

COLLECTED WORKS OF JAO TSUNG-I: XUAN TANG ANTHOLOGY



# Harmoniousness

*Essays in Chinese Musicology*

*Edited and Translated by*

Colin Huehns

BRILL

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# Collected Works of Jao Tsung-i: Xuantang Anthology

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Chen Zhi  
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VOLUME 1

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*By*

Jao Tsung-i

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# Contents

Collected Works of Jao Tsung-i: Xuantang Anthology

Series Introduction VII

List of Figures and Tables XI

Translator's Introduction XIII

## PART 1

### *Qin* 琴

- 1 The Philosophy of the Guqin 古琴的哲學 3
- 2 An Investigation of Juanzi's *Qin Heart*: Starting with the Elegant Qin of Guodian, a Discussion of the Qin Scholarship of Laozi's Disciples 涓子《琴心》考—由郭店雅琴談老子門人的琴學 43
- 3 Several Issues Related to the First Volume of the *Anthology for a Mentor of Intoning the Scriptures*: 'Śakra's Musician Pañcavaśikhin's Qin Songs Intoned' 從《經唄導師集》第一種〈帝釋（天）樂人般遮琴歌唄〉聯想到的若干問題 73

## PART 2

### *Archaeology* 考古

- 4 Using Artifacts Unearthed at Jia Lake to Discuss the Early Maturity of Ancestral Musical Wisdom 從賈湖遺物談先民音樂智慧的早熟 87
- 5 Bamboo Slips of Yinque Mountain: 'Heaven and Earth, the Eight Winds, the Five Elements, the Guest-Host Polarity, the Five Notes: Their Rightful Places': An Initial Investigation 銀雀山簡〈天地八風五行客主五音之居〉初探 104
- 6 From Inscriptions on Bells Found in the Marquis Yi 乙 of Zeng's Tomb, a Discussion of the Science of Bell Modes and Tunings in Ancient China 由曾侯鐘銘談古代的鐘律學 126
- 7 Further Discussion of Bronze Drums 銅鼓餘論 149

## PART 3

*Dunhuang* 敦煌

- 8 Critical Analysis of the Crisscrossing Cultural Currents of Historical Events Surrounding the Dunhuang Pipa Scores 琵琶譜史事來龍去脈之檢討 215
- 9 Introduction to *Collected Essays on Dunhuang Pipa Scores* 《敦煌琵琶譜論集》序言 228
- 10 The Relationship between Dunhuang Pipa Scores and Dance Scores 敦煌琵琶譜與舞譜之關係 232
- 11 Rearrangement and Reorganisation of Musical Repertories in the Later Zhou Dynasty and Issues relating to the Study of Lyric Song at the Beginning of the Song Dynasty: Using Dunhuang Dance Scores to Discuss the Later Zhou Dynasty's Rearrangement and Reorganisation of Musical Repertories Together with the Origins of Liu Yong's *Anthology of Musical Repertories* 後周整理樂章與宋初詞學有關諸問題—由敦煌舞譜談後周之整理樂章兼論柳永《樂章集》之來歷 276
- 12 The Dunhuang Manuscript 'Siddham Chapter' and the Qin Composition 'Siddham Chapter' 敦煌〈悉曇章〉與琴曲〈悉曇章〉 312

## PART 4

*Lyrics, Operas* 歌詞、戲曲

- 13 The Mystery of the Southern Opera God of Theatrical Entertainment's Operatic Incantation 'Luo-Li-Lian' 南戲戲神咒“囉哩嚩”之謎 329

Bibliography 353

Index 376

## Collected Works of Jao Tsung-i: Xuantang Anthology Series Introduction

Jao Tsung-i 饒宗頤 (1917–2018, studio name Xuantang 選堂) was one of the most remarkable scholars of the 20th century, in any country. He combined erudition in his own language with polyglot awareness of the major European languages and a mastery even of Sanskrit; he was a tireless, prolific researcher, who produced important books and articles without cease throughout seven decades; and he possessed phenomenal powers of memory to which the familiar adjective “photographic” barely does justice, since he had immediate recall of whole books of history, of calligraphic forms in all the different Chinese scripts, of millennia of music and painting and poetry. Indeed, perhaps the most remarkable thing about Jao Tsung-i as a scholar is that his achievements were not at all limited to scholarship. He was a true artist in the manner of the literati of past ages, whose paintings, poetry, and especially calligraphy grace museums and collections around the world.

Though scholarship was just one of the domains in which Jao excelled, then, it is this polymathic and polymorphic creativity that lies at the foundation of Jao’s achievement as a scholar as well. As a scholar he combined a restless curiosity extending to more or less every domain of Chinese culture and beyond, with a depth of insight and fastidious attention to detail that led him to break new ground in each of the topics he addressed. His scholarly work is often fearsomely technical, as he is willing to devote page-long footnotes to clarifying distinctions among textual variants or different graphical forms of a single Chinese character. But it is also dazzlingly broad, as he surveys vast topics like the creation myths of all ancient cultures, or the relationship between morality and rhetoric. Despite his whole-hearted love of China’s traditional culture, he is never content to rest with facile generalizations about that culture, but always pursuing a more nuanced understanding of its particular facets at different historical moments.

Jao was a scholarly prodigy who had already published an independent article under the editorship of one of the leading historians of the era, Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 (1893–1980), before he was twenty years old. Yet his earliest scholarly production, coauthored with his father at the age of seventeen, was a *Bibliography of Literary Productions of Ch’ao-chou*, included in the local



gazetteer of his hometown of Chaozhou in Guangdong province.<sup>1</sup> Jao later edited the complete gazetteer of Chaozhou, published in 1949, and throughout his life drew inspiration from the culture of his hometown. In the same year, though, he relocated to Hong Kong, where he would reside for most of his life and teach at both the University of Hong Kong and the Chinese University of Hong Kong. From that time on his scholarly work took full advantage of the international opportunities afforded to him there. In 1959 he was awarded the prestigious Prix Stanislas Julien from the Collège de France for his massive study of diviners in the oracle bone inscriptions. He studied Dunhuang manuscripts in Paris and collaborated on a still-unmatched bilingual study of Dunhuang lyrics with the Swiss scholar Paul Demiéville (1894–1979), published in 1971. And yet his scholarly horizons continued to expand after that, as he continually visited Japan to identify precious Chinese texts preserved there, and spent many months memorizing Vedas in India.

By the year 2003, Jao's scholarly works were collected into a twenty-volume set encompassing well over 10,000 pages, the *Rao Zongyi ershi shiji xueshu wenji* 饒宗頤二十世紀學術文集, published first in Taipei and then reprinted in Beijing in 2009. Though this collection is not quite comprehensive, as Jao remained prolific up to his passing in 2018, it provides convenient access to his main scholarly achievements. The main topics covered are the origins of Chinese civilization, the oracle bone inscriptions, bronze inscriptions, Buddhism, Daoism, historiography, Sino-foreign relations throughout history, Dunhuang studies, classical poetry and other literary forms, Chaozhou history, musicology, art history, and many other fields as well. Last but not least, the final volume contains Jao's own classical Chinese compositions, in itself a vast corpus of iridescent poetry and prose.<sup>2</sup> The fact that Jao was one of the great modern masters of classical Chinese composition is not irrelevant to evaluating his scholarship, for Jao's scholarly studies are written in elegant prose that is often closer to classical Chinese than the modern, colloquial register.

Indeed, Jao's scholarship is necessarily daunting even to many Chinese readers or to professional sinologists today, for three fundamental reasons: his oeuvre is composed in highly allusive and erudite prose; it comprises an extraordinary large quantity of publications in diverse domains; and finally, it

1 On Jao's life see Chen Zhi and Adam Schwartz, 'Jao Tsung-i (Rao Zongyi) 饒宗頤 (1917–2018)', *Early China* 41 (2018): 1–7; Yan Haijian 嚴海建, *Rao Zongyi zhuan: Xiangjiang hongru* 饒宗頤傳：香江鴻儒 (Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 2012).

2 For a selection of these works in English, see Nicholas Morrow Williams, trans., *The Residue of Dreams: Selected Poems of Jao Tsung-i* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell East Asia Series, 2016).

employs extensive quotation of primary sources, many of them in themselves quite obscure for the modern reader. For these reasons, Jao scholarship has often been admired at a safe distance but not necessarily studied as closely as it deserves by other scholars, both in China and the West. Moreover, although the *Rao Zongyi ershi shiji xueshu wenji* has made his scholarship accessible to readers throughout greater China, there are relatively few works introducing or adapting his key insights into Western languages.

In light of the great value of Jao's scholarship and its relative lack of appreciation in the West, the Jao Tsung-I Academy of Sinology, Hong Kong Baptist University has decided to produce a series of volumes translating key scholarly works by Jao into English, with annotation and explication making them accessible to 21st-century readers in the West. The first volumes will introduce major articles on Chinese musicology, Dunhuang studies, cosmology and origins of Chinese civilization, literature and religion, and oracle bone inscriptions. Future volumes will continue to highlight key areas of Jao's accomplishment. The translation series is by no means comprehensive; a complete translation of Jao's collected works would easily occupy fifty English tomes and is not conceivable at present. Instead, these volumes introduce key insights from Jao's scholarship and provide a gateway to his intellectual universe, showing the potential of a cosmopolitan vision that is never unfaithful to the demands of Chinese tradition.

First and foremost, the Jao Tsung-I Academy of Sinology and the project team would like to extend our sincere thanks to The Jao Studies Foundation for their generous support in funding this ambitious translation project and heroic efforts to make Professor Jao's lifelong scholarship accessible to a worldwide readership. From its outset, this project has received the full blessing of the Jao (rendered Yiu in Cantonese) family, most notably Professor Jao's daughters Ms Angeline Yiu and Ms Veronica Yiu, Permanent President and Permanent Administrative Director respectively of The Jao Studies Foundation.

Throughout the years, the Academy has been fortunate enough to be surrounded by like-minded people from all walks of life and benefited from their friendship and wisdom. A special mention goes to Dr and Mrs Simon Siu Man Suen, BBS, JP. Dr Suen is a remarkable entrepreneur, connoisseur of the arts, and champion of the humanities, whose generous support has enriched our work immeasurably.

The voluminous project that came to be known as *Collected Works of Jao Tsung-i: Xuantang Anthology* was first set up under the aegis of Hong Kong Baptist University and the leadership of former President Professor Roland Tai-hong Chin, BBS, JP. It continues to thrive under the

auspices of the research-led, liberal arts University under the Presidency of Professor Alexander Ping-kong Wai. We would like to express our gratitude to both Presidents and the University.

The Academic Advisory Committee of world-class Sinologists, namely Ronald Egan, Bernard Fuehrer, David R. Knechtges, William H. Nienhauser, Jr., Lauren Pfister, and Edward L. Shaughnessy, offered us timely advice at different stages of preparation and implementation. The Editorial Board, composed of leading academics in their own fields, has also served as a bank of expertise and experience for guidance and assistance.

It has been a delight to publish the *Xuantang Anthology* with the Leiden-based academic publisher Brill and to work side by side with Acquisitions Editor Dr Shu Chunyan, whose professionalism and know-how were instrumental in making the process both smooth and efficient.

Last but not least, we have our professional team translators and proofreaders to thank. Since our team continues to grow with the addition of new volumes, full credit for individual contributions will be given in individual volumes, but special thanks go to the Senior Research Assistant of the project, Dr Linda Yuet Ngo Leung, for her meticulous work in post-editing and further proofreading for the entire series.

# Figures and Tables

## Figures

- 4.a Burial grounds of the Jia Lake archaeological site 90
- 4.b Bone flute (artifact no.: M282:20) 90
- 4.c Plan of tomb M344 91
- 4.d Tortoise shell with carved symbols (M344:18) 92
- 7.a *Xiao jiaojing ge jinwen taben* 小校經閣金文拓本. Individual representation of the inscriptions on each of the three *chunyu* 罇于 162
- 7.b The first illustration of a drum in *Xiqing gujian* 西清古鑑 183
- 7.c Bronze drum with four frogs and a perching phoenix. (In the collection of the Taiwan Central Museum) 185
- 7.d Bronze drum B. In the private collection of Lin Xudian 林徐典 of Singapore 188
- 7.e Bronze drum of Bao mountain 包山, Yunnan 190
- 7.f Rubbing of a bronze mirror decorated with flag and banner patterns (Gui Fu 桂馥 regards it as having a provenance of the state of Nan Zhao 南詔) 208
- 7.g Bronze drum from Indonesia 209
- 7.h Railing designs in patterns on a bronze drum from Thailand 209
- 8.a P.3564 'Mogao ku gongde ji' 莫高窟功德記 226
- 8.b P.3718 'Miaozhen zan' 遯真讚 227
- 10.a Dance notation of 'Southern Songlet' 南歌子 275
- 12.a 'Shitan zhenyan' 釋談真言 (Sanskrit in the Ranjani script) 323
- 12.b 'Shitan zhenyan' (Sanskrit in the Ranjani script) 324
- 12.c 'Shitan zhenyan' (Sanskrit in the Ranjani script) 325
- 12.d 'Shitan zhenyan' (Sanskrit in the Ranjani script) 326
- 13.a The mystery of *Luo-li-lian* 囉哩嚩 351
- 13.b The mystery of *Luo-li-lian* 352

## Tables

- 1.1 Five types of 'cao 操 pieces of the scholar' matched to the five notes of the pentatonic scale 17
- 1.2 The three fundamental timbres matched to the *sancai* 24
- 2.1 Comparison of Shi Bo 史伯 and Yanzi's 晏子 numerical nomenclature 63
- 3.1 The Five Notes matched to Indian gods 79

- 3.2 Musical modes used at particular times of day 80
- 4.1 Matches between the seven-note scale, the pitches of the seven holes, and *lü* 律 modes 89
- 5.1 Transcriptions of the texts of Yinque 銀雀 mountain Han dynasty bamboo slips 105
- 5.2 Comparisons between Winds given on Yinque bamboo slips and other sources 108
- 5.3 Locations of the Eight Winds 109
- 5.4 Matches between the five divisions of the day and the Five Grains 121
- 6.1 Matches between numerical formulation and the Twelve Earthly Branches 134
- 6.2 Ratios of *you* 酉 and *hai* 亥 134
- 7.1 Principal places where drums in the Gambir Museum were excavated 193
- 10.1 Compositions that contain the tempo instructions 'fast' and 'slow' 247
- 10.2 Songs and compositional forms 250
- 10.3 *Dan*-movement 單 256

## Translator's Introduction

Jao Tsung-i takes no prisoners. Expectations of his readers are high, and he rarely elaborates arguments more than the necessary minimum. This is not scholarship for the faint-hearted, and its tone is erudite, rigorous, and traditional, while his literary style is succinct, pointed, and close to the classical Chinese linguistic landscape he inhabited. Like a formal Chinese watercolour, whose deft brushstrokes require the viewer to fill the spaces between them from his or her imagination, so too is Jao's text and its rich density of citations, whose careful relationship is similarly strategically arranged to achieve maximum impact. In terms of explanation, for Jao, less is undoubtedly more.

The process of absorption and digestion of these crosscurrents can be slow, as is always the case with quality literary scholarship, but after careful pondering, everything that is required miraculously falls into place and is perceived with inspiring lucidity. In Chinese terms, the reader should possess an 'empty' (*xu* 虛) heart to be filled with the new learning he is enthusiastically imbibing and not one that is already 'full' (*shi* 實) and seeks only indulgence and flattery. It is a challenge to arms, a vivid flash of scholarly integrity, a toolkit to assemble an intellectual mechanism that most can only aspire to possess.

Translating texts so wholeheartedly embedded in their Chinese wellspring presents many problems. The most elegant solution would undoubtedly have been versions entirely in English with no Chinese whatsoever, in perfect symmetry with the original and as such entirely commensurate with Jao's philosophy and aesthetic, and this is indeed how they began. Despite revisiting and rewriting, this theme remains at their heart: a skein of English sentences composed in deference to the Master. All book titles, technical terms, and noun phrases of significance are translated and presented in English or transliterated in *pinyin*; his bracketed text is still bracketed. Longer paragraphs are split but their overall structure remains. The translator's audacity at undertaking the task at all is tempered by a modesty that eschews taking liberties: Jao's text remains Jao's text.

Into this superstructure, much has been inserted. In many cases, we will never know which versions of historic texts Jao held in his hands, or, more complexly, in his mind, when he quoted them; where discrepancies with other redactions widely circulating are observed, they are noted in footnotes. Interpolated text is always placed in brackets, except at the tail-end of some citations where such rigour seemed superfluous. Dates and Chinese characters for all persons mentioned are given, as are the *pinyin* and characters to

book titles, technical vocabulary, and other indigenous terms. Incomplete references, however delightful, are fleshed out and *juan* (folio) numbers and their accoutrements embedded in brackets. Citations are offered in footnotes and the bibliography. The original Chinese of all citations is given.

Every chapter reads independently, and a similar array of supplementary information of this kind is introduced anew for each one. Covering the whole breadth of Chinese musical history from the Shang dynasty to the present, many recurrent themes emerge, and whether humanistic or historiographic, linguistic or archaeological, bibliographical or theoretical, all are conveyed with a fiery intellectual feistiness that is only satisfied with the truth. As a distinguished *qin* player himself, chapter 1 seeks through textual analysis to define a philosophical rationale for the instrument. Chapter 2 takes this further with redefinition and reconstruction of the entire canon of research material on the ancient *qin*. Less directly modelled around the instrument, chapter 3 introduces Jao's fascination for Indian languages and Buddhist culture and their penetration into the musical ecology of his beloved China.

His ever-present excitement for archaeological finds as they emerge evinces itself in chapter 4, while musical modes are the theme for chapter 5 and their relationship to divination discussed. These modes persist as the subject matter for chapter 6, whose beating heart is a passion for combining archaeological artifacts with textual reference to foster a mutually beneficial coherency. Using the leitmotif of the bronze drum, chapter 7 takes the reader on a delicious tour of classical reference and cultural dispersal into the Chinese diaspora of south-east Asia. The next five chapters represent Jao's exploration of the Dunhuang manuscripts and their musical relevance: chapter 8 outlines the historical background to the political landscape of the turbulent Six Dynasties; chapters 9 and 10 skilfully and systematically take dance notations apart and through concordance between them come to an explanation of their fundamental meanings; chapter 11 turns the chronological corner and sets the evidence of the Dunhuang manuscripts in the context of emerging musical genres both at the imperial court and in vernacular settings; and chapter 12 returns to a favourite theme, that of the long-term penetration of Sanskrit into the Chinese psyche.

Even as lesser minds remained wedded to established channels and imbibed their nutrition from them, Jao's consummate ability to cross cultural frontiers and genres lies at the heart of his scholarly endeavour. In a virtuoso display, chapter 13 takes an incantation and shows how it evolved through Chan Buddhism into a final incarnation in opera performance. In so doing, he

throws down the gauntlet to later generations schooled in internet searching to supplement his pioneering discoveries and exceed them if they can.

These translations all use the Taiwanese edition of Jao's complete works as their urtext: *Rao Zongyi ershi shiji xueshu wenji* 饒宗頤二十世紀學術文集 (Taipei: Shin Wen Feng, 2003). Unless otherwise indicated, the Jin dynasty refers to the lineage represented by the character 晉 (265–420) and not the later Jin dynasty indicated by 金 (1115–1234). Such translating conventions should speak for themselves as readers familiarise themselves with the linguistic landscape. In accordance with Jao's philosophy, in terms of explanation of them, less is more.





**PART 1**

*Qin* 琴





## The Philosophy of the Guqin 古琴的哲學

The subject matter covered by this essay is not orthodox discussion of the *qin*, namely its melody and mode, musical scores, fingering practices, and so on, but viewed from another angle, is instead the relationship between it and Chinese philosophy, and a combination of both methodologies could be regarded as approaching the same issue from two diametrically opposed directions to achieve the fullest understanding of it. The Chinese are fond of saying: ‘The intangible essence (or Way) and the tangible object in mutual compatibility; 道器相融; here, let the *qin* be ‘the tangible object’ and philosophy ‘the intangible essence’. ‘Manifestation that is of a lower order could be called a tangible object; manifestation that is of a higher order could be called an intangible essence.’ 形而下者謂之器，形而上者謂之道。<sup>1</sup> This being so, I plan to take a journey from the ‘*qin*’ to its ‘intangible essence’ and discuss their relationship. In the past, the common chorus of most literati was to consider that ‘words were the medium for conveying intangible essence’, 文以載道, but the *qin* is in fact also an item that can convey intangible essence. The ‘*qin* essence’ (*qindao* 琴道) that is discussed here is not however van Gulik’s ‘Way of the *Qin*’ (琴道) (*The Lore of the Chinese Lute*).<sup>2</sup> His so-called ‘Way’ 道 in fact comprises only methods for playing the instrument, whereas the notion of a ‘*qin* essence’ is much more far-reaching. What might be regarded as the ‘essence’ or Way of the *qin* has a close connection to all three schools of Chinese religious thought—Confucian, Buddhist, and Daoist—and our examination will be from these perspectives.

- 
- 1 ‘The manifestation that is of a lower order could be called a tangible object; the manifestation that is of a higher order could be called an intangible essence;’ 形而下者謂之器，形而上者謂之道; this quotation comes from *The Book of Changes* (*Yijing* 易經), ‘Xici shang’ 繫辭上 (the fifth of its ten ancient commentaries or ‘wings’ [yi 翼]); Jao Tsung-i has inverted the two halves of the quotation and it should read: ‘The manifestation that is of a higher order could be called an intangible essence; the manifestation that is of a lower order could be called a tangible object.’ 形而上者謂之道，形而下者謂之器. *Zhouyi zhengyi*, 7-344.
  - 2 Gulik, Robert Hans van, *The lore of the Chinese lute: an essay in the ideology of the ch’in*.

## 1 The *Qin* and the Daily Life of the Scholar-Official

In ancient times, the musical instrument the *guqin* was often played by the scholarly (*shi* 士) official class as a tool for edification. *Records of Rites* (*Li ji* 禮記), ‘Qu li xia’ 曲禮下 gives: ‘When there is no reason, the *dafu* minister does not remove his hanging musical instruments (principally bells, chimes, and drums); when there is no reason, the *shi* official does not remove his *qin* or *se*,’ 大夫無故不徹縣，士無故不徹琴瑟，<sup>3</sup> and from this it can be seen that in the Spring and Autumn period, every *shi* official may well have had his own *qin*, and it would have been an essential part of his daily life. Therefore, *The Book of Songs* (*Shijing* 詩經; ‘Zheng feng’ 鄭風) gives: ‘(Like) *qin* and *se* played in harmony, would this not be excellent!’ 琴瑟在御，莫不靜好！(‘Zi yi’ 緇衣).<sup>4</sup> *Li ji*, ‘Qu li shang’ 曲禮上 gives: ‘If the Master Teacher’s books of assembled bamboo writing slips and *qin* and *se* are in front (then, if necessary, the pupil should kneel down to move them aside and should not on any account step over them.)’ 先生書策，琴瑟在前。<sup>5</sup>

*Xunzi* (荀子; eponymous text by Xunzi [c.316–between 237 and 235 BCE] and others), ‘Yue lun’ (樂論; essay 20, found in *juan* 14): ‘The Gentleman, through the music of bells and drums, expresses his aspirations, yet through the *qin* and *se* gives pleasure to his heart.’ 君子以鐘鼓道志，以琴瑟樂心。<sup>6</sup> Ying Shao (應劭, fl. Eastern Han dynasty) in *Fengsu tongyi* 風俗通義, ‘Shengyin pian’ (聲音篇 essay 6): ‘Of those instruments that the Gentleman customarily plays, the *qin* is his most intimate companion, and it never leaves his person, nor does it need to be displayed in the ancestral temple.... and even in the poorest alley or most ramshackle lane, the remotest mountains or darkest gorges, it is as if the *qin* is never absent. Regarding the *qin*’s dimensions, when it is of an appropriately medium size its sound will be harmonious ... sufficient to harmonize with a person’s moods and measure, and to touch a person’s goodly heart.... and when at leisure, its unhurried placidity engenders thoughtfulness.’ 君子所常御者，琴最親密；不離于身，非必陳設于宗廟。.....雖在窮閭陋巷，

3 *Liji Zhengyi*, 4.140.

4 *Maoshi Zhengyi*, 4.345.

*The Book of Songs* lines quoted do not actually come from ‘Zi yi’ but from ‘Nüyue jiming’ 女曰鷄鳴, which is later in the same section ‘Zheng feng’. While ‘Zi yi’ arguably describes aspects of courtly life, ‘Nüyue jiming’ is an endearingly vernacular domestic dialogue between a loving husband and loving wife, he a huntsman who uses his bow and arrow to shoot waterfowl and she a housewife who cooks his quarry for them to eat, hardly activities commensurate with a *shi* official and his spouse.

5 *Liji zhengyi*, 2.52.

6 *Xunzi jijie*, 14.451.

深山幽谷，猶不失琴。以爲琴之大小，得中而聲音和。……足以和人意氣，感人善心。……閒居則爲從容以致思焉。<sup>7</sup> The reason the *qin* can ‘give pleasure to the heart’ 樂心 is because it can ‘touch a person’s goodly heart and cause an unhurried placidity that engenders thoughtfulness.’ 感人的善心，使人從容以致思. Ying Shao’s passage is nothing less than a footnote to Xun Qing’s (荀卿, another name for Xunzi).

Guo Maoqian (郭茂, 1041–1099) in *Yuefu shiji* 樂府詩集, ‘Qinqu geci’ 琴曲歌辭 (*juan* 57–60, the opening to 57) records: ‘The *qin* was the means by which the founding ancestral ruler refined his corporeal frame and made rational his spiritual being, forbidding the perverse and preventing the lascivious, therefore when there is no reason, the Gentleman does not let it leave his person,’ 琴者，先王所以修身理性，禁邪防淫者也，故君子無故不去其身，<sup>8</sup> which is sufficient proof that the *qin* was extremely helpful to the effort of cultivating physical and moral well-being.

## 2 Playing the *Qin* and Sounding Uprightness (*Minglian* 鳴廉)

Why was it that the Gentleman could not bear to be parted from the stringed instruments the *qin* and *se*? ‘Yue ji’ 樂記 (chapter 19 of *Records of Rites*) differentiates between instruments according to the materials from which they were made—metal, stone, silk, bamboo, animal skin, and wood—and attributes them their characteristics and meaning accordingly.

The sound of bell sets is resplendent, from resplendent sound comes the transmission of commands, from commands come courage, and from courage comes military prowess; thus, when the Ruler hears the sound of bell sets, he thinks of his generals. The sound of stone chime sets is clear, from clarity comes differentiation of truth, and from differentiation of truth comes death in its defence; thus, when the Ruler hears the sound of stone chime sets, he thinks of his ministers who are prepared to die in defence of the integrity of his realm. The sound of silk is plaintive, from the plaintive comes uprightness, and from uprightness comes fortitude; thus, when the Ruler hears the sound of the *qin* and *se* he thinks of his ministers who embody fortitude and righteousness.

<sup>7</sup> Ying Shao, *Fengsu tongyi jiaoshi*, 6.235.

<sup>8</sup> *Yuefu shiji*, 57.821.

鐘聲鏗，鏗以立號，號以立橫，橫以立武，君子聽鐘聲則思武臣；石聲磬，磬以立辨，辨以致死，君子聽磬聲則思死封疆之臣；絲聲哀，哀以立廉，廉以立志，君子聽琴瑟之聲則思志義之臣。<sup>9</sup>

According to the *Huainanzi* (淮南子; by Liu An 劉安, 179–122 BCE), in the early years of the Western Han dynasty, *qin* fingering practices were already comparatively complex. The essay ‘Xiuwu xun’ 修務訓 (*juan* 19) gives:

Nowadays, concerning those who are blind, whose eyes cannot distinguish night from day, or differentiate between white and black, they can however play their *qin* with panache, stroking the strings, using the *cantan* technique to play the strings together, and moving along the strings to find the *hui* nodes of vibration repeatedly and accurately, whether *jue* snatching, *yuan* pulling, *biao* striking, or *fu* pressing and caressing, their hands flying swiftly in all directions (like a mosquito), not missing a single string.

今夫盲者，目不能別晝夜，分白黑，然而搏琴撫絃，參彈復徽，攫、援、擗、拂，手若覆蒙，不失一絃。<sup>10</sup>

.....

If a *qin* is plucked with the *bola* technique (or is out-of-tune or has come apart at the seams) and its wood is warped and weak, its sound will spread and dissipate, leaking out and producing wolf notes. And those that are called Chu Zhuang (wang, ruler of Chu, d. 591 BCE, r. 614–591 BCE) *qin*; palace concubines of the inferior side chambers vie to play them. (Gao You’s [*fl.* second–third centuries] exegetical notes give: ‘A variant given by some sources of “palace concubines of the inferior side chambers” is “ancestral temple halls”’) ... *Qin* made of the mountain paulownia tree with a resonating chamber that is of the wood of the catalpa tree of the mountain streams, although their sound is modest and unassuming, it is nonetheless clear and crisp, harmonious and balanced, and like that produced by the players Shi Tang (ancient) and Bo Ya (387–299 BCE). (Gao You’s notes give: ‘This means that the sound manifests uprightness and is crisp and clear; its notes are pure and cool, and their sound harmonious and balanced. The character 唐 used here for the player “Shi Tang”

9 *Liji zhengyi*, 39.1313–14.

10 *Huainanzi jishi*, 19.1343.

replaces the 堂 that is more normally used in this context [in modern Mandarin Chinese, both are pronounced in the same way “tang”]....’) An experienced person of sound scholarship is not like this (and when looking for a sword that can pierce the very vitals, yearns only for sharpness and not for one with simply a beautiful name, like for example, the celebrated blades Moyang 墨陽 and Moye 莫邪).... Those who play a *qin* yearn for a sound that is replete with uprightness yet harmonious and balanced, and do not yearn for a sound that is overly threatening or issues commands like bell sets. (Gao You’s notes: “Overly threatening” means that the sound is inharmonious; “issues commands like bell sets” means high-pitched, so much so that the ear cannot perceive its upper partials.) Those who recite *The Book of Songs* and *The Book of Documents* yearn for the comprehension of indefinable wisdom and an understanding of the material world and do not yearn simply for the lexical layout of ‘Hong fan’ (chapter 32 [orthodox ‘old-text’ version], *The Book of Documents*) or ‘Shang song’ (poems 301–305 of *The Book of Songs*)....

琴或撥刺、枉橈，闊解漏越。而稱以楚莊之琴，側室（高誘注或作「廟堂」）爭鼓之。.....山桐之琴，潤梓之腹，雖鳴廉隅，修營唐牙。（高注：「言其鳴音聲有廉隅修營。音清涼，聲和調。唐猶堂。.....」）通人則不然.....鼓琴者期于鳴廉修營，而不期于濫發號鐘（高注：「濫發、音不和；號鐘、高聲、非耳所及也。」）誦《詩》、《書》者期于通道略物，而不期于《洪範》、《商頌》。.....<sup>11</sup>

The fingering techniques *biao* ‘striking’ and *fu* ‘pressing and caressing’ as well as *bola* ‘plucking’ were already well-known and used in Liu An’s time. The state of Chu was not only famous for its *se*, but Chu Zhuang(wang)’s *qin* was also liked by all. Regarding the purpose behind playing the *qin*, the driving force was to cultivate uprightness and not simply the pursuit of beauty in sound. The *qin* and *se* are both stringed instruments but it is the *qin* whose most representative moral quality was uprightness, and which was called ‘sounding uprightness’ (itself the name of celebrated ancient *qin*). ‘From uprightness comes fortitude,’ therefore, on hearing the sound of the *qin* and *se*, the ruler will think of ‘his ministers who embody fortitude and righteousness’.

11 *Huainanzi jishi*, 19.1358–61.



### 3 The *Qin* and ‘Ya’ 雅 and ‘Song’ 頌

According to legend, the *qin* originated with Di Jun’s (帝俊, mythological) descendant Yan Long (晏龍, mythological), and it was Yan Long who first made the *qin* and the *se*. (*Shanghai jing* 山海經, ‘Hainei jing’ 海內經).<sup>12</sup> It is also recorded that ‘Fuxi (one of the three mythical emperors; also called Fuxi 伏羲) made the *se* and Shennong (god of agriculture and another of the three mythical emperors) made the *qin*.’ 宓犧作瑟，神農作琴.<sup>13</sup> (*Shi ben* 世本; lost Warring States text) These references are all mythological and nothing in them can be taken as proof. What then was the ancient *qin* really like? Owing to a paucity of actual specimens as evidence, we are not entirely clear. At present, all that is known is that in ancient times there were either five-stringed or multi-stringed *qin*. As *Er ya* 爾雅 (section seven, ‘Shi yue’ 釋樂) says: ‘The large version of the *qin* is called a “*li*” 大琴謂之離.<sup>14</sup> It was strung with twenty-seven strings. Unearthed specimens are extremely helpful regarding clarifying the true historical picture, for example, from Changsha 長沙 and Xinyang 信陽, finds include examples of the *se*. From the Han dynasty come clay figurines of both listening to the *qin* and playing it, such as were discovered in the late Eastern Han dynasty Tianhui 天迴 mountain cliff-face tomb no. 3 in Chengdu. A clay replica *qin* is 42cm in length and at its left end is a cylindrical supporting column, while on its central register are six small nodules, though its form and manufacture await further research.<sup>15</sup> The player is seated on a mat on the floor and the *qin* itself slanted on a low lacquered table. In addition, there is also a scene of music and dancing moulded on to a clay tablet in relief, and here the player has his head raised and is looking sideways as if giving an accompaniment to the dancers. The actual format in the Han dynasty for playing the *qin* can thus be seen. All this is proof that at that time the *qin* was employed to provide an accompaniment, for example, to harmonise with singing in musical genres of this kind.

From the Spring and Autumn period to the Han dynasty, written records indicate the terms ‘praise-*qin*’ (*song qin* 頌琴), ‘elegant-*qin*’ (*ya qin* 雅琴), and so on. The appellation ‘praise-*qin*’ comes from *The Zuo Commentary* (*Zuo zhuan* 左傳; traditionally attributed to Zuo Qiuming 左丘明, fl. late Spring and Autumn period), ‘Duke Xiang’ (‘Xiang Gong’ 襄公, 575–542 BCE, r. 572–542 BCE; chapter 9), ‘The Second Year of his Reign’ (‘Er nian’ 二年): ‘Mu Jiang (dates

12 *Shanghai jing jianshu*, 18.319–20.

13 Zhang Shu, *Shiben cuiji buzhu*, 355.

14 *Erya zhushu*, 5.171.

15 Liu Zhiyuan, ‘Chengdu Tianhui shan yamu qingli ji’, 98.

uncertain; widow of the deceased Duke Xuan of Lu 魯宣公, d. 591 BCE, r. 608–591 BCE) selected fine wood of the *jia* tree and had herself made a *chen* coffin and a praise-*qin*.’ 穆姜擇美楨，自以爲櫬與頌琴。<sup>16</sup> The Han dynasty had however the elegant-*qin*; *Han shu* 漢書, ‘Yiwen zhi’ 藝文志 (*juan* 30) contains records that list: ‘For the elegant-*qin*, seven compositions by Master Zhao (untraceable); for the elegant-*qin*, eight compositions by Master Shi (untraceable); for the elegant-*qin*, ninety-nine compositions by Master Long (untraceable).’ 雅琴趙氏七篇，雅琴師氏八篇，雅琴龍氏九十九篇。<sup>17</sup> Unfortunately, the books containing these works are all lost. In ancient times, other instruments were honoured with the prefixes ‘elegant’ and ‘praise’, for example, in *The Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial* (*Yili* 儀禮; Warring States period) ‘praise-*qing* stone chimes’ (*song qing* 頌磬) are mentioned.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, the *qin* and *se* are also called ‘praise-*se*’ (*song se* 頌瑟) and ‘elegant-*qin*’; the elegant-*qin* had twenty-three strings, the praise-*se* had twenty-five strings (see *Sanli tu* 三禮圖 [by Nie Chongyi 聶崇義, fl. tenth century]).<sup>19</sup> The numbers of strings on the elegant-*se* and praise-*qin* are not known.

The elegant-*qin* and praise-*qin* were probably made in order to match the ‘Ya’ 雅 and ‘Song’ 頌 sections of *The Book of Songs*. The ancients read *The Book of Songs* not as literature to be appreciated, and it had instead the purpose of ‘imbuing integrity into ethics and mellowing and maturing the educative process’, 厚人倫，美教化，<sup>20</sup> which means that the elegant-*qin* had an intimate relationship to Confucian thought. Jiang Kui (姜夔, 1154–1221; also called Jiang Baishi 姜白石) of the Song dynasty in his (*Da*) *yue yi* [大] 樂議: ‘In ancient times, given that there was a large *qin*, there was also a large *se*; given that there was a medium-sized *qin*, there was also a medium-sized *se*; given that there was an elegant-*qin* and a praise-*qin*, there was also an elegant-*se* and a praise-*se*, and this encompassed how the categories coalesced.’ 古者大琴

16 Zuo Qiuming, *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi*, 29.938.

17 *Han shu*, 30.1711.

18 *Yili zhushu*, 16.348. For instance, two such mentions of ‘praise-*qing* stone chimes’ are found at the start of the seventh chapter ‘Dashe’ 大射.

19 *Erya zhushu*, 5.170–71.

References to the praise-*se* seem to come no earlier than the Song dynasty, for example, in Xing Bing’s (邢昺, 932–1010) notes to *Er ya*, ‘Shi yue’; references to the elegant-*qin* are found in Han dynasty texts. The numbers of instrument strings referred to here are first found in *Sanli tu*, though its author used earlier sources to compile his text.

20 This quotation is from the introduction to *Maoshi* 毛詩 (compiled by Mao Heng 毛亨 and Mao Chang 毛萇, both fl. early Western Han dynasty).

則有大瑟，中琴則有中瑟；有雅琴、頌琴，則雅瑟、頌瑟實為之合。<sup>21</sup> It can thus be seen that both *qin* and *se* had ‘elegant’ and ‘praise’ manifestations that matched one another, and in the era of ‘three hundred songs to the accompaniment of stringed instruments’ 絃詩三百 were performed on as such.<sup>22</sup>

#### 4 Music’s Unifying Leadership (*yuetong* 樂統) and the *Qin*’s Virtuous Morality (*qinde* 琴德)

Moving on to the Han dynasty, the significance attributed to the *qin* went through another important transformation, which can only be studied and explained through meanings derived from negative connotations. Liu Xin (劉歆, c.50 BCE–23 CE) in *Qi lüe* 七略 (the complete text was lost in the Tang dynasty) gives: ‘As for the elegant-*qin*: “*qin*” is a synonym for “constrain”; “elegant” is synonym for “rectitude”; the Gentleman should abide by rectitude in order to constrain himself.’ 雅琴:琴之言禁也；雅之言正也；君子守正以自禁也。<sup>23</sup> *Baihu tong* 白虎通 (by Ban Gu 班固, 32–92 CE; *juan* 2, the latter half: ‘Liyue pian’ 禮樂篇): ‘The *qin* embodies restraint.’ 琴者，禁也。(The character 瑟 [‘*se*’, meaning the *se* zither] is also given similar linguistic treatment: ‘The *se* embodies thrift.’ 瑟者，嗇也。<sup>24</sup>) *Discussing Writing and Explaining Characters* (*Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字; by Xu Shen 許慎, 58–147 CE; *juan* 12, under a radical in its own right) also adopts this wording: “‘*Qin*”, means “constrain”. 琴、禁也。<sup>25</sup> Xu Kai (徐鍇, 920–974) in *Shuowen jiezi xizhuan* 說文解字繫傳 also records: ‘(The *qin* is) that which the Gentleman employs to constrain and

21 *Song shi*, 142.3343.

The quotation given here as coming from Jiang Kui’s *Da yue yi* does not appear in any version of the essay now readily available. It is however found in *juan* 142 of *The Official History of the Song Dynasty* (*Song shi* 宋史; *juan* 17 of the ‘Yue zhi’ 樂志), where the text cited most recently in the narrative is *Shenglü jue* 聲律決 (author unknown and the text does not survive). Jiang Kui is mentioned immediately after this quote and his *Da yue yi* is also cited earlier in the *juan*, but these facts in themselves do not mean that Jao’s quote is found in *Da yue yi* or elsewhere in his writings.

22 絃詩三百 is from *Mozi*. *Mozi jiangou*, 12.455.

23 *Wenxuan*, 16.715.

24 Ban Gu, *Baihu tong shuzheng*, 3.124–25.

The whole sentence for the *se* in *Baihu tong* is: ‘The *se* embodies thrift and embodies restriction.’ 瑟者：嗇也，閒也。

25 Xu Shen, *Shuowen jiezi*, 12B.18b (267).

control himself; (琴) , 君子所以自禁制也,<sup>26</sup> which also directly inherits and extends Han dynasty usage.<sup>27</sup>

The *qin* is positioned as rectifying the human heart, and this theory had wide currency in the Han dynasty; thus, within contemporary principles of music, the elegant-*qin* occupied a leadership and governing role and was regarded as 'music's unifying leadership'. *Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era* (*Taiping yulan* 太平御覽; an encyclopedia compiled in 977–783; *juan* 579) quotes *Fengsu tongyi* ('Shengyin pian'): 'The instrument known as the elegant-*qin* provides music's unifying leadership. Therefore, the *qin*, in the utterance of words, means to constrain, whilst elegance, in the utterance of words, means to rectify.' 雅琴者，樂之統也。琴之爲言禁也，雅之爲言正也。<sup>28</sup> The reason for this is that the *qin* embodies communal moral values. The mutual relationship of virtuous morality and music was frequently discussed in early writings on music. 'Yue ji', 'Marquis Wen of Wei' ('Wei Wenhou' 魏文侯; chapter 7; Marquis Wen of Wei: ruler of the state of Wei, 472–396 BCE, r. 445–396) gives: 'Virtuous morality in sound is called "music". 德音之謂樂。<sup>29</sup> ('Virtuous morality in sound' is also the opposite of 'degenerate sound' [*ruo yin* 弱音].) ('Yue xiang' 樂象; chapter 5): 'When music is widely practised, the people will proceed whither they should, and virtuous morality is to be observed. Virtuous morality is the epitome of essential characteristics; music is the blossoming of virtuous morality.' 樂行而民鄉方，可以觀德矣。德者，性之端也；樂者，德之華也。<sup>30</sup> In this way, virtuous morality had become the fundamental substance of music, and music had itself become 'virtuous morality in sound'. The *qin* is 'music's unifying leadership' and intimately related to virtuous morality, and thus the Han dynasty called the *qin* 'virtuous morality in music' (*deyue* 德樂); for example, Liu Xiang's (劉向, 77–6 BCE) 'Yaqin fu' 雅琴賦 is clear evidence of this: 'Roving a thousand hearts to be thus widely observed is the tranquil stillness of virtuous morality in music.' 遊千心以廣觀，且德樂之

26 *Shuowen jiezi xizhuan*, 24.14b (248).

27 See chapter 2, 'An Investigation of Juanzi's *Qin Heart*' for a series of other quotations of a similar vein.

28 Ying Shao, *Fengsu tongyi jiaoshi*, 6.235.

This passage from *Fengsu tongyi* is only partially quoted in *juan* 579 of *Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era* and all that is given there is as follows: 'The instrument known as the *qin* provides music's unifying leadership. That which consistently constrains the gentleman ...' 琴者，樂之統也。君子所常禁...

29 *Liji zhengyi*, 39.1309.

30 *Liji zhengyi*, 38.1295.

愔愔.<sup>31</sup> Therefore, since the Han dynasty, those writing about the *qin* have often composed praises of ‘the *qin*’s virtuous morality’.

Huan Tan (桓譚, 23 BCE–56 CE) in his *Xin lun* 新論 (*juan* 16, ‘The Way of the Qin’ [‘Qin dao’ 琴道]): ‘Instruments made of the Eight Materials encompass all musical possibilities, but of these the virtuous morality of the *qin* reigns supreme.’ 八音廣博，琴德最優。<sup>32</sup> Ma Rong (馬融, 79–166) ‘Qin fu’ 琴賦: ‘(In the past, Shi) Kuang would thrice play with broadened heart and the spirited beings descend to this world; how profound the virtuous morality of the *qin*!’ [昔師] 曠三奏而神物下降，何琴德之深哉。<sup>33</sup> (Shi Kuang: *fl.* late Spring and Autumn period) Ji Kang’s (嵇康, 224–263 or 223–262) ‘Qin fu’ 琴賦: ‘Amongst all the assembled musical instruments, the virtuous morality of the *qin* reigns supreme.’ 眾器之中，琴德最優。<sup>34</sup> ‘If someone is not of vision broad and distant, I cannot take amusement and journey with him; if someone is not of profundity and stillness, I cannot be at leisure and sojourn with him; if someone is not free-spirited and enlightened, I cannot treat him without being miserly; if someone is not the quintessence of refinement, I cannot analyse and dissect reason with him.’ 非夫曠遠者不能與之嬉遊，非夫淵靜者不能與之閑止，非夫放達者不能與之無吝，非夫至精者不能與之析理。<sup>35</sup> ‘Render the centrality of the totality harmonious to unify and lead all things, and then even through the usage of all the days, nothing is lost.’ 總中和以統物，咸日用而不失。<sup>36</sup> Also: ‘Tranquil stillness, the *qin*’s virtuous morality, cannot be measured.’ 愔愔琴德，不可測兮。<sup>37</sup>

Han dynasty scholars who postulated regarding the *qin*’s virtuous morality were comparatively numerous. What then is ‘Tranquil stillness, the *qin*’s virtuous morality?’ Note: The two characters 愔愔 (*yinyin*) that are translated here as ‘tranquil stillness’ come from *The Zuo Commentary* (Chapter 10, ‘Duke Zhao’ [‘Zhao Gong’ 昭公; d. 510 BCE, r. 542–510 BCE], the twelfth year of his reign) and the phrase ‘tranquil stillness of Qi Zhao (the name of a piece

31 *Wenxuan*, 18.848.

Most sources give these lines as: ‘By travelling, were my heart to observe more widely, it would encounter the tranquil stillness of virtuous morality in music.’ 遊予心以廣觀，且德樂之愔愔。Liu Xiang’s poem does not appear to have survived in a complete form, but these lines are quoted by Li Shan (李善, 630–689) in his notes to ‘Qin fu’ 琴賦 by Ji Kang (嵇康, 224–263 or 223–262) that is found in *juan* 18 of *Selections of Refined Literature* (*Wenxuan* 文選; compiler: Xiao Tong 蕭統, 501–531).

32 *Wenxuan*, 18.836.

33 *Wenxuan*, 18.836.

34 *Wenxuan*, 18.836.

35 *Wenxuan*, 18.846.

36 *Wenxuan*, 18.848.

37 *Wenxuan*, 18.848.

of music):' 祈招之愔愔.<sup>38</sup> There are several explanations of this word: Du (Yu 杜預, 222–285) *Chunqiu Zuoshi jingzhuang jijie* 春秋左氏經傳集解: '(This word means) peaceful and harmonious.' 安和貌.<sup>39</sup> *Hanshi shuo* 韓詩說: 'harmonious and contented in appearance;' 和悅貌.<sup>40</sup> Notes on the *Selections of Refined Literature* (*Wenxuan* 文選; compiled by Xiao Tong 蕭統, 501–531), 'Qin fu' (by Ji Kang), notes by the (Tang dynasty) Five Ministers (*wu chen* 五臣) including Li Zhouhan (李周翰, fl. eighth–ninth centuries): '(This word means) silent and profound.' 靜深也.<sup>41</sup> Somewhere located along the continuum from 'silent and profound' to 'harmonious and contented' is its primal meaning.

## 5 *Chang* 暢 Pieces and *Cao* 操 Pieces

When considering the different genres of *qin* pieces, other than *cao* ('working-out') pieces, there are also *chang* ('progressing') pieces and *yin* (引 'introductory') pieces. *Chang* pieces are the opposite of *cao* pieces. In *Yuefu shiji*, there is only one *chang* piece: 'Shenren chang' 神人暢, see *Gujin yuelu* 古今樂錄 (compiler: Shi Zhijiang 釋智匠, fl. sixth century), which narrates connections between Heaven and mankind. In addition, the ancients mostly emphasized pieces in the *cao* form, that is, those that concentrated on working out a particular idea; whereas *chang* pieces perhaps represented 'prominence' (in government; *da* 達) or 'connecting', *cao* expressed '(the discipline of working in) adversity' (*qiong* 窮); *chang* is the practice of worldly governance or 'connecting'; 'adversity' is the practice of solitary self-cultivation, an anxiety that is itself manifested as *cao*. Ma Ruichen (馬瑞辰, 1777 or 1782–1853)

38 Zuo Qiuming, *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi*, 45.1506.

39 Zuo Qiuming, *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi*, 45.1506.

40 *Wenxuan*, 18.848.

41 *Liuchen zhu wenxuan*, 18.30a (339).

The Huan Tan and Ma Rong quotes given here are taken from Li Shan's notes to Ji Kang's 'Qin fu', and both occur after the line: 'Among all the assembled musical instruments, the virtuous morality of the *qin* reigns supreme.' 眾器之中琴德最優. This derivation is evident because Jao Tsung-i replicates Li Shan's scribal alteration of Ma Rong's lines by which the first two characters 昔師 of the phrase are omitted. Jao's probable source was *Ji Kang ji jiaozhu* 嵇康集校注 by Dai Mingyang (戴明楊, 1902–1953) that reproduces Li Shan's notes (but with acknowledgements, and also includes an introduction, perhaps by Dai Mingyang himself but the language and format are archaic). Dai's introduction to Ji Kang's 'Qin fu' also contains the quotes from *Baihu tong* and *Shuowen jiezi* that Jao Tsung-i deploys earlier. *Hanshi* 韓詩 is now lost but is cited by Li Shan's note to Ji Kang's line 'Tranquil stillness, the *qin*'s virtuous morality, cannot be measured.' 愔愔琴德，不可測兮. The citation of Li Zhouhan of the Five Ministers' notes on *Selections of Refined Literature* (*Wenxuan*) also comes from *Ji Kang ji jiaozhu*.

of the Qing dynasty in his *xu* 序 introduction to *Qin cao* 琴操 gives: ‘There is not one single form to *qin* practice (“*cao*”); there are *chang* pieces and *ge* songs; in respect of *shi* poems, there are *cao* pieces and *yin* pieces, and all are encompassed by the generic term “*cao*”. Regarding pieces of the *chang* type, the term “*chang*” emphasizes their aspirational nature. Huan Tan in *Xin lun*: “The notion ‘connecting’ is to the benefit of the world, and there is nothing to which a progression is not made thereto.” Regarding pieces of the *cao* type, they exhibit moral principles. *Xin lun*: “Through the discipline of adversity comes the practice of solitary self-cultivation and in this way not losing moral principles thereto.” 琴操之體不一，有暢有歌，詩有操有引，而統謂之操。暢者，暢其志。桓譚《新論》：達則兼善天下，無不通暢是也。操者，顯其操。《新論》：窮則獨善其身，而不失其操是也。<sup>42</sup> (Both citations from *Xin lun* come in close proximity in chapter 16). Here let Ying Shao’s thoughts on the matter be laid out:

### *Chang*

*Fengsu tongyi*, ‘Shengyin pian’ gives:

When a state is reached in which prominence in government is achieved and applied in practice in the implementation of policy, it can also be written into *qin* music to make exposition of its meaning and in this way made manifest to later generations. Let the fundamental proposition be implementation of harmoniousness and happiness and thereby composing music; pieces of this kind are called ‘*chang*’. These *chang* pieces narrate their pathway’s skilful flow, as if they dare not take repose in peacefulness, yet they are neither proud nor overweening, though those who love the rites do not use the *chang* form to express their intention.

及有所通達而用事，則著之于琴以舒其意，以示後人。其道行和樂而作者，命其曲曰暢。暢者，言其道之善暢，猶不敢自安，不驕不溢，好禮不以暢其意也。<sup>43</sup>

### *Cao*

Pieces that are created when encountering psychological blockage and anxiety are called ‘*cao*’. These *cao* pieces narrate encountering disaster and suffering misfortune, beset by difficulties and in dire straits; although

<sup>42</sup> Cai Yong, *Qincao*, 1.

<sup>43</sup> Ying Shao, *Fengsu tongyi jiaoshi*, 6.235.

in bitter complaint and blindly despairing, they still abide by the rites and righteousness, and are neither terrified nor petrified; the player remains joyful in the Way and does not deviate from moral principles.

其遇閉塞憂愁而作者，命其曲曰操。操者，言遇災遭害，困厄窮迫，雖怨恨失意，猶守禮義，不懼不懾，樂道而不失其操者也。<sup>44</sup>

Xie Xiyi (謝希逸, 421–466) in *Qin lun* 琴論 gives: ‘Harmoniousness and happiness and then composing music is called “*chang*” and means through prominence in government lending succour to the Empire and furnishing it with a beautifully smooth progression for moving along its pathway.’ 和樂而作，命之曰暢，言達則兼濟天下，而美暢其道也。<sup>45</sup> ‘Anxiety and then composing music is called “*cao*”; in other words, from adversity comes the practice of solitary self-cultivation and in this way not deviating from moral principles.’ 憂愁而作，命之曰操，言窮則獨善其身，而不失其操也。<sup>46</sup> ‘*Chang*’ and ‘*cao*’ parallel respectively ‘prominence’ and ‘adversity’. *The Book of Changes* (*Yijing* 易經, ‘Wenyan zhuan’ 文言傳, the tenth of its traditional commentaries or ‘wings’ [*yi* 翼], Part Two [of Two]) gives: ‘Suffusing (progressing) to the four limbs manifests itself in the conduct of affairs,’ 暢于四支，發于事業，<sup>47</sup> which is an example of the notion of prominence. The *qin* by its very nature is reasonable, especially towards that which is in adversity and has not yet achieved prominence and has the function of preserving moral conduct and excising idle perversion, and thus causes the limited to be guarded unflinchingly, which is why *cao* pieces for the *qin* were composed in large numbers. Cai Yong (蔡邕, 132–192) of the Han dynasty wrote *Qin Cao* (琴操), and so did Kong Yan (孔衍, 268–320) of the Jin dynasty (sometimes called *Qin Cao Yin-Introduction* [琴操引]) in three *juan*; Han Yu (韓愈, 768–824) of the Tang dynasty composed *Qin Cao* in imitation. Many *qin* players in the slough of despair at their unrealized aspirations turned to playing their instrument and called the process itself ‘*cao*’.

44 Ying Shao, *Fengsu tongyi jiaoshi*, 6.235–36.

45 *Yuefu shiji*, 57.822.

46 *Yuefu shiji*, 57.822.

As the original of *Qin lun* appears to have been lost, the two citations here of it come from *Yuefu shiji*, *juan* 57. The break between them is not found in the passage there and the whole is one continuous quotation. Note: the phrase ‘beautifully smooth progression’ 美暢 used here instead of ‘skilful flow’ 善暢 in an equivalent place in the citation from *Xin lun* above.

47 *Zhouyi zhengyi*, 1.38.



*Xunzi*, ‘Quanxue pian’ 勸學篇 (essay 1 of *juan* 1), outlines the *cao* (here means ‘forbearance and integrity’) of virtuous morality thus: ‘From this it is therefore: faced with power it cannot concede, under pressure from the ordinary people it cannot be shifted, the whole world cannot ruffle it, life stems from it, death stems from it, and it is called the *cao* of virtuous morality. Only once the *cao* of virtuous morality is possessed can a person become steady, and only once a person has become steady can that person answer with action; to be able to be steady, to be able to answer with action, this is known as having become a truly mature person.’ 是故權利不能傾也，群眾不能移也，天下不能蕩也，生乎由是，死乎由是，夫是之謂德操。德操然後能定，能定然後能應；能定能應，夫是之謂成人。<sup>48</sup> The application here of the appellation ‘*cao*’ is extremely interesting. In ancient times, ‘*cao* musical compositions’ (*caoqu* 操曲) were always played by those who had suffered setbacks and not by those who had achieved prominence. (In later generations, those who had achieved just such a prominence, such as Yelü Chucai [耶律楚材, 1190–1244] who could play fifty different *cao* compositions, were extremely few.)

The *qin* was the instrument of the literati social class, and it also carried theories of *qin* virtuous morality and *qin cao*. By the Wei and Jin dynasties, the term ‘*cao*’ was used in preference by all. Wendi, Emperor of the Wei dynasty (魏文帝, 187–226, r. 220–226), wrote *Shi cao* 士操 in one *juan* (*The Official Book of the Sui Dynasty* [*Sui shu* 隋書; *juan* 34] and the ‘Tang Treatises’ [‘Tang zhi’ 唐志; *juan* 47 and 59 respectively of the ‘Old’ and ‘New’ official histories of the Tang dynasty] both contain records of it, listed among the section on ‘Philosophical Works’ [‘Zi’ 子]). By this time, explanation of the word ‘*cao*’ had however evolved from a Confucianist to a legalist significance. *Remnant Sounds of Ancient Antiquity* (*Taigu yiyin* 太古遺音; by Xie Lin 謝琳, fl. fifteenth–sixteenth centuries; ‘Qin you suo yi’ 琴有所宜, in *juan* 4) indicates that the *qin* had five types of ‘*cao* pieces of the scholar’ that matched respectively the five notes of the pentatonic scale: *gong* 宮, *shang* 商, *jiao* 角, *zhi* 徵, *yu* 羽, and thus formed separate genres in their own right.<sup>49</sup> *Gong* was *cao* of the scholar of virtuous morality, *zhi* was *cao* of the Confucian scholar, *jiao* was *cao* of the Daoist scholar, *shang* was *cao* of the hermit scholar, and *yu* was *cao* of the ‘Yellow Palace Gate’ official.

Given here as a diagram:

48 *Xunzi jijie*, 1.23.

49 *Taigu yiyin*, 4.19b.

TABLE 1.1 Five types of 'cao 操 pieces of the scholar' matched to the five notes of the pentatonic scale

	<i>zhi</i> 徵	<i>cao</i> of the Confucian scholar 儒士操	cultivates essential characteristics 養性
	<i>jiao</i> 角	<i>cao</i> of the Daoist scholar 道士操	causes the spirits to move 運神
<i>gong</i> 宮	<i>huangzhong</i> 黃鐘	<i>cao</i> of the scholar of virtuous morality 德士操	cultivates virtuous morality 養德
	<i>shang</i> 商	<i>cao</i> of the hermit scholar 隱士操	gives pleasure to an aspirational psyche 樂志
	<i>yu</i> 羽	<i>cao</i> of the Yellow Palace Gate official 黃門操	praises the ruler's virtuous morality 頌君德

The five genres all have no relationship to one another. Of these, most worthy of notice is 'cao of the Yellow Palace Gate official'. In the Han dynasty, the Yellow Palace Gate official had originally been a mid-ranking official, but in the Ming dynasty, his position became particularly important. Most members of Ming dynasty eunuchry understood the *qin*, and some even taught the *qin*; for example, the teachings of Xu Yu (徐宇, fl. thirteenth century), through his Xu-style orthodox school of playing, in the Ming dynasty Hongzhi era (1488–1505), were transmitted to the *taijian* 太監 eunuch official Dai Yi (戴義, fl. late fifteenth–early sixteenth century), and Dai Yi transmitted them to Huang Xian (黃獻, 1485–1561) of Guangxi province. Huang Xian wrote *Wugang Qin Scores* (*Wugang qin pu* 梧岡琴譜; 'Wugang' was Huang Xian's sobriquet); he himself was a *taijian* eunuch official ('Abstracts to the *Collected Qin Compositions*' ['*Qinqu jicheng tiyao*' 琴曲集成提要], no. 12).<sup>50</sup> The underlying significance of the eunuchry playing the *qin* was the suppression of desires and to refine oneself. Grounded in the rationale expounded above, there came into being the so-called 'cao of the Yellow Palace Gate', and how this terminology came about can be easily imagined.

50 Zha Fuxi, 'Qinqu jicheng juben tiyao', 1: 7–8.

## 6 The *Qin* and the Doctrine of Essential Characteristics (*Xingming zhi xue* 性命之學)

The *qin* was a tool for governing the human heart, and thus some have taken the *qin* and made a direct connection between it and the Confucian philosophy of essential characteristics. Li You (李尤, c.55–c.135 or c.44–c.126) of the Eastern Han dynasty in his *Qin Inscriptions* (*Qin ming* 琴銘) gives: ‘When the *qin* sounds its notes, it cleanses and purifies the evil heart, and even though its purpose is to rectify one’s essential characteristics, its emotional impact is nonetheless profound,’ 琴之立音，蕩滌邪心；雖有正性，其感亦深；<sup>51</sup> which already argues that the *qin* could rectify essential characteristics and that the ancient *qin* moreover symbolised reason. In the collection of the Gugong Palace Museum is a *qin* made in Guangyao 廣窯 in the Southern Song dynasty that embodies just these values: refining one’s body and making reasonable one’s essential characteristics, and on it incised in seal script is the four-character phrase ‘refine, body, make reasonable, essential characteristics’ 修身理性 so it was given its name accordingly.

Ming dynasty Zhang Tingyu (張廷玉, fl. late sixteenth–early seventeenth centuries) of the Central Shaanxi plains (Guanzhong 關中) wrote *Li xing yuan ya* 理性元雅, a book divided into four *juan* that comprises mostly *qin* compositions together with their poetic texts. Its modern Taiwanese reprint does not include the introduction, and in order to read it Yang Shibai’s (楊時百, 1863–1932) ‘Qin hua’ 琴話 has to be consulted. An abridged quotation from it is as follows: ‘Common wisdom says that there are those who have broad knowledge of benevolence, righteousness, integrity, and moral virtuousness and yet are not adept at the use of musical pitches; it is not nonetheless heard that the rustic yokel can become adept at them. I regard music as having a direct connection to a person’s essential characteristics, and thus the rustic yokel is not necessarily adept by virtue of knowledge of the technical processes of musical performance; there are none, however, of benevolence, righteousness, integrity, and moral virtuousness who are not adept. The gentleman, when there is no reason, does not refrain from playing the *qin* and *se*, and it is not that the “gentleman” made of *tong* wood should not depart from making sound pleasing to the ear, but instead that it should not depart from its essential characteristics.’

51 *Chuxue ji*, 16.389.

*Qin ming* as an entire text does not survive but is cited in the Tang dynasty compilations *Yiwen leiju* 藝文聚類 (*juan* 44) and *Chuxue ji* 初學記 (*juan* 16). Note: the prevailing version of the first four characters of this citation is 琴之在音, which translates as: ‘That which resides in the *qin*’s sound,’ and is similar in meaning to the phrase given here.

人有言，聞有仁義道德，不爛于音者矣，未聞曲士能爛之。予謂音樂通乎性命，曲士未必爛，未有仁義道德而不爛者。君子無故琴瑟不離於御，非桐君娛耳不離，便是性不可離。<sup>52</sup> Thus, is explained the direct connection between music and the righteousness of essential characteristics. The *Qin* repertoire includes a piece *Jing guan yin* 靜觀吟 that has as its poetical subtitle and inspirational impulse ‘The myriad things silently observed: all is from this obtained’ 萬物靜觀皆自得。<sup>53</sup> Ouyang Xiu’s (歐陽修, 1007–1072) ‘A *Shi* Poem presented to Li Jingxian, the Daoist Master of Wuwei County’ (‘Zeng Wuwei Jun Li daoshi Jingxian shi’ 贈無爲軍李道士景仙詩) also observes: ‘Putting one’s body into good order is like putting one’s *qin* into good order; rectifying its voice is a process that cannot be linked to crookedness.’ 理身如理琴，正聲不可干以邪。<sup>54</sup> (From: *Jushi ji* 居士集, juan 4) The phrase ‘putting one’s body into good order is like putting one’s *qin* into good order’ explains precisely that the study of ‘*qin* orderliness’ (*qin li* 琴理) and ‘essential characteristics orderliness’ (*xing li* 性理) can be mutually connected endeavours.

Yang Shibai gives: ‘Those who study to become celestial immortals are mostly able to play the *qin*, and those who practise the art of playing the *qin* are also fond of speaking of celestial immortals; for example, when tuning the strings, one should seek a mutual resonance between pairs of strings vibrating in relation to one another that resembles the sounds of the two characters “celestial immortal” and “old man” spoken in succession. In the *qin* repertoire, the following pieces are all Daoist tracts: “Dongtian chunxiao”, “Yuhua dengxian”, “Jiu huan cao”, and “Xiexian you”: 學仙者多能琴，習琴者亦好說仙，如調弦以仙翁二字宣音，琴曲中〈洞天春曉〉、〈羽化登仙〉、〈九還操〉、〈挾仙遊〉，皆道家言也。 ([from the essay] ‘*Qin yu man lu*’ 琴餘漫錄).<sup>55</sup> He also discusses ‘the benefits of learning the *qin*’ 琴學之益 saying: ‘Those who are good at playing the *qin* use it to refine their essential characteristics and to adjust their *qi*-energy and not simply to pleasure a listener’s ears. For this reason, Dou Gong (*fl.* early second century BCE) had a lifespan of one hundred and eighty years, and it is said that other than playing the *qin*, no other method caused this. (Note: according to Liu Xiang’s *Bie lu*, “Yue ji”; the twenty-third essay, entitled “Dou Gong” [now lost], probably gives a record of this.<sup>56</sup>) This is

52 Zhang Tingyu, *Zhang Shichu yezu shanfang youqu gao*, 6.16a (161: 592).

53 *Liang Song mingxian xiaoji*, 58.4b (1362: 683).

This line comes from a *shi* 詩 poem by Cheng Hao (程顥, 1032–1085) titled ‘*Qiuri oucheng*’ 秋日偶成.

54 Ouyang Xiu, *Ouyang Wenzhong gongji*, 4.1b.

55 Yang Zongji, *Yangshi qinxue congshu*, 1.22b (178).

56 *Bie lu* does not survive. Kong Yingda’s (孔穎達, 574–648) *Lji zhengyi* 禮記正義, juan 37, quotes *Bie lu* as indicating that ‘Yue ji’ originally contained twenty-three essays, of which

sufficient to prove that studying the *qin* is beneficial to body and soul and comprises a Doctrine of Essential Characteristics; it is a philosophy and not an art.' 善彈琴者借爲鍊性、調氣之用，非以悅他人之耳也；是以竇公壽一百八十歲，謂彈琴外，別無導引之法。（案劉向《別錄 樂記》第二十三篇爲竇公。殆記其事。）足證琴學爲有益身心性命之學；道也，而非藝也。<sup>57</sup> ([from the essay] 'Qin xue wenda' 琴學問答). In outlining reasons explaining why the *qin* is an 'instrument for transmitting the Way and is beneficial for body and soul and comprises a Doctrine of Essential Characteristics,' 載道之器，爲有益身心性命之學，<sup>58</sup> he says: 'When the *qin*'s sound is distant (ancient), one grows in body, and without the estrangement of interloping bridges, the player's breathing becomes intimately connected to the instrument, which is beneficial for developing his (or her) essential characteristics. Also, if when playing, vagrant thoughts are stimulated, then under the fingers, the music will of necessity become disordered; similarly, without correctly worn attire, stern posture, and a level heart with *qi*-energy harmonious, then a piece cannot be brought to its conclusion.' 琴音遠而身長，無柱隔闕，與彈者呼吸息息相關，是爲有益性命。又彈時雜念一動，則指下必亂，非正衿危坐，心平氣和，不能終曲。<sup>59</sup> Yang Shibai was a *qin* Master of recent times and these views are lofty indeed, and when he talks of regulating breathing and halting vagrant thoughts, also evident here is a close link to the *chan* school of meditation's methods for governing the heart.<sup>60</sup> Ouyang Xiu in his poem 'Zeng Wuwei Jun Li daoshi Jingxian shi' gives: 'I regard it strange that Master Li is full seventy years in age, yet his face and eyes, bright and delicate, are lit like pink-tinted clouds at dawn or dusk.' 我怪李師年七十，面目明秀光如霞。<sup>61</sup> Thus, playing the *qin* can extend longevity, and here is clear proof of this.

## 7 The *Qin* Heart (*qinxin* 琴心): Ancient Citations

The ancients were fond of talking of 'qin heart', and of course Sima Xiangru's (司馬相如, 179–118 BCE) 'The *qin* moved (the lady Zhuo Wenjun's heart to love)' 琴挑 [文君] is in that category (Zhuo Wenjun, 卓文君, fl. Western Han

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'Dou Gong' was the twenty-third. 'Dou Gong' is one of twelve essays of 'Yue ji' that are now lost.

57 Yang Zongji, *Yangshi qinxue congshu*, 7b (374).

58 Yang Zongji, *Yangshi qinxue congshu*, 8a–8b (375).

59 Yang Zongji, *Yangshi qinxue congshu*, 8a–8b (375).

60 Yang Shibai's essays 'Qin hua', 'Qin yu man lu', 'Qin xue wenda', and others are collected into his *Qinxue congshu* 琴學叢書.

61 Ouyang Xiu, *Ouyang Wenzhong gongji*, 4.1a–1b.

dynasty).<sup>62</sup> Let the discussion not dwell first on the significance of ‘*qin* heart’ and instead cite a few examples that simply analyse ‘*qin* heart’. Those who are knowledgeable regarding the *qin* can, on hearing its sound, gain understanding of the player’s state of mind, and examples of this kind can be furnished as material for those who research into psychoanalysis to consider. Two examples are narrated here:

### 7.1 *Killer Heart* (shaxin 殺心)

*The Official Book of the Later Han Dynasty* (*Hou Han shu* 後漢書), ‘Biography of Cai Yong’ (‘Cai Yong zhuan’ 蔡邕傳; *juan* 60, Part Two [of Two]) records the following anecdote:

Among Cai Yong’s neighbours was one who had invited him to partake of wine and victuals, and when Cai Yong went there and waited at the doorway, he found that inside they were already drinking wine together to their hearts’ content. A guest was playing the *qin* behind a screen, and when Cai Yong had reached the doorway, he sought to listen surreptitiously and then said: ‘Ahah! How could you invite me with music to attract me and yet have a “killer heart”?’ Thereupon he returned home smartly. An errand-boy reported the matter to the host: ‘Mr Cai came here just now, but only reached the doorway and then left.’ Cai Yong had always been treated with respect by those of his native locality, and so the host immediately chased after him and asked the reason why he had left so abruptly. Cai Yong told him all there was to say. All were nonplussed. The *qin* player then volunteered: ‘When plucking the strings just now, I saw a praying mantis engaged in stalking a chirruping cicada; the cicada was about to fly away but had not yet left, and so in a quandary, the praying mantis repeatedly advanced and then reared back; my heart leapt to my mouth and my only fear was that the praying mantis would lose its quarry; thus how could my “killer heart” not manifest itself in the sound of my playing?’ Cai Yong smiled broadly: ‘This is sufficient to explain everything and satisfy me.’

其鄰人有以酒食召邕者，比往而酒以酣焉。客有彈琴於屏，邕至門試潛聽之；曰：「噫！以樂召我而有『殺心』，何也？」遂反。將命者告主人曰：「蔡君向來，至門而去。」邕素為邦鄉所宗，主人遽自追而問其故。

62 ‘The *qin* moved the lady Zhuo Wenjun’s heart to love’ 琴挑文君 is a four-character *chengyu* 成語 set phrase that originated in ‘Biography of Sima Xiangru’ (‘Sima Xiangru liezhuan’ 司馬相如列傳) in *Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shi ji*, 117.3000).

邕具以告。莫不憮然。彈琴者曰：「我向鼓弦，見螳螂方向鳴蟬，蟬將去而未飛，螳螂爲之一前一卻，吾心聳然，惟恐螳螂之失之也。此豈爲殺心而形於聲者乎？」邕莞然而笑：「此足以當之矣。」<sup>63</sup>

Also, late-Yuan dynasty Bei Qiong's (貝瓊, 1312–1379) 'Shendu zhai ji' 慎獨齋記 recounts:

In former times was a person who could play the *qin*. On one occasion as someone's guest, he heard the sound of a *qin* and then abruptly left because he could hear in its sound a 'killer voice'. At that moment, the player whose *qin* he had heard had seen a praying mantis that had extended its front legs and was engaged in a life-and-death struggle with a cicada; the player's heart was instantly rocked, which made the erstwhile pure sound of ancient antiquity swiftly turn weak and insipid and suddenly become imbued with a killing and striking energy, and the guest had instantly perceived this. Even though the music had already reached the higher plane of its most secret territory, given this turn of events, how could anyone be deceived? No one can be thus deceived, and the feelings that well up from me when I play cannot be hidden.

昔人有鼓琴者，坐客聞而去之，以琴有殺聲也。時見螳鼓臂搏蟬，其心一動，使純古淡泊忽變爲殺伐，而人已知之。則雖至密之地可以欺人乎？人不可欺，由吾之情有不可隱也。<sup>64</sup>

(In: *Qingjiang Bei xiansheng wenji* 清江貝先生文集, *juan* 25, in the section 'Zhongdugao' [中都藁, *juan* 22–30; 'Master Teacher Bei' is Bei Qiong; his soubriquet is 'Qingjiang' 清江, which translates as 'of the Qing river'.])

The 'killer heart' manifested itself in the sound of the *qin*, and those cognizant of sound were able to perceive it; from this is seen that the ancients knowledgeable of the *qin* were able, on hearing its sound, to understand fully a player's psychological state.

## 7.2 *Suspicious Heart* (yixin 疑心)

(Spurious) Huang Xian (黃憲, *fl.* Eastern Han dynasty) in *Qin lun* 琴論 records:

63 *Hou Han shu*, 60B.2004–5.

64 Bei Qiong, 'Shendu zhai ji', 25.8a–8b.

Zheng Jun ('Scholar-Gentleman', an epithet for Huang Xian) departed from court in the middle watches of the night and played his *qin* and sang the set of songs 'Bin feng' from *The Book of Songs*. The ruler of the state of Qin sent his personal servants to wait on him, and informed the keeper of the lodgings where he was staying ... Zheng Jun had set his *qin* ready and played until the coda of the set of songs 'Bin feng', but the *qin* did not rise to the occasion, and that must have been because someone plagued with suspicion had transmitted his state of mind to it; was it the ruler of the state of Qin who had done this? ... therefore, Zheng Jun remarked: 'Suspicion is the gateway to the realm of ghosts, whereas enlightenment is the hall of the spirits.' The Gentleman eliminates suspicion and abides in enlightenment; I have not yet heard that he disturbs (expels) enlightenment and accumulates suspicion.

徵君燕居中夜，鼓琴而歌《鬪風》，秦王使左右伺之通於館人。.....徵君理琴至《鬪風》之亂，琴不起，必有疑者感之，其秦王乎？.....因云：「夫疑，鬼之門也；明、神之庭也。」君子去疑而存明，未聞汨明而蓄疑也。<sup>65</sup>

The same passage also argues:

Suspicion is scheming; scheming imbibes emotional nurture from scheming itself as well as responding to scheming.

疑則機也，機則感于機而應于機。<sup>66</sup>

The *qin* can cause a person to forget scheming; in the *qin* repertoire is found a piece called 'The Seagull and Heron forget Scheming' ('Oulu wangji' 鷗鷺忘機),<sup>67</sup> and its meaning is precisely this. For Huang Xian's thesis, see *Qinding gujin tushu jicheng* (欽定古今圖書集成; vol. 739; compiled 1700–25; found in the 'Jingji huibian' 經濟匯編, vols. 655–800), 'Yuelü dian' 樂律典 (vols. 731–740), *juan* 107, though it resembles a Ming dynasty forgery passed off as a Han dynasty original and is not found in *The Complete Literary Works of the Later*

65 Huang Xian, 'Qin lun', 7a.

66 Huang Xian, 'Qin lun', 7a.

67 *Liezi jishi*, 2.70–71.

'The seagull and heron forget scheming' 鷗鷺忘機 is a *chengyu* set phrase that comes from the *Liezi* (列子; eponymous text by Liezi, 451–376 BCE), 'Essay on the Yellow Emperor' ('Huangdi pian' 黃帝篇; *juan* 2).



*Han Dynasty* (*Quan Hou Han wen* 全後漢文; compiled by Yan Kejun 嚴可均, 1762–1843), and neither does Yang Shibai include a record of it in his ‘Qin hua’.

Another passage, this one from the *Guanyinzi* (關尹子; eponymous text by Guanyin, late Spring and Autumn period–early Warring States period; ‘Section 3: Beams’ [‘San ji’ 三極]) discusses that the ‘*qin* heart’ can be differentiated into a tragic heart, a thoughtful heart, a complaining heart, and an envious heart:

Those who are adept at playing the *qin*, when they have a tragic heart, the sound is pitiful and plaintive; when they have a thoughtful heart, the sound is *molto tenuto*; when they have a complaining heart, the sound echoes round and round; when they have an envious heart, the sound is empty and void; therefore, when the *qin* transmits sound, it does so as a mirror to nearby objects.

人之善琴者，有悲心，則聲淒淒然；有思心，則聲遲遲然；有怨心，則聲回回然；有慕心，則聲無無然。故以琴傳聲，有如鏡之臨物。<sup>68</sup>

Someone adept at the *qin* hears its sound like looking into a mirror that can illuminate the concealed minuteness of places in the inner heart. The examples cited above all explain that in a *qin*’s sound is reflected a person’s heart.

## 8 The Three Timbres (*sansheng* 三聲) and the Emotional Projection Effect (*yiqing zuoyong* 移情作用)

The *qin* has three fundamental timbres: harmonics, open strings, and stopped notes, and theorists often match them to Heaven, earth, and mankind, the *sancai* 三才.

TABLE 1.2 The three fundamental timbres matched to the *sancai*

Heaven’s sound	Earth’s sound	Mankind’s sound
Harmonics ( <i>fanyin</i> 泛音)	Dissipated notes ( <i>sanyin</i> 散音)	Stopped notes ( <i>anyin</i> 按音)

68 Yin Xi, *Guanyinzi*, 3.56.

Prior to the Tang and Song dynasties, the majority of notes used were dissipated notes and harmonics, and ancient *qin* players called this practice: 'many notes but few words.' 聲多詞少. In the Six Dynasties, Xu Quzhan (徐麴瞻, dates uncertain) of the Liu Song dynasty had already expanded the theory to comprise three timbres; *Remnant Sounds of Ancient Antiquity (Taigu yiyin)*, *juan 4*, contains an anonymous tract 'Sansheng lun' 三聲論 that explains the notion of the three timbres and sets up the theory of these representing Heaven, earth, and mankind.<sup>69</sup> From the Song and Ming dynasties onwards, *qin* technique became more demanding, and artistic theory relevant to different methods of plucking the strings was gradually perfected. For one instrument to be able to produce three different qualities of sound is the *qin*'s especially outstanding characteristic.

Regarding the *guqin*'s harmonics and consonant notes, for example, in the piece 'Pu'an Mantra' ('Pu'an zhou' 普安咒), the whole piece uses intervals of the fourth, fifth, octave, and major third as consonant double stops, and in so doing has already strode into a mode of thought where music is read from written scores. In addition, performance on the *guqin* pays particular attention to fineness of weight of sound and touch, speed of execution, rise and fall, and ebb and flow. Occurrences of fingering practices that are slow and delayed, for example, of the type 'great-moan-frees-monkey' (*dayin fangnao* 大吟放獐), must be separated by more than the time value of four tied semibreves (one semibreve: four beats). Fingering that is quick and dexterous, for example, 'fingered-tremolo', even expressed with demisemiquavers (that is, eight notes to a beat) is insufficient. Also, the *guqin* attitude to modulations to different modes is that these simply do not occur inside a particular piece, and modal practice is grounded in the strictures of mutual production of the two different families of *lü* modes: 律 and 呂. If from a tonic, notes are produced four times in succession (that is, theoretical pure consonant fifths), then the five notes of the pentatonic scale are outlined (*gong* to *jiao*), and these five notes, respecting the mode and exchanged with one another, thus form melody that itself becomes musical compositions, naturally forming a mode that is called the *gong* mode. Western people are intensely in love with modulation, and their instrumentalists are no exception. Regarding the points made here, Master Zha Fuxi regards them as the reasons why the *guqin* has not fallen by the way-side, and when considering whether China has no music of an artistry above a certain threshold, views only the *guqin* as a worthy representative. (See: introduction to *Jin yu qinkan* 今虞琴刊序)<sup>70</sup>

69 *Taigu yiyin*, 4.12a–13a.

70 Zha Zhenhu, 'Fakan ci', 4.

In the field of aesthetics, the (German) word 'Einfühlung' means 'objects and I are unified' 物我同一 and the concept and term originated (in 1873) with (the German philosopher) R. Vischer (1847–1933).<sup>71</sup> American psychologists have translated the term as 'empathy', and according to the word's linguistic mien, it signifies 'feelings are internalised' 感到裏面去 and means 'take my emotions and project them into an object in order to gain mutual enjoyment of that object's life.' 把我的情感，移到物裏去，分享物的生命。<sup>72</sup> Zhu Guangqian (朱光潛, 1897–1986) in his *Wenyi xinlixue* 文藝心理學 translates it as 'the emotional projection effect'.<sup>73</sup> He does not clarify the origin of the term 'emotional projection', and in fact emotional projection is rooted in a celebrated story regarding the *guqin*. *Qinyuan yaolu* 琴苑要錄 (an anthology of the Zhengde 正德 era, 1506–1521) tells the tale:

Bo Ya studied the *qin* with Cheng Lian (dates uncertain) and was able to play after three years, but regarding the requisite silent and solitary state of mind as well as focused emotion, these he had not yet achieved. Cheng Lian said: 'When I was studying the *qin*, I too was unable to project human emotions, so I took as my teacher Fang Zichun (dates uncertain) who lived in the middle of the Eastern Sea; let us visit him, bringing along some grain as a gift, and follow his teachings.' They reached Penglai mountain (a fabled island in the Eastern Sea), and Cheng Lian left Bo Ya there, saying: 'I am going to welcome my teacher.' He pushed his boat away from the shore with a pole and departed, and for ten days did not return. Bo Ya became desolate at heart and craned his neck to look in all directions but could only hear the roaring and rolling of the sea, the mountains and woods were distant and dark, and the islands around all called out tragically, so he looked up at the sky and sighed: 'My Master really wants me to project my emotions!' thus he took up his *qin* and sang.

伯牙學琴於成連，三年而成。至于精神寂寞，情之專一。未能得也。成連曰：「吾學不能移人之情，吾師有方子春，在東海中，乃齋糧從之。」至蓬萊山，留伯牙曰：「吾將迎吾師。」刺船而去，旬時不返。伯牙心悲，延頸四望，但聞海水汨沒，山林窅冥，群島悲號，仰天歎曰：「先生將移我情！」乃援琴作歌。<sup>74</sup>

71 Zhu Guangqian, *Wenyi xinlixue*, 235.

72 Zhu Guangqian, *Zhu Guangqian meixue wenji*, 40.

73 Zhu Guangqian, *Wenyi xinlixue*, 235.

74 *Gujin tushu jicheng*, vol. 739, 107 'Qinse bu' 琴瑟部: 12a.

In the Qing dynasty, Wang Zhong (汪中, 1744–1794) in his ‘Inscriptions of the Qin Terrace’ (‘Qintai zhi ming’ 琴臺之銘), gives: ‘Why should I pluck the strings and play a piece other than for the purpose of projecting my emotions.’ 何必撫弦動曲，乃移我情。<sup>75</sup> The two written characters ‘projecting emotions’ 移情 are grounded in this notion and in fact stem from the philosophy of the *guqin*. The primal meaning of the German prefix ‘ein’ is ‘united’, ‘fühlung’ means ‘feeling’, thus ‘Einführung’ could be translated as ‘the unifying of states of mind’. ‘Sympathy’ is ‘the identicalness of feelings’. The sound of the *qin* can cause people to project their emotions and reach a plane where ‘objects and I are identical’. Master Zhu (Guangqian) introduces (Theodor) Lipps’ (1851–1914) ‘Theory of Projecting Emotion’ 移情說 that is used in the study of aesthetics to describe a journey from ‘objects and I forget one another’ to reach the plane where ‘objects and I are identical’. When Lipps discusses rhythm, he considers that it adopts the function of projecting the emotion ‘a feeling for beauty’; in fact, ‘projecting emotion’ in this sense was something that ancient *qin* players had already directly experienced, and let this observation supplement the deficiencies in Master Zhu’s argument.

Listening to the *qin* is also a kind of happiness. An understanding of music is a process that requires training and only then can the allure of the *qin* be fully appreciated. A painting executed during the reign of the Song dynasty emperor Huizong (宋徽宗, 1082–1135, r. 1100–1126) portraying listening to the *qin* depicts one person playing the instrument and two others silently listening. Liu Songnian (劉松年, 1131–1218) also painted a picture whose subject was listening to the *qin*. *Longhu qinpu* 龍湖琴譜 (compiled by Shi Guozhen 石國禎, fl. sixteenth century, and printed in 1570) contains a piece ‘Tingqin fu’ 聽琴賦 (poet unknown) in fourteen stanzas that has the following lines: ‘The night is still, and I play my jade-like *qin* as and when the mood takes me;<sup>76</sup> where it is touched by the clear wind, the nightly glow is cold; indeed, not pausing, because this scene is itself someone listening who understands music; for were it not someone who understands music, I would not be playing for it.’ 夜靜玉琴三五弄，清風動處夜光寒，除非止是知音聽，不是知音不與彈。<sup>77</sup> Thus, the player desires the appreciation of the listener, and the listener must possess an appropriate comprehension of the *qin* and training in the art of listening, and only then can true understanding be achieved; therefore, since ancient times, sighs have been regretfully heaved expressing the difficulty of coming across ‘someone who understands one’s music’ 知音。

75 Wang Zhong, *Shuxue jiaojian*, 400.

76 ‘As and when the mood takes me’ is a free translation of 三五弄, a phrase that may also indicate the title of a *qin* composition.

77 *Lidai guqin wenxian huibian Qinqu shiyi juan*, B. 1368.

## 9 The *Qin* Plane of Thought (Supreme Purity [*taiqing* 太清] and the Righteous Soul [*zhengling* 正靈])

In ancient times, Huan Tan wrote ‘The Way of the *Qin*’, of which only the opening passage survives; Juanzi (涓子, a disciple of Laozi 老子, 571–471 BCE) wrote *Qin Heart* (*Qinxin* 琴心) that comprises three essays, and this text is now lost and has not come down to the present day; only Xu Hong (徐洪, also called Xu Qingshan 徐青山, 1582–1662) of Taicang 太倉 who wrote *Qin kuang* 琴況 comprising twenty-four essays with an introduction by Qian Fen (錢棻, fl. seventeenth century) can now be read as an ‘exposition of the virtuous morality of the *qin*’. 琴德論. The narration by Xu Qingshan describes the *qin* plane of thought and serves as an expansion of the ancient theory that regarded the *qin* as embodying nine fundamental virtuous moralities (these characteristics are called: specialness, ancientness, transparency, stillness, sleekness, melodiousness, purity, evenness, and fragrance). The situation somewhat resembles Sikong Tu’s (司空圖, 837–908) *Shipin* 詩品 in that genuine fascination and excellent qualities remain unblemished. The ancients used the term ‘supreme purity’ to summarise these, as can be seen, for example, in Cai Yong’s *Qin Song* (*Qin ge* 琴歌):<sup>78</sup>

Refined be my heart, suffuse it in supreme purity 練余心兮浸太清,  
 Cleanse off the miry slough and have my soul in rectitude 滌穢濁兮有  
 正靈,  
 Let harmonious liquid flow, my spirit’s *qi*-energy calm 和液暢兮神氣寧.  
 Emotions and aspirations peacefully moored, heart noble and pure 情志  
 泊兮心亭亭,  
 Predilections and desires extinguished, let nothing arise from these 嗜欲  
 息兮無由生,  
 Leaping above the Universe and shedding the commonplace 躡宇宙而  
 遺俗兮,  
 Distantly aloft, lightly and gracefully, I journey alone 眇翩翩而獨征.<sup>79</sup>

This song is found at the very end of Cai Yong’s ‘Shi hui’ 釋誨, where he has taken up his *qin* and started to sing, and so on and so forth (*The Official Book of the Later Han* [*Hou Han shu*], ‘Biography of Cai Yong’). It is not recorded in any texts of Yang Shibai’s generation. Regarding ‘supreme purity’, Ban Gu

78 This section of the poem is cited in *juan* 60 of *The Official Book of the Later Han*, but the whole of it is only found in *Quan Hou Han wen*, *juan* 73.

79 *Hou Han shu*, 60B.1989.

in 'Dongdu fu' 東都賦 (*Selections of Refined Literature* [*Wenxuan*], *juan* 1) gives: '(You should) mirror supreme purity in order to transform your muddleheaded psyche.' 監于太清，以變子之惑志。<sup>80</sup> *Huainanzi*, 'Benjing xun' 本經訓 (*juan* 8): 'Supreme purity's natural transformation: harmonious and compliant, and also calm and silent; in quality, upright, in elemental nature, simple.' 太清之化也，和順以寂寞，質直以素朴。<sup>81</sup> Gao You's notes read: 'Supreme purity: a natural transformation of (the Daoist concept of) "no action": 太清，無爲之化。<sup>82</sup> The sound of the *qin* can suffuse a person in supreme purity's natural transformation. Daoism's highest plane 'no action' can cleanse the heart of its noxious stains and allow it to attain the status of a 'righteous soul', which is similar to Buddhism's righteous fixity on the righteous path (*Sammā samādhi*) as the healthiest psychological state to be in. All desires are eliminated, all emotions and aspirations dampened, and a person's entire self is dissolved in the 'harmonious liquid' of sound, and proceeding through the baptism ceremony of music, the epitome of humanity that is the perfection of self can be attained.

This kind of effect that 'refines the heart' can be trusted to make a significant contribution to mental hygiene. The educational practice of the *qin* forbids crooked desires, and accomplishment of its scholarly exercises is through application of the arts of self-regulation of virtuous morality and self-regarding sentiment. 'Yue ji' 樂記 gives: 'When music reaches its pinnacle, it is devoid of resentment' 樂至則無怨 and 'great music is in concord with heaven and earth.' 大樂與天地同和。<sup>83</sup> The sound of the *qin* can cause a person to reach a harmonious plane of thought. Under normal circumstances, music is the kiln in which the clay of a person's character can be fired, and it can transform temperament. In these aspects the *guqin* puts forth great strength. Ancient China's 'doctrine of the *qin*'s virtuous morality', 琴德說, in today's world that talks of 'in-depth psychology' and 'mental hygiene' could undoubtedly have great use and would seem to be imbued with a modern significance, and the opportunity should not be let slip. Thus, acquiring an understanding of *qin* sound is really an enjoyment of the mind. As far as those who play the instrument are concerned, it is also a chance for smelting the metal of virtuous morality that is not to be lost. Shelley in *A Defence of Poetry* gives: 'The greater origin of

80 *Wenxuan*, 1.29.

81 The most common redaction of this passage is: 'Supreme purity's origin: harmonious and compliant, and also calm and silent.' 太清之始也，和順以寂寞. Gao You's notes then read: 'Supreme purity: the origin of (the Daoist concept of) "no action": 太清，無爲之始.

82 *Huainanzi jishi*, 8.555.

83 *Liji zhengyi*, 37.1266-67.

morality is benevolent love and lies in transcending the lower self and communing with all selfless thought ... and unifying with ingenious beauty ... in order to reach the goodness that abides in morality.' 道德的大原在仁愛，在脫離小我，與非我所有的思想..... 和美妙相同一..... 以到道德上的善。<sup>84</sup> The efficacy of the *qin* is precisely this. Ji Kang in 'Qin fu': 'Render the centrality of the totality harmonious to unify and lead all things' 總中和以統物，<sup>85</sup> and also 'Take sensitivity from Heaven and earth to engender harmoniousness.' 感天地以致和。<sup>86</sup> (*Records of Rites*, 'Yue ji' 樂記 gives: 'The Sage makes music in answer to Heaven; and formulates the rites in answer to the earth.' 聖人作樂以應天，制禮以應〔配〕地。<sup>87</sup>) When expressed in the sound of the *qin*, this could be called a plane of thought comprising both Heaven and earth.

## 10 *Qin* Heart (*qinxin* 琴心) and Daoist Texts

The process of using the *qin* to refine the heart was known by the ancients as 'qin heart'. Daoist texts customarily used the *qin* to represent a harmonious plane of thought, therefore *Huangting neijing jing* 黃庭內景經 (a revelatory text received by Wei Huacun 魏華存, 252–334) is also called *Taishang qinxin wen* 太上琴心文.<sup>88</sup> The book also includes Liangqiu's (梁丘子, fl. eighth century) notes to the introduction, which read:

84 Zhu Guangqian, *Wenyi xinlixue* 文藝心理學, 325.

A direct quote from *A Defence of Poetry* matching this passage is hard to find, but elements of the following section are present: 'Virtue in sentiment, beauty in art, truth in reasoning, and love in the intercourse of kind. Hence men, even in the infancy of society, observe a certain order in their words and actions, distinct from that of the objects and the impressions represented by them, all expression being subject to the laws of that from which it proceeds. But let us dismiss those more general considerations which might involve an inquiry into the principles of society itself, and restrict our view to the manner in which the imagination is expressed upon its forms ... It is difficult to define pleasure in its highest sense; the definition involving a number of apparent paradoxes. For, from an inexplicable defect of harmony in the constitution of human nature, the pain of the inferior is frequently connected with the pleasures of the superior portions of our being. Sorrow, terror, anguish, despair itself, are often the chosen expressions of an approximation to the highest good.' Jao Tsung-i has seemingly obtained his quotation via Zhu Guangqian and the translation given here simply renders his Chinese back into English.

85 *Wenxuan*, 18.848.

86 *Wenxuan*, 18.848.

87 *Liji zhengyi*, 37.1274.

88 The first line of 'Yanggu shenwang xu' 暘谷神王序 to *Huangting neijing jing* reads: '*Huangting neijing jing* is also called *Taishang qinxin wen*.' 《皇庭內景經》者，一名《太上琴心文》。

Of the myriad natural laws, mankind is the host, and for mankind, it is the heart that is the crux. Were there no host, then natural laws would not have been born; were there no heart, then the body could not stand upright. The heart and natural laws have many manifestations, and those that are delved and used are not all identical.

夫萬法以人爲主，人則以心爲宗。無主則法不生，無心則身不立。心法多門，取用非一。<sup>89</sup>

It also gives:

The *qin* represents harmoniousness; and playing richly on it can harmonize the six *fu* internal organs, calm the heart and spirit, and cause a person to attain the spirithood of a celestial immortal.

琴，和也；誦之可以和六府，寧心神，使得神仙。<sup>90</sup>

*Huangting neijing jing*, 'Shangqing zhang' 上清章 (stanza 1) has the two lines: 'Qin heart, three layers, dance with the embryo celestial immortals; Nine Ethers reflecting brightness emerge from the nine heavenly layers.' 琴心三疊舞胎仙，九氣映明出霄間。<sup>91</sup> Liu Changsheng's (劉長生, 1147–1203, also called Liu Chuxuan 劉處玄) notes to these lines are: 'The *qin* caresses the heart from inside, and its melodiousness penetrates the highest turquoise heaven; the embryo celestial immortals' dance finished, the entire sky is brightly illuminated.' 心琴內撫，韻透青霄；胎仙舞就，靈耀彰昭。<sup>92</sup> Liangqiuzi's notes are: 'The *qin* is harmoniousness; the "three layers" are the "three elixir fields" of the body (between the eyebrows, mid-thorax, and lower abdomen), which means they interact in multiple layers with all the bodily organs; "embryo celestial immortals" are the souls of embryos; the Greater Deity is also called the "embryo perfected being" and lives between the eyebrows an inch behind the skull. He who is called Lord Lao of the Three Purities Palace is the ruler of the Yellow Court, and because his heart is harmonious his spirit is happy; therefore, he dances with the embryo celestial immortals.' 琴，和也；三疊三丹田，謂與諸宮重疊也；胎仙即胎靈；大神亦曰胎真，居明堂中。

89 *Yunji qiqian*, 11.189.

90 *Yunji qiqian*, 11.190.

This passage is from 'Yanggu shenwang xu' and comes immediately after the phrase '*Huangting neijing jing* is also called *Taishang qinxin wen*.'

91 *Yunji qiqian*, 11.199.

92 *Huangting jing jizhu*, 135.



所謂三老君爲黃庭之主，以其心和則神悅，故儻胎仙也。<sup>93</sup> (Note: *Huangting neijing jing* 'Ruode zhang' 若得章 [stanza 19; has as its opening line] 'If one were to obtain the magic elixir kept in the constellations the Three Palaces,' 若得三宮存玄丹,<sup>94</sup> which elaborates the doctrine of the Three Palaces.)

Li Bai (李白, 701–762) in 'Lushan yao' 廬山謠 gives: 'Having first fed on reconstituted *dan* elixir, with no emotion left for this world; *qin* heart, three layers, the Way begins to form itself.' 早服還丹無世情，琴心三疊道初成。<sup>95</sup> Its meaning is grounded in the explanation given above. Yang Shibai loved the *qin*, and his literary studio was called 'Parlour of the Dancing Embryo Celestial Immortals' (*Wutai xianguan* 舞胎仙館). His *Qinxue congshu* 琴學叢書 does not offer an explanation for this name, though it is in fact a quotation from *Huangting neijing jing*. Investigation of the book *Qin Heart* indicates it was originally written by Juanzi. Liu Xie (劉勰, 465–521) had apparently had sight of it, so he penned the phrase: '(In former times books that had the formula '... Heart' as their title included) Juanzi's *Qin Heart* and Wang Sun's *Ingenious Heart*. 涓子琴心、王孫巧心.'<sup>96</sup> (See: *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍, 'Xuzhi pian' 序志篇 [the fiftieth and last essay in the book; this particular Wang Sun is untraceable]). Li Shan's (李善, 630–689) notes to Ji Kang's 'Qin fu' (as found in *juan* 18 of his exegesis of *Selections of Refined Literature* [*wenxuan*]) quote *Liexian zhuan* 列仙傳 (by Liu Xiang): 'Juanzi was a native of Qi and enjoyed fishing with rod, line, and bait, and he wrote *The Book of Heaven, Earth, and Mankind* that comprises thirty-eight essays ... he formulated Boyang's (Boyang: one of Laozi's soubriquets) teachings on the spiritual exercises of the Nine Celestial Beings. The ruler of Huainan obtained copies of a few of his writings but could not understand their meaning. His *Qin Heart* comprising three essays exhibits both clarity and reasonableness.' 涓子齊人，好餌術，言天地人經三十八篇。.....造伯陽九仙法。淮南王少得文，不能解。其《琴心》三篇，有條理焉。<sup>97</sup> Juanzi therefore lived prior to the ruler of Huainan (Liu An) and is called by some Xie 謝 Juanzi and by others Liu 劉 Juanzi. (*Qin History* [*Qinshi* 琴史; compiled by Zhu Changwen 朱長文, 1039–1098; *juan* 2] supplements this by quoting *Guangbowu zhi* 廣博物志 [compiled by Dong Sizhang 董斯張, 1586–1628; *juan* 34] and *Qin shu* 琴疏,<sup>98</sup> but the writings there are probably unreliable.)

93 *Yunji qiqian*, 11.199.

94 *Yunji qiqian*, 11.236.

95 Li Bai, *Li Taibai quanji*, 14.678.

96 Liu Xie, *Wenxin diaolong*, 10.725.

97 *Wenxuan*, 18.838.

98 *Qin shu* is a lost text but is cited many times in *juan* 34 of the *Guang bowu zhi*.

In *Huangting neijing jing*, the meaning of 'qin heart' has probably been adopted from Juanzi's text, but unfortunately Juanzi's book has not survived. In *Huangting neijing jing*, regarding the wording 'dance with the embryo celestial immortals', 舞胎仙, 'embryos' is in fact a metaphor for 'celestial cranes' (*xianhe* 仙鶴). Bao Zhao (鮑照, 414–466) in 'Wuhe fu' 舞鶴賦: 'Foraging through gleanings of mystic texts to investigate the object in question, (the crane) is a celestial bird that has evolved from strange and special embryos.' 散幽經以驗物，偉胎化之仙禽.<sup>99</sup> 'The Rock Inscription on burying the Crane' ('Yihe ming' 瘞鶴銘; by Tao Hongjing 陶弘景, 456–536) of the Liang dynasty gives: 'On the subject of this embryo bird, Fu Qiu (*fl.* sixth century BCE) has written a canonic text.' 相此胎禽，浮丘著經.<sup>100</sup> Regarding the crane's status as a celestial bird, see Li Shan's note (in *Selections of Refined Literature* [*Wenxuan*] to Bao Zhao's 'Wuhe fu') that quotes (Fu Qiu's) *Xianghe jing* 相鶴經. In recent years in Changsha, on a newly unearthed ancient painting on silk is depicted a celestial immortal riding a dragon, at whose tail is a crane and at whose head a carp. From this it can be understood that 'dancing with the embryo celestial immortals' is in fact taking the crane and using it as a metaphor, and this awareness was already in existence prior to the Han dynasty.

Using the *qin* as a metaphor for 'harmoniousness' is found in Daoist texts, for example, *Zhen gao* 真誥 (by Tao Hongjing), 'Zhenming pian' 甄命篇 (essay 2): 'The perfected being who surpasses the supreme gives forth discourse on playing the *qin* thus: "The strings must be strung to a mid-tension, neither too slack nor too tight, and studying the Way is of a like manner: that which is harboured in the heart must be suitably tempered, just like playing a *qin*, and thus the Way can be obtained.'" 太上真人論彈琴調:「弦須得中，不緩不急，學道亦然，執心調適，亦如彈琴，道可得矣」.<sup>101</sup> *The Xiang'er Commentary on the Laozi* (*Laozi Xiang'er zhu* 老子想爾注; by Zhang Daoling 張道陵, 34–156 CE) gives: 'The Way esteems the middle path and harmoniousness, and when the middle path is taken, it is travelled with harmoniousness.' 道貴中和，當中和行之.<sup>102</sup> Thus, adherents to Daoism take the *qin* to represent 'harmoniousness'.

99 *Wenxuan*, 14.631.

100 Tao Hongjing, 'Yihe ming', 47.6b (3220).

101 Tao Hongjing, *Zhen gao*, 6.101–2.

Jao Tsung-i may have used a passage in the *Guang bowu zhi*, *juan* 34, as his source for this quotation from *Zhen gao*, but it is also found in the same form directly in the latter too (*juan* 6). His citation is not exact, however, and he may have employed an intermediate source. This passage also resembles one in the *Sutra in Forty-two Chapters* (*Sishier zhang jing* 四十二章經), said to have come into China in the Eastern Han dynasty.

102 *Laozi Xiang'er zhu jiaozheng*, 5.427.

This note is to a phrase that occurs at the opening to chapter 4 of the *Laozi*: 'Although the Way is a void, yet using it, it cannot be filled.' 道冲而用之不盈.

*Huangting neijing jing* is also called *Taishang qinxin wen* 太上琴心文, which is another means for saying that it can engender harmoniousness, and this is the *qin*'s innate effect. In recent times, Hu Zifu (胡滋甫, *fl.* early twentieth century) in his 'Explanation of *Qin* Heart' ('*Qinxin shuo*' 琴心說) has expounded: 'The spirits that are known by mankind manifest themselves in the *qin*, and those that are not known are not of the spirits' primal spirit and travel silently in the empty gorge ... All know that the *cao* principle of working out an idea in adversity manifests itself on the *qin* by means of rendering enjoyment to the heart and ear, but no one knows that its manifestation on the *qin* tempers my mind and body, aiding me in retaining a pure heart, nurturing essential characteristics, and consequently attaining long life; how tragic!' 夫人知神之神，以形于琴；而不知不神之元神，默運于空谷之間。.....人皆知操有形之琴以娛心耳，特不知因有形之琴，以調吾心身，存心養性以致命也，悲夫！ (*Jin Yu qin kan* 今虞琴刊).<sup>103</sup> Tao Hongjing writes: 'Studying the Way is like playing a *qin*: that which is harboured in the heart must be suitably tempered.' 學道如彈琴，執心調適。<sup>104</sup> Thus, 'that its manifestation on the *qin* tempers my mind and body' 因有形之琴，以調吾心身<sup>105</sup> is a meaning that is linked in precisely. In later generations, when whistling was discussed, the *qin* was also a wellspring, for example, Sun Guang (孫廣, *fl.* eighth century) in (the introduction to) his *Xiao zhi* 嘯旨 indicates this meaning and gives: 'Lord Lao who surpasses the supreme initiated a lineage of succession that the Emperor Shun performed as the *qin*.' 太上老君相次傳授，舜演爲琴。<sup>106</sup> Here, the *qin* is transmitted directly by Lord Lao who surpasses the supreme, how could this not be laughable! Feng Yan (*fl.* eighth century) in his *Record of the Heard and the Seen* (*Wenjianji* 聞見記) refutes Sun Guang and satirises his adulatory elaboration of the lineage as excessive (see *juan* 5, entry for *Xiao zhi*) and so be it!

## 11 *Qin* Principles and Yoga

'The *qin* embodies restraint.' 琴者，禁也。 This was the definition employed by the Eastern Han dynasty. This meaning is extremely similar to that of *The Yoga Sutra* (*Yujia jing* 瑜伽經), that is, the ancient Indian classical text *The Yoga Sūtra of Patañjali*. This book comprises four sections of which the first is called

103 Hu Zifu, 'Qinxin shuo', 44.

104 Tao Hongjing, *Zhen'gao*, 6.102.

105 Hu Zifu, 'Qinxin shuo', 44.

106 Wang Dang. *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 5.513.

‘Samādhi Pāda’ (transliterated into Chinese as ‘Sanmei fen’ 三昧分), and in the opening *juan*, the second sentence reads: ‘Yoga’s citta vṛtti nirodhaḥ’ (‘Yoga is the inhibition of the modifications of the mind.’); a Chinese translation has not yet been made of this Sutra, so this quotation is from an English translation by the Indian scholar I. K. Taimni in his *The Science of Yoga*, 1961, Madras). ‘Nirodhaḥ’ carries the meaning ‘inhibition, suppression, stoppage, restraint’, which is entirely congruent with the Chinese term 禁 (translated here as ‘restraint’); because without forbidding crooked thoughts, the rectified heart cannot store sincerity. When Gautama Buddha lectured on the Four Noble Truths (*Si sheng di* 四聖諦), *nirodhaḥ* was one of these: ‘cessation of perception and feeling’ (*mie di* 滅諦). This holy truth is named in this way as a holy truth of bitter extermination, that is, *Nirvāna* (*niepan* 涅槃) (according to W[alpola]. Rahula [Thero, 1907–1997] of the University of Ceylon); in Pali: *Nibbāna*, in Sanskrit: *Nirvāna*. The original Pali source for the word is: ‘When all the conditioned dharmas (laws or truths) are halted, when all pollutants are abandoned, when greed and desire are, in quietness, destroyed, this is *nirvāna*.’ 一切有爲法之止息，放棄一切污染，斷絕貪、欲、寂滅，是爲涅槃。<sup>107</sup> ‘When greed, angry glares, and idiocy are extinguished and exterminated, this is *nirvāna*.’ 貪、瞋、痴熄滅，是爲涅槃。<sup>108</sup> If one desires to achieve *nirvāna*, one must first restrain and eliminate crooked thoughts (relinquishing these comes prior to concentrating one’s thoughts on something). The teachings of Buddhism are first to cultivate a healthy and calm psyche, and the doctrinal methods required for undergoing the refining practice that pertains to this process are identical to yoga. In the original Pali texts, the ‘refining practice’ (*xiuxi* 修習) is ‘*Bhāvanā*’, in English translated as ‘meditation’ (*chensi* 沉思), but this word is inadequate to express the whole idea. The Chinese term ‘searching in darkness’ (*mingsuo* 冥索) is simply negative in its connotations, whereas *bhāvanā* is in fact positive. Its importance lies in nurture and development of the heart and soul. On the one hand, the psyche should be cleansed and purified of layer upon layer of vile components, and on the other, concentration of attention fostered, and the whole developed into a state of ‘Greater Enlightenment’ (*da qingming* 大清明) replete with aspirations and *qi*-energy of a spirit-like quality. The *qin*, by means of refining the heart and constraining perversion, and cleansing and purifying the filthy and turgid, cultivates the rectified soul, and the final plane of thought that is sought shares many common features with the ideals and aims of yoga.

107 *Fotuo de qishi*, 22.

108 *Fotuo de qishi*, 22.

12 The Notion of 'the *Qin* without Strings' (*wuxian qin* 無弦琴) and  
'Music without Sound' (*wusheng zhi yue* 無聲之樂)

Tao Yuanming (陶淵明, 365–427) 'kept in his possession an unadorned *qin* that was not equipped with strings or *hui* nodes of vibration, and whenever he met with friends to drink wine together, he would pluck it and knock it, saying: "I only recognise the attraction that resides in the *qin*, so why should I burden myself with sound produced by strings." 蓄素琴一張，絃徽不具，每朋酒之會，則撫而叩之曰：「但識琴中趣，何勞絃上聲」.<sup>109</sup> (See: *Lianshe gaoxian zhuan* 蓮社高賢傳) *The Official Book of the Song Dynasty* (*Song shu* 宋書), 'Yin yi zhuan' 隱逸傳 (*juan* 93): '(Tao) Qian (Tao Yuanming's formal name) did not understand musical sound and kept in his possession an unadorned *qin* that had no strings, and every time in the warm and happy afterglow of having drunk some wine, he would pluck it in order to project his emotions on to it.' 潛不解音聲，而蓄素琴一張，無絃，每有酒適，輒撫弄以寄其意 (This plagiarises Xiao Tong's 'Biography of Tao Yuanming' ['Tao Yuanming zhuan' 陶淵明傳] found in: *The Collected Works of Tao Yuanming* [Tao Yuanming ji 陶淵明集] compiled by Xiao Tong.)<sup>110</sup> *The Official Book of the Jin Dynasty* (*Jin shu* 晉書), 'Yinyi zhuan' 隱逸傳 (*juan* 94) gives: '... and whenever he (Tao Yuanming) met with friends to drink wine, he would pluck his *qin* and harmonise himself with it, saying, "I only recognise the attraction that resides in the *qin*, so why should I burden myself with sound produced by strings." 每朋酒之會，則撫而和之，曰但識琴中趣，何勞絃上聲。<sup>111</sup>

Su Dongpo (蘇東坡, 1037–1101) once quoted these two lines of Tao Yuanming and discussed them (in *juan* 57 of *Jing jin Dongpo wenji shilüe* 經進東坡文集事略 compiled by Lang Ye 郎曄, fl. Southern Song dynasty), saying: 'Tao Yuanming was not someone who had achieved prominence in government; the five notes and six musical modes do not inhibit the attainment of prominence; if the situation were otherwise, only the absence of a *qin* itself would be a prerequisite, and why simply the absence of strings?' 淵明非達者也，五

109 *Donglin shiba gaoxian zhuan*, 135:17.

Regarding this citation from *Lianshe gaoxian zhuan*, the most common redaction of this passage replaces the character 叩 with 和, thus 則撫而和之, which translates as 'he would pluck it and sing harmoniously with it' and does seem the most plausible reading. *Lianshe gaoxian zhuan* is also called *The Eighteen High Virtuous of the East Wood* (*Donglin shiba gaoxian zhuan* 東林十八高賢傳); the entries for Tao Yuanming here and in *The Official Book of the Song Dynasty* and *The Official Book of the Jin Dynasty* are listed under his formal name Tao Qian 陶潛 and not Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 his soubriquet.

110 *Song shu*, 93:2288.

111 *Jin shu*, 94:2463.

音六律，不害爲達；苟爲不然，無琴可也，和獨絃乎？<sup>112</sup> In answer, I will let Tao Yuanming speak for himself: ‘When I was young, I liked *qin* books;’ 少好琴書; ‘I take pleasure in *qin* books in order to quell anxiety.’ 樂琴書以消憂.<sup>113</sup> Thus, he did not necessarily fail to understand musical notes and modes. He also said: ‘Harmoniousness is created by the seven strings.’ 和以七絃.<sup>114</sup> In addition, how can it be understood that he had no knowledge of notes? All that might be said is that he probably did not have the expertise of Ji Kang and Dai Andao (戴安道, 326–397). His ‘*qin* without strings’ is in fact identical to Vimalakirti’s ‘silence, without uttering’ 默爾無言,<sup>115</sup> and like Seng Zhao’s (僧肇, 384–414) *Discourse on Nirvana* (*Niepan lun* 涅槃論; chapter 1: ‘Kai zong’ 開宗) that gives: ‘Pure words, closed mouth, in the (ancient Indian) city of Piye.’ 淨言杜口于毗耶.<sup>116</sup> (Wang Jin [王巾 d. 505] quotes from this sentence on ‘Toutuo si bei’ 頭陀寺碑.) Summarising its salient meaning, it is also why burden oneself with sound produced by the fingers? Here, the question requiring research is whether Tao Yuanming had been influenced by Buddhism; I am completely in agreement with Zhu Guangqian’s opinion, because in Tao’s poems are mentioned the (Buddhist) phrases ‘underworld requite’ (*mingbao* 冥報) (in the *shi* poem ‘Begging for Food’ [‘Qi shi’ 乞食], the line is: ‘[After death] from the dark underworld I will requite you and return the favour;’ 冥報以相貽.<sup>117</sup> Tang Lin [唐臨, 600–659] also composed a poem ‘Mingbao ji’ 冥報記 and ‘voided nothingness’ (*kongwu* 空無) ([in ‘Gui yuantian ju’, a poetry suite by Tao Yuanming] ‘human life is as if evolved from fantasy; and in the end returns to voided nothingness’ 人生似幻化，終當歸空無).<sup>118</sup> Hui Yuan (慧遠, 334–416) attributed great importance to Tao Yuanming, and the latter and his contemporaries Liu Yimin (劉遺民, 352–410) and Zhou Xuzhi (周續之, 377–423) were called the Three Hermits of Xunyang (*Xunyang sanyin* 潯陽三隱). Zhou Xuzhi served Hui Yuan much as a son might perform filial duties; Liu Yimin had close relationships with Seng Zhao and Hui Yuan. By this time, *The*

112 Su Shi, *Jingjin Dongpo wenji shilue*, 57.948.

113 Tao Yuanming *ji* 陶淵明集, 5.161.

114 Tao Yuanming *ji* 陶淵明集, 7.197.

‘When I was young, I liked *qin* books’ 少好琴書 comes from ‘Yu Ziyang deng shu’ 與子儼等疏; ‘I take pleasure in *qin* books in order to quell anxiety’ 樂琴書以消憂 comes from ‘Ci Poem: “Gui qu lai xi ci” 歸去來兮辭; ‘Harmoniousness is created by the seven strings’ 和以七絃 comes from ‘Prose Eulogy for Younger Cousin Tao Jingyuan’ (‘Ji congdi Jingyuan wen’ 祭從弟敬遠文).

115 *Taishō*, No. 475, ‘Weimojie suoshuo jing’, 14: 551.

116 Seng Zhao, *Zhaolun jiaoshi*, 180.

117 Tao Yuanming *ji*, 2.48.

118 Tao Yuanming *ji*, 2.42.

*Vimalakīrti Scripture* (*Weimojie jing* 維摩詰經) had already been translated and Tao Yuanming undoubtedly had access to it and had browsed it.

Zhou Zhengfu (周正夫, fl. twelfth century) and Ge Lifang (葛立方, d. 1164) both considered that Tao Yuanming's thinking contained Buddhist elements. According to *The Vimalakīrti Scripture*, scriptural chapter 9 ('Bu ru er fa men pin di jiu' 不入二法門品第九): 'The Buddhas all stopped speaking and asked the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī: "What is meant by 'the Buddha entering the one and only gateway into Buddhahood?'" Mañjuśrī replied: "According to my understanding, it means with other doctrines to partake of no words, no discourse, no indications, and no recognition, and to distance oneself from all questions and answers; this is what is meant by 'the one and only gateway into Buddhahood!'" Thereupon, Mañjuśrī asked Vimalakīrti ... "What is meant by 'the Buddha entering the one and only gateway into Buddhahood?'" Vimalakīrti remained silent and did not utter anything. Mañjuśrī sighed in admiration: "How ingenious ... to attain a plane where there is no written text or spoken word; this is how the perfected enter the one and only gateway into Buddhahood." 諸菩薩各各說已，問文殊師利：「何等是菩薩入不二法門？」文殊師利曰：「如我意者，於一切法無言、無說、無示、無識，離諸問答，是為不二法門。」於是師利問維摩詰.....「何等是菩薩入不二法門？」時維摩詰默爾無言，文殊歡曰：善哉！..... 乃至無有文字語言，是真入不二法門。<sup>119</sup>

'Silence without uttering' 默爾無言 is Tao Yuanming's 'Desiring to dispute (differentiate) yet the words required have already been forgotten.' 欲辨已忘言.<sup>120</sup> (From: 'Yinjiu qi wu' 飲酒其五) It was Zhuangzi who had originally said: 'In choosing between the utterance of words and the non-utterance of words: if one is uttering words for the whole of one's life, then nothing will in fact be said; but if one does not utter words for the whole of one's life, then no words will not be said.' 言無言，終身言，未嘗言；終身不言，未嘗不言.<sup>121</sup> ('Yu yan' 寓言 [essay 19]) As a matter of course, the non-utterance of words transcends and surpasses the utterance of words. All revelation of the Way can have three levels: 1: revelation through uttering words; 2: revelation through others uttering words on one's behalf; and 3: revelation through non-utterance of words. Of these, 'non-utterance' is the highest stage of revealing the Way. Therefore, the *qin* without strings is in fact superior to a *qin* with strings and is entirely congruent with this tenet.

119 *Taishō*, No. 475, 'Weimojie suoshuo jing', 14: 551.

Jao Tsung-i's quotation is from the translation by Kumārajīva (Chinese name: 鳩摩羅什 Jiumoluoshi, 344–413).

120 *Tao Yuanming ji*, 3, 89.

121 *Zhuangzi jishi*, 9A.949.

On examining a letter from Seng Zhao to Liu Yimin: 'Counting back the years, it was in the (*bing*)*wu* year (the *bingwu* year is the second year of the Yixi era [405–419], that is, 406 CE) that Kumārajīva produced his translation and notes of Vimalakīrti's works, and I, a poor and simple monk, at that time had planned to listen to them systematically ... and to take them down line by line and produce a written text that could furnish additional explanatory notes. Now, because a messenger has brought a copy to the south to you, if you have time to make investigation of it, you could take it out to read ... the most interesting issue that it addresses is "the non-utterance of words". If words themselves are insipid and inconsequential, droning on and on unceasingly, then how can anything be left to debate...'. 計什師以午年（丙午即義熙二年，公元四〇六）出維摩注，貧道時預聽次，.....條記成言，以為注解。.....今因信持一本往南，君閑詳試可取看.....且至趣無言，言必乖趣，云云不已，竟何所辨。.....<sup>122</sup> (The translation by Kumārajīva [In Chinese: 維摩詰 Weimojie, 344–413] of *The Vimalakīrti Scripture* is the sixth that was made, and those prior to it include versions by Yan Fodiao [嚴佛調, dates uncertain] of the Eastern Han dynasty and Zhi Qian [支謙, dates uncertain], the latter of the second year of the Huangwu era of the Wu dynasty [224], and so on, that still survive today.) The works cited above all discuss the rationale 'the most interesting issue addressed is the non-utterance of words.' 至趣無言. In the third year of the Yixi era, the *yisi* (forty-second) day (when Tao Yuanming was forty-three), Tao Yuanming composed 'Ci Poem: "Gui qu lai [xi] ci" 歸去來〔兮〕辭' whose introduction records memories 'of the eleventh month of the *yisi* year'. 乙巳歲十一月.<sup>123</sup> In the eighth year of the Yixi era, he composed 'Chou Liu Chaisang shi' 酬劉柴桑詩, which was probably when he got to see Kumārajīva's translation of *The Vimalakīrti Scripture*. 'The most interesting issue that it addresses is the non-utterance of words' parallels the notion that the *qin* is at its most interesting without strings, and both concepts exhibit precise concordance in this respect.

*Li ji*, 'Kongzi xianju' 孔子閒居 tells that music without sound, rites without form and substance, funerals without special robes: these were the 'three withouts' (*sanwu* 三無).<sup>124</sup> To illustrate the notion of music without sound, he quotes a line from *The Book of Songs*: 'From morn to eve, implement Heaven's commands in a magnanimous manner thus engendering peacefulness' 夙夜基命宥密,<sup>125</sup> and this is music without sound. ('Zhou song' 周頌, 'Haotian you

122 Seng Zhao, *Zhaolun jiaoshi*, 145–46.

123 Tao Yuanming *ji*, 5.159.

124 *Liji zhengyi*, 51.1628.

125 *Maoshi zhengyi*, 19.1524.



chengming' 昊天有成命.<sup>126</sup> The original meaning of this line is: 'From early morning to late at night, obey then Heaven's commands and implement merciful, benevolent, and peaceful government.' 早夜始順天命，行寬仁安靜之政。<sup>127</sup>) *Li ji*, 'Kongzi xianju' also includes: 'If music is without sound, then *qi*-energy and aspiration will be obedient; if the rites are enacted without form and substance, then both the high and low will be harmonious together; if funerals are performed without special robes, then the effect is to enrich the myriad nations.' 無聲之樂，氣志既從；無體之禮，上下和同；無服之喪，以畜萬邦。<sup>128</sup> If one desires to obtain the greater enlightenment of a heart that is clear and bright, then it can be experienced through soundless music; Tao Yuanming's 'I only recognise the attraction that resides in the *qin*' and not requiring the sound of *qin* strings is a rationale that is also identical.

The Qing dynasty's Yan Yuan (顏元, 1635–1704) when discussing the Way gives: 'The Way is like the *qin*, and is brighter than all musical modes and rhythm, and could it itself be studying the *qin*? ... A preposterous person indicates "the written score" and says that this is the *qin* ... as if the written score could itself be the *qin*! ... "Aspiration" and "indication" should be forgotten, just as "fingers" and "strings" should be forgotten, and selfish desires not allowed to reign free, yet with greater harmoniousness in the room, reacting to the *yinyang* duality, moulding objects to connect with Heaven, this is called being adept at the *qin*.' 道猶琴也；明於均調節奏，可謂學琴乎？..... 妄人指「譜」而曰是即琴也..... 譜果可以為琴乎..... 「志」與「指」忘，「指」與「絃」忘，私欲不作，大和在室，感應陰陽，化物達天，于是乎命之曰能琴。(Zhang Taiyan [章太炎, 1869–1936] quotes these few phrases in *Qiu shu* 脩書, 'Yan xue' 顏學.)<sup>129</sup> The *qin* and the Way are intimately connected; these words get right to the kernel of the issue and so are cited here as proof and are also the end of my paper.

This paper is the script for the fourth lecture given jointly for the New Asia College (*Xinya shuyuan* 新亞書院), Faculty of Arts (*Wenxueyuan* 文學院), and the Institute of Advanced Studies (*Yanjiusuo* 研究所). It is also offered as a birthday gift to Mr (Qian 錢) Binsi (賓四; this gentleman's name is Qian Mu 錢穆, 1895–1990; Binsi is his soubriquet) in his honoured old age. Added by the author himself.

126 *Maoshi zhengyi*, 19.1524.

127 *Maoshi zhengyi*, 19.1525.

128 *Liji zhengyi*, 51.1629.

129 Zhang Taiyan, *Qiu shu*, 151–52.

## Supplementary Notes

*Yanshi jiaxun* 顏氏家訓 (Master Yan: Yan Zhitui 顏之推, 531–591), ‘Zayi pian’ 雜藝篇 (chapter 19): ‘*Li ji* (“Qu li xia” 曲禮下) tells: “When there is no reason, the Gentleman does not remove his *qin* and *se*,” since ancient times, many celebrated personages have practised the activity of playing these instruments. Up until the beginning of the Liang dynasty, among families of well-heeled officialdom and the aristocracy, those who did not know how to play the *qin* were few. At the end of the Datong era (535–546), this custom halted completely. The music that had been played was however of a tranquil stillness that had been elegant and fine, and redolent of profound flavour.’ 《禮》曰：君子無故不徹琴瑟；古來名士，多所愛好，洎于梁初，衣冠子孫，不知琴者，號有所闕。大同以末，斯風頓盡。然而此樂，愔愔雅致，有深味哉。<sup>130</sup> From the Han dynasty to the Six Dynasties, *qin* culture was at its zenith and even reached the remote border regions of the south-west. In a Han dynasty tomb at Zhaotong 昭通 in Yunnan, clay figurines of *qin*-players have also been discovered (*Wenwu*, 1960, issue 6),<sup>131</sup> and this can be regarded as proof.

As for the judgments of the Tang dynasty, as can be seen in *Finest Blossoms in the Garden of Literature* (*Wenyuan yinghua* 文苑英華), there were those whose conclusion was the elimination of all sound. Liang She (*fl.* Tang dynasty, in ‘Dui qin you sha sheng pan’ 對琴有殺聲判), for example, gives: ‘Having led the whole of my life in an elegant and refined way, and having formerly learnt many excellent *qin* compositions, and having had many chance encounters with music in the *shang* mode, when I played, those near me were always aware of it; instead, let a mirror be hung on a tree, and let translucency of a osmanthus-souled moon freeze on it: water stilled in a tray, like a frozen flask placed in a ewer.’ 平生雅意，妙曲先知。邂逅商音，有鄰便覺。鏡懸于樹，凝桂魂之澄定；水止于盤，若冰壺之在鑑。<sup>132</sup> Alternatively, there is also ‘You nu xin gu qin pan’ 有怒心鼓琴判: “A” heard “B” playing the *qin* and said: “You are transmitting your feelings of an angry heart into your playing.” B reported this to others, saying: “The words of the song indicated a rough and violent musical mood.” 甲聽乙鼓琴曰：爾以怒心感者，乙告誰云，詞云粗厲之聲。<sup>133</sup> To this, Yuan Zhen (元稹, 779–831) answered: ‘By transmitting emotion into the *qin* and playing it thereto, both the music produced and the scene that inspired it will be harmonious with one another. If *qi*-energy and aspirations are flooded with

130 Yan Zhitui, *Yanshi jiaxun jijie*, 7.712.

131 Yunnan sheng wenwu gongzuodui, ‘Yunnan zhaotong wenwu diaocha jianbao’, 51.

132 *Wenyuan yinghua*, 508.7a (2604).

133 *Wenyuan yinghua*, 507.9b (2599).

anger, then the *qin*'s sound will burst forth in viciousness ... encroaching raging that is accumulated internally will impact with impetuous staccato rhythm on one's external appearance, calming not the Gentleman's unquiet heart, and moreover still rendering tumultuous and inciting the lowly person's vile temper.' 感物而動，樂容以和。苟氣志憤興，則琴音猛起。..... 憑陵內積，趨數外形，未平君子之心，翻激小人之慍。<sup>134</sup> (*Wenyuan yinghua*, juan 507) These two examples can serve to supplement those cited above relevant to 'qin heart'.

Regarding images of dancing celestial immortals, in the simplified catalogue of the Gugong Palace Museum is a Ming dynasty long vertical scroll painting with text signed by Bian Wenjin (邊文進; the soubriquet of Bian Jingzhao 邊景昭, b. 1350) that is titled *Taixian tu* 胎仙圖 that depicts 136 cranes in a multitude of postures; a reproduction of it can be found in *Gugong canghua jieti* 故宮藏畫解題.<sup>135</sup>

Zhang Sui (張隨; dates uncertain) of the Tang dynasty composed 'Wuxian qin fu' 無弦琴賦. His song gives: 'If music has no sound, its emotion exceeds twofold; if a *qin* has no strings, its meaning superior resides; Heaven and earth together in harmony have true interventionist power; why then should form and sound await one another?' 樂無聲兮情逾倍，琴無弦兮意彌在。天地同和有真宰。形聲何爲迭相待。<sup>136</sup> (*Wenyuan yinghua*, juan 507) These lines summarise aptly the ingenious purpose therein and are therefore recorded here as a supplement.

134 *Wenyuan yinghua*, 507.9b (2599).

135 Guoli gugong bowuyuan, *Gugong canghua jieti*, 153.

136 *Wenyuan yinghua*, 77.2a–2b (348).

## An Investigation of Juanzi's *Qin Heart*

*Starting with the Elegant Qin of Guodian, a Discussion of the*

*Qin Scholarship of Laozi's Disciples* 涓子《琴心》考—由郭店雅琴談老子門人的琴學

### 1

From the Guodian Chu tomb no. 1 in Hubei written copies of *Laozi* and Confucianist texts have been excavated that have attracted international attention, and since then many international conferences on these finds have been held. The largest of these happened this year (1999), 15–18 October, in Wuhan University's Luojia 珞珈 mountain retreat. The present writer had the opportunity to attend as a delegate and engaged with many newly published papers as well as carrying out another detailed investigation of the musical instruments in the Bell Chamber. It was after returning that this paper was drafted.

The Guodian tomb is an earthen pit with a shaft grave in which is a wooden outer coffin. The tomb finds that have received most attention include lacquered cosmetics cases, cups with lacquered ear-shaped handles, two each of bronze swords and *ge* 戈 sabre-spears, a bronze pike, arrow quivers and 132 arrowheads, dragon-shaped jade belt-hooks, and a seven-stringed *qin*.<sup>1</sup> Regarding the identity of the tomb occupant and his social status, the most reasonable deductions include the following:

From his cephalic angle (100°), he belonged to the generalised pattern of a member of a Chu royal family; from the construction and layout of the tomb, he was a *shi* official of higher rank; and from the excavated Chu bamboo writing slips, he was a scholar; from the instrument excavated from the tomb, he had an elegant love of the finer details of musical modes; from the weaponry in the tomb, at the very least, he had served as a low-ranking military officer; and from the four-character phrase 'East Palace's Cup' inscribed on a cup with ear-shaped handles excavated from the tomb, he had at times interacted with the hereditary crown prince.

1 See Hubei sheng Jingmen shi bowuguan, 'Jingmen Guodian yihao Chumu', 45.

從頭向（100°）來看，屬於廣義的楚國公族。從墓制來看，乃士之上者，從墓中出土的竹簡來看，是學者，從墓中的樂器來看，雅好音律；從墓中的兵器來看，至少做過下級軍官，從墓中出土的耳杯所刻「東宮之丕」四字來看，曾與太子有交往。<sup>2</sup>

Of these, only the deduction made from the bronze pike that had he had served as a low-ranking military officer is not entirely reasonable, and the 'East Palace' also does not definitively indicate the crown prince's residence. All the other suppositions remain valid views.

Regarding the four-character inscription 'East Palace's Cup' 東宮之丕 on the lacquered cup, scholars have come up with two different interpretations: the first reads the character 'cup' 丕 as 丕 ('*za*'), that is, a variant of the character 師 ('*shi*'); a common character that carried many meanings, including 'respected teacher' and 'official'; the second reads it as 丕 ('*bu*'), that is a variant of 杯 ('*bei*'), which meant simply 'cup'. From the graphic structure of the character, I think that interpreting 丕 (丕) as 杯 ('cup') is the most appropriate. Taking into account the burial custom by which an ordinary *shi* official was normally only interred inside one outer and one inner coffin, the occupant of the tomb could not possibly have been the *shifu* 師傅 instructor of the hereditary crown prince, and neither is this arrangement commensurate with the status of a *gongshi* 工師 senior official. I strongly agree with (modern scholars) Li Ling's 李零 and Wang Baoxuan's 王葆琰 arguments,<sup>3</sup> and the correct reading should be 'East Palace's Cup'.

Regarding the seven-stringed *qin* unearthed at Guodian, it is 82.1cm in length, and in size and construction somewhat similar to the *qin* excavated in 1973 from the Han dynasty tomb at Mawangdui 馬王堆, Changsha, Hunan; the Mawangdui *qin* is 82.4cm in length. Other *qin* excavated from Hubei and Hunan are:

1. A ten-stringed *qin* from the Marquis Yi of Zeng's tomb in Sui 隨 county; lacquered black, in length 67cm, its middle section is hollow and functions as a sound-box, and according to the string holes and bridges on to which the strings were tied at both ends of the instrument, it was originally strung with ten strings.

2 Zhang Zhengming, 'Some Insights furnished by the Guodian Chu Bamboo Writing Slips' ('Guodian Chujian de jidian qishi'), 357–60.

3 Li Ling, 'Two Problems regarding Research into Guodian Chu Bamboo Writing Slips' ('Guodian Chujian yanjiu zhong de liangge wenti') and the citation therein of (modern scholar) Peng Hao's 彭浩 theory; 267–269. Wang Baoxuan, 'The Epoch of Chu Bamboo Writing Slips and its Relationship to Zisi's Scholarly School' ('Guodian Chujian de shidai ji qi yu Zisi xuepai de guanxi'), 137–41.

2. A nine-stringed *qin* from a tomb of the Warring States period in Wulipai 五里牌, Changsha, in length 79.5cm.

These two *qin* are by comparison shorter and smaller models, are wide at the head and narrow at the tail and each furnished with only a 'goose-foot' stand on to which the strings were wound, and all the strings were tied to this one foot. The pegs are hidden inside the body of the instrument, and the strings were not, like the seven strings of the modern *qin*, tied separately on to two individual feet; in addition, the 'dragon's pond' and 'phoenix pool' sound-holes of the modern instrument are not present. The construction is thus not as advanced,<sup>4</sup> but the Guodian *qin* does have the requisite seven strings. Some scholars have judged that this means it is somewhat later in date and postulated that it comes from the early period of the reign of (Chu) Qingxiang wang (楚頃襄王, ruler of Chu, 329–263 BCE, r. 298–263 BCE), while others have suggested the period after Bai Qi (白起, 332–257 BCE, a Qin general) conquered the Chu capital Ying (郢 in 279–278 BCE).<sup>5</sup>

## 2

Among Laozi's (571–471 BCE) disciples was Huan Yuan 環淵 of the state of Chu, who wrote *The Book of the Qin* (*Qinshu* 琴書) that was called by Liu Xie (劉勰, 465–521) 'Juanzi's *Qin Heart*'. 涓子《琴心》.

*Han shu* 漢書, 'Yiwen zhi' 藝文志 (*juan* 30), (category) 'Daojia' 道家:

The book *Yuanzi* consists of thirteen essays. To this, Ban Gu (32–92 CE) himself notes: '(Juanzi's given) name was Yuan; he was of the state of Chu and a disciple of Laozi.' (Yan) Shigu (581–645) comments: 'Yuan 涓 is a surname.'

《涓子》十三篇。班固自注:名淵，楚人，老子弟子。〔顏〕師古曰:涓，姓也。<sup>6</sup>

*Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shi ji* 史記), 'Mengzi Xunqing liezhuan' 孟子荀卿列傳 (*juan* 74):

4 See: Shen Xingshun, *Guqin huizhen* 古琴薈珍 that contains 'The Origins of the *Qin*' ('*Qin zhi qi yuan*' 琴之起源) in 'Overview of the *Qin* through the Dynasties' ('*Lidai qinqi gaishuo*' 歷代琴器概說), 10.

5 Zhang Zhengming's theory.

6 *Han shu*, 30.1730, 1732.

Huan Yuan was of the state of Chu. He studied the Yellow Emperor and Laozi's expositions of the Way and Virtuous Morality, and thus sought to reveal through exegesis their intention and inner meaning. Together with Shen Dao (395–315 BCE), Tian Pian, and Jiezi (both dates uncertain), all members of the circle composed theses. Huan Yuan wrote an essay in two parts.

環淵，楚人。學黃老道德之術，因發明序其指意。與慎到、田駢、接子皆有所論。環淵著上下篇。<sup>7</sup>

Also, from *Records of the Grand Historian*, 'Tian Jingzhong Wan shijia' 田敬仲完世家 (*juan* 46; Tian Jingzhong, also called Tian Wan, b. c.750):

(Qi) Xuanwang (齊宣王, ruler of the state of Qi, 350–301 BCE, r. 320–301 BCE) liked literary scholars who travelled around proffering advice on governance and other matters, for example, Zou Yan and Huan Yuan and their like, in fact seventy-six men in total, and all were given fine manorial residences and official positions as upper-ranked *dafu* ministers ...

齊宣王喜文學游說之士，如鄒衍、環淵之徒，七十六人，皆賜列第，為上大夫.....<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Shi ji*, 74.2347.

Although the overall gist is the same, the prevalent version of this passage is different from the redaction quoted here and is as follows: 'Huan Yuan was of the state of Chu. All (those previously mentioned) studied the Yellow Emperor and Laozi's expositions of the Way and Virtuous Morality, and thus sought to reveal through exegesis their intention and inner meaning. Therefore, Shen Dao wrote twelve theses, Huan Yuan an essay in two parts, and Tian Pian and Jiezi also put forth theses.' 環淵，楚人。皆學黃老道德之術，因發明序其指意。故慎到著十二論，環淵著上下篇，而田駢、接子皆有所論焉。

<sup>8</sup> *Shi ji*, 46.1895.

The most widely circulated redaction of this passage is: '(Qi) Xuanwang liked literary scholars who travelled around proffering advice on governance and other matters, for example, Zou Yan, Chunyu Kun (c.386–310), Tian Pian, Jieyu, Shen Dao, Huan Yuan, and their like, in fact, seventy-six men in total, and all were given fine manorial residences and official positions as upper-ranked *dafu* ministers ...' 宣王喜文學游說之士，自如鄒衍、淳于髡、田駢、接子、慎到、環淵之徒七十六人，皆賜列第，為上大夫.....Although the version Jao Tsung-i quotes is not radically different and simply omits a list of names, it does serve to bring Huan Yuan, a relative nonentity, into prominence beside the celebrated Zou Yan. Zou Yan's dates are usually given as c.305–240 BCE or thereabouts, so his presence in this list also undermines the veracity of Jao's source.

*Selections of Refined Literature* (*Wenxuan* 文選; compiled by Xiao Tong 蕭統, 501–531), *juan* 34, Mei Sheng's (枚乘, 210–c.138 BCE) *Qi fa* 七發:

(I would recommend people) of the cut of Zhuang Zhou, Wei Mou, Yang Zhu, Mo Di, Pian Yuan, and Zhan He, and have them make exposition of all the explanations and subtleties in the world, rationalizing the positive and negative duality of the myriad things.

若莊周、魏牟、楊朱、墨翟、便蜎、詹何之倫，使之論天下之釋微，理萬物之是非。<sup>9</sup>

(Zhuang Zhou: another name for Zhuangzi, c.369–286 BCE; Wei Mou: *fl.* Warring States period; Yang Zhu: c.395–c.335; Mo Di: another name for Mozi, c.468–376 BCE; Zhan He: *fl.* Warring States period.)

Li Shan's (李善 630–689) notes (to this passage) give:

Zhanzi was an ancient who had obtained the Way. *Huainanzi* gives: 'Even if one had a hooked needle and fragrantly alluring bait and added to that fishermen of the skill of Zhan He and Yuan Xuan, they could not compete with nets with regard to fishing efficacy.'<sup>10</sup> Gao You (*fl.* second–third centuries, exegete of *Huainanzi*) writes: 'Yuan Xuan lived in the time of Bai Gong (*fl.* second–first centuries BCE, a mid-ranking *dafu* minister of the state of Zhao).'<sup>11</sup> *The Collected Works of Song Yu* (Song Yu: *fl.* third century BCE) gives: 'Song Yu and Dengtuzi (*fl.* Spring and Autumn period) both received teachings on rod-and-line fishing from Xuan Yuan.' *The Qi lüe* (compiled by father and son Liu Xiang, 77–6 BCE, and Liu Xin, c.50 BCE–23 CE; the original text was lost in the Tang dynasty) gives: 'Yuanzi, given name Yuan, of the state of Chu.' Although there are discrepancies between the three texts, all indicate the same person. (Taken

9 *Wenxuan*, 34.1572–73.

10 The prevailing modern redaction of this passage from the *Huainanzi*, the first essay 'Yuandao xun' 原道訓, reads: 'Even if one had a hooked needle furnished with barbs, fine, strong silk twine and fragrant bait, and added to that fishermen of the skill of Zhan He and Yuan Xuan, they could not compete with nets with regard to fishing efficacy.' 雖有鉤箴芒距，微綸芳餌，加之以詹何、媧媧之數，猶不能與網罟爭得也。 *Huainanzi*, 1.26.

11 Gao You's note on Yuan Xuan is cited in most sources as: 'Zhan He and Juan Xuan are the names of ancients who were good at fishing.' 詹何媧媧古善釣人名。 *Huainanzi*, 1.26. There is no mention of Bai Gong; note the variants of the characters used: 媧媧.



from an original whose provenance is the Chunxi era [1174–1189] and the scholar-official You Mao [1127–1194], which has been published in facsimile by the Taiwanese Stone Gate Publishers.)

詹子，古得道者也。《淮南子》曰：「雖有鉤針芳餌，加以詹何、蝸蠓之數，猶不能與罔罟爭得也。」高誘曰：「蝸蠓，白公時人。」《宋玉集》曰：「宋玉與登徒子偕受釣於玄淵。」《七略》曰：「蝸子，名淵，楚人也。」然三文雖殊，其一人也。（淳熙尤袤本，臺灣石門公司影印。）<sup>12</sup>

Note: For the Li Shan citation from *Huainanzi*, see ‘Yuandao xun’ 原道訓 (essay 1); the quotation from *The Collected Works of Song Yu* comes from his ‘Diaofu’ 釣賦, see *Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era* (*Taiping yulan* 太平御覽; an encyclopedia compiled in 977–783), *juan* 834 (category: ‘Zichan bu’ 資產部, subcategory: ‘Diaolei’ 釣類). The original text given there is as follows:

Song Yu and Dengtuzi both received instruction on rod-and-line fishing from Xuan Yuan. On leaving him, they sought an audience with Xiangwang, the ruler of Chu, who granted their wish. Dengtuzi said: ‘Regarding Xuan Yuan’s fishing skills, he uses a rod three *xun* in length (about eight metres), a line spun of eight silk threads, maggots and cicadas as bait, and fine needles as hooks, and is able to catch fish three *chi* feet in length from water several *ren* fathoms deep.’

宋玉與登徒子偕受釣於玄淵，退而見，見於楚襄王。登徒子曰：夫玄淵之釣也，以三尋之竿，八絲之綸，餌以蛆蠓，鉤以細針，以出三尺之魚於數仞之水中。<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Wenxuan*, 34.1572–73.

<sup>13</sup> *Taiping yulan*, 834.6b (3723).

This quote is the entirety of the citation in *Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era*, but only the opening of Song Yu’s poem, which is different and reads: ‘Song Yu and Dengtuzi both received instruction on rod-and-line fishing from Xuan Yuan. When this was over, they sought an audience with Xiangwang, the ruler of Chu, who granted their wish. Dengtuzi said: “Xuan Yuan is the best fisherman in the entire world. Your Majesty should go and observe him.” Xiangwang replied: “What makes his skills so special?” Dengtuzi answered: “Regarding Xuan Yuan’s fishing, he uses a rod three *xun* in length, a line spun of eight silk threads, maggots and worms as bait, and hooks like fine needles, and is able to catch fish three *chi* feet in length from water several *ren* fathoms deep.” 宋玉與登徒子偕受釣於玄淵〔淵〕，止而並見於楚襄王。登徒子曰：「夫玄淵〔淵〕，天下之善釣者也，願王觀焉。」王曰：「其善柰〔奈〕何？」登徒子對曰：「夫玄淵

Li Shan considers that Huan Yuan 環淵, Xuan Yuan 玄淵, and Yuan Xuan 蜎淵, who are mentioned by three different texts and whose names are written with different characters, are in fact the same person. Apparently, Song Yu was adept at playing the *qin*. *Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era*, 'Qin, Part Three (of Three)', ('Qin xia' 琴下; *juan* 579) quotes 'Song Yu fu' 宋玉賦: (Spoken by Song Yu addressing his royal master Xiangwang, the ruler of Chu, and describing a romantic assignation) 'It was an orchid chamber, a secluded room, and your servant (Song Yu) was received there with hospitality; and therein as the centrepiece was someone playing a *qin*; your servant received the *qin* and started plucking it, the pieces being "Autumn Bamboo" and "Snowdrifts".' (*juan* 579) 爲蘭房奧室，止臣其中，中有鳴琴焉，臣受琴而鼓之，爲秋竹積雪之曲。（卷五七九）<sup>14</sup>

Ying Shao 應劭 of the Eastern Han dynasty in *Fengsu tongyi* 風俗通義, 'Xingshi pian' 姓氏篇 gives:

The surname 'Huan' 環 originated in the state of Chu where it first denoted 'an officer of the royal guard' and then later became a surname in its own right. In Chu, there was once a virtuous person by the name of Huan Yuan, who wrote an essay in two parts. (According to Zhang Shu's [1781–1847] *Editorial Notes* on this passage: 'Huan Yuan 環淵, that is, Yuan Yuan 蜎淵.')

環氏出楚，環列之尹，後以爲氏。楚有賢者環淵，著書上下篇。（張澍《輯注》：環淵，即蜎淵也。）<sup>15</sup>

The character '*huan*' 環 can also be given as '*yuan*' 蜎, and when Yuan Yuan 蜎淵 wrote his texts he was called Yuanzi 蜎子, and his soubriquet given as Juanzi 涓子.

*Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍, 'Xuzhi pian' 序志篇 (the fiftieth and last essay in the book; by Liu Xie) gives:

〔淵〕釣也，以三尋之竿，八絲之線，餌若蛆蚘〔蜎〕，鉤如細針，以出三赤〔尺〕之魚於數仞之水中」.

14 *Taiping yulan*, 579.3b (2614).

Jao Tsung-i quotes the latter half of the citation in *Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era*. In its entirety as it appears elsewhere, the poem is called 'Feng fu' 諷賦 and this passage is slightly different: '... so we moved into the Orchid Chamber, where your servant (Song Yu) was received with hospitality; and therein as the centrepiece was someone playing a *qin*; your servant took the *qin* and started plucking it, the pieces being "Darkened Orchid" and "Snowdrifts".' 乃更於蘭房之室，止臣其中。中有鳴琴焉，臣援而鼓之，爲〈幽蘭〉、〈白雪〉之曲。

15 Ying Shao, *Fengsu tong xingshi pian*, A.23.

(In former times, books that had the formula ‘... Heart’ 「.....心」 as their title included) Juanzi’s 涓子 *Qin Heart* 琴心 and Wang Sun’s *Ingenious Heart* 巧心.

昔涓子《琴心》，王孫《巧心》。<sup>16</sup>

He (Liu Xie) freely admits that the title of his book *Wenxin* 文心, by employing the pattern ‘... Heart’ 「.....心」, is in imitation of the texts *Qin Heart* (*Qin xin*) and *Ingenious Heart* (*Qiao xin*), and these are the origins of his usage of ‘Heart’ 心 in this context. *Qin Heart* must then have still been in circulation during the southern Qi and Liang dynasties. *Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era* (‘*Qin*, Part Two [of Three]’ 琴中) quotes *Da Zhou zhengyue* 大周正樂 (completed in 959, now lost):

Juanzi 涓子 played elegant jade-like pieces from the compilation *Qin Heart* (most likely, the character for ‘elegant jade-like’ 玉 is a scribal error for that meaning ‘three’ 三). Qin Gao (dates uncertain and not mentioned elsewhere) used the *qin* to nourish his inner being ... and played the *qin* in the city of Ying (the Chu capital).

Quoted in *juan* 578

涓子操琴心玉（疑應作三）篇者也。禽高以琴養性.....鼓琴于郢中。  
（卷五七八引）<sup>17</sup>

*Jixian lu* 集仙錄 gives:

Juanzi 涓子, a native of the state of Qi, pursued immortality by taking magic potions (‘Bait Skill’) and wrote *Sancai jing*.<sup>18</sup> The ruler of Huainan, Liu An (179–122 BCE, writer of *Huainanzi*), obtained copies of this text, but could not understand its meaning. Juanzi 涓子 also wrote *The Book of the Qin* comprising three essays that is of great clarity and reasonableness.

Cited in *Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era*, *juan* 670, ‘Daoism’, *juan* 12

16 *Wenxin diaolong*, 10.725.

17 *Taiping yulan*, 578.3a (2609).

18 Jao Tsung-i omits the character ‘zi’ 子 that occurs in front of 餌術 (‘er shu’, literally ‘Bait Skill’) in most sources. If 子 is a scribal error for 字 (also pronounced ‘zi’), then 餌術 would be Juanzi’s soubriquet, which is entirely congruent with the various anecdotes Jao Tsung-i cites.

涓子，齊人也，餌術，著《三才經》。淮南王劉安得其文，不解其旨。又著《琴書》三篇，甚有條理。（《太平御覽》卷六七〇道部十二引）<sup>19</sup>

The 'Book of the Qin comprising three essays' is probably the *Qin Heart* to which Liu Xie refers. Juanzi's *Sancai jing* is also called *The Book of Mankind, Heaven, and Earth* (*Tian di ren jing* 天地人經); on this issue, *Liexian zhuan* 列仙傳 by Liu Xiang gives:

Juanzi 涓子 was a native of Qi and enjoyed fishing with rod, line, and bait ... He wrote *The Book of Heaven, Earth, and Mankind* comprising forty-eight essays. Subsequently, he went fishing at Heze ... and later received Boyang's (Boyang: one of Laozi's soubriquets) teachings on spiritual exercises of the Nine Celestial Beings. The ruler of Huainan, (Liu) An, obtained copies of a few of his writings, but could not understand their meaning. His *Qin Heart* comprising three essays exhibits both clarity and reasonableness.

Quoted according to WANG SHUMIN'S (1914–2008) *Liexian zhuan jiaojian*

涓子者，齊人，好餌術。……著《天人經》四十八篇。後釣于荷澤，……受伯陽九仙法。淮南王安少得其文，不能解其旨也。其《琴心》三篇有條理焉。（此據王叔岷《列仙傳校箋》本）<sup>20</sup>

'Qin fu' 琴賦 by Ji Kang (嵇康, 224–263 or 223–262) gives:

Juanzi 涓子 had his abode on the south side (of the mountain) where translucent jade-like mead gushed afore.

涓子宅其陽，玉醴涌其前。<sup>21</sup>

When Li Shan's notes (to this line of the poem as found in *juan* 18 of his exegesis of *Selections of Refined Literature* [*Wenxuan*]) quote *Liexian zhuan*, his wording is somewhat similar and also indicates that Juanzi 涓子 wrote 'The Book of Heaven, Earth, and Mankind comprising thirty-eight essays' and 'his two essays that comprise *Qin Heart* exhibit clarity and reasonableness'. The

19 *Taiping yulan*, 670.6b (2989).

*Jixian lu* is a hagiography of female celestial beings by Du Guangting (杜光庭, 850–933), though is compiled from earlier sources; the citation of it in *Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era* that Jao Tsung-i quotes here could not be found in its original text.

20 *Liexian zhuan jiaojian*, A.24.

21 *Wenxuan*, 18.838.

book titles and *juan* numbering may have minor discrepancies, but Liu Xiang also gives that Juanzi's 涓子 *Qin Heart* 'is written with clarity and reasonableness'. Note: the word for 'clarity and reasonableness' (*tiaoli* 條理) is used here especially as a technical term of musical appraisal (but can also be found in other contexts): Mencius said of Confucius' accumulation of significant successes as firstly grounded in 'clarity and reasonableness' and lastly grounded in 'clarity and reasonableness'; and the term can also be seen in the lost books unearthed at Mawangdui and the essay 'The Five Elements' ('Wuxing' 五行) found on Guodian bamboo slips.

Liu Xiang's *Qi lüe* and *Han shu*, 'Yiwen zhi' cited above inform us that Huan Yuan 環淵, the author of thirteen essays, was a native of the state of Chu and a disciple of Laozi, and as such these statements must be grounded in fact. Later, he came to the state of Qi and the scholarly academy at Jixia 稷下, and then led a hermitical existence fishing at Heze and was thus regarded as a native of Qi. *Shuijing zhu* 水經注 (by Li Daoyuan 酈道元, 466–527) 'Jushui zhu' 睢水注 (*juan* 24) gives:<sup>22</sup> 'The celestial beings Juanzi 涓子 and Zhu Zhu both led a hermitical existence on Dang mountain and obtained the Way.' 有仙者涓子、主柱、並隱碭山得道.<sup>23</sup> Zhu Zhu was the name of a celestial being too, and for more detailed information on him see *Liexian zhuan*. Juanzi was adept at playing the *qin* and wrote *Qin Heart* that had a great influence on later generations. *Liexian zhuan*, 'Qin Gao zhuan' 琴高傳 (Qin Gao: 琴高 means 'qin high'; *fl.* fourth–third centuries BCE) gives:<sup>24</sup> '(Qin Gao) was a native of Zhao and worked as a *qin* player in the household of Kangwang, ruler of the state of Song (宋康王, d. 286 BCE, r. 328–286 BCE), as a salaried official. His *qin* technique was that of Juan 涓 (-zi) and Peng (Zu), and he wandered freely over the Ji region (much of north China) and Zhuo prefecture.' 趙人也，以鼓琴爲宋康王舍人。行涓、彭之術，浮游冀州、涿郡之間.<sup>25</sup> Here, Juanzi and Peng Zu (an ancient semi-mythical ruler) are collocated together as Juan-Peng. Going back to the passage by Mei Sheng cited earlier, Pian Yuan 便娟 and Zhan He are also collocated together in a similar manner.

Ge Hong (葛洪, 1152–1237) in his *Shenxian zhuan* (神仙傳), *Xu* 序 Introduction, gives: 'Juanzi 涓子 pursued immortality by taking magic potions

22 *Shuijing* 水經 itself is by Sang Qin 桑欽 (*fl.* Eastern Han dynasty).

23 *Shuijing zhushu*, 24.2019.

24 Like Juanzi, Zhu Zhu is also mentioned in *Liexian zhuan*, and both are afforded a whole paragraph each with their name as its title. *Liexian zhuan* consists of two *juan*: Juanzi's biography is in *juan* 1, Zhu Zhu's in *juan* 2. Qin Gao also has a similar biography (in *juan* 1), of which Jao Tsung-i's citation is the opening part.

25 *Liexian zhuan jiaojian*, A.60.

and wrote a book that is accounted amongst the classics.' 涓子餌術以著經.<sup>26</sup> Yu Jianwu's (庾肩吾, 487–551) 'Da Tao Yinju ji shu jian qi' 答陶隱居賚術煎啓 (Tao Yinju: Tao Hongjing 陶弘景, 456–536) gives: 'And so I hope to roam the seashores in search of Juanzi's 涓子 remnant dust.' 庶得遨游海岸，追涓子之塵.<sup>27</sup> These are all examples of pertinent texts explaining the esteem in which Juanzi, as the writer of *Qin Heart*, was held by subsequent generations.

In respect of medical texts, some scholars have fused Juanzi with Liu Juanzi 劉涓子 (c.370–450), the surgeon who taught the text *Gui yi fang* 鬼遺方, a fallacy that began with the *Tu jing bencao* 圖經本草 by Su Song (蘇頌, 1020–1101) and others of the Song dynasty. My student Ma Tai Loi 馬泰來 has written an essay to clarify this issue.<sup>28</sup>

## 3

The character 琴 ('qin'), according to *Guwen sisheng yun* 古文四聲韻 (by Xia Song 夏竦, 985–1051) is categorised as rhyming with 侵 (also 'qin'), and has the forms given below together with the source in which they are found:

𦹰 (*Hanjian* 汗簡; by Guo Zhongshu 郭忠恕, d. 977)

𦹰 *Discussing Writing and Explaining Characters* (*Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字; by Xu Shen 許慎, 58–147 CE; *juan 12*)

𦹰 *Also: Cui Xiyu's Compilation of Ancient Graphical Forms* [*Cui Xiyu zuangu* 崔希裕纂古; no other information has emerged regarding Cui Xiyu]<sup>29</sup>

Given its form, the character 琴 ('qin') should probably be categorized as rhyming with 金 ('jin'); therefore, Xu Shen indicates: 'The ancient character 𦹰 (an archaic form of the character 琴) should be categorised under 金 ("jin").' 古文从琴金.<sup>30</sup> Duan Yucai (段玉裁, 1735–1815; in *Shuowen jiezi zhu* 說文解字注, notes to *juan 12*) gives: 'After a careful consideration of the two characters (that denote ancient stringed zithers) 瑟 ('se') and 琴 ('qin'), it would appear that

26 Ge Hong, *Shenxian zhuan jiaoshi*, 1.

27 *Quan Liang wen* 全梁文, 66.3b (3342).

This letter is found in *juan 66* of *Quan Liang wen*, compiled by Yan Kejun (嚴可均, 1762–1843); *juan 66* is an anthology of the works of Yu Jianwu 庾肩吾 and Ruan Xiaoxu (阮孝緒, 479–536).

28 Ma Tai Loi, 'Nanfang caomu zhuang bianwei', 103–125.

29 *Hanjian Guwen sisheng yun*, 2.26a (93).

30 Xu Shen, *Shuowen jiezi*, 12B.18b (267).

the one for “*se*” was created first, and “*qin*” followed after and was categorised with it.’ 玩古琴琴瑟二字，似是先造瑟而琴從之。<sup>31</sup> *Shuowen jiezi* (*juan* 12, the entry for the ‘*qin*’ radical 琴 in its archaic form 琴) gives: “*Se*” 瑟: a stringed musical instrument made by Paoxi (another name for Fuxi 伏羲, one of the three ancient mythical emperors). “*Qin*” is the ancient character for “*se*” 瑟.’ 瑟，庖犧所做弦樂也。夬，古文瑟。<sup>32</sup>

The essay on Guodian bamboo slips titled ‘Xingzi mingchu’ 性自命出 has the words:

Listening to the sound of the *qin* and *se* makes the heart beat as if in deferential terror. Observing the dances described in (the poems from *The Book of Songs* [*Shijing* 詩經], ‘Zhou song’ 周頌) ‘Lai’ and ‘Wu’ causes anger to well up and makes one rise in response.

聖（即 = 聽）夬之聖（聽）則諄女（如）也斯懣。觀（賚）、（武），則齊女（如）也斯夔（作）。<sup>33</sup>

(The Emperor Wu: Zhou Wuwang 周武王, 1076–1043, founding emperor of the Zhou dynasty, r. 1046–1043.)

The two characters 夬 and 夬 should be read as 瑟 (*‘se’*) and 琴 (*‘qin’*). The inventory on bamboo slips excavated from tomb no. 2 at Wang 望 mountain include the following:

One fine silken quilt, two *se*, all with hempen covers. (Bamboo slip 47)

一霑光之巨二旣皆秋（緜）衣。（簡四七）<sup>34</sup>

Two *se*, with their accessories. (Bamboo slip 49)

二旣、夬。（簡四九）<sup>35</sup>

One *se* with the strings tied with red hemp cord; one *se* with the strings tied with fine silk thread. (Bamboo slip 50)

旣丹秋（緜）之旣旣，夬（其）一旣霑光之旣旣。（簡五〇）<sup>36</sup>

31 *Shuowen jiezi zhu*, 12B.45a (634).

32 Xu Shen, *Shuowen jiezi*, 12B.18b (267).

33 *Guodian chumu zhujian*, 180.

34 *Wangshan chujian*, 112.

35 *Wangshan chujian*, 112.

36 *Wangshan chujian*, 112.

Also, on surviving bamboo slips from Bao 包 mountain:

One *se*, also with its accessories. (Bamboo slip 260)

一瑟又枳。(簡二六〇)<sup>37</sup>

These prove the character 琴 (*qin*) is categorized under 金 (*jin*), which matches the account in *Shuowen jiezi*; the character 瑟 (*se*) has the forms 𪛗 and 𪛘.<sup>38</sup>

In total, four lacquered cases were excavated from the Marquis Yi of Zeng's (曾侯乙 Zenghou Yi, c.475–c.433) tomb, all identical in form, of which on one, images of dragons and tigers are painted on respectively the east and west opposite faces, and on one of these is written the character 斗 (*dou*) that signifies the constellation the Plough 北斗 (*beidou*); surrounding it are the names of the twenty-eight constellations. On another case on the side of the lid are twenty characters in red divided into six lines of text, of which the last two sentences, according to how I have previously investigated and explained them, read:

That which is supreme is the facility to bring about orderliness, and in this, Scriptural Books and Heaven are eternally in accordance.

所尚若敕，經天嘗（常）和。<sup>39</sup>

Opening on 23 September 1998 in Tokyo, the Hubei Provincial Museum mounted an 'Exhibition of Ancient Chinese Lacquerware' ('Zhongguo gudai qiqi zhan' 中國古代漆器展) and published *A Mysterious World of Ancient Designs: Lacquerware from the Tombs of Hubei, China* (*Urushi de kakareta shinbi no sekai* 漆で描かれた神秘の世界 [Qihui de shenmi shijie 漆繪的神秘世界]) that still adopts my former interpretation of these twenty characters made many years ago.<sup>40</sup> Having investigated the matter more recently, the

37 *Baoshan chujian*, 37.

38 See: Liu Guosheng, 'Research into Writings on Lacquered Cases of the Marquis Yi of Zeng's Tomb and Investigation of the *Se*' ('Zenghou Yi mu qixiang shu wenzi yanjiu: fu se kao'), the Chinese University of Hong Kong, the Third Conference on Paleography (15–17 October 1997), *Collected Conference Papers* (Xianggang Zhongwen Daxue disan jie guwenzixue yantaohui lunwenji).

39 Jao Tsung-i, Zeng Xiantong, *Suixian Zenghou Yi mu zhongqing mingci yanjiu*, 56.

40 Tokyo National Museum, Hubei sheng bowuguan, Toyota Zaidan, *Urushi de kakareta shinbi no sekai: Chūgoku kodai shikkiten* 漆で描かれた神秘の世界: 中国古代漆器展 *A Mysterious World of Ancient Designs: Lacquerware from the Tombs of Hubei, China*.



two characters ‘Scriptural Books’ 經 (*jing*) and ‘Heaven’ 天 (*tian*) that are depicted so clearly in the photograph of the lid found on page fifty-five are in fact written thus:

鏡天

The first character can be categorized under 金 (*jin*) and 鏡 as is crystal clear. Taking evidence from the Guodian bamboo slip by which 琴瑟 is in fact 琴瑟 (*qinse*), thus, ‘and in this, Scriptural Books and Heaven are eternally in accordance’ should instead be read as ‘just as the *qin* and *se* are eternally in harmony’. The coffin of the occupant of the Marquis Yi of Zeng’s tomb is situated in its eastern chamber and the *qin* was placed there, from which can be deduced the importance ascribed to it. The inscription on the lacquered case reads: ‘Just as the *qin* and *se* are eternally in harmony;’ the two-character phrase ‘eternally in harmony’ comes from *Laozi*. *Laozi* gives: ‘Sound and voice are two aspects in mutual harmony’ (essay 2); 音聲之相和也;<sup>41</sup> ‘He who is suffused with virtuous morality can be compared to a naked babe, who cries all day and does not become hoarse, yet this is harmony in the extreme. Harmony is called eternal, and when wisdom is eternal, that is called enlightenment’ (essay 55); 含德之厚者比於赤子..... 終日號而不嗻，和之至也。和曰常，知常曰明;<sup>42</sup> both these passages can be found in the Guodian *Laozi*, redaction A. The sound of sets of bells and chimes can reach a plane of mutual harmoniousness that is ‘eternal’ and is therefore called ‘eternal harmony’. *Qin* and *se* sounding in harmony are most able to express the beauty of the harmoniousness of Heaven.<sup>43</sup>

Yang Xiong (楊雄, 53 BCE–18 CE) in *Qin qing ying* 琴清英 gives:

In ancient times, Shennong made the *qin* with a view to pacifying his spirit, disciplining vagrant eccentricities, eliminating perverted desires, and to return himself to Heaven’s truth.

Quoted in *Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era* (*Taiping yulan*, ‘*Qin*, Part One [of Three]’), *juan* 577

41 *Boshu Laozi jiaozhu*, 229.

42 *Laozi daodejing zhu jiaoshi*, 55-145.

43 The first part of this sentence ‘*qin* and *se* sounding in harmony’ 琴瑟和鳴 shares the same last two characters as line 10 of the poem ‘Yougu’ 有瞽 of *The Book of Songs*, ‘Zhou song’, which is: ‘Solemn and magnificent, a richly concordant voice.’ 肅雝和鳴.

昔者神農造琴，以定神，齊嬌僻，去邪欲，反其天真者也。（《御覽》卷五七七引）<sup>44</sup>

Ying Shao in *Fengsu tongyi*, 'Shengyin pian' tells:

The instrument known as the (elegant) *qin* provides music's unifying leadership. (...) Therefore, the *qin*, in the utterance of words, means to constrain, whilst elegance, in the utterance of words, means to rectify; in the utterance of words, the gentleman should abide by rectification in order to constrain himself.

〔雅〕琴者，樂之統也。〔……〕故琴之爲言禁也，雅之爲言正也，言君子守正以自禁也。<sup>45</sup>

In *Selections of Refined Literature [Wenxuan]*, 'Changmen fu' 長門賦 (by Sima Xiangru 司馬相如, 179–118 BCE; in *juan* 16) is the line: 'Bring in an elegant *qin* to change the musical mode.' 援雅琴以變調兮。<sup>46</sup> Li Shan's notes to this line quote *The Qi lüe* and his citation is the same as the passage by Ying Shao above.<sup>47</sup>

Liu Xiang himself also wrote 'Yaqin fu' 雅琴賦, remnants of which can be found in *Quan Han fu* 全漢賦 (edited by Fei Zhengang 費振剛 and others, Beijing, Beijing University Press, 1993, page 153). *Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era* cites Liu Xiang's *Bie lu* 別錄 thus:

'Elegant *qin*' as a linguistic collocation and musical conception originated entirely with Long De's (fl. Western Han dynasty) *Zhuqin zashi*. ([Long] De lived in the time of the Han dynasty Emperor Xuan [91–48 BCE, r. 74–48 BCE] and was a native of the state of Liang.) Long De was summoned for an audience in the Temperate Chamber of the palace and required to play the *qin*.

*juan* 579 ('*Qin*, Part Three [of Three]')

44 *Taiping yulan*, 577.9a (2607).

45 Ying Shao, *Fengsu tongyi jiaoshi*, 6.235.

46 *Wenxuan*, 16.715.

47 Li Shan's notes: '*The Qi lüe* give: "Regarding the elegant *qin*, the *qin*, in the utterance of words, means to constrain, whilst elegance, in the utterance of words, means to rectify; the gentleman should abide by rectification in order to constrain himself." 《七略》曰：雅琴，琴之言禁也，雅之言正也，君子守正以自禁。' *Wenxuan*, 16.715.

雅琴之意，事皆出龍德《諸琴雜事》中（德，宣帝時梁國人）……召入見溫室使鼓琴。（卷五七九）<sup>48</sup>

Ying Shao's words had their origin in Liu Xiang. Later, from *Baihu tong* 白虎通 (by Ban Gu), 'Liyue pian' 禮樂篇 (the latter part of *juan* 2) to Xu Shen's *Shuowen jiezi*, all interpret the *qin* as a rectifying force. Xu Shen says of the *qin*: 'Made by Shennong, hollowed out and furnished with sound-holes on the underside, and strung with five woven red silk strings.' 神農所作，洞越，練朱五弦。<sup>49</sup> The characters 洞越 ('*dongyue*') signify the sound-holes on the underside of the instrument, 練 ('*lian*') indicates red strings; the (Guodian) Chu bamboo slips write the character 練 ('woven silk') as 繡, both of which can be borrowed to represent 霽. When the *Mozi* quotes from (*The Book of Documents* [*Shangshu* 尚書]) 'Lü xing' 呂刑 (chapter 55 [orthodox 'old-text' version]; The Marquis of Lü: fl. tenth century BCE), (for the phrase that means here) 'not obey orders, 弗用靈,<sup>50</sup> the eponymous author employs 練 to denote 'orders' and not the 靈 of the equivalent place in the original text, and this demonstrates the interchangeability of these characters.<sup>51</sup>

*Shuowen jiezi* gives the *se* as 'a stringed musical instrument made by Paoxi'.<sup>52</sup> The *se* was the first of *qin* and *se* to be made. Fu Yi (傅毅, d. 90 CE) of the Eastern Han dynasty in his 'Qin fu' 琴賦 gives:<sup>53</sup> 'After consideration of the first instrument that was made by Shennong, (the *qin* was then made) so as to change its sound to the greatest possible extent into something more subtle and mysterious.' 揆神農之初制，盡聲變之奧妙。<sup>54</sup> From this, a supporting foundation for Xu Shen's statement is found from a distant source. The *qin* imparted rectification, and the *se* imparted 'thrift, restraint, and in this way checked anger and stifled vagrant desires, and thus rectified a person's virtuous

48 *Taiping yulan*, 579.1b (2613).

49 Xu Shen, *Shuowen jiezi*, 12B.18b (267).

50 *Mozi jiangou*, 12.84. *Shangshu Zhengyi*, 19.630.

51 This citation comes from *Mozi*, *juan* 3, essay no. 12 of the whole *Mozi* that is called: 'Shangtong zhong' 尚同中; the relevant quote in full is: "'Lü xing" speaks thus: "The Miao people do not obey the system of orders from the government, so they should be punished, and instead all they do is implement capital punishment in five different ways, and this they call the Law." 呂刑之道曰：「苗民否用練，折則刑，唯作五殺之刑，曰法。」 The equivalent quote from *The Book of Documents*, 'Lü xing' is: 'The Miao people do not obey orders, so they should be punished; they only implement five cruel methods of execution as punishment, and thus kill and impale innocent people.' 苗民弗用靈，制以刑，惟作五虐之刑，殺戮無辜。

52 Xu Shen, *Shuowen jiezi*, 12B.18b (267).

53 Fu Yi's 'Qin fu' appears in *juan* 21 of *Gu wen yuan* 古文苑 (undated).

54 *Quan Hou Han wen* 全後漢文, 43.3b (706).

morality.' 蓄也，閑也，所以懲忿窒欲，正人之德也。<sup>55</sup> (*Baihu tong*, 'Essay on Rites and Music') The two characters 琴('qin') and 瑟('se') both derive their meaning from cultivating one's character, and such was the philosophy of the Han dynasty. When Yang Xiong wrote that the *qin* could return him to Heaven's truth, this is Laozi's 'simplicity' (*pu* 朴); the *se* can engender thrift, which also has a relationship with Laozi's philosophy. Was it not Laozi (*juan* 59) who said: 'When governing the people and serving Heaven, nothing is quite like thrift?' 治人事天莫若蓄? <sup>56</sup> (Guodian *Laozi*, redaction B) 'Thrift' and 'rectification' are at the heart of Laozi's philosophy.

Regarding the Chu bamboo slip that gives: 'Listening to the sound of the *qin* and the *se* makes the heart beat 悸 as if in deferential terror 懣, 悸 should be read as 悸 (*ji*'). *Shuowen jiezi* (*juan* 10) gives: '悸 means "heart beating" 悸，心動也。<sup>57</sup> *The Book of Songs*, 'Wei feng' 衛風 (the poem 'Wanlan' 芄蘭) includes the line: 'Hanging ribbons, rhythmically swaying;' 垂帶悸兮;<sup>58</sup> *The Mao Commentary of the Book of Songs* (*Mao zhuan* 毛傳; by Mao Heng 毛亨, fl. late Warring States period—early Western Han dynasty, and Mao Chang 毛萇, fl. early Western Han dynasty) interprets this line as: 'Hanging down, like a Gentleman's belt ribbons, as if swaying rhythmically.' 垂其紳帶，悸悸然有節度也。<sup>59</sup> *Dialects* (*Fangyan* 方言; by Yang Xiong; Song dynasty redaction, *juan* 12) gives: 'The character 揆(悞) means 悸, 揆(悞), 悸也, to which Guo Pu's (郭璞, 276–324) notes give: 'which means the heart beating in terror.' 謂悚悸也。<sup>60</sup> Regarding the character 懣 (from the Guodian bamboo slip), *Shuowen jiezi* (*juan* 10, classified under the 'xin' radical [ 'Xin bu' 心部]) gives it as meaning: "Respect"; categorized under the "heart" radical 心 ("xin") and pronounced "nan" according to the character 難, 敬也，从心，難

55 Ban Gu, *Baihu tong shuzheng*, 3.124–25.

Jao Tsung-i has truncated this quote from *Baihu tong*, 'Essay on Rites and Music' and in full it reads: 'The *se* engenders thrift, restraint, and in this way checks anger and causes the *gong*, *shang*, and *jiao* notes to be suitably arranged. If the ruler behaves with frugality, the official will be imbued with justice, and the Four Seasons come to pass in harmonious order, and if the Four Seasons come to pass in harmonious order, then the myriad things will come into being, and this is therefore said to be the embodiment of the *se*. The *qin* instils constraint, and constrains and halts lustful perversions and rectifies the human heart.' 瑟者，蓄也，閑也，所以懲忽（忿）宮商角則宜。君父有節，臣子有義，然後四時和，四時和然後萬物生，故謂之瑟也。琴者，禁也，所以禁止淫邪、正人心也。

56 *Laozi daodejing zhu jiaoshi*, 59.155.

57 Xu Shen, *Shuowen jiezi*, 10B.18a (221).

58 *Maoshi Zhengyi*, 3.280.

59 *Maoshi Zhengyi*, 3.280.

60 *Fangyan jiaojian*, 12.76.

聲.<sup>61</sup> *Erya* 爾雅, 'Shi gu' 釋詁 (the first section of the text) gives: '懋 means "terror": 懋, 懼也.'<sup>62</sup> *The Book of Songs* ('Shang song' 商頌), ('Changfa' 長發) has the line: 'Not in terror, not petrified,' 不懋不竦, which *The Mao Commentary of the Book of Songs* interprets simply as 'fear' 恐也.<sup>63</sup> Thus, the Guodian text 'beat as if in deferential terror' expresses in meaning an admonishment to abide in a state of extreme caution, terror in fact! This reading is entirely congruent with the advocacy of cautious solitariness in the essay 'The Five Elements', which argues: 'If the Gentleman can successfully assemble his most excellent qualities and achievements, then he is close to being regarded as a Gentleman.' 君子集大成, 能進之爲君子.<sup>64</sup> Also, is given:

Firmness: that is where justice is located; softness: that is where benevolence is located. 'Neither forceful nor impatient, neither overly firm nor soft.' That is what this phrase means.

剛, 義之方; 柔, 仁之方也。「不強不棗〔隸〕, 不剛不柔」, 此之謂也。<sup>65</sup>

The quotation cited in the passage above comes from *The Book of Songs*, 'Shang song' 商頌, 'Chang fa' 長發. Similar to this passage is a section in *The Zuo Commentary* (*Zuo zhuan* 左傳; traditionally attributed to Zuo Qiuming 左丘明, fl. late Spring and Autumn period), 'Duke Zhao' ('Zhaogong' 昭公; chapter 10; Duke Zhao: Lu Zhaogong 魯昭公, ruler of the state of Lu, d. 510 BCE, r. 542–510 BCE), 'the Twentieth Year of his Reign' ('Ershi nian' 二十年), where Confucius debates the graciousness and ferocity of government and also quotes from *The Book of Songs*:

(*The Book of Songs*, 'Da ya' 大雅, 'Min lao' 民勞 gives) 'Magnanimity to the distant, succour to the nearby; these qualities will consolidate the stability of our dynastic legitimacy;<sup>66</sup> and thereby create an equilibrium

61 Xu Shen, *Shuowen jiezi*, 10B.11a (217).

62 *Erya zhushu*, 2.33.

In *Erya*, 懋 is one of eight characters all in a column given the same character 懼 ('ju') as their definition; this character means 'in terror'.

63 *Maoshi Zhengyi*, 20.1715.

64 *Guodian chumu zhujian*, 151.

65 *Guodian chumu zhujian*, 151.

66 Jao Tsung-i includes only a fraction of the entire quotation that Confucius deploys: Confucius cites the entire first stanza of ten lines of 'Min lao' of which Jao Tsung-i selects only the last two.

through harmoniousness. (*The Book of Songs*) also gives: 'Neither bellicose nor impatient, neither overly firm nor soft...', this is the epitome of harmoniousness.

「柔遠能邇，以定我王」，平之以和也。又曰「不競不綏，不剛不柔.....」，和之至也。<sup>67</sup>

'Neither forceful nor impatient' is in fact 'neither bellicose nor impatient'. In the same section of *The Zuo Commentary*, Yan Ying (晏嬰, 578–500 BCE) debates that (his political protagonist) Liangqiu Ju (梁丘據, fl. sixth century BCE) is only able to be 'identical' and so not able 'to harmonise', and he differentiates between the meaning of the two terms thus:

If the ruler were to listen to music of this (harmonious) kind, equilibrium would be created in his heart, and with his heart in equilibrium, his sense of virtuous morality would be harmonious. Thus, *The Book of Songs* ('Bin feng' 鬪風, 'Langba' 狼跋) says: 'Morality and musical sound should be flawless.' At present, Liangqiu Ju is not like this: whatever the ruler says should happen, Liangqiu Ju says should happen; whatever the ruler says should not happen, Liangqiu Ju says should not happen. If water were used to season water, who would be able to drink it down? Likewise, if a *qin* and *se* were played together in perfect unison, who would be able to listen to the result? Regarding 'identicalness' as impermissible is commensurate with this.

君子聽之，以平其心，心平德和。故《詩》曰「德音不瑕」。今據不然。君所謂可，據亦曰可；君所謂否，據亦曰否。若以水濟水，誰能食之？若琴瑟之專壹，誰能聽之？「同」之不可也如是。<sup>68</sup>

'Identical' is not the same as 'harmonious'. Harmoniousness is like blending the flavours of a thick broth, and they must all be present in due proportion for the result to be palatable. As far as the phrase 'the *qin* and *se* playing together in perfect unison' is concerned, *Records of Rites* (*Li ji* 禮記), 'Yueji' 樂記, the supplementary notes by Kong (Yingda 孔穎達, 574–648; in *Liji zhengyi* 禮記正義, *juan* 37) give: 'If there is only one voice sounding, the result is not music.' 唯有一聲，不得成樂。<sup>69</sup> Therefore, 'playing together in perfect unison'

67 Zuo Qiuming, *Chunqiu zuozhuan Zhengyi*, 49.1622.

68 Zuo Qiuming, *Chunqiu zuozhuan Zhengyi*, 49. 1619–20.

69 *Liji Zhengyi*, 37.1252.

indicates either a solo *qin* or *se*, and so the result is insufficient to cause 'harmoniousness'. It cannot become 'harmony' and remains 'identical' and not 'harmonious'. The *qin* and *se* should play together harmoniously; *The Book of Songs* ('Xiao ya' 小雅), 'Luming' 鹿鳴 gives: 'Play the *se*, play the *qin*, harmoniously happy, with unalloyed joy.' 鼓瑟鼓琴，和樂且湛.<sup>70</sup> Also, ('Xiao ya') 'Famu' 伐木: 'When God hears of this, he bestows harmony and peace.' 神之聽之，終和且平.<sup>71</sup> And so be it.

In fact, Yan Ying's exposition has its roots in Shi Bo's (史伯, fl. ninth to eighth centuries BCE) perorations in discussion with Huangong (桓公, d. 771, r. 806–771 BCE), ruler of the state of Zheng, such as had already been recorded in *Discourses of the States* (*Guoyu* 國語), 'Zhengyu' 鄭語 (*juan* 16). (In *The Zuo Commentary*, 'Duke Zhao', the twentieth year of his reign, just prior to the passage cited above) Yan Ying's words are: 'The founding dynastic ancestor clarified and differentiated the Five Flavours and made harmonious the Five Voices so as to lend peaceful balance to his heart and to achieve successful governance; the Voices are themselves to Flavours alike.' 先王之濟五味、和五聲也，以平其心，成其政也，聲亦如味.<sup>72</sup> From 'One Ether' to 'Nine Songs' he gives each numeral an appellation, but Shi Bo in conversation with the ruler of Zheng details only 'Four Branches', 'Five Flavours', and so on until the number ten is reached. A comparison between the two is given below.

Yanzi's examples are all taken purely from the world of singing and music; thus, he gives: 'The Voices themselves are to Flavours alike.' The aesthetic worldview of Indian culture pays great attention to flavour, which is called in Sanskrit *lāvana*, and in origin this term means 'salt' and is borrowed as a metaphor for 'flavour', but Yanzi takes music instead to provide a metaphor for 'blending the flavours of a thick broth' 和羹之味 in order to clarify the disparity between the implicit meanings of the two terms 'harmonious' and 'identical'.<sup>73</sup> On making a careful reading of Shi Bo's discussion, it is found to be more thorough and illuminating than that of Yanzi. Shi Bo tells of 'one' and 'many' and their different effects: 'one' is simply 'identicalness' and an object must interact with (quell) another in order to produce 'harmoniousness', an effect incompatible with an object acting causally on the same object; the latter simply produces a 'singularity' that is not harmonious. At this juncture, the

70 *Maoshi Zhengyi*, 9.654.

71 *Maoshi Zhengyi*, 9.674.

72 *Guoyu jijie*, 16.470. Zu0 Qiuming, *Chunqiu zuozhuan Zhengyi*, 49.1614.

73 *Yanzi Chunqiu jishi*, 7.443.

TABLE 2.1 Comparison of Shi Bo 史伯 and Yanzi's 晏子 numerical nomenclature

Shi Bo	Yanzi (Yan Ying)
	One Ether 一氣
	Two Customs 二體
	Three Varieties (of song in <i>The Book of Songs</i> ) 三類
Four Branches 四支	Four Objects: The Four Directions from which Objects are procured to make musical instruments 四物
Five Flavours 五味	Five Voices 五聲
Six <i>Lü</i> Musical Modes 六律	Six <i>Lü</i> Musical Modes 六律
Seven Bodies 七體	Seven Notes 七音
Eight Aspirations 八索	Eight Melodies 八風
Nine Disciplines 九紀	Nine Songs 九歌
Ten Numerals 十數	

two theories of the two schools of thought are cited once more for direct comparison below:

### Shi Bo

In fact, it is harmoniousness that gives birth to the myriad objects, whilst identicalness cannot engender this multifariousness. When an object interacts with (quells) a different object, that which is produced is called 'harmonious', and in this way abundancy and growth can be generated, and the myriad objects born and all subsumed into this. If an object acts causally on the same object, once this operation has been performed, any future purpose is, by definition, abandoned. Therefore, the founding dynastic ancestor compounded all materials from measures of earth, metal, wood, water, and fire, and from these elements formed the myriad objects ... which are, for this reason, incontrovertibly harmonious and not identical. Sounds that are identical cannot be listened to; objects that are identical have no decorative pattern; flavours that are identical have no fruitfulness; and in respect of identical objects, there is nothing to be compared or discussed. Yet the Emperor wishes simply to abandon that which is harmonious in kind and commune with 'singularity'.

*Discourses of the States*, 'Discourses of the State of Zheng' ('Zhengyu')



和實生物，同則不繼，以他平他爲之和，故能豐長而物生之。若以同裨同，盡乃棄矣。故先王以土與金、木、水、火以成百物……務和同也。聲一無聽，物一無文，味一無果，物一不講。王將棄是類也，而與「劑」同。（《國語 鄭語》）<sup>74</sup>

## Yanzi

Harmoniousness is like a thick broth ... the cook mixes the ingredients in due measure and allows all their flavours to come into their richness; and adds more seasoning to supplement any deficiencies ... thus, *The Book of Songs* ('Shang song', 'Illustrious Ancestor' ['Liezū 烈祖]) says: 'And also there is harmoniously well-seasoned thick broth, both excellent and well-balanced' ... The Five Voices themselves are to Flavours alike ... if water were used to season water, who would be able to drink it down? Likewise, if a *qin* and *se* were played together in perfect unison, who would be able to listen to the result? To regard 'identicalness' as impermissible is commensurate with this.

*The Zuo Commentary*, 'Duke Zhao', the Twentieth Year of his Reign

和如羹焉……宰夫和之，齊之以味，濟其不及……故《詩》曰：「亦有和羹，既戒既平」……聲亦如味……若以水濟水，誰能食之？若琴瑟之專壹，誰能聽之？同之不可也如是。（《左傳 昭二十年》）<sup>75</sup>

Yanzi had evidently used Shi Bo as his model and 'a *qin* and *se* were played together in perfect unison' furnished him with an appropriate metaphor. In this context, the character for 專 ('*zhuan*') used for the phrase 'in perfect unison' 專一 in *Explanatory Notes on the Zuo Commentary* (*Zuozhuan shiwen* 左傳釋文) by Dong Yu (董遇, fl. third century) is 搏 ('*zhuan*').<sup>76</sup> The seven Qin dynasty stone steles that Emperor Qin Shihuang (秦始皇, 259–210 BCE, ruler of the state of Qin, 247–221 BCE, and then Emperor, 221–210 BCE) had erected to praise his achievements also use the character 搏 ('*zhuan*') in the phrase: 'In heart and soul united in one aspiration' 搏心壹志,<sup>77</sup> and here 專一 is written as 搏壹 (一 and 壹 are different scribal forms of the same character). Yang Bojun (楊伯峻, 1909–1992) in his revised *Notes on the Zuo Commentary* (*Zuozhuan*

74 *Guoyu jijie*, 16.470, 472, 473.

75 Zuo Qiuming, *Chunqiu zuozhuan Zhengyi*, 49.1613.

76 Lu Deming, *Jingdian shiwen huijiao*, 19.21a (587).

77 The stele on which the phrase 'in heart and soul united in one aspiration' 搏心壹志 is found was erected in Langya 琅琊 in 219 BCE. Prevailing sources give the phrase as 搏心揖志, whose meaning is arguably identical.

*zhu* 左傳注) does not give a detailed explanation for the phrase 'a *qin* and *se* ... played together in perfect unison', so supplementary material is provided here; for example, according to *Discourse of the States*, 專 ('*zhuān*') should be written as 劓 ('*zhuān*').<sup>78</sup> In *Shuowen jiezi*, 'The Entry for the "Woman" Radical 女' ('*Nü bu*' 女部; in *juan* 12) gives: 'The character 嫗 means "singularity"; 嫗, 壹也; here the variant is 嫗 ('*zhuān*').'<sup>79</sup>

Regarding material relevant to the phrase 'in perfect unison', it can all be found in Gui Fu's (桂馥, 1735–1805) *Shuowen yizheng* 說文義證 which deploys copious quotation to buttress detailed explanation. Xu Shen (*juan* 4) ties the character 劓 ('*tuān*') into the 'knife' 刀 ('*dāo*') radical underneath the character 斷 ('*duàn*') as if 劓 ('*tuān*') were its alternative form.<sup>80</sup> Duan Yucai (in *Shuowen jiezi zhu*) quotes as proof the phrase '(the sword could) cut open rhinoceros hide' 劓犀革 from the 'Biography of Wang Bao' ('Wang Bao *zhuān*' 王褒傳; in *Han shu*, *juan* 64; Wang Bao: 90–51 BCE) that is a paraphrase of '(the sword could) decapitate cattle and horses' 斷牛馬 in 'The Biography of Su Qin' ('Su Qin *liezhuān*' 蘇秦列傳; *Records of the Grand Historian*, *juan* 69; Su Qin: d. 284 BCE).<sup>81</sup> The character *zhuān* 劓 was later borrowed and used in the epithet 'to act without authority' 專擅.<sup>82</sup>

*The Gongyang Commentary* (*Gongyang zhuān* 公羊傳; by Gongyang Gao, fl. late Spring and Autumn period–early Warring States period; chapter 6: 'Duke Wen' ['Wengong' 文公], the twelfth year of his reign; Duke Wen:

78 *Guoyu jijie*, 16.473.

79 Xu Shen, *Shuowen jiezi*, 12B.8b (262).

80 *Shuowen jiezi yizheng*, 39.32b–33a (1091–92).

The character 劓 has two different pinyin romanisations: when it means 'singularity' as in the collocation 專一 ('*zhuānyī*'), its pinyin romanisation is '*zhuān*'; when it means 'break' 斷 ('*duàn*') its pinyin romanisation is '*tuān*'.

The reference to 劓 ('*tuān*') in *Shuowen jiezi* (*juan* 4) is:

劓：斷〔斷〕也。从刀彘聲。一曰劓也，劓也。 *Shuowen jiezi*, 4.92.

劓：劓也。从刀元聲。一曰齊也。 *Shuowen jiezi*, 4.92.

This translates as:

The character 劓 ('*chān*') means the same as the character 斷 ('*duàn*'). It is classified under the '*dāo*' radical 刀 and takes as its phonetic component the character 彘 ('*chān*'); alternatives are 劓 ('*piāo*') and 劓 ('*zhāo*').

The character 元 ('*wān*') means the same as the character 劓 ('*tuān*'). It is classified under the '*dāo*' radical 刀 and takes as its phonetic component the character 元 ('*yuan*').

81 *Shuowen jiezi zhu*, 9A.17a (423). *Han shu*, 64B.2823.

The previous phrase in *Han shu* backs up Jao Tsung-i's argument further: '(The sword could) in the waters decapitate a *jiao* water-dragon and on land cut open rhinoceros hide.' 水斷蛟龍，陸劓犀革。 *Han shu*, 64B.2823.

The phrase from 'Su Qin *liezhuān*' is: 'On land decapitate cattle and horses.' 陸斷牛馬。

*Shi ji*, 69.2251.

82 *Shi ji*, 69.2251.

Lu Wengong 魯文公, ruler of the state of Lu, c.697–628 BCE, r. 636–628 BCE) plagiarizes a phrase from *Qin Vows* (*Qinshi* 秦誓; by Mugong 穆公, ruler of the state of Qin, d. 621 BCE, r. 659–621 BCE): ‘(The qualities of an official) should be entirely concentrated on the task of governance. 惟一介斷斷焉.’<sup>83</sup> He Xiu’s (何休, 129–182) notes (in *Gongyang zhuan jiegou* 公羊傳解詁; *juan* 6) on this sentence are: ‘Concentrated on the task is the same as “in perfect unison”: 斷斷，猶專一也.’<sup>84</sup> Thus, 剽 (‘*tuan*’) is to 誓 (‘*tuan*’) as 斷 (‘*duan*’) is to 專 (‘*zhuan*’) (in other words, all these characters share the same fundamental meaning). The somewhat convoluted explanation given above outlines the different forms of borrowing the term ‘in perfect unison’ 專壹(一) across a range of classical texts. Shi Bo plainly indicates that a ‘singularity’ (unison) is unsatisfactory because it is not harmonious and is itself synonymous with the terms 剽 (‘*tuan*’) and 斷 (‘*duan*’). The notion ‘let the identical benefit the identical’ 以同益同 is thus rendered simply untenable, a standpoint that had long been held by ancient philosophy. *Zhuangzi*, ‘Tianxia pian’ 天下篇 (eponymous text by Zhuangzi; essay 33) through the mouthpieces of Guanyin (關尹, fl. late Spring and Autumn period–early Warring States period) and Lao Dan (老聃, another name for Laozi) gives: ‘Identicalness is in polarity to harmoniousness.’ 同焉者和.<sup>85</sup> *The Analects*, ‘Zilu’ (子路; Zilu: another name for Zhong You 仲由, 542–480 BCE; essay 13): ‘Confucius says: “The Gentleman is harmonious and yet not identical to others, whilst the Mediocrity is identical to others and yet not harmonious.” 子曰: 君子和而不同，小人同而不和.’<sup>86</sup> Here, Confucius takes the advocates of identicalness and associates them with the Mediocrity, and the advocates of harmoniousness and associates them with the Gentleman, and in this he has inherited the opinions of earlier writers and is simply retelling a narrative rather than creating anew. In the field of music, this too is Shi Bo’s central message: ‘Sounds that are identical cannot be listened to,’ and implicit here is that this profundity is well worth seeking out and experiencing.

83 *Chunqiu Gongyang zhuan zhushu*, 14.348.

A fuller version of the *Qin Vows* text is found in *The Greater Learning* (*Daxue* 大學) of the post-Confucius period–early Han dynasty: ‘If there were a steadfast and righteous official who spoke his mind in a straightforward and honest way, even if he had no other skills but had a kind and generous heart, I would bring him into my service.’ 若有一介臣，斷斷兮，無他技，其心休休焉，其如有容。 *Liji Zhengyi*, 60.1870.

84 *Chunqiu Gongyang zhuan zhushu*, 14.348.

He Xiu’s note in its completeness is: ‘The collocation 一介 means “entirely”; concentrated on the task is the same as “in perfect unison”: 一介猶一概；斷斷猶專一。 *Chunqiu Gongyang zhuan zhushu*, 14.348.

85 *Zhuangzi jishi*, 10B.1094.

86 *Lunyu zhushu*, 13.203.

*Chuxue ji* 初學記 ('Yuebu shang' 樂部上; *juan* 15; compiled by Xu Jian 徐堅, 660–729) quotes Gongsun Nizi (公孫尼子, *fl.* early Warring States period): 'In music, the singularity (unison) should be eschewed in order to establish harmoniousness.' 樂物慎一以定和.<sup>87</sup> 'The singularity' (unison) is 'identicalness', and 'eschewing identicalness establishes harmoniousness'; these theories already had wide currency in the centuries prior to the founding of the Qin dynasty. Zhuangzi, 'Tian dao' 天道 (essay 13) takes the notion of 'the harmoniousness of Heaven' (*tian he* 天和) a step further; 'Zhi bei you' 知北游 (essay 22) gives: 'If you adjust your posture, concentrate your eyesight, the harmoniousness of Heaven will come.' 若正汝形，一汝視，天和將至.<sup>88</sup> The harmoniousness of Heaven is a multi-layered concord of all the Universe, and Zhuangzi in 'Tian dao' makes comprehensive discussion of Heaven's music and takes music and lifts it to a plane commensurate with the entire Universe; in 'Qiwu lun' 齊物論 (essay 2), he talks of heavenly murmurings (bamboo flutes), earthly murmurings (bamboo flutes), and mankind's murmurings (bamboo flutes) as Sancai.<sup>89</sup> Whether the contents of Juanzi's *Sancai jing* reflected this philosophy is something that cannot now be known, because his book has sadly long since been lost and can no longer offer corroborating proof.

Huan Tan's (桓譚, 23 BCE–56 CE) *Xin lun* 新論 ('The Way of the Qin' ['Qindao' 琴道]; *juan* 16) gives: 'Shennong (god of agriculture and second of the three mythical emperors) inherited the rulership of the world from Fuxi (the first of the three mythical emperors). Thereupon, he began to carve *tong* wood to make a *qin* and wound silk to make the strings in order to engage directly with the virtuous morality of the enlightenment of the spirits and to unify the harmoniousness of Heaven and mankind.' 神農氏繼宓犧而王天下。於是始削桐

87 *Chuxue ji*, 15:367.

This quote from *Chuxue ji* occurs twice in *juan* 15. Each short passage of the text is furnished with a title that only applies to that passage:

First occurrence: (Title) 'Establishing Harmoniousness'. 定和. (Text) 'Xunzi gives: "Concerning that which is music, create detail from a singularity (unison) to establish harmoniousness; follow the singularity (unison) to establish reason (musical form)."' 《孫卿子》曰：夫樂者，審一以定和，率一以定理。This passage is a paraphrase of prevailing redactions of Xunzi's 'Yuelun pian' 樂論篇 (essay 20, found in *juan* 14).

Second occurrence: (Title) 'Shijie' 飾節 (Text) 'Gongsun Nizi lun gives: "With regard to that which is music, create detail from a singularity (unison) to establish harmoniousness; pay attention to the different attributes of musical instruments in order to embellish rhythm."' 《公孫尼子論》曰：樂者，審一以定和，比物以飾節。

88 *Zhuangzi jishi*, 7B:737.

89 *Zhuangzi jishi*, 1B:45.

爲琴，縵絲爲弦，以通神明之德，合天人之和焉。<sup>90</sup> Thus, it is the *qin*, as a material object, that causes direct engagement with the enlightenment of the spirits and unifies Heaven and mankind. The Han dynasty Confucianists had already propounded this philosophy.

## 4

Regarding Juanzi's *Qin Heart*, no examples survive of anyone quoting from it, so its contents cannot be known for certain, and only an approximation surmised from Chu bamboo slips and the propositions of Daoists and Han dynasty scholars. Liu Xiang afforded the book the appellation 'written with clarity and reasonableness', and the assessment 'clarity and reasonableness' came about perhaps because 'The Five Elements' gives voice to the notion of wisdom like 'a golden voice and vibrating jade'. 金聲玉振.<sup>91</sup> According to *The Records of the Grand Historian*, 'Hereditary Families' ('Shijia' 世家; *juan* 31–60), Huan Yuan had once been formally summoned to court by Xuanwang, the ruler of Qi, and had taken part in the scholarly work of the academy at Jixia.<sup>92</sup> Yuanzi 蜎子 and Juanzi 涓子 must be regarded as the same person, and this person wrote *The Book of Heaven, Earth, and Mankind* that was also called *Sancai jing*. The '*sancai*' was a philosophy that unified Heaven, earth, and mankind, and on the Guodian bamboo slips is mentioned in some form in the following sentences:

There is Heaven and there is mankind; Heaven and mankind are divided from one another; only through investigation of the division between Heaven and earth can knowledge of their elemental nature be gained.

'Qionгда yi shi'

90 Huan Tan, *Xin ji ben Huan Tan xin lun*, 16.64.

The full quotation from *Xin lun* is: 'Long ago, Shennong inherited the rulership of the world from Fuxi, who, upwards, looked for the laws of Heaven, and, downwards, obtained the laws from the earth. Nearby, he obtained them from his body; afar, he obtained them from other objects; and thereupon he began to carve wood to make a *qin* and wound silk to make the strings in order to engage directly with the virtuous morality of the enlightenment of the spirits and to unify the harmoniousness of Heaven and mankind.' 昔神農氏繼宓義而王天下，上觀法於天，下取法於地，近取諸身，遠取諸物，於是始削桐爲琴，練絲爲絃，以通神明之德，合天地之和焉。

91 *Guodian chumu zhujian*, 151.

92 *Shi ji*, 74.2346.

有天有人，天人有分，察天人之分，而知所行矣。（《窮達以時》）<sup>93</sup>

The sage serves Heaven above and teaches the common people to respect Heaven. He serves the earth below and teaches the common people to observe due intimacy with the earth ... Regarding the primal sage and the subsequent sage, examine the subsequent to investigate the primal; teach the people the Way of Supreme Submission.

'Tang Yu zhi dao'

夫聖人上事天，教民有尊也；下事地，教民有親也。……先聖與後聖，考後而甄先，教民「大順」之道也。（《唐虞之道》）<sup>94</sup>

There is Heaven, and thus there are orders; there is the earth, and thus there is corporeal reality; there are objects and thus there is appearance.

'Yucong 1'

有天有命，有地有形，有物有容。（《語叢一》）<sup>95</sup>

Of the myriad objects given birth by Heaven, mankind is the most precious, for mankind embodies the Way.

'Yucong 1'

天生百物，人爲貴，人之道也。（《語叢一》）<sup>96</sup>

All these touch on the relationship between Heaven, earth, and mankind, and most worthy of attention, especially in respect of the essay 'Taiyi shengshui' 大一生水, is comprehensive discussion of Heaven and earth and the *yinyang* duality,<sup>97</sup> and recourse to the notions of the sage and the Gentleman.

Enlightenment of the spirits is the offspring of Heaven and earth.

神明者，天地之所生也。<sup>98</sup>

93 *Guodian chumu zhujian*, 145.

94 *Guodian chumu zhujian*, 157.

95 *Guodian chumu zhujian*, 193.

96 *Guodian chumu zhujian*, 194.

97 In this context, the character 大 ('da') is often used interchangeably with 太 ('tai'). Although Jao Tsung-i uses the former, the latter is the more normal version, and the pinyin reflects this.

98 *Guodian chumu zhujian*, 125.

Heaven and earth is the offspring of the omnipresent singularity.

天地者，大一之所生。<sup>99</sup>

Whether in deficiency or abundance, let discipline be the Scripture of the myriad objects. This cannot be killed by Heaven, and neither can the earth control (bury) it, nor can it be generated by the *yinyang* duality; the Gentleman who has knowledge of this is accounted (wise), and those who do not have knowledge of it are accounted (unwise).

一缺一盈，以紀爲萬物經。此天所不能殺，地所不能釐〔埋〕，陰陽之所不能成，君子知此之謂□，不知者謂□。<sup>100</sup>

The Way of Heaven privileges weakness.... and underneath is soil, and that is called the earth; and above is ether, and that is called Heaven. 'The Way' is its written character. 'Turquoise Dusk' is its name.

天道貴弱。.....下，土也，而謂之地，上，氣也，而謂之天。道亦其字也。青昏其名。<sup>101</sup>

Those who act by means of the Way must do so in its name, and thus enterprises will be successful and bodily invigoration engendered. The sage acts in this manner and does so in the name of the Way, and thus his works are achieved and his body unhurt.

以道從事者，必托其名，故事成而身長。聖人之從事也，亦托其名，故功成而身不傷。<sup>102</sup>

Whether these theoretical writings that connect Heaven, earth, and mankind have a relationship to Juanzi's *Sancai jing* is not known. The two characters 'Turquoise Dusk' 青昏 (*qing hun*) can perhaps also be read as 'please ask' 請問 (*qing wen*); (modern scholar) Zhao Jianwei 趙建偉 reads them as 'silent dusk' 靜昏 (*jing hun*).<sup>103</sup> Note: *Zhuangzi*, 'Tianyun' 天運 (chapter 14) includes: 'Deep dusk, with no sound; 幽昏而無聲;<sup>104</sup> here, 'deep dusk' 幽昏 (*you hun*)

99 *Guodian chumu zhujian*, 125.

100 *Guodian chumu zhujian*, 125.

101 *Guodian chumu zhujian*, 125.

102 *Guodian chumu zhujian*, 125.

103 Zhao Jianwei, 'Guodian chumu zhujian "Taiyi shengshui" shuzheng', 390.

104 *Zhuangzi jishi*, 5B.507.

resembles these other meanings. 'Turquoise Dusk is its name' indicates that the Way is hidden in anonymity, because that which is 'Turquoise Dusk' is, by definition, in an anonymous state.

The (Guodian) essay 'Mugong, Ruler of the State of Lu, asks Zisi' ('Lu Mugong wen Zisi' 魯穆公問子思; Lu Mugong: d. 377 BCE, r. 410–377 BCE; Zisi: Confucius' grandson, 483–402 BCE) gives: 'What could be said to be the qualities required of the loyal minister?' 何如而可謂忠臣?<sup>105</sup> *Li ji*, 'Yue ji' indicates: 'The sound of silk is plaintive, and plaintiveness is required to establish frugality, and frugality is required to establish aspiration; the Gentleman ruler who listens to the sound of the *qin* and *se* will think to employ ministers with aspirations and a strong sense of justice.' 絲聲哀，哀以立廉，廉以立志，君子聽琴瑟之聲則思志義之臣。<sup>106</sup> 'Xingzi mingchu' discusses just such a relationship between music and a mind whose aspirations are firm.

At present, research into the Guodian Chu bamboo slips is the scholarly flavour of the moment, especially the essay 'Taiyi shengshui' which has become the object of widespread hypothesis. Discussion has focussed on the two important issues of 'water' and the 'omnipresent singularity'. Some argue that these concepts stem from the *Heguanzi* (鶡冠子; an eponymous text by Heguan, fl. Warring States period), while others quote *Record of the Rites* (*Li ji*), 'Liyun' 禮運 (chapter 9); in talking of the duality of the moistened and the parched *Heguanzi* is cited, while examination of water and earth quotes *Guanzi* (管子; eponymous text by Guanzi, 723–645 BCE); and postulating on the enlightenment of the spirits deploys (the Mawangdui text) *Huangdi sijing* 黃帝四經. (Modern scholar) Chen Wei 陳偉 regards 'Taiyi shengshui' as possibly a biography written by Laozi himself.<sup>107</sup> All these views are original and creative, but no one has yet noticed the comprehensive discussion of the tripartite relationship between Heaven, earth, and mankind.

The occupant of the Guodian tomb was a distinguished individual who knew how to play the *qin* and a scholar familiar with both Confucianism and Daoism. The writing on the Chu bamboo slips in the tomb, according to Chou Feng-wu's 周鳳五 analysis, has the appearance, to some degree, of calligraphy of the state of Qi, and he has hypothesised that the scribe was perhaps connected to the Jixia academy.<sup>108</sup> If we examine the Juanzi 涓子 who wrote *Qin Heart*, he was also known as Yuanzi 蜎子, and he wrote as many as thirteen

105 *Guodian chumu zhujian*, 141.

106 *Li Ji Zhengyi*, 39.1314.

107 Chen Wei, "'Taiyi shengshui" jiaodu bing lun yu Laozi de guanxi, 230.

108 Chou Feng-wu, 'Characteristics of the Forms of Guodian Bamboo Slips and their Types and Significance' ('Guodian zhujian de xingshi tezheng ji qi fenlei yiyi'), 238–356.



essays. Not only was he a disciple of Laozi, but he also came to the state of Qi, and he wrote *The Book of Heaven, Earth, and Mankind*. The Guodian bamboo slips speak of these issues in many places and share similarities with Juanzi's philosophy, which opens research questions worth exploring. The reasons I wanted to write a paper on Juanzi's *Qin Heart* have, as a matter of course, extended into Chu bamboo slips, and I have put forward a soupçon of an opinion not yet matured, and added detail on Juanzi's career as well as valuable historical material relevant to the study of Laozi's disciples and their thoughts on music. The principal purpose was to fill a lacuna in the scholarly study of Chu culture, put forward as material deserving consideration in the hope that relevant experts will carry out due correction where necessary.

## Several Issues Related to the First Volume of the *Anthology for a Mentor of Intoning the Scriptures*

‘Śakra’s Musician Pañcavaśikhin’s Qin Songs Intoned 從《經唄導師集》第一種〈帝釋（天）樂人般遮琴歌唄〉聯想到的若干問題

Liang dynasty monk Seng You’s (僧祐, 445–518) anthology *Chu san zang ji* 出三藏記 is the earliest surviving index of Buddhist texts. In *juan* 12, titled ‘Miscellaneous Records’ (‘Za lu’ 雜錄), are listed twenty-one different types (*zhong* 種) of essays about Buddhist music, which are grouped together and subsumed under the title of the genre *Anthology for a Mentor of Intoning the Scriptures* (*Jingbai daoshi ji* 經唄導師集). The so-called ‘mentors’ are the body of monks engaged in acting as cantors. Of these twenty-one essays, the first type is ‘Śakra’s Musician Pañcavaśikhin’s Qin Songs Intoned’. A note after this title reads: ‘*Zhongbenqi jing* 中本起經.’

*Juan* 2 of Seng You’s text reveals:

*The Zhongbenqi jing* comprises two *juan*. In the category just listed to the right there is only one item, and the total *juan* count in that category is two. In the middle years of the Jian’an era (196–220) of the reign of the Han dynasty emperor Xiandi (181–234, r. 189–220), this text was translated by Kang Mengxiang (*fl.* late second–early third centuries).

《中本起經》二卷。右一部凡二卷，漢獻帝建安中，康孟祥譯出。<sup>1</sup>

The book that Kang Mengxiang translated is found nowadays in the *Dazheng zang* (大正藏; Taishō 大正 era: 1912–1926), its ‘Benyuan bu’ 本緣部 (the second section), and the title to the text reads: ‘In the Later Han dynasty, translated jointly by Tan Guo (曇果; *fl.* late second–early third centuries) together with Kang Mengxiang.’ 後漢曇果共孟康詳譯. (*Dazheng zang*)<sup>2</sup> It is the third item

1 Taishō, no. 196, ‘Zhongbenqi jing’, 4: 156.

2 Taishō, no. 196, ‘Zhongbenqi jing’, 4: 156.

of *Hua Jiaye pin* 化迦葉品, and when its narration reaches the story of Śakra (Dishi 帝釋), the gist is as follows: Mahākāśyapa (In Chinese: [Mohe]jiaye 〔摩訶〕迦葉) was originally engaged in repairing and refurbishing the Temple of Fire (Huo ci 火祠), which is where the God of Fire (Huo shen 火神) was worshipped. Then, because he had received the teachings of Buddhism, when he saw Buddha, he manifested a radical transformation of mind. At first, Mahākāśyapa and his five hundred disciples served bodily the Three Fires (*sanhuo* 三火; or Three Poisons: *sandu* 三毒), making in total one thousand five hundred fires. Later, he met Buddha, who said that if a fire is to burn, it should only burn in response to a voiced command; who said that if a fire is to be extinguished, it should only be extinguished in response to a voiced command. Thereupon, he was initiated into Buddhism. The book narrates the descent to earth of the Four Heavenly Kings (Si tianwang 四天王) to listen to Buddha lecture on the Law. The next day, Śakra also went to listen to the Law. An evening later, Brahma (Fantian 梵天) also came down to listen to the Law. Brahma's radiance was much greater than Śakra's. Mahākāśyapa had at first seen fire and thus suspected that Buddha served fire, and it was only when informed by Buddha that he realized that the previous evening it had been Brahma who had come to listen to Buddha lecture on the Law. (*Dazheng zang*, vol. 5, p. 151)<sup>3</sup> This story serves to reveal the conflict between Buddha and the Brahmins (Poluomen 婆羅門), and the two (Śakra and Brahma) were subdued by Buddha. Śakra was originally Indra (Yintuoluo 因陀羅), the god of the Aryans (Yali'anren 雅利安人), and possessed multiple powers. Brahma is the supreme god of the Brahmins. Śakra and Brahma are father and son, but Brahma's radiance is above Śakra's. They both became Buddhism's great gods that protect the law. This sung intonation (*gebai* 歌唄) takes the story regarding Śakra in *The Zhongbenqi jing* and uses its contents to proselytize Buddhism, and thus is crowned (titled) with '帝釋' (*dishi*), the two characters that denote Śakra.

It has always been thought that the origin of Sanskrit intoning (*fanbai* 梵唄) of Buddhist chants in China had a close relationship to Cao Zhi (曹植, 192–232). Among items recorded by Seng You is 'Chensi Wang gan Yushan fansheng zhibai ji diba' 陳思王感魚山梵聲制唄記第八 ('the ruler Chensi' is another name for Cao Zhi). Dao Xuan's (道宣; 596–667) *Record of the Magnificent Tang Dynasty's Buddhist Scriptures* (*Da Tang neidian lu* 大唐內典錄), *juan 2*, lists an item:

3 Jao's citation of vol. 5, p. 151, is incorrect. This text is found instead at *Taishō*, no. 187, 'Fanguangda zhuangyan jing', 3: 611.

*Ruiying benqi jing* in 2 *juan*; the exegetical notes give: ‘Produced in the second year of the Huangwu era (of the Wu dynasty: 223):’ Some have said that there are small discrepancies between the hereditary crown prince edition that discusses auspicious recompense from the fundamentals origins and the one produced by Kang Mengxiang. It was taken down as dictation by Xie Qiang (late second–early third centuries) of the Chen prefecture and Zhang Shen (late second–early third centuries) of the Wu prefecture et al., and a critical edition written by Cao Zhi of the Wei dynasty, also the ruler of Donge. See *Shi xing lu* and *Chu san zang ji*. (*Dazheng zang*)

《瑞應本起經》二卷，注：黃武年第二出。一云太子本起瑞應，與康孟祥出者小異。陳郡謝鏘、吳郡張詵等筆受，魏東阿王植評定。見《始興錄》及《三藏記》。<sup>4</sup>

Zhi Sheng’s (智昇, *fl.* eighth century) *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 (Kaiyuan era: 713–741), *juan* 2, contains a similar note, but mistakes Zhang Xian 張銑 for Zhang Xi 張洗 (the second characters of the two variants are slightly different; other versions include Zhang Shen 張詵), and misreads ‘the ruler of Donge (Cao) Zhi’ 東阿王植 as ‘the Wei dynasty ruler of Hedong whose name was Huan’. 魏河東王桓. The Japanese editorial notes, the twelfth item, give: ‘The character 桓 = 植 (the second of Cao Zhi’s name 曹植).’ (*Dazheng zang*)<sup>5</sup> This is cursorily correct; Cao Zhi’s attitude and approach to his work on his critical edition of the wellspring of the ‘*benqi*’ 本起 text could presumably be seen in his *Shi xing lu*, though unfortunately this book does not survive.

Seng You also furnishes records (in *juan* 12 of *Chu san zang ji*) of: Zhi Qian (支謙; *fl.* third century) of the Wu dynasty who wrote *A Record of Joined Sentences of Sanskrit Intoning* (*Lianju fanbai ji* 連句梵唄記) that is the tenth item (in a list in *Chu san zang ji*); and Kang Senghui (康僧會, d. 280) who put together the volume *A Record of Nirvana Intoning* (*Nihuan bai ji* 泥洹唄記), the eleventh item (of the same list). As proof of this, *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* and other books give: ‘According to *Immeasurable Longevity* and *The Zhongbenqi jing*, Zhi Qian wrote in praise of Buddha and created three cycles of joined sentences of Sanskrit intoning.’ 支謙依《無量壽》、《中本起經》製讚菩薩，連句梵唄三契。<sup>6</sup> Also, it is said: ‘Kang Senghui passed on the style and musical modes of Nirvana intoning—pure, rich, plaintive, and bright—the paragon of

<sup>4</sup> *Taishō*, no. 2149, ‘Da Tang neidian lu’, 55: 228.

<sup>5</sup> *Taishō*, no. 2154 ‘Kaiyuan shijiao lu’, 55: 488.

<sup>6</sup> *Taishō*, no. 2145 ‘Chu sanzang jiji’, 55: 97 (*juan* 13).

its generation.’ 康僧會傳泥洹唄聲，清靡哀亮，一代模式。<sup>7</sup> From these can be seen the widespread dissemination of Sanskrit intoning at the time of the Wu dynasty.

Zhi Qian of the Wu dynasty also translated *Zhuanji baiyuan jing* 撰集百緣經 whose second *juan* is (the second *juan* of a lecture titled) ‘Baoying shou gongyang pin’ 報應受供養品 in which are sections titled: the fifteenth: ‘Dishitian gongyang Fo yuan’ 帝釋天供養佛緣; the sixteenth: ‘Fo xian Dishi xing hua Poluomen yuan’ 佛現帝釋形化婆羅門緣; the seventeenth: ‘Gantapo zuoyue zan Fo yuan’ 乾闥婆作樂讚佛緣; the twentieth: ‘Dishi bian Jialantuo zhulin yuan’ 帝釋變迦蘭陀竹林緣. (*Dazheng zang*, vol. 4, pp. 210–213<sup>8</sup>) These all pertain to the story of Śakra consecrating Buddha. Other items that Zhi Qian translated and retold include the matter of *Zhongbenqi jing*, which is even more detailed. As well as the Sanskrit original of *Zhuanji baiyuan jing*, there is also a French translation that was published in Paris in 1891.<sup>9</sup> Its ‘Gantapo zuoyue zan Fo yuan’ tells:

The Buddha knew the king’s intention, so he sought to transform his bodily form and metamorphize into King Gandhava; and he took the music god Pañcavaśikhin, who numbered seven thousand manifestations, and each and all held a *qin* zither of coloured glass and played it ... and so he took out a one-stringed *qin* and plucked it and was able coalesce his music into emitting seven different voices (notes or modes), and each voice (note or mode) was divided into twenty-one constituent parts.... at that moment, Tathāgata (Buddha) took back once more Pañcavaśikhin’s *qin* of coloured glass and plucked one of the strings and was able to get it to emit thousands upon ten thousands of different sounds, and its music was delicate and subtle, pure and translucent, and worthy of love....

佛知王意，尋自變身，化作乾闥婆王，將天樂神般遮尸棄，其數七千，各各執琉璃之琴彈.....便自取一弦之琴而彈鼓之，能會出七種音聲，聲有二十一解。.....爾時，如來復取般遮尸棄琉璃之琴，彈鼓一弦，能令出於數千萬種，其聲婉妙，清澈可愛。.....<sup>10</sup>

Also, ‘Dishi bian Jialantuo zhulin yuan’ gives:

7 *Taishō*, no. 2059 ‘Gaoseng zhuan’, 50: 326 (*Gaoseng zhuan*; by Hui Jiao 慧皎, 497–554, *juan* 1).

8 *Taishō*, no. 200 ‘Zhuanji baiyuan jing’, 4: 210–13.

9 *Avadāda-çataka, cent légendes (boudhiques) traduites du Sanskrit*, trans. Feer, L.

10 *Taishō*, vol. 4, no. 200 ‘Zhuanji baiyuan jing’ 撰集百緣經, 2.211.

... All the *bhikṣu* male acolytes and ladies of the Sheshi Palace leading their palace maids, each and all held fans and fanned the Buddha, brought with them all their chosen lady-spirits, and each and all held fans and fanned the Buddha; Pañcavaśikhin and Gandharva made heavenly spirit-music to amuse the Buddha.

.....諸比丘舍尸夫人將諸采女，各各執扇扇佛，般遮尸棄，乾闥婆作天伎樂以娛樂佛。<sup>11</sup>

Here, the name Pañcavaśikhin has cropped up several times. Fa Yun's (法雲, 1088–1158) *Fanyi mingyi ji* 翻譯名義集, (part 2 of) *juan 2*, 'Alternative Names for the Buddhas' ('Zhufo bieming' 諸佛別名), under the two entries 'Ji'nashiqi' (鬪那尸棄) and 'Shiqi' (尸棄), gives that 'Shiqi' 尸棄 can also be named 'Shiqi' 式棄 (the first character is different even though the romanisation is the same) or 'Fanhuo' 翻火 ('turning over fire'), and its origins can be traced to have the meaning 'jewelled hair bun' (*baoji* 寶髻). Note: the suffix 'shiqi' 尸棄 in Sanskrit means 'hair bun'. This Pañcavaśikhin (Panzheshiqi 般遮尸棄; note that the last two characters are the same as 'Shiqi' 尸棄) is also called Cavaśikhin (Zheshiqi 遮尸棄; the first character of the four is omitted) the Arhat (Luohan 羅漢). (See: Kimura Taiken [木村泰賢; 1881–1930] et al. *Fanwen Fochuan wenxue yanjiu* 梵文佛傳文學研究).<sup>12</sup> Translating the Sanskrit by meaning rather than phonetically, the whole name can be rendered as 'the crowns of five heads' (*wuding* 五頂) or 'five hair buns' (*wuji* 五髻). (*Fahua wenju* 法華文句; collated by Zhi Yi 智顛, 538–597; *juan 2*: "Shiqi" 尸棄: This should be translated as a hair bun on the crown of the head.' 尸棄者，此翻爲頂髻。<sup>13</sup>)

Pañcavaśikhin is the god of heavenly music and can number as many as seven thousand simultaneous manifestations, that is, members of the company of heavenly musicians are individually and collectively known as Pañcavaśikhin. He (They) and Gandhava often associate with one another, and Gandhava is one of the Eight Guardians (*Babu zhong* 八部眾). They are able to play seven different voices (modes), and each voice (mode) can be divided into twenty-one constituent parts. (*Dazheng zang*, vol. 4, p. 211)<sup>14</sup> This sentence appears more than once. When Zhi Qian translated this scripture, he had already mentioned 'seven voices (modes; *qisheng* 七聲)'. Regarding the 'constituent parts' into which the voices (modes) are divided, the meaning of the

11 *Taishō*, vol. 4, no. 200 'Zhuanji baiyuan jing' 撰集百緣經, 2.212.

12 Kimura Taiken and Byōdō Tsūshō, *Bonbun butsuden bungaku no kenkyū*, 54.

13 Zhizhe 智者, *Miaofa lianhua jing wenju*, 2B.104.

14 *Taishō*, no. 200, 'Zhuanji baiyuan jing', 4: 211.

Sanskrit term is ‘extend’, that is, two sets of modal note reservoirs constructed from seven notes as their head motif are a means for generating scales in a way extremely similar to the Chinese musical modes. The seven notes of the Indian modal system are *sa, ri, ga, ma, ha, dha,* and *ni*, which has a degree of a relationship to the seven notes of the Chinese system: *yu* 羽, altered (*bian* 變) *gong* 宮, *gong* 宮, *shang* 商, *jiao* 角, altered *zhi*, and *zhi* 徵. As is verified by Zhi Qian’s translation, the seven notes of the Indian modal system had been brought by monks into China in the last years of the Eastern Han dynasty. (See: Hayashi Kenzō 林謙三, 1899–1976, *Research into the Musical Modes of Banquet Music of the Sui and Tang Dynasties*.)<sup>15</sup>

The joined sentences of Sanskrit intoning created by Zhi Qian comprised three cycles, and there are those who consider that they should include Pañcavaśikhin’s *qin* songs intoned (Tang Yongtong [湯用彤, 1893–1964] *A History of Buddhism*),<sup>16</sup> which is perfectly possible. Regarding ‘the musician Pañcavaśikhin’s *qin* songs intoned,’ let Zhi Qian’s *Zhuanji baiyuan jing* offer proof, and it indicates that the one-stringed *qin* played by the spirits of heavenly music Pañcavaśikhin and Gandhava performed thousands, ten thousands of subtle melodies formed fundamentally of seven notes. This is the earliest record of Gandhava producing music in praise of Buddha, and from this point onwards, all the murals and paintings that depict the story of Gandhava’s heavenly musicians performing music have this as their basis, which is extremely important. If Zhi Qian’s ‘cycles of Sanskrit intoning’ 梵唄之契 included these *qin* songs intoned, although their composers and dates of composition are not clearly written, Seng You nonetheless listed them at the head of the anthologies of scriptural intoning, and furnished notes that clarify their provenance as *The Zhongbenqi jing*; Kang Mengxiang’s translation was chosen for the purpose, as is self-evident, and that they must have been created by someone at the end of the Eastern Han dynasty is a logical deduction that fits in with all the evidence.

At that time, the Indian seven-note modal system had already entered China and ‘Pañcavaśikhin’s *Qin* Songs Intoned’ took their name from the two characters that represent the name Pañcavaśikhin ‘*banzhe* 般遮’, which is simply the Sanskrit word ‘Panča’ and means ‘five’. When the context is seven voices, the two characters ‘*banzhe* 般遮’ that represent the name are translated as ‘*banzhan* 般瞻’ or ‘*banshe* 般涉’; in *The Official Book of the Sui Dynasty* (*Sui shu* 隋書), ‘Yinyue zhi’ 音樂志 (*juan* 14), Zheng Yi (鄭譯, 540–591) tells of the seven Quici 龜茲 modes used by the player Sudi(shi)po (蘇祇(氏)婆;

15 Hayashi Kenzō, *Sui-Tang yanyuediao yanjiu*, 21.

16 Tang Yongtong, *Han-Wei liang Jin Nan-Bei chao fojiao shi*, 133–34.

*fl.* sixth century): ‘The sixth of these modes is called “*banzhan*”, which is named in China “the fifth mode”, that is, the *yu* mode.’ 六曰般瞻，華言五聲，即羽聲也。<sup>17</sup> In Chen Yang’s (陳暘; 1064–1128) *Yue shu* 樂書, *juan* 159, is recorded: ‘The *yu* mode is called by the Western *hu* barbarians the *banshe* mode; the Brahmins call it “Brahma’s Voice”: 羽調，胡名般涉調，婆羅門曰梵天聲也。<sup>18</sup> In the Tianhe era (天和, 566–572) of the Northern Zhou dynasty, the Five Notes of the Chinese pentatonic scale were matched with Indian gods, and Chen Yang also records the following table:

TABLE 3.1 The Five Notes matched to Indian gods

<i>gong</i> 宮	Asura	(Axiuluo 阿修羅)
<i>shang</i> 商	Śakra	(Dishitian 帝釋天)
<i>jiao</i> 角	Sarasvatī	(Dabian[cai]tian 大辯 〔才〕天)
<i>zhi</i> 徵	Nārāyaṇa	(Naluoyantian 那羅 延天)
<i>yu</i> 羽	Brahma	(Dafantian 大梵天)

The *yu* mode is the *banzhan* mode of the Sanskrit Five Modes (*wusheng* 五聲). In Sanskrit, ‘*pañcama*’ means ‘fifth’, so it was originally the fifth mode, but Zhang Yi outlines thus: ‘the sixth of these modes is called *banzhan*’, 六曰般瞻, so apparently on having reached Quici, inside the ordering of a seven-mode system, its position had shifted somewhat, and it was now placed sixth. Zhi Qian, however, when translating the name of the god of the heavenly musicians ‘Pañcavaśikhin’, renders it with the four characters 般遮尸棄 (*Banzheshiqi*), and because the *yu* mode is the ‘*banzhe*’ or fifth mode of a five-mode system, it is used to indicate both the seven notes and the seven modes they produce in their entirety. The rationale therein, I deduce, is that because *banzhe* is the *yu* note, the god that is matched to it is Brahma; as is recorded in the story narrated in *The Zhongbenqi jing*, Brahma’s radiance was much greater than Śakra’s; Śakra matches the *shang* note, therefore, Brahma’s *yu* mode assumes predominance, so the god of heavenly music thus takes *banzhe* as the origin of his name.

A total of twenty-one types of scriptural intonements (*jingbai* 經唄) are listed in the *Chu san zang ji*, and they are extremely important material for

17 *Sui shu*, 14.346.

18 *Yue shu*, comp. Chen Yang, 211: 738.



exploring the origin of Sanskritic intoning. In the first volume of *Hôbôgrin Dictionnaire Encyclopédique du Bouddhisme (Fabao yilin 法寶義林)* by Japanese scholar Takakusu Junjirô (高楠順次郎, 1866–1845) and French scholar Paul Demiéville (Daimiwei 戴密微, 1894–1979),<sup>19</sup> under the entry on Sanskritic intoning (*Bomba*), there is already rigorous and detailed discussion. I consider that every one of these twenty-one types of scriptural intoning deserves to be researched as a case study, and this essay here sheds light on only one example. Owing to Zhi Qian's translation, we know that by the end of the Eastern Han dynasty, the story of Buddha and Śakra in *The Zhongbenqi jing* had already been used to create Sanskritic intoning, and that because it had taken material pertaining to Pañcavaśikhin, the resultant book was given the title 'Pañca(vaśikhin)', so the natural assumption is that it was indeed an abbreviation of the Buddhist name Pañcavaśikhin. A special examination of 'Pañca' ('*banzhe*'), the first element of the name, indicates that it cannot be said that it has absolutely no relationship to the fifth note *yu* mode's *banzhan* of the seven notes and modes, because the *yu* mode's *pañca* (*banzhe*) represents Brahma, and Brahma's status was particularly magnificent, so *pañca* (*banzhe*) naturally receives especial attention and is listed as the primal and most important note or mode.

The praise-chanting of Tantric Buddhism is divided into different musical modes, and they are used at particular times of the day as material for recitative chanting, for example, Jin Gangzhi's (金剛智; 669–741) rule of service was:

TABLE 3.2 Musical modes used at particular times of day

Dawn	matches to <i>lila</i> (瀝臘; an error for <i>sala</i> 灑臘 or <i>shala</i> 沙臘, an equivalent to a term in Indian classical music ' <i>śadava</i> ' that corresponds to the <i>zhi</i> note or mode in Chinese music.)
Midday	matches to the middle note ( <i>zhongyin</i> 中音; an equivalent to a term in Indian classical music ' <i>madhyama-grāma</i> ' that corresponds to the <i>shang</i> note or mode in Chinese music.)
Dusk	matches to the broken note ( <i>po yin</i> 破音; an equivalent to a term in Indian music ' <i>sādhārīta</i> ' that corresponds to the <i>gong</i> note or mode and is called <i>shatuo</i> 沙陀 in Chinese music.)

19 Takakusu Junjirô, and Paul Demiéville, *Hôbôgirin; dictionnaire encyclopédique du bouddhisme d'après les sources chinoises et japonaises. Fascicule annexe. Tables du Taishô Issaikyo, nouvelle édition du Canon bouddhique chinois*, 97.

TABLE 3.2 Musical modes used at particular times of day (*cont.*)

(Paul Pelliot [1878–1945] suspects that this is a version of the *jiao* mode found in the Western regions known as ‘*shashi*’ 沙識.)

Midnight matches consonantly to the fifth note, that is, ‘*banshe*’ (an equivalent to a term in Indian classical music ‘*pañcama*’ that corresponds to the *yu* mode and is called *banshe* in Chinese; see below.)

Wu Nanxun (吳南薰; 1927–2008) explains this by saying: ‘Dawn uses the *zhi* mode; midday uses the *shang* mode; and midnight uses the *yu* mode.’ 晨朝用徵聲，中午用商聲，中夜用羽聲。 (For this theory, see *Lixue huitong* 律學會通)<sup>20</sup> Here is simply a process of employing different modes for chanting at different times of the day. The Sanskritic intoning that Zhi Qian devised comprised three cycles; in the Eastern Jin dynasty, after senior minister Zhou Yi (周顛, 269–322) had been killed, the monk High Constellation 高座 (also called Po-Śrīmitra [Boshilimiduoluo 帛尸梨蜜多羅, d. 343]) went to visit Zhou’s orphaned son, and sat opposite him and paid his respects by performing three cycles of the intoning of the Western *hu* barbarians; the Sanskrit sounds penetrated even unto the clouds above, and then he chanted magical incantations of several thousand words. He also had a fine grasp of the art of magical incantations and translated ‘Kongque mingwang zhu shenzhou’ 孔雀明王諸神咒 (see *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳; by Hui Jiao 慧皎, 497–554). In the offering of condolences on a death, the intoning of the Western *hu* barbarians also had the role of praise-chanting. High Constellation was also adept at the practice of notes, modes, and modal modulation. His disciple Mi Li (覓歷; fl. fourth century) wrote a text *Gaosheng fanbai ji* 高聲梵唄記, and the notes on this text (in *juan* 12 of *Chu san zang ji* which lists it immediately below *A Record of Joined Sentences of Sanskritic Intoning* [*Lianju fanbai ji*] and *A Record of Nirvana Intoning* [*Nihuan bai ji*] cited above) give: ‘The practice of intoning stems from *The Xulai Scripture*:’ 唄出《須賴經》. At that time, when examples of Sanskritic intoning were created, they often took a story from a particular Buddhist scripture and worked it into the mould of a specific genre of Buddhist praise-songs ‘*Jizan*’ (偈讚). In the Eastern Han dynasty, Tan Guo and Kang Mengxiang translated *The Zhongbenqi jing*, and it was adopted by others as a story from which examples of intoning were created. Zhi Qian also translated *Ruiying benqi jing*, which he himself transcribed into three cycles of Sanskritic intoning. High Constellation, in his turn, took *The Xulai Scripture* and used it to

20 Wu Nanxun, *Lixue huitong*, 436.

create examples of intoning. All these are important texts pertaining to scriptural intoning! 'Pañcavaśikhin's *qin* songs intoned' was the primal mould that initiated the practice.

As an addendum let another problem be discussed. There are those who consider that the system of scales that generated Sudipo's seven modes was widespread in the regions of Xinjiang and Central Asia and that the names of these seven modes were drawn directly from the indigenous Qiuci language and not derived from Sanskrit at all, for example, '*banzhan*' (般瞻) when pronounced with the intonation of the Qiuci language is '*Pančam*', which is close to the word '*panj*' in Uighur. This would mean, therefore, that Qiuci music undoubtedly possessed its own special rules by which it was constructed. Regarding the fifth mode '*banzhan*', however, it is necessary to reiterate that it had indeed (either way) received influence from external sources. If we were to look only at the word for 'four' in Persian, we would find that it was pronounced '*cahaz*', and the Sanskrit equivalent is '*catwz*'; 'five' in Persian is '*panj*', and in Sanskrit '*pañča*', so the truth is that both emerged from the same linguistic wellspring and belong to the common lineage of Indo-Aryan languages. The language of Qiuci in Xinjiang of the Muslim period itself evolved from Persian and so also flows together in the same direction, so the word for 'five' will necessarily still employ a pronunciation similar in form to either '*panj*' or '*pañča*'. If we were to consult R. L. Turner's dictionary (*A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*; R. L. Turner: 1888–1983), items 7655 and 7669, we would come to understand the linguistic situation of the dispersal and distribution over different regions of the word for 'five' in terms of pronunciation and variations of its end segment, and thus it is unnecessary to adopt a stick-in-the-mud attitude that considers a particular pronunciation must be limited to the indigenous language of Qiuci as its fundamental location.

28 February 1989

## Appendix

In December 1956, in the district outside the Great East Gate (Dadongmenwai 大東門外) of the city of Wuchang 武昌, north-east of the Lotus Stream Temple (Lian xi si 蓮溪寺), on the ridge of the Qiu 丘 mountain, in a tomb shaped like the character 中 ('*zhong*') with chambers built of brick, a gold gilt bronze decorative plate has been excavated on to which is carved a Buddha statue. This is currently the earliest known Buddhist artifact (found in China), and from the same tomb has also emerged a leaden certificate of land ownership of the land occupied by the burial site dated

to the fifth year of the Yongan 永安 era (262), so from this it can be ascertained that the Buddha statue must have been fashioned prior to this date. After the third year of the Huangwu 黃武 era (224) when the Indian monk Vighna 維只 (難 Weizhi[nan]; fl. third century) first came to Wuchang, Zhi Qian and Kang Senghui arrived in succession in Wu dynasty territory; the Buddhist religion greatly prospered, and this work of art is important material proof of this.

This essay was published in the debut issue of *Oriental Culture* (*Dongfang wenhua* 東方文化), a quarterly journal sponsored by the Guangdong Chinese Peoples Association for the Promotion of Culture (Guangdong zhonghua minzu wenhua cujinhui 廣東中華民族文化促進會), publication no.: 1993, 10.

I have always advocated that so-called 'changing literature' (*bianwen* 變文) in its development in both literature and the arts has followed the two paths given below:<sup>21</sup>

- The language of images: Following this path advancing forwards, the emphasis is on changing appearances, and the result is the achievement of painting.
- The language of sound: In *ci* 辭 poetry of the College of Music (Yuefu 樂府), a so-called 'changing' (towards a more vernacular style) occurred, and when Buddhist compositions were incanted, through methods of singing in rotation, practices evolved, and a more melodic singing style was formulated. The ruler of Jingling (竟陵王, 460–494) even invited monks to undergo special vocal training. This is an entirely separate matter from differentiation and analysis of modes: the first is the study of music making, the second is the study of the language of sound, and they should not be confused.

Seng You's *Chu san zang ji* preserves a great deal of material. In his book, he makes especial mention of a genre *Anthology for a Mentor of Intoning the Scriptures* and notes down all the works from the Qi and Liang dynasties onwards that he had seen. This paper's focus has been the vocalisation of changing literature, to which particular attention should be paid.

When (modern scholar) Mr Jiang Boqin 姜伯勤 read this essay, he immediately wrote a long paper in response 'The Southern Chinese Wellspring of Changing Literature and the Cantor Craftsmen of Dunhuang' ('Bianwen de nanfang yuantou yu Dunhuang de changdao fajiang' 變文的南方源頭與敦煌的唱導法匠).<sup>22</sup> His view is that the 'mentors' I had indicated were a body of monks who acted as cantors, and the essay inspires us to take study of the typology of Buddhist literature and the original source of the cantor system as starting points to make deeper research forays into the changing literature of Dunhuang.

His essay has already been included in his book *Dunhuang yishu zongjiao yu liyue wenming* 敦煌藝術宗教與禮樂文明 where it can be consulted.

21 A notion by which classical texts are taken and re-worked in vernacular form; also called 'transformational texts'.

22 Jiang Boqin, 'Bianwen de nanfang yuantou yu Dunhuang de changdao fajiang', 395–422.



**PART 2**

*Archaeology* 考古





## Using Artifacts Unearthed at Jia Lake to Discuss the Early Maturity of Ancestral Musical Wisdom 從賈湖遺物談先民音樂智慧的早熟

A year or so ago, Mr Huang Xiangpeng 黃翔鵬 showed me his paper ‘Research into Pitch Measurements of the Wuyang Jia Lake Bone Flute’ (‘Wuyang Jiahu gudi de ceyin yanjiu’ 舞陽賈湖骨笛的測音研究),<sup>1</sup> in it, he discusses a corpus of sixteen bone flutes that were unearthed there and the results of experimental tests performed on them. One of the most complete specimens of these, catalogue no. M282.20, has seven holes (see Figure 4.b), and above the seventh hole is also a smaller hole that has the function of adjusting tuning. His view is that this entire arrangement probably represented a complete seven-note scale. The epoch to which the artifacts unearthed at Jia Lake belong is known as Peiligang 裴李崗 Culture, a historical period eight thousand years ago, and these were discoveries that could only leave one gasping in amazement. Spurred on by this, I wrote an essay titled ‘Using an Eight-Thousand-Year-Old Bone Flute to discuss Issues of Seven- and Eight-Note Scales’ (‘Cong baqian nian gudi tan qiyin yu bayin wenti’ 從八千年骨笛談七音與八音問題) that is included in my book *Shisu* 史溯,<sup>2</sup> which is in the process of being typeset and printed. Recently, fellow scholar Wu Zhao 吳釗 sent me his paper ‘The Origins of Chinese Music Civilisation—Jia Lake Tortoise Bells and Bone Flutes and their Relationship to the Eight Trigrams’ (‘Zhongguo yinyue wenming zhi yuan—Jiahu guiling gudi yu bagua’ 中國音樂文明之源—賈湖龜鈴骨笛與八卦) and attached a letter inviting me to give my views on reading it.<sup>3</sup> This paper was originally one that Mr Wu had read on 12 October 1990 at the fourth annual conference on music and archaeology in Paris and he put forward many innovative opinions. His thesis offered many fresh viewpoints that are worth introducing here:


1. He explained that the Jia Lake burial site consists of a large burial pit in which the funerary form was for individual people to be interred on separate occasions (Figure 4.a), and in total there were eight such graves;

1 The entire essay has been published in the journal *Cultural Relics*. *Wenwu* 1 (1989): 15–17.

2 Later renamed: ‘Lun Jiahu kefu ji xiangguan wenti’, 1.31–43.

3 Wu Zhao, ‘Zhongguo yinyue wenming zhi yuan: Jiahu guiling gudi yu bagua’, 185–195. Wu Zhao, ‘Jiahu guiling gudi yu Zhongguo yinyue wenming zhi yuan’, 50–55.



the bone flutes and tortoise bells (*guiling* 龜鈴) were for the most part excavated from tombs of this sort. The information that has already been formally distributed on the Jia Lake third period tomb M344 gives that the occupant was an adult male and positioned face up and with his limbs straight, but his skull was absent and replacing it were eight tortoise bells. Next to the tortoise bells was a fork-shaped bone tool. Underneath his shoulders were two hollow bone flutes, and two earthenware vessels had been placed under his left shoulder. In between his feet were items such as fishing harpoons and bone arrowheads (Figure 4.c). Of the tortoise bells, one is 16cm in length and 8.5–10cm in width, and on the back of the shell at the top end is a small hole through which a thread could be passed in order that it could be hung up. Next to this hole is another comparatively large L-shaped hole, and on the body of the shell a character of the form  is inscribed. The shell is itself hollow and filled with pebbles of different colours in varying sizes, so that when shaken it rattles (hence the term ‘tortoise bell’) (Figure 4.d).

2. He also indicated that a total of sixteen bone flutes had been excavated. When the flutes were excavated, in most cases, two were found in each tomb. For the seven-hole flute, a comparison between the pitch produced when all the holes are covered and the *gong* 宮 note of the fifth hole found the difference between the two to be exactly 580 cents, a difference of only 8 cents from the 588 cents when the same interval of a diminished fifth is produced by the method of dividing a pipe into three and then alternately subtracting or adding a third of its length to produce a succession of respectively rising perfect fifths and falling perfect fourths such as has traditionally been used in China to generate scales; from this the accuracy of its tuning can be gauged. In addition, if the fifth hole is regarded as the tonal centre ‘*gong*’, then the minor third below it and the major second and major third above it are all relatively accurate. Of these, the minor third below is identical to the theoretical value as given by ‘pure’ intonation. The remaining two notes are close to those of the major second and major third generated by the principle of taking a pipe and subtracting or adding a third of its length. Of these, a minor third below the tonal centre produced by both the large and small holes of the seventh hole position open at the same time is the relative corrected tuning of the seventh hole. Its accuracy proves the necessity of the *yu* 羽 note in the scale of this flute.

He indicates: “The construction of the scale of this pipe is with the note C as the *gong* note, and it has two “altered” notes: altered *zhi* and altered *gong*,

which together with four “true” kernel notes *yu, gong, shang, jiao* of the pentatonic scale form a traditional seven-note ancient scale. This kind of completely formed scale—a seven-note ancient scale, although first specifically elucidated in written text only by Liu An (179–122 BCE) of the Western Han dynasty in *Huainanzi*, “Tianwen xun” (essay 3), its existence in a six-note form on this bone flute is sufficient to demonstrate that this scale pattern is unquestionably a Chinese stream flowing forth from a distantly ancient wellspring ...’ 該管的音階結構當是以C爲宮，帶有二變—變徵、變宮，並以五聲音階的羽、宮、商、角四正聲爲核心的傳統七聲古音階。這種音階完整形式—七聲古音階，雖至西漢劉安《淮南子 天文訓》才正式見於記錄，但其六聲形式在骨笛上的存在足以說明這確是我國源遠流長.....的一種音階形式。<sup>4</sup>

Below are Wu Zhao’s detailed notes made after taking actual measurements of the bone flutes’ construction. Here, a seven-note scale is matched to Huang Xiangpeng’s records of the pitches of the seven holes as well as the relevant name sequence of the twelve *lü* 律 modes of later generations and the results shown in the table below:

TABLE 4.1 Matches between the seven-note scale, the pitches of the seven holes, and *lü* 律 modes

Hole 1	A <sup>6</sup>	<i>yu</i> 羽	<i>nanlü</i> 南呂 (The equivalent in the later twelve <i>lü</i> system)
Hole 2	F(#) <sup>6</sup>	altered <i>zhi</i> 變徵	<i>ruibin</i> 蕤賓
Hole 3	E <sup>6</sup>	<i>jiao</i> 角	<i>guxian</i> 姑洗
Hole 4	D <sup>6</sup>	<i>shang</i> 商	<i>taicou</i> 太簇
Hole 5	C <sup>6</sup>	<i>gong</i> 宮	<i>huangzhong</i> 黃鐘
Hole 6	B <sup>5</sup>	altered <i>gong</i> 變宮	<i>yingzhong</i> 應鐘
The smaller eighth hole			
Hole 7	A <sup>5</sup>	<i>yu</i> 羽	<i>nanlü</i> 南呂

4 Wu Zhao, ‘Zhongguo yinyue wenming zhi yuan: Jiahu guiling gudi yu bagua’, 51.



FIGURE 4.A Burial grounds of the Jia Lake archaeological site (first published in *Wenwu*, 1989, issue 1)

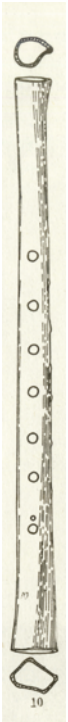


FIGURE 4.B Bone flute (artifact no.: M282:20) (first published in *Wenwu*, 1989, issue 1)

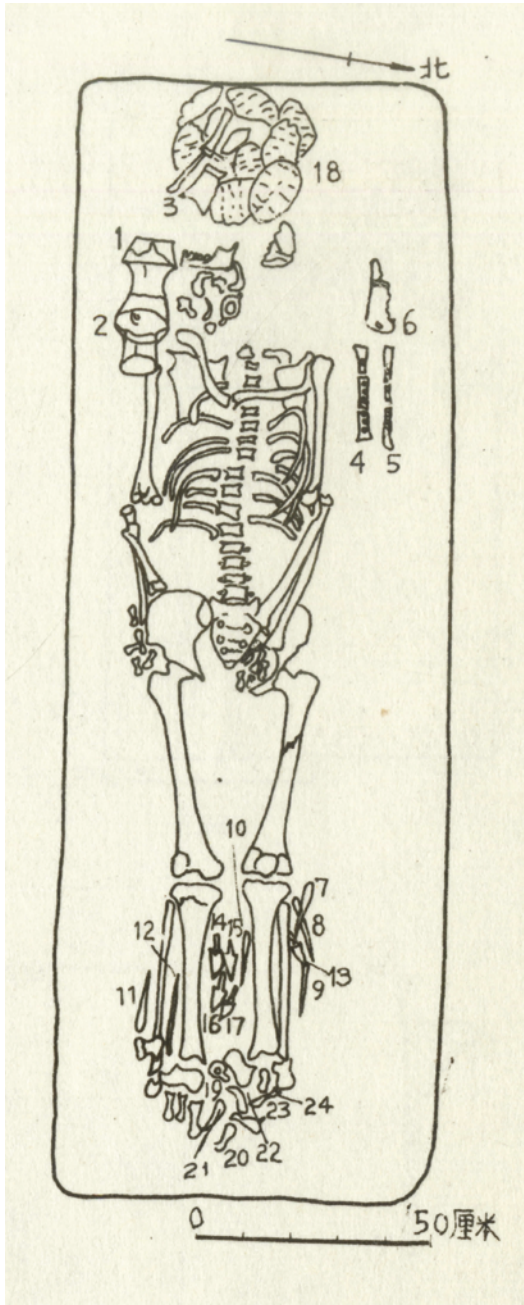


FIGURE 4.C  
Plan of tomb M344 (first  
published in *Wenwu*, 1989, issue 1)

→ North  
○ 50cm

- 1, 2. Angular trapezoidal-shouldered earthenware *hu* 壺 vessels.
- 3. Fork-shaped bone tool.
- 4, 5. Bone flutes.
- 6. Decorative bone item with hole drilled through.
- 7-12. Bone fishing harpoon.
- 13-17. Bone divination rod.
- 18. Tortoise shells (eight specimens).
- 19-24. Ivory tools.

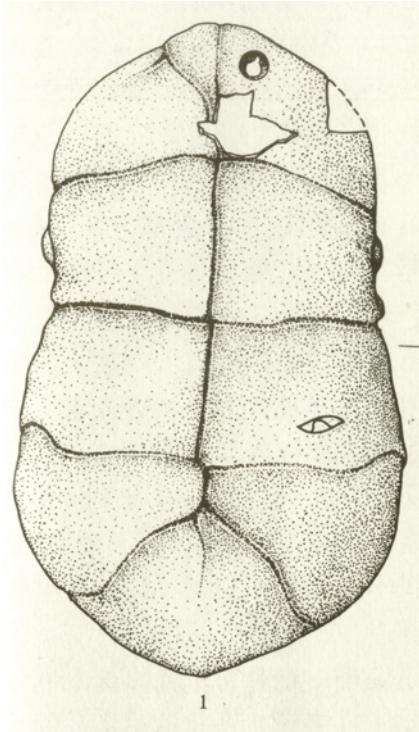



FIGURE 4.D  
Tortoise shell with carved symbols (M344:18)  
(first published in *Wenwu*, 1989, issue 1)

Master Wu considers that the fifth hole on the bone flute represents the *gong* note because its relationship inside the scheme of intervals is such that the interval between it and the note when all the holes are covered (low F#) is the same as that between it and the second hole (also F#); whether upwards or downwards, both are 'altered' notes, and the interval to the note C is identical in both cases. This *gong* note is the numerological basis on the bone flute equivalent to the 'middle note' (*zhongsheng* 中聲) of ancient (historical) parlance. The *gong* note can only be produced against the prerequisite of the flute's length when all the holes are shut, and this length is 22.20cm. If 8cm is subtracted from this, the result is 14.20cm, which is the length of the pipe at the *gong* note; once the *gong* is known, the notes of the other holes can be produced. In his paper, Master Wu has already laid out a detailed table for the generation of these notes, so it is omitted here.<sup>5</sup> He maintains that this process was an ancient precursor to the hereditary court musician Ling Zhoujiu's (伶州鳩, fl. sixth century BCE) investigation of the 'middle note' as recorded in (the early Warring States period text) *Discourses of the States* (*Guoyu* 國語,

<sup>5</sup> The data pertaining to music in Wu Zhao's paper can be consulted.

‘Zhouyu xia’ 周語下; *juan* 3). Although Jia Gongyan’s (賈公彥, *fl.* seventh century) ‘supplementary explanation’ (*shu* 疏) in interpretation of *The Zhou Rites* (*Zhouli* 周禮) considers that the ‘middle note’ indicates a pipe of a length that can generate the cycle of modes in both upward and downward directions,<sup>6</sup> whether eight thousand years ago, the people of Jia Lake were able to make such precise calculations is something on which I dare not pass judgment, but the seven notes are calibrated with sufficient precision that the possibility cannot be denied.

The phenomenon of two bone flutes coming from the tomb, as Wu Zhao found to be the case, indicates that the format was that they occurred in ‘male-female’ pairs. He gives: The scale employed by the bone flutes from tomb M.282.20 was grouped around two superimposed thirds, or expressed in a different way: the relationship between odd-numbered sound-holes—*yu* (hole 7), *gong* (hole 5), and *jiao* (hole 3)—and even-numbered sound-holes—altered *gong* (hole 6), *shang* (hole 4), and altered *zhi* (hole 2)—aside from the difference between them of a major second, their internal minor third–major third intervallic relationship is absolutely identical, and the two can be interchanged with one another. This is the same as regarding the three odd-numbered sound-holes of C as equivalent to the even-numbered sound-holes of D and vice versa, in a manner similar to the interchangeability of location of the *yinyang* polarity, and therefore formulating ‘male-female’ pairs of flutes is according to a rationale of like kind. Note: The ‘male-female’ relationship of the paired flutes and its *yinyang* significance goes as far as transplanting this philosophy into the domain of music theory; and for the Jia Lake people eight thousand years ago to have achieved this level of sophistication in the field of musical instrument manufacture leaves one flabbergasted!

In the above report, most deeply interesting is the actual situation of the M334 burial as has already been published. The occupant had been decapitated and his head replaced by eight tortoise shells. Master Wu’s explanation is that the occupant had presented his body in obeisance to the spirits, and his head was the actual offering; yet why go so far as to employ a linked chain of eight tortoise shells as a replacement? He observes that one shell is inscribed with the symbol , and paying especial attention to the ‘eight’ of the ‘eight shells’, has made a connection to the Eight Trigrams (*bagua* 八卦), also citing a later text *The Ten Wings Commentary on the Book of Changes* (*Yizhuan* 易傳) that gives: ‘The Eighth Trigram “li” is represented by the eyes,’ 離為目,<sup>7</sup> and

6 See *Zhouli zhushu* 周禮注疏. The ‘notes’ are by Zheng Xuan (鄭玄, 127–200), the ‘supplementary explanation’ by Jia Gongyan.

7 Zuo Qiuming, *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi*, 9.388.

thus the Eight Trigrams are linked in. A close reading of the Jia Lake archaeological report reveals no mention of ‘tortoise bells’ and simply indicates that ‘only fragments of the skull remain, and the neck vertebrae are in disarray,’ 頭骨僅存幾個碎片，頸椎零亂， and ‘there are eight tortoise shells, and their empty cavities are filled with small pebbles.’ 龜甲八個，龜腹內裝小石子。<sup>8</sup> On the plastron of the tortoise shell are inscribed symbols, just this and nothing more, so it seems to me too great a leap of faith to believe that these eight tortoise shells represented the Eight Trigrams in some form. Whether the tortoise shells had a musical function as some sort of bell (shaker) is extremely questionable; regarding grave goods of other burial sites, for example, Liu 劉 forest, in addition to packing tortoise shells with small pebbles, bone needles are also found, and in Yanzhou 兗州, tortoise shells are filled with vertebrae, which indicates that they have no connection to music. Regarding the two-pronged harpoon placed next to the occupant’s body, this demonstrates that the epoch was still one of fishing and hunting, and even into the Spring and Autumn period, there lingered a remnant custom of ‘laying out fishing gear’ (*shiyu* 矢魚).<sup>9</sup>

In total, sixteen bone flutes were unearthed at Jia Lake, of which three are intact and these have seven holes. The results of thoroughly testing the pitches produced by them have not yet been announced, so putting forward conclusions prematurely is still inappropriate; nonetheless, according to reports in respect of this corpus of seven-hole bone flutes, next to some of the holes themselves, remnants of marking out in order to divide up the distance between them equidistantly and accurately can still be seen, which demonstrates that manufacture was a process of precise stages accomplished through refined measurement. The method of performance was to blow vertically (viewed from the front) into the flute held at a slanted angle of 45° (viewed from the side), and in most respects, it resembles an instrument of the recorder type. Nowadays, we call a vertically blown flute a *xiao* 簫, and a horizontally blown flute a *di* 笛. Writing according to *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (by Xu Shen 許慎, 58–147 CE; *juan* 5), Huang Xiangpeng explains the *di* as a seven-holed *tong* (簫; defined by *Discussing Writing* [*Shuowen*] as ‘a short length of bamboo’ 斷竹也),

8 See: Henan sheng wenwu yanjiusuo. ‘Henan wuyang jiahu xinshiqi shidai yizhi di er zhi liu ci fajue jianbao’, 5. Also: Zhang Juzhong, ‘Shilun jiahu leixing de tezheng ji yu zhouwei wenhua de guanxi’, 18–20. Assemblages of tortoise shells in tomb burials and the phenomenon of tortoise shell cavities filled with small pebbles are found not only at Jia Lake, but also in other early cultures at sites in Dawen 大汶 river mouth in Pi 邳 county, Liu 劉 forest, and Xiawanggang 下王崗. Whether these artifacts are ‘tortoise bells’ is hard to ascertain.

9 See Chen Pan’s (陳槃, 1905–1999) ‘The Spring and Autumn period Fable of Laying out Fishing Gear at the Tang Poplars’. ‘Chunqiu Gong shiyu yu Tang shuo’, 175–97.

so he still calls the Jia Lake bone flutes '*di*'.<sup>10</sup> *Guangya* 廣雅 (by Zhang Yi 張揖, fl. third century), 'Shiyue' 釋樂 (in *juan* 8) gives: 'The *yue* flute is called "*di*" and has seven holes.' 籥謂之笛，有七孔。<sup>11</sup>

Wang Niansun (王念孫, 1744–1832) in his *Guangya shuzheng* 廣雅疏證 (*juan* 8) quotes *Fengsu tongyi* 風俗通義 (by Ying Shao 應劭, fl. second century; essay six) which includes records of musical instruments that say: 'The *di* flute is one *chi* foot and four *cun* inches long and has seven holes.' 笛長一尺四寸，七孔。<sup>12</sup> Given that this is so, there is no harm in regarding this instrument as a *yue* 籥 flute. In ancient times, the *yue* flute as detailed in written sources had an extremely wide usage and there are many excavated specimens, for example, the pipes and flutes of Hemudu 河姆渡, which were played sideways with air blown over an edge in order to produce sound and also have an open hole in the centre and finger holes on either side, which demonstrates an advanced level of technology. The vertically blown bone flutes of Jia Lake are three thousand years older than those of Hemudu and their method of manufacture just as fine. From Jia Lake to Hemudu, from playing a multiple-holed vertical flute to playing a multiple-holed horizontal flute, has led some scholars to suggest that the Hemudu bone flutes are in fact *yue* flutes. Of the bone artifacts of the *di* flute type unearthed at the latter site, one that resembles the middle finger of someone's hand is approximately 10cm in length and furnished with a hole for blowing across when held horizontally and six finger holes, which somewhat resembles the modern six-holed *di* flute and proves that the horizontally-held *di*-type flute also had an extremely early origin; the situation is thus dissimilar to that described in Ma Rong's (馬融, 79–166) 'Chang di fu' 長笛賦 which indicates that the four-holed *di*-flute of the Qiang 羌 barbarians was equipped with an added hole ('Chang di fu' gives: 'Therefore, to the original four holes one more was added, and subsequent to the appearance of *di*-flutes with the hole that Junming [(soubriquet of) Jing Fang (77–37 BCE)] had added, it was said the flute was now constructed to play all Five Notes of the *shang* mode.' 故本四孔加以一，君明(京房)所加孔後出，是謂商聲五音畢。<sup>13</sup>) This describes a much later evolution when in fact a seven-hole *di*-flute had already been in circulation eight thousand years ago.

The ancients set much store by the perceived sacred role of the tortoise, which was said to have foreknowledge of the Will of Heaven: 'The tortoise, in which is embedded foresight of the auspicious and inauspicious.' 龜所以備

10 Xu Shen, *Shuowen jiezi*, 5A.8b (98).

11 *Guangya shuzheng*, 8B.663.

12 *Guangya shuzheng*, 8B.663.

13 *Wenxuan*, 18.823.



吉凶. ([*Discourses of the States*] ‘Discourses of the State of Chu’ [Part Two (of Two)]; ‘Chuyu xia’ 楚語下; *juan* 18], *Notes* by Wei Zhao [韋昭, 204–273; *juan* 8]).<sup>14</sup> In ancient times, oxen were sometimes sacrificed to the tortoise: *Guanzi* (管子; eponymous text by Guan Zhong 管仲, 723–645 BCE) in the essay ‘Shan quan shu’ 山權數 (essay 75), gives: ‘Because the tortoise’s value is so great it cannot be computed; they are stored on the Greater Terrace and each day blood sacrifice of four oxen is made to them.’ 龜爲無貨，而藏諸泰臺，一日饗之以四牛.<sup>15</sup> From this, the solemn splendiddness of the ceremony can be appreciated, with four oxen slain as the offering; thus, tortoises were priceless treasures and said to be worth a value that could not be computed. The ritual custom of the Jia Lake people eight thousand years ago of being interred together with tortoises indicates that making offerings to tortoises was a tradition with an extremely long history. In ancient times, the professional specialists whose job it was to look after music making were known as ‘blind musicians of the spirits’ (*shengu* 神瞽). Given that they were blind, their sense of hearing would have been especially sensitive, and their pitch perception finely tuned. The pitches of various notes, their fullness or fineness of tone from low C (*huangzhong*) upwards, and the myriad different timbres of the higher octaves, these musicians would have had to differentiate clearly between them all, so they would have been able to investigate and establish a ‘middle note’ in order to fix relative temperament, seeking the fundamental mode and by a process of computing defining the arrangement of intervals.

Regarding the formulation of ancient Chinese musical theory, it covers two important fields of study: one is numerology, the other spatial arrangement; the first is the relationship of numbers to music, the second the relationship of time and space (that is the twelve months and the Four Regions [*Sifang* 四方]) to music. In ancient times, the numbers themselves all carried with them a sense of mysteriousness, and they themselves formed bonds with music that no man could put asunder; ancient texts contain many formulations of this concept. By way of explanation, here are few examples:

**Voice (or Note)** (*sheng* 聲)

Five Voices (or Notes) (*wusheng* 五聲)

*The Book of Documents* (*Shangshu* 尚書)

‘Gao Yao mo’ 皋陶謨 (chapter 4; Gao Yao: an ancient mythological figure)<sup>16</sup>

14 *Guoyu jijie*, 18.527.

15 *Guanzi jiaozhu*, 22.1316.

16 According to the orthodox ‘Old Text’ numbering, the text cited here appears in chapter 5: ‘Yi Ji’ 益稷 (both Ji and Yi were ancient mythological ministers).

'I want to hear the Six *Lü* Modes, the Five Voices (Notes), the Instruments made of the Eight Materials, the Seven Beginnings.' 予欲聞六律、五聲、八音、七始.<sup>17</sup>

### *Lü* 律 Modes

Six *Lü* Modes (*liülü* 六律)

*Discourses of the States*

'Chuyu (Part Two of Two)'

'Six *Lü* Modes, Seven Governances, Instruments made of Eight Types of Materials.' 六律、七事、八種.<sup>18</sup>

Seven *Lü* Modes (*qilü* 七律)

*Discourses of the States*

'Zhouyu xia (Part Three of Three)' 周語下 (chapter 3)

Ling Zhoujiu said: 'Bring together the Five Positions (Jupiter, the moon, the sun, the stars, and the polestar Polaris) and their Three Locations (north, south, and east); from the Astrological Quail-Head (the Zhang 張 constellation) to the fifth star of the Four-Horse Chariot Team (the Fang 房 constellation), there are Seven Constellations ... from south to north, the conjecture is Seven Accordances with the Seven *Lü* Modes ... using the *lü* principle to make the melodic modes harmonious, in this way the Seven *Lü* Modes are formed.' 合五位三所，自鶉首五駟爲七列..... 南北之揆七同也..... 以律和其聲，於是有七律.<sup>19</sup>

### Notes (*yin* 音)

Seven Notes (*qiyin* 七音)

*The Zuo Commentary* (*Zuozhuan* 左傳; traditionally attributed to Zuo Qiuming 左丘明, fl. late Spring and Autumn period), '(Duke) Zhao, the Twentieth Year' ('Zhao[Gong] ershi nian' 昭(公)二十年; 'Duke Zhao': chapter 10): 'One Ether, Two Customs, Three Varieties (of song in *The Book of Songs* [*Shijing* 詩經]), Four Objects (the Four Directions from which Objects are procured to make musical instruments), Five Voices (Notes), Six *Lü* Modes, Seven Notes, Eight

17 *Shangshu zhengyi*, 5:139.

The last two characters ('the Seven Beginnings') given here are not present in prevailing versions of the original text.

18 *Guoyu jijie*, 18:517.

19 *Guoyu jijie*, 3:125–26.

Heavily laden with astrological terms, the precise meaning of this passage is obscure. The orthodox redaction is slightly different 自鶉及駟，爲七列， which does not have much impact on the overall meaning.

Winds (Melodies), and Nine Songs are all formed mutually from one another.’ 一氣、二體、三類、四物、五聲、六律、七音、八風、九歌以相成。<sup>20</sup>

*The Zuo Commentary*, ‘(Duke) Zhao’, ‘The Twenty-fifth Year’ (‘Zhao[gong] ershiwu nian’ 昭(公)二十五年): ‘The Nine Songs, Eight Winds (Melodies), Seven Notes, and Six *Lü* Notes all pay obeisance to the Five Voices (Notes).’ 爲九歌、八風、七音、六律以奉五聲。<sup>21</sup>

Instruments made of the Eight Materials (*bayin* 八音)  
(See *The Book of Documents* quoted above.)

The term ‘The Five Voices (or Notes)’ indicates the pentatonic scale *gong-shang-jiao-zhi-yu*. The definitions of other terms reflect the era in which they were used, and in different epochs, usages of the various numbers fluctuated according to their historical background. In the reign of the Zhou emperor Jingwang (周景王, d. 520 BCE, r. 544–520 BCE), the number seven received particular attention, and the ‘Seven Constellations’ and ‘Seven Accordances’ were employed to explain the Seven *Lü* Modes. In the Spring and Autumn period when the statesman Zichan (子產, d. 522 BCE) was in the ascendancy, theories on the Five Elements (*wuxing* 五行) were particularly popular and the Five Voices (Notes) the governing force; therefore, the Seven Notes and the Six *Lü* Modes all paid obeisance to the Five Voices. From a present-day perspective looking at the Jia Lake bone flutes, they already have seven holes and an additional small hole, so were evidently already using the two changing notes. We thus know that very ancient societies regarded the Seven Notes as the Five Notes plus two changing notes, and that this musical knowledge had reached maturity well before the epoch of the Yellow Emperor.

Secondarily, let discussion turn to the issue of space.

Time is governed by calendrical principles; space is an expression of dimensions. If musical modes and melodies are to correspond to Heaven’s natural order, then a firm grasp of time and place is most important. Historical records tell us that fixing the summer and winter solstices matched the musical modes *huangzhong* and *ruibin*. The winter solstice is the 24-hour period when night is longest; the summer solstice is when it is shortest. The twelve *lü* modes correspond to the twelve months: the *huangzhong* mode represents the winter solstice of the eleventh (lunar) month; the *ruibin* mode represents the summer solstice of the sixth month. The music officials of ancient times

20 Zuo Qiuming, *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi*, 49.1614–19.

21 Zuo Qiuming, *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi*, 51.1673.

had the responsibility of managing the process by which the musical modes were used to investigate the Earth and the Winds and thereby attain knowledge of Heaven's natural order and thus gain guidance as to good governance of agricultural practices. Historically, like Mu of the epoch of the Yu tribe (虞幕, mythical), such an official would have been an individual who received the adulatory respect accorded to someone who could 'listen to harmonious wind in order to create music and in this way give birth to things.' 聽協風以成樂而生物 (*Discourses of the States*, *juan* 16, 'Discourse of the State of Zheng' ['Zhengyu' 鄭語]).<sup>22</sup> His task was to analyse musical sounds and thereby gain foreknowledge of the seasons: this was the matter of 'creating music'; fixing the orderliness of the seasons and climate to facilitate sowing and harvest: this was the matter of 'giving birth to things'.

Announcing in advance the approach of a harmonious wind, it was found to arrive forty-five days after the winter solstice on the day of the Beginning of Spring (Lichun 立春). (*Discourse of the States*) 'Zhouyu shang' (周語上) gives: 'Blind musicians report the arrival of a harmonious wind.' 警告有協風至.<sup>23</sup> The music officials who were 'blind musicians of the spirits' were the officers responsible for announcing in advance matters of the seasons and climate, and in the epoch of the ancient semi-mythical emperor Yu Shun 虞舜, Mu had already achieved great success in this area and was respected as a great sage. The Winds arose from the Four Regions, and divination texts of the Yin dynasty evince clear records of the Winds of the Four Regions (The East Region Wind is called Xie 羲, and it is a Harmonious 協 Wind; the South Region Wind is called Wei 雩; the West Region Wind is called Yi 彝; the North Region Wind is called Yi 役).<sup>24</sup> The Wind must correspond to the time of the year, and if the Region does not correspond to it, then there will be disorder. Region and season must correspond to each other, that is, time and place must be in unanimity. The Jia Lake artifacts are of much greater antiquity than Mu of the Yu tribe, but the bone flute found there proves that even as far back as eight thousand years ago, differentiation of the Seven *Lü* Modes was to be found, and by inference, the work of 'listening to the modes' (*tingsheng* 聽聲) has an extremely ancient lineage and tradition, so that on reaching the epoch of the

22 *Guoyu jijie*, 16.466.

23 *Guoyu jijie*, 1.17. See my: 'The Winds of the Four Regions: New Meanings' ('Sifang feng xinyi'), 4.514-525.

24 See: Hu Houxuan, 'Investigation of Evidence in Oracle Bones Inscriptions of the Winds Names of the Four Regions' ('Jiaguwen sifang fengming kaozheng'), 369-81.

Yu tribe, for a person such as Mu to emerge as a natural result of consequential processes is a phenomenon that should not surprise at all.<sup>25</sup>

The proposal offered above was that the bone flutes came in pairs, that is, matched 'male-female'. If we were to look at 'Essay on Ancient Music' ('Guyue pian' 古樂篇; passage 5 in *juan* 5) of *Master Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋; by Lü Buwei 呂不韋, d. 235 BCE), we would find the following:

... The ancient musician Ling Lun (mythical) cut twelve bamboo tubes of different lengths. He listened to the call of the male and female phoenixes and created the twelve *lü* notes that are the twelve modes. The male's call is represented by six of these and the female's call by the other six, and from this the comparative pitch of the *gong* note of the *huangzhong* mode was formulated, and in a suitable relationship to this note, all the others can be generated; therefore, it is said that the *gong* note of the *huangzhong* mode is the fundamental tone of the *lü* modes.

.....伶倫制十二筩，聽鳳皇之鳴以制十二律。其雄鳴爲六，雌鳴爲六，以比黃鍾之宮。適合黃鍾之宮皆可以生之，故曰黃鍾之宮，律呂之本。<sup>26</sup>

The *Huainanzi*, 'Tianwen xun' similarly gives:

The *lü* modes are six in number, but as there are both female and male manifestations of them, they are in turn represented by twelve bells, which are subordinate properties of the twelve months.

律之數六，分爲雌雄，故曰十有二鐘，以副十二月。<sup>27</sup>

Note: The twelve *lü* modes were born of twelve bells; of them, those that are named with the word for bell 'zhong' 鐘 in their title are: *huangzhong* 黃鐘, *jiazhong* 夾鐘, *linzhong* 林鐘, and *yingzhong* 應鐘. Eight thousand years ago, the Jia Lake culture had not yet acquired the use of bells. At that time, even if a Music Master had comprehended matching between musical mode and

25 See my: 'The Ancient Art of Listening to the Wind and the Wellspring of the Notion of Harmonious Wind becoming Music' ('Gudai tingsheng zhi xue yu xiefeng chengyue shuo suyuan'), 4,757.

26 *Lüshi Chunqiu jishi*, 5,120-22.

27 *Huainanzi jishi*, 3,246.

time, on recognising a low C for what it was, he would not have been able to apply the term *huangzhong* to it. At that time, what was the state of knowledge regarding time? Whether it was known to divide the year into twelve months cannot now be ascertained, so demonstrating that there were already twelve *lü* modes in existence is extremely difficult. There is only the female-male pairing of flutes, which if it is, as Wu Zhao has argued, a division into female and male categories, this would mean that from distantly ancient times, there was already knowledge of this sort. The *Huainanzi*, 'Tianwen xun' gives: 'Thus, of those born of eggs possessing the Eight Orifices, the *lü* modes were first born, and as the embodiment of the sound of the male phoenix, the notes were born as a unit of eight.' 《淮南子·天文訓》:故卵生者八竅，律之初生也，寫鳳之音，故音以八生。<sup>28</sup> The bone flutes were made from bird bones. When calculating their length, the requirement was for eight different notes inside an octave to be obtained. The bone flutes clearly have seven differentiated holes, and if the small hole used for tuning is added, the number eight is reached exactly. Of these eight, one is even similar to the 'answering voice' (*yingsheng* 應聲) used in tuning; the extraordinary maturity of musical wisdom at that time is truly astonishing!

Here let summary be made of several important points of Wu Zhao's research report that allow us to achieve genuine recognition of the musical wisdom of our ancestors of ancient antiquity:

1. The seven-hole bone flute demonstrates the existence eight thousand years ago of a seven-note scale including two 'altered' notes.
2. Bone flutes came in male-female pairs, so at that time there was already sufficient knowledge to apply awareness of the *yinyang* duality to the field of music theory.
3. In searching for the generative note C, with regard to defining modes, there was some grasp of interval size.
4. Musical mode was inextricably combined with the practical realities of life and laid down a foundation for the work of subsequent times: 'listening to modes to create music.' 聽聲成樂.

The above points are specific demonstration of the age-old tradition in ancient Chinese antiquity of holding music in high esteem and the early maturity of musical wisdom.

Let us cast a glance backwards at the situation pertaining to the development of music in other ancient civilisations:

As far as formulation of the seven-note Greek scale is concerned, Western scholars universally recognise that in 497 BCE when Pythagoras took the

<sup>28</sup> *Huainanzi jishi*, 3,247.

interval of a fourth played on the harp and transformed it into a whole-tone scale, he discovered the consonance of interval ratios. Some regard it as the product of a period when he made a journey east to Egypt and the knowledge was obtained from Babylon. Early missionaries to China like Qian Deming 錢德明 (Jean Joseph-Marie Amiot, 1718–1793) who published in 1780 a thesis *Mémoire sur la Musique des Chinois tant anciens que modernés* (Chinese name: *Zhongguo gujin yinyue suoyi* 中國古今音樂瑣憶) did in fact regard Master Pythagoras' knowledge of scales as coming from Chinese traditions. Master Qian's opinions have recently received trenchant criticism from Li Yuese (李約瑟 Joseph Needham, 1900–1995), which is of course completely incorrect and undeserved; Li Yuese's opinion that the Chinese twelve *lü* modes have no concept of a perfect octave would seem by inference to deny the function of their chromatic scale, which cannot avoid seeming to give too paltry an assessment of my beloved China's ancient knowledge of scale formulation.

Ever since racks of bells were unearthed from the tomb of the Marquis Yi of Zeng, the scholarly community has been aware that in 433 BCE in the territory of the state of Chu, there were bells designed to produce two separate notes, which is testament to the fact that at that time China had a set of instruments that was fully chromatic inside a compass exceeding five octaves, and besides, a comprehensive and detailed record of this was inscribed on the bells themselves. The epoch when this set of instruments was made was sixty years after Pythagoras had lived. The specific tuning arrangement of these bells caused a stir of amazement in musicological circles worldwide and they themselves made a straightforward correction through historical fact of Li Yuese's words. American scholar Ernest McClain's analysis of the tuning of the Marquis Yi of Zeng bells indicates still more how both China and Greece combined music and the study of musical modes in relation to the calendar, the roots of which can be traced back to fundamental principles of harmoniousness. These theories are entirely commensurate with the unit in ancient Babylon found in the multiplication tables that can be recognised from ancient Babylon's *Creation Epic* (*Kaipi shishi* 開關史詩) (*Enuma-Elis*) and that takes the octave frequency ratio of 2:1 and expands it to 720:360, that is, a whole year of 360 days, and is in turn used as a ratio to establish and fix in place twelve-note scales. McClain considered that Chinese musical modes had received influence from Babylon. Because I have translated this epic and have had direct experience of the primal meaning of the original text, I have offered a different opinion that was revealed in a paper given at a consultative conference on the bell racks held in the place where they were found, Sui 隨 County.<sup>29</sup>

29 See my translation: *The Creation Epic of the Near East (Jindong kaipi shishi)* (appendix), 1.505–70.

Prof. Cheng Zhenyi 程貞一 of the University of California at San Diego and historical astronomer Mr Xi Zezong 席澤宗 have invited me to co-author a substantial comparative research paper on ancient musical modes both inside and outside China and their relationship to astronomy, and this paper is shortly to go into press. The paper has however not used in detail the material from Jia Lake. Recently, because Mr Wu Zhao had shown me his work and pressed me for my opinion on it, I drafted this essay here to introduce the key points of his argument and let others become aware of the high level of musical knowledge our ancestors eight thousand years ago had already achieved and that it had no connection to Babylon whatsoever. As for Pythagoras' harmony of the spheres that proposed that all heavenly bodies rotated around a central fire, this was a framework for the universe of his ideals, and the measurements that he arrived at all have their origins in speculation, so there is no need for deeper discussion of them. Chinese musical knowledge has extremely early origins and has achieved its own special success. Particular attention must be paid to misinterpretation by the sinologist E. Chavannes (1865–1918) in his 1898 translation of *Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shi ji* 史記), who went so far as to suggest that Chinese musical modes were transmitted from ancient Greece via Alexander the Great's eastern campaigns, which has completely missed the point. Had he known the form of the bone flutes excavated at Jia Lake, and that eight thousand years ago there were already in existence astonishing musical achievements so rich and strange, we are left wondering what he might have made of them.



## Bamboo Slips of Yinque Mountain

*'Heaven and Earth, the Eight Winds, the Five Elements, the Guest-Host Polarity, the Five Notes: Their Rightful Places': An Initial Investigation*  
銀雀山簡〈天地八風五行客主五音之居〉初探

The bamboo slips of Yinque mountain are artifacts pre-dating the Han dynasty emperor Wudi (漢武帝, 156–87 BCE, r. 141–87 BCE), and among them is a book on musical modes that can be counted as of the 'yinyang duality' genre and catalogued as bamboo slips no. 0860; it