation in tone—involves re-creation and recomposition (Yung 1985). Although most *qin* players belong to a specific school or *liupai*, in the *dapu* process it is expected that the player can elaborate according to an individual understanding or interpretation of the music. The musician is at once a performer and a composer. Similarly, in *Jiangnan sizhu* or *Chaozhou xianshiyue* musicians are expected to elaborate on the melody in every performance rather than follow the main melody in the notation.

In all three countries, then, we find diversity and similarities in how music is transmitted. Understanding music transmission as culture-specific and value-laden rather than as simply a process through which music is passed from musician to musician requires an understanding of the nature of specific music cultures, the contexts in which music is performed, and the role of musicians as bearers of culture.

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Dance

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China

Japan

Korea

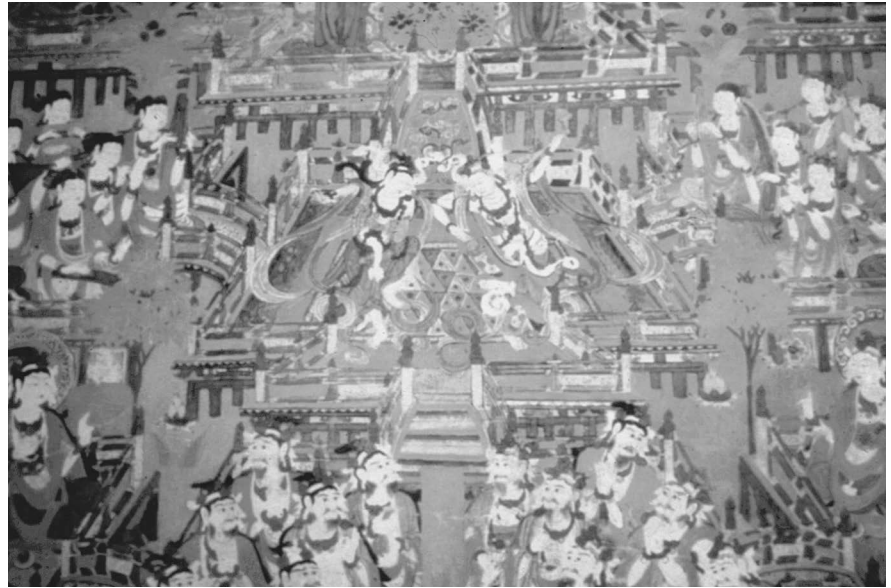
Dance is highly respected in East Asia. Many dance forms have been created and performed, some for ritualistic purposes and others simply for entertainment. This article will focus on dances of China, Japan, and Korea.

Over the vast span of Chinese history, dance has often been referred to in literature: for example, the Confucian canon compiled in the Zhou dynasty (c. 1045–256 B.C.E.) and *Zuozhuan* ‘Chronicle of Zuo’, written by Zuo Qiuming in the fourth century B.C.E. An account titled *Koziki* ‘Record of Ancient Matters’ (710) discusses the mythological origin of dance in Japan. The earliest known documentation of dance in the Korean peninsula is found in a Chinese chronicle, *Writings of the Later Han and Wei Dynasties*, compiled during the sixth and seventh centuries. Considerable pictorial evidence of dance is found in these countries, such as the murals of the Dunhuang caves in China (fourth to tenth centuries; figure 1).

China had a strong influence on various aspects of dance in Japanese and Korean culture, especially on ritualistic dance and music. For example, the *gagaku* (including *bugaku*) of Japan and Confucian ritual music and dance of Korea were brought from China, although within China itself both traditions were extinguished in the People’s Republic. A governmental institution for dance and music, the Academy of the Pear Garden, was established in China during the Tang dynasty (618–907), and Japan and Korea established similar institutions modeled on it. In these countries, dance, particularly court and ritualistic dance, has been taught in such institutional systems.

Another common feature of dance in these countries is its close relationship with drama. Dance often developed as a part of drama, and acting and dancing are frequently indistinguishable. In Chinese, Japanese, and Korean dramatic forms, the same performer may act, mime, dance, sing, chant, and speak. Peking opera, Japanese *nô* and *kabuki*, and Korean masked dance dramas, *t’alch’um* (such as *pongsan t’alch’um*), share many characteristics. Moreover, in each of these countries the government has recognized dance and music dramas as a national treasure and has supported dancers and musicians in order to preserve these traditions; as a result, Peking opera survived even during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1977) in China, although it underwent some changes.

FIGURE 1 Dancing ladies, Tang dynasty, 618–907. A wall painting from the Mogao Caves, Dunhuang, Gansu Province, in northwestern China. Photo from Bridgeman Art Library, London and New York.



There is some communal dancing in which dancers and audiences are interchangeable. However, many dances are performed for a specific audience, either human or divine.

Western ballet and modern dance were introduced into these countries in the early twentieth century, and after World War II they became popular with the general public. Now, they are well accepted and exist alongside indigenous dance traditions. New dance forms have also been created: Western dances with traditional elements and traditional dances with Western elements.

CHINA

China has a long tradition of dance. Historical research on ancient Chinese dances was conducted by the French scholar Marcel Granet (1884–1940). In his book *Danses et légendes de la Chine ancienne* (1926), he examined dance as a living expression of mime and music. In present-day China the tradition of dance and music dramas remains strong. Besides Peking opera, there are about three hundred distinct traditions of opera in the various regions of China. There are also important genres of folk dance and minority dances.

Peking opera

During the Song dynasty (960–1279), a drama consisting of singing and dialogue began to develop. In the late eighteenth century, a number of drama companies went to Beijing to celebrate the birthday of Emperor Qianlong; this was the beginning of Peking opera.

In Peking opera, movements such as highly stylized mime and dance—even scenes of combat—are fully choreographed. Footsteps punctuate the beat of the accompanying music. Pointing the fingers is also characteristic. White silk cuffs called water sleeves, an extension of ordinary sleeves, are a typical part of the performers' costumes, and the actors manipulate these sleeves while acting and dancing. In the spectacular combat scenes, the manipulation of weapons such as long spears and swords takes the form of dance movements. There are also acrobatic movements, such as somersaults; actors begin their training in acrobatics at an early age.

During the prewar era of the twentieth century, the Peking opera actor Mei Lanfang (1894–1961) traveled abroad and was welcomed by audiences in Japan and elsewhere. He introduced Chinese theater to a wider public and influenced theaters in other cultures.

Folk and minority dances

The best-known folk dance of the Han people is the dragon dance (figure 2), which is related to totemic worship. It is performed on festive occasions such as the Chinese New Year. A familiar dance in the north is the *yang'ge*, a rice-planting dance accompanied by drumming and singing. In the south, the flower lantern dance is often performed. A *sheng* dance from the south is shown in figure 3.

The Chinese government recognizes fifty-five minority groups, and these groups maintain their own cultures. Despite the drastic changes that China experienced during the revolution, minority peoples kept their traditional ways of life to a significant extent. One striking characteristic of minority peoples' dance is its unity with music. Their traditional folk dances—performed at festivities like the spring festival and the harvest festival—fall into three main categories: drum dance, dance accompanied with string and wind instruments, and dance accompanied with song and instruments.

FIGURE 2 Dragon dance at a spring festival in Beijing. Photo © 1997 Liu Xiaoyang, ChinaStock.



FIGURE 3 *Sheng* dance, Guizhou. Photo © Liu Liqun, ChinaStock.



FIGURE 4 Modern dance in Beijing. Photo
© Liu Liqan, ChinaStock.



FIGURE 5 A dance opera, *Die Lian Hua*, 1977.
Photo from Liu Liqan collection,
© ChinaStock.



Some minority groups have developed theatrical repertoires based on their traditional folk dances. In the Xishuangbanna area of Yunnan Province, for instance, the Dai people depict movements of animals and birds. The peacock is considered a holy bird, and the peacock dance became a theatrical dance incorporating modern techniques and traditional movements; the performers wear a Western-style costume decorated with peacock feathers.

Ballet and modern dance

Ballet was first introduced to China from Russia in the 1920s and 1930s. Shanghai had a ballet school, and a Russian, Vera Volkova, taught dance; but at that time ballet was exclusively for foreign diplomats and upper-class Chinese. Before the Beijing School (now the Beijing Dance Academy) was established, in 1954, ballet was not popular among Chinese people in general. By the early 1960s, though, ballet had become part of the Chinese dance world and was being infused into many kinds of traditional dance.

During the Cultural Revolution, ballet was attacked by Jiang Qing (the wife of Mao Zedong), who held that it had done untold harm to the cause of socialism and must be revolutionized. An outcome of her criticism was two “revolutionary” ballets that are said to have been the first with a contemporary theme: *The Red Detachment of Women* and *The White-Haired Girl*, both in 1964. Today’s Chinese dancers tend to relegate these revolutionary ballets to the past, and new compositions on more recent themes are being created. There are five ballet companies in China, of which the fifth, in Guangzhou, was founded as recently as 1994. Classical ballet—with its dramatic form, its use of a story line, and its translation of character into the terms of dance—seems to appeal to the tastes of Chinese audiences.

Although modern dance (figure 4) was introduced into China as early as ballet, it took more time to permeate into the Chinese dance world. Indeed, it really began to develop only in the last decade or so of the twentieth century. (A dance opera of 1977 is shown in figure 5.)

JAPAN

Various kinds of dance are performed in present-day Japan; and forms as diverse as *bugaku*, which has existed for more than ten centuries, and Western ballet, which was introduced less than a hundred years ago, coexist in the contemporary dance scene. These varied dances have different origins: for instance, *bugaku* came from China and Korea whereas *nô* and *kabuki* originated in Japan. Also, the contexts of performance vary from ritual to pure entertainment. Audiences vary as well. Although audiences are drawn mostly from the general public, balletgoers are not likely to attend *kabuki* or *nô* theater; audiences for traditional forms tend to be older, including many elderly women; and dances of Western origin are popular among younger people. Nevertheless, certain common elements can be found. In general, dance movements are slow, sustained, and highly stylized: for example, stylized walking—sliding the feet—appears in many dance forms. The following paragraphs will discuss *bugaku*, *nô*, *kabuki buyô* or *nihon buyô*, *ryûkyû buyô*, and *butô*.

Bugaku

Bugaku (figure 6) is a part of *gagaku*, Japanese court and ritual music. The movements are slow, abstract, and highly stylized. They are performed in symmetrical patterns which are not common in other Japanese dance forms and which may suggest that

FIGURE 6 Performers entering the stage area to dance *bugaku* at the Zojiji (Zôzyozji) Temple in Tokyo. Photo by Cameramann International, Ltd.



bugaku originated on the Asian continent and the Korean peninsula. Although *bugaku* has flourished and declined over time, this tradition continues to be transmitted and performed as a part of rituals and as entertainment in theaters.

Bugaku can be classified into two categories: *tôgaku* 'left' and *komagaku* 'right'. Generally, the left-side dances are stronger and the right-side dances are more fluid. Group dances performed in unison by both sides—*hira mai* or *bun no mai* 'scholar's dance' and *bu no mai* 'military dance'—are more graceful than *hasiri mai* 'solo dance'. Symmetrical postures, such as extending both arms and both feet sideways, are common, as are deep knee bends. Movements of the feet are controlled by special footwear that has a solid, flat sole. Traditionally, *bugaku* has been performed by men; however, some contemporary private groups allow women to study it and to perform in public.

Nô

Nô, which began in the late fourteenth century, is an art form that combines dance, music, and drama. It consists of very stylized acting, chanting, singing, and dancing by actors; *ziutai*, choruses sung in unison; and *hayasi*, instrumental music. Some sections are specifically indicated as *mai* 'dance'; however, performers say that once they are on stage, they are actually dancing not only during the *mai* sections but throughout the entire play, even while sitting motionless. *Nô* has been influenced by Zen Buddhism, and its spiritual ideals are expressed in the simplest manner—that is, by the least movements.

The nature of movements in dancing and acting does not differ. The basic movements are performed in a standing posture, and the way the performers walk is characteristic: the actors slide their feet, and the torso, including the arms, should not be moved; this gives the effect of a statue gliding along the floor. In many plays, walking in a circle around the stage symbolizes a long journey. Other movement patterns are limited in number and are mostly abstract. Only a few movements, such as *siori* 'weeping', indicate specific meanings. The actors are mostly men; those portraying women or nonhuman characters wear masks. An actor wearing a mask can show expression only subtly, by tilting the head, and the actors without masks do not show facial expression either.

Kabuki

A genre called *syosagoto* consists of dance pieces performed as part of *kabuki* and also independently of *kabuki*. When these pieces are performed independently, they are called *kabuki buyô* or *nihon buyô*. Although *kabuki* has been performed only by men, *nihon buyô* is performed by men and women.

Buyô is a word coined from *bu*, or *mai*; and *yô*, or *odori*. In theory, Japanese dance forms fall into either one of these categories. Those classified as *mai* emphasize circulating or rotating in which the feet slide over the floor; those classified as *odori* emphasize small jumps and leaps. Although this classification may have been accurate when the dances originated, the distinction later became less clear-cut. Dances originating in the Edo (Tôkyô) region are often classified as *odori* and those originating in Kansai (Kyôto and Ôsaka) as *mai*, even though there may not be much difference in their styles. Still, these two concepts have been important in Japanese aesthetics.

Nihon buyô includes male and female dances (figure 7), with different movements; but male and female dancers actually perform both repertoires. "Male" movements are forceful and broader; "female" movements are softer and more fluid. Male characters stand with the feet apart and turned slightly outward; female characters stand with the feet turned inward, "pigeon-toed." A female character often manipulates the long sleeves of the costume. Larger movements are abstract, but there are some movements that mimic daily activities such as writing a letter and playing a ball game. Stamping—which originally signified the exorcism of evil spirits dwelling underground—is a characteristic feature, and the dance floor is constructed so that it will

FIGURE 7 Two performers in *buyo* dance, Tokyo. Photo by SuperStock.



FIGURE 8 *Bon odori*, at a Japanese festival in Seattle, Washington. Photo © Jim Corwin, Stock, Boston.



resonate well. *Nihon buyô* has been transmitted by various *ryû* 'schools', such as the Huzima (Fujima) *ryû*, the Hanayagi *ryû*, and the Bandô *ryû*.

Folk dances

Many regional folk dances are associated with rituals and festivities. One of these is *bon odori* (figure 8), danced at the *bon* festival commemorating the dead. The performers form large circles or lines and dance in unison. One of the famous *bon odori* is *Kaze no bon* in the Toyama Prefecture.

Ryûkyû *buyû*

In Okinawa, or Ryûkyû, music and dance are deeply rooted in the lives of the people. In the kingdom of Ryûkyû, dance was highly esteemed and upper-class young men were trained in dance so that they could entertain envoys from China. In 1719 Tamagusuku Tyôkun was assigned the task of creating dance and music dramas, *kumi udui* (pronounced *kumi odori* in Japanese). He wrote five such plays, including *Syusin*

Kaniiri and *Nidô Titiuti*. *Kumi udui* consists of chanting and dancing by actor-dancers and singing and instrumental performance by musicians.

After the Meiji restoration in 1868, some of the gentry who had lost their wealth began to perform music and dance. Those dances are called *koten* 'classical', whereas new dance repertoires created during and after the Meiji era (which lasted until 1912) are called *zô udui* 'miscellaneous dance' (the Japanese pronunciation is *zô odori*). Classical dance repertoires including *kumi udui* are characterized by slow, stylized movements such as sliding the feet; in contrast, *zô udui* have more varied movements, and also vary in themes and costumes. *Zô udui* may depict workers such as a fish vender or a tinker.

With regard to movement, classical dance is somewhat similar to dance in *nô*; for instance, the arms move only minimally and the feet are hardly lifted off the ground. However, the standing posture of a female is distinctive—asymmetrical, with 60 or 70 percent of the weight resting on the right foot and the right knee bent, while the left leg is stretched out.

In *zô udui*, movements are more lively, quicker, and rhythmic. Female dancers lift their feet, and there are small jumps and leaps. Costumes for *zô udui* are lighter and often shorter. Originally, classical dance was performed by men only; *zô udui*, however, is performed by men and women.

Butô

Butô or *butoh* was created in the late 1950s by Hizikata Tatsumi (Hijikata Tatsumi, 1928–1986) and Ôno Kazuo (b. 1906). Somewhat later, they were joined by Kasai Akira (b. 1943). Both Hizikata and Ôno first studied modern dance under Japanese masters, including Isii Baku, who had been strongly influenced by German *neuer Tanz*. Hizikata, however, was opposed to contemporary Western dance, and even to sophisticated aesthetics in Japanese dance. In his own native region—Tôhoku, in northern Japan—he had seen peasants whose bodies were distorted (as by a crooked spine); and in his dance *Kinziki* 'Forbidden Color' (1959) he used crookedness as one of the standard figures of the human body. Postures such as bent knees and feet turned inward, extraordinarily slow movements, and even motionless passages are characteristic of his work.

Butô comprises various movements and styles, and *butô* dancers and dance groups do not have a common style, or common costumes or movements. Hizikata himself has gone through many phases; and although he and Ôno originally worked together, they later went in different directions with regard to many aspects of dance. Whereas Hizikata planned his compositions in detail beforehand, Ôno's dance is improvisational: Ôno does not design or structure a composition ahead of time; rather, he becomes absorbed in dancing on stage, and the result is his "composition."

Interestingly, *butô* has been better accepted outside Japan than within the nation.

KOREA

Dances in Korea may be categorized into four types: ritual, court, folk, and mask (Han Man-Yŏng 1983). In contemporary Korea, besides these four categories, Western ballet and modern dance are also enjoyed, especially among younger people.

In general, dance movements are fluid. The dancer's body undulates, with the knees bending and the legs stretching; the arms sway gently over the head and from side to side.

Ritual dance

Ritual dance in Korea includes *ilmu* 'line dance' and Buddhist dance. The *ilmu* is performed at the shrines of Confucius and the Royal Ancestors in Seoul. This style of dance was introduced from China in the early twelfth century and has continued to be performed until the present day, although it has undergone a number of revisions.

FIGURE 9 Sŭngmu monks' dance, inspired by a Buddhist ritual, performed in the Koreahouse Theater in Seoul. Photo by SuperStock.



Korea and Tibet are the only parts of East Asia where Buddhist monks dance during their rituals. The meaning of this dance is that the monks offer their bodies to Buddha. While Buddhist monks still perform their dance in temples, professional dancers now also perform adaptations of Buddhist dances onstage, often wearing a costume similar to a monk's habit (figure 9).

Court dances

The dances that were performed at banquets in the royal court until the beginning of the twentieth century later became more of a theatrical repertoire. *Ch'ŏyong-mu* 'dance of Ch'ŏyong', the crane dance, the drum dance, the sword dance, and *ch'unaengiŏn* 'dance of the nightingale' are of Korean origin; there is also a ball-throwing dance, *p'ogurak*, derived from an early form of Chinese football and now performed with Koreanized movements. A number of other dances are derived from Chinese originals, but in general there are few differences in movement between dances of Korean origin and those of Chinese origin.

Ch'ŏyongmu and *ch'unaengiŏn* are considered representative of court dances. *Ch'unaengiŏn* is performed by a solo female dancer on a woven straw mat called a flower mattress. The movements begin slowly and then gradually accelerate, following changes in rhythmic patterns. The dancer personifies the soaring quality of a nightingale. Although she is confined to the small area of the mat, she walks forward in the typical Korean dance gait.

Folk dances

The most popular Korean folk dance is *nongak* 'farmers' dance' (figure 10), which combines dancing and the music of a rural folk band. [See NONGAK (P'UNGMUL NORI).] The percussion instruments, mainly the drums *changgo* and *puk* and the gongs *kkwaenggwari* and *ching*, produce an intricate rhythmic structure, and sometimes the conical oboe *t'aep'yŏgso* provides a melody. The dancers each hold a hand drum and play it vigorously while skipping and hopping. The number of dancers varies, and larger groups can use different formations—such as a single line, double lines, and a square—during a performance. *Nongak* is performed outdoors at the farmers' festival and has also been adapted to be taught at schools; it is considered an ideal group dance for educative purposes (Kim Yang-Gon 1982).

FIGURE 10 Farmers' dance in Seoul. Photo by SuperStock.



Salp'uri

The dance form *salp'uri* 'to exorcise evil' was derived from a folk ritual but now is usually performed by a female dancer onstage. It is a solo dance, and despite its name, it is not based on a story. *Salp'uri* is accompanied by an improvising band of winds, strings, and percussion instruments.

This dance begins in the slow, swaying rhythmic pattern of *kutkōri* and later accelerates into the fast pattern *chajinmori*. Its movements show clearly the characteristics of Korean dance, such as the opposing principles of lightness and heaviness, and the interrelation of the whole: arms with chest, chest with breathing, and breathing with resisting and yielding to gravity.

Masked dance drama

Masked dance dramas (*t'alch'um*) are performed throughout Korea. This form originated in the morality plays of Buddhism and in exorcisms. It is performed to commemorate the birth of Buddha but has also been integrated into folk festivals; today, masked dance drama is performed simply for entertainment.

The Yangju and Pongsan masked dance dramas are representative. Yangju drama consists largely of dance and music without dialogue whereas Pongsan drama includes dialogue. The content of the Pongsan drama is satirical, disparaging monks and mocking aristocrats; it also portrays the everyday life of ordinary people.

The movements of Pongsan drama include circling a hand over the head and waving a hand or a willow branch held in the hand; and, for the role of an old woman, swaying the hips. The various characters are distinguished by their ways of walking.

Modern dance

Modern dance was first introduced in Korea in the 1920s by Isii Baku (1900–1977), a Japanese pioneer of this art. Ch'oi Seung-hee (Ch'oe Sŭnghŭi), who was then sixteen years old, saw Isii perform and was inspired to follow him to Tōkyō, where she spent many years studying and performing with him. In 1927, Isii went on another performing tour in Asia, including Seoul; Ch'oi, who was one of the dancers, was enthusiastically welcomed by Korean audiences.

Cho T'aek-won (Cho T'aegwŏn), who also worked to develop modern dance in Korea, became a disciple of Isii's after the performance by Isii and Ch'oi in Korea in 1927 (Ishii Kan 1994). Ch'oi and Cho created their own expressive dance by combining the modern dance techniques taught by Isii with unique spiritual motifs drawn from Korean traditional dance (Heyman et al. 1998).

Yuk Wan-sun (Yuk Wansŏn), the founder of the Modern Dance Association of Korea and at one time a professor of modern dance at Ewha Women's University in Seoul, introduced the techniques of Martha Graham. Ewha Women's University was the first institution of higher education to offer a dance program, in 1963.

In the 1970s, a new dance movement developed. Dancers educated in universities were greatly affected by nationalism and worked to revive and modernize traditional dances. At the same time they were exposed to a wider variety of dance forms—such as ballet and Western modern dance—and they taught dance theory, choreography, anatomy, and related subjects. All this enabled them to create a new style. The 1980s have been described as a “dance renaissance” (Choi 1995).

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Music and Theater in East Asia

Andrew P. KILLICK

Aesthetic Aspects

Historical Aspects

Musical Aspects

East Asia has some of the most lavish and elaborate theatrical art forms in the world. To mount a successful production of Peking (Beijing) opera (figure 1), Korean *ch'anggŭk*, or Japanese *kabuki* (figure 2) requires a formidable investment of material resources, time, effort, and talent. And yet a minimalist strand seems to run through many of these same traditions. Japan's *nô* dramas unfold at a barely discernible pace with a cast of two or three and only the faintest residue of action; the stage setting for Peking opera may consist of nothing more than a table and a couple of chairs in front of a curtain; and in Korean *p'ansori*, the entire story is presented by a lone singer-storyteller who acts out each of the roles in turn to the sole accompaniment of a single small drum. Amid the potentially bewildering variety of genres and their seemingly contradictory aesthetic priorities, almost the only consistent element is the presence and importance of music. Purely spoken drama was unknown in East Asia before it was introduced from the West, and many of the indigenous traditions place great emphasis on distinctive forms of singing, dancing, and instrumental accompaniment.



FIGURE 1 Peking opera, *At the Road Crossing*, in Beijing. Photo © Liu Liqun, ChinaStock.

AESTHETIC ASPECTS

Perhaps more than most theatrical traditions of the world, much East Asian drama meets the expectations that a Western audience would bring to the theater, at least in its superficial trappings and in the kind of performer-audience relationship it seems to assume. In those genres that have secured the requisite level of patronage, plays tend to be performed in structures built for the purpose, and audiences are admitted on purchase of a ticket. Within the building, performance space is marked off from audience space, often by the use of a raised stage. Usually, the actors wear costumes and makeup that help to distinguish the characters they represent, and each actor impersonates a different character. One may also sense that leading actors are “stars” in their own right and that their individual fame or personality is a major factor in box-office appeal. The fact that they sing with the accompaniment of an instrumental ensemble may not seem too far removed in concept from Western opera or the popular musical.

But the superficial resemblance to Western theatrical conventions may make other aspects of East Asian theater seem all the more alien and inaccessible. The expectations raised by the enclosed performance space and the commercial transaction of purchas-

FIGURE 2 Kabuki theater in Tokyo. Photo
© Paolo Koch, Photo Researchers.



ing entertainment may not be met when the theatergoer is confronted by resolutely stylized acting; faces obscured by masks or paint; a vocal delivery that cultivates piercing, nasal, or husky timbres; and visual presentation incorporating the techniques of mime, puppetry, or acrobatics. The Western visitor may be familiar with the idea of a theater orchestra, but not with an orchestra which is placed onstage in full view of the audience, and whose sounds may seem as otherworldly as those of the singing it accompanies.

Above all, what may be hardest to reconcile with performance contexts apparently similar to those of the West is the notion that theater can be fundamentally non-mimetic. True, East Asian theater uses mimesis in Aristotle's sense of "imitation of an action": at least, fictional personages and events are *depicted* on the stage, though they are rarely *imitated* in the sense of attempting to make them look and sound as they would in "real life." Seldom, except where Western drama has had an influence, is there any attempt to create stage settings that could be mistaken for actual locations in the story, or characters who speak as if they were in fact experiencing the emotions they profess. Instead, information about location, the nature of a character, and the affect of the moment tends to be conveyed by highly conventionalized symbolic means, including musical signs as well as devices of acting and makeup, and the artist's mastery of this repertoire of symbols is often an important aesthetic focus.

The enjoyment of theater, no doubt, is always premised on the doubleness of the art: the awareness that one is simultaneously witnessing an imaginary story and an actual performance, a fictional character and a live actor. In Western realist drama, the audience suspends disbelief to identify with the characters and experience catharsis through the story, though of course the artists who create these things are also admired. In East Asian drama, the aesthetic balance tips toward the performer and the theatrical event itself, and disbelief hardly enters the picture, since audiences are not asked to "believe" that what happens onstage is anything other than a beautiful and often spectacular performance. The artists are not so much *representing* something as *presenting* something. And if music is the supreme example of presentational rather than representational aesthetics, the prominence of music can be seen as implicit in the overall aesthetic objectives of East Asian drama.

However, a fuller appreciation of East Asian theater and its musical aspect must be informed by a consideration of its sources and of the audiences to whose needs it has been adapted. For many centuries, theater has had an important but changing

role in East Asian society, and its uses of music have always been geared toward fulfilling its broader role.

HISTORICAL ASPECTS

The current form of each theatrical genre in East Asia contains elements retained from several layers of its history. While generalization may seem rash in view of the great number and variety of traditions in question, the well-supported and stylistically complex forms that have become known to the world can usually be shown to have accretions from at least four such layers: ritual and narrative origins, secular patronage, upward mobility, and modern adaptation.

As is perhaps true worldwide, the origins of most East Asian theatrical traditions can be traced to some form of ritual or festival performance or to older traditions of solo musical storytelling or epic singing. Chinese temples possessed permanent or temporary stages for performances linked to seasonal religious festivals long before theaters were built in the cities. In Japan, *nô* developed from performances held at Buddhist temples, while *bunraku* puppet plays were apparently realizations of *zyôruri* narratives previously intoned to the accompaniment of two kinds of plucked lute—the *syamisen* ‘samisen’ or, still earlier, the *biwa*. Sometimes the narrative tradition is also a ritual tradition: Korean *p’ansori*, itself as much a storytelling as a dramatic tradition, is believed to have arisen from the mythic tales of shamans. Traces of the ritual layer remain throughout East Asia in the religious and supernatural themes of many dramas as well as the sometimes solemn and mystical manner of their performance, both aspects well exemplified by *nô*. Meanwhile, the third-person narrator survives in the *tayû* of *bunraku* and *kabuki* and the *toch’ang* of Korean *ch’anggûk*.

From the beginning, ceremonial performances probably offered not only spiritual succor but relief from the monotony of daily life, and eventually this entertainment aspect came to be emphasized to the point where purely secular performances could be given independently of any religious context or pretext. But without the support of an established church, theatrical performances depended on secular patrons with an adequate supply of leisure time and disposable income. In some cases, royal and imperial courts maintained their own troupes for entertainment by invitation only, or wealthy aristocrats summoned professional performers to their homes on special occasions. But the public theatrical genres catered primarily to a class that could afford the price of a ticket though not of a command performance, a middle class that was neither landed gentry nor penniless peasantry but had risen to a modest level of prosperity through its own enterprise, most commonly in the mercantile arena. The tastes of this merchant class were perhaps the most decisive influence in giving several of the best-known theater forms the characteristics that distinguish them today. Like bourgeois drama in the West, these dramas presented their audiences with a flattering and often emotionally sensational reflection of themselves, in a format adapted to their lifestyle. *Bunraku* puppet plays, for instance, often tell of the passionate but socially proscribed love of a merchant and a courtesan and their eventual double suicide, and the widespread practice of presenting programs of highlights from several stories rather than a single complete one may originate in daytime performances frequented by businessmen who rarely had time to stay for a whole show.

Pursuant to, and sometimes concurrent with, this secularization of the drama is its upward mobility, its gradual acceptance at higher levels of society, and, in the process, its aspiration to the condition of high art rather than mere entertainment. Among Chinese regional forms, the *nanxi* (southern drama) was of humble origins but became the source of the main “role types” in most forms of Chinese drama after it had been restructured as *chuanqi* drama and had been adopted by elite audiences. In the course of the nineteenth century, Korean *p’ansori* rose from being a regional folk art of the southwestern provinces to win nationwide patronage all the way up to

Amid the variety of East Asian theatrical genres, almost the only consistent element is the presence and importance of music.

the royal court in Seoul, around the same time that the Chinese imperial court was hosting its first performances of the popular theater form known as Peking opera. Even *nô* drama was apparently a rather rustic spectacle before it became the venerated preserve of the samurai warrior elite, and its farcical antecedents survive in the slapstick *kyôgen* comedy routines that alternate with the acts of supremely serious *nô*, though it is undoubtedly elite patronage that has refined *nô* into the abstract and contemplative art form that has come down to us. Upward mobility has left marks of refinement on *p'ansori* too, embellishing its earthy texts with erudite literary expressions and toning down its bawdier passages, as also happened when Chinese *tanhuang* ballad-plays were transferred from rural to urban audiences. Increasingly generous elite patronage permitted a proliferation of resources for the theater, so that costumes and sometimes scenery could become quite extravagant and aesthetic systems could be formalized to the point where their most abstruse details might be hotly disputed by knowledgeable and devoted aficionados. A fictional but representative example is the quibble, in Chen Kaige's film *Farewell My Concubine* (1993), over the number of steps the king should take when approaching his concubine in a certain scene of Peking opera.

In the twentieth century, most of the peoples of East Asia (at least in the urban areas where professional theater thrives) adopted Western ways to an extent that radically transformed their lifestyle, their values, and their aspirations. Not surprisingly, traditional art forms that portrayed a vanishing world have not always seemed relevant to an audience embracing the promise of modernity, and the novelty value of imported entertainments has often eclipsed the appeal of continuity with a past that was no longer valued. At first, homegrown theatrical arts must have appeared to be merely maintaining their own tradition of eclecticism when they selectively adopted stylistic and technical innovations from the West, but before long they were struggling to draw audiences away from spoken melodramas, motion pictures, and eventually television, so that reform became a matter of sheer survival. Fighting a losing battle, traditional arts came to depend on state subsidies and had to comply with the demands and restrictions imposed by new and sometimes authoritarian forms of government, which controlled not only public spending but powerful institutions of censorship and propaganda. This often meant that theatrical conventions no longer deemed appropriate were replaced with those of Western realist drama and opera. Stage settings began to resemble the locations they represented, makeup and acting techniques became less stylized, and orchestras were moved from the stage or wings to a less visible pit, where they became larger and acquired a conductor. Traditions that had been exclusively male began to admit female performers: *p'ansori* in the late nineteenth century, *kabuki* and Peking opera in the early twentieth. Probably no form of East Asian drama remains untouched by Western techniques, if only in such matters as electric lighting and sound amplification, and in many cases the change has been far-reaching enough to spawn new genres that merited new names: revolutionary opera in communist China, "Sea of Blood"-style opera in North Korea, all-female *yôsong kukkûk* in South Korea,

and *simpa* or “new school” drama in Japan. Yet at a certain level, the artists are still doing what they have always done: striving to please their patrons.

Each layer of history has deposited a sediment of not only theatrical but musical resources, and in the sounds of the various genres as they survive today can be heard the multifarious voices of the past.

MUSICAL ASPECTS

All traditional theater in East Asia is musical theater, and quite often, as in Western opera, the music appears to be the primary object of appreciation and may also be performed outside its theatrical context. The proliferation of resources in professional theater has extended to theatrical music, so that in a single genre, or even a single performance, it is possible to hear numerous musical styles of disparate origins, each adapted to the qualities of a particular character, situation, and mood. These diverse musical components are sometimes kept separate rather than blended: *kabuki* has both an onstage and an offstage orchestra, differing in instrumentation, repertoire, and function; and in Peking opera, melodic instruments accompany singing and percussion instruments underscore physical action, the two rarely playing together. It is this distinctness of elements that enables music to perform the wide range of functions demanded of it in the highly codified aesthetics of much East Asian drama.

Perhaps foremost among these functions is to offer pleasure in the artistry of the music itself. For many, Korean *ch'anggŭk* is primarily an opportunity to hear several great *p'ansori* singers in a single performance; the arias of several Chinese opera styles are enjoyed in both amateur and professional performance outside the theater; and the music of *kabuki* has given rise to an independent concert genre, *nagauta*. But music also has a variety of supporting roles in relation to other elements of the drama. In the systematized theatrical semiotics of both China and Japan, musical “signs” ranging from specific melodic phrases to overall tessitura and instrumentation help to identify particular types of character, location, situation, or even weather conditions, as well as the structural divisions of the play itself. Either conventional or specially invented instruments may provide naturalistic sound effects, and almost everywhere, music accompanies dancing. Choruses and ensembles of the embodied *dramatis personae* are rare, though a group of nonacting singers may play a Greek-style choric role—for instance, in *nô*. Music may occur as part of what film theorists call the “diegesis” (the story that the play tells), in scenes where the character (rather than the actor) is understood to be singing or dancing, as well as the “nondiegetic” music that the audience simply accepts as a convention of the genre; and in Peking opera the two kinds of music are differentiated stylistically.

What may be surprising in view of music's evident importance is that it is seldom created specifically for a particular play or production, nor are “composers” of theater music generally recognized as creative artists. More often, the music of a given opera is assembled from an established repertoire of components ranging in size from stock phrases and melody types to whole pieces with their accompanying instruments. Where the opera is a dramatization of an earlier sung narrative, as in *bunraku*, some *kabuki*, and most *ch'anggŭk* productions, the music as well as the text will be in large part inherited from that narrative. But the same genres may well add music from outside the narrative tradition where it is appropriate for the kind of character and situation depicted: court music for a royal banquet scene, a farmers' band for a village festival, or a dirge for a funeral. Most types of theater have been omnivorous in their consumption and digestion of the available sound resources around them, and as a result, theatrical genres are typically the most eclectic musical genres in a culture. By bringing together styles and instruments that may originate in widely separated regions and social sectors of each country, the music of East Asian theater has been a significant medium for expressing and fostering a sense of shared national identity which has, in

turn, become a rallying point amid the ambivalence of the region's not always eager entry into the modern world order.

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Musical Instruments

Su ZHENG

Musical Instruments in History Modern Times

It is fascinating to compare musical instruments from East Asia. Although China, Japan, and Korea share many aspects of religion, philosophy, aesthetics, and the processes of modernization, each has nevertheless nurtured a distinct musical identity. This is demonstrated by their interconnected yet differentiated traditions of musical instruments.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IN HISTORY

Numerous archaeological discoveries, historical records, and references in literature testify to a long and extraordinarily rich history of musical instruments in East Asia. In China, Jiahu bone flutes from around 7000 B.C.E. with two or more fingerholes seem to be the earliest extant playable instruments in the world. The unearthed Shang oracle bone inscriptions from around 1600 to 1100 B.C.E. include a number of archaic characters for musical instruments, such as *gu* (a drum), *qing* (a stone chime), *yu* (a mouth organ), and *yue* (a panpipe). *Shijing* ‘Classic of Songs’ of the seventh century B.C.E.—the first anthology of Chinese poetry—mentions many musical instruments in descriptions of everyday life and rituals. In Japan, clay whistles and rattles from the Jōmon period (before c. 300 B.C.E.) were among the earliest musical relics. In the renowned novel *Genji monogatari* ‘The Tale of Genji’ (early eleventh century) by Murasaki Shikibu, the Heian courtiers are often accompanied by a wide variety of musical instruments. Many of the musical instruments from the Nara period (710–794) were the personal property of Emperor Shōmu (r. 724–749) and have been kept as treasures in the Syōsōin, an imperial storehouse in Nara. In Korea, the significant historical source *Samguk sagi* ‘History of the Three Kingdoms’ (1145), by Kim Puhik, tells of the invention of the *kōmun’go* (a six-stringed zither) in the Koguryō period (37 B.C.E. to 668 C.E.).

East Asia’s extensive history of musical instruments was also in large part a result of frequent cultural contacts and interactions with Central Asia and India, and among East Asian states, during antiquity—before the more recent premodern period during which all East Asian countries experienced some degree of self-imposed isolation. Musical instruments from foreign lands were introduced and adopted as significant ritual objects and cultural artifacts. Interestingly, many of today’s most popular instruments in all East Asian societies have foreign origins.

Waves of new instruments entered China from Central Asia and India by way of the ancient Silk Road, a trading route, from the the Han dynasty (202 B.C.E. to 220 C.E.) onward, particularly during the Tang period (618–907). These included the *hengdi* (a transverse flute), *quxiang pipa* (a bent-necked lute), and *bili* (a reed pipe). In the next 700 years (until the mid-seventeenth century), the *huqin* (a two- to four-stringed fiddle), *yangqin* (a hammered dulcimer), and *suona* (a double-reed shawm)—important solo and ensemble instruments in present-day China—arrived in southern and central-eastern China from the northwest region and Central Asia. (See figures 1 and 2.)

Whereas most of the contemporary Chinese “national instruments” have ancestral roots in areas beyond East Asia, many instruments in Japan and Korea were imported from China before the end of the twelfth century. Koreans learned the *pipa* and *bili*, among other instruments, through musicians who were sent to the Chinese Sui court (581–618). Buddhist chants and Tang musical instruments were imported to Korea during the Unified Shilla dynasty (668–935). And during the Koryŏ dynasty (918–

FIGURE 1 Chinese instruments: a *sihu* (four-stringed *huqin*) and bow, a *sheng*, a *saxian*, and a *pipa*. Lithograph from *Musical Instruments* by Alfred James Hipkins (1826–1903). Photo by Bridgeman Art Library, London; Stapleton Collection.



FIGURE 2 Ensemble of *pipa*, *dizi*, *suona*, and *sihu*, Qing dynasty. Photo from Liu Liqian Collection, © ChinaStock.



1392), upon request, Koreans twice (in 1114 and 1116) received massive musical gifts, including hundreds of musical instruments, scores, and instructions for performance, from Emperor Huizong of China's Song dynasty (960–1279), to reinforce the increasingly important Confucian rites at the Korean court.

In Japan, the *syōmyō* Buddhist chant and the major part of the *gagaku* court music tradition were introduced from China and Korea during the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, when Chinese Tang culture and Buddhism had a prominent influence on the Japanese court. In the imperial Syōsōin repository at Nara, there are four eighth-century *kayagūm* (twelve-stringed zithers) from Korea and numerous Tang instruments. Some of the most important Japanese instruments, such as the *syamisen* 'samisen' (a three-stringed lute), *biwa* (a four-stringed lute), *koto* (a thirteen-stringed zither), *syakuhati* (an end-blown flute), *sho* (a mouth organ), and *ryuteki* (a flute), as well as many percussion instruments, were brought by emissaries to or visitors from China and Korea.

However, all East Asian countries are very proud of their sustained effort in making foreign musical instruments indigenous. Indeed, over many centuries—in some cases, over the course of two millennia—foreign musical instruments were either modified, as the *syamisen* was, or integrated with indigenous instruments, as happened to the bent-neck Central Asian *quxiang pipa* and the straight-neck Chinese *Qin pipa* (a four-stringed lute). Some imported instruments—such as many Chinese court musical instruments kept in Japan and Korea—retained their original shape and design; but even in these cases, performance techniques, repertoires, and aesthetics were assimilated in their new adoptive culture and society. One good example is the long zither with movable bridges. The modern Chinese *zheng* (a twenty-one-stringed or sixteen-stringed zither), the Japanese *koto*, and the Korean *kayagūm* are all descendants of the ancient Chinese thirteen-stringed *zheng*. Although they are similar in appearance, the material used for the strings, the manner of plucking the strings, and the playing position, as well as the repertoire and musical styles, are completely different.

Significant differences also developed in function, social status, and symbolism when musical instruments traveled from one East Asian culture to another. For instance, in ancient Chinese cosmology and philosophy, although silk-stringed instruments were highly valued, they were not regarded as powerful ritual objects. In the Zhou period (c. 1045–256 B.C.E.), most musical instruments used in court ceremonies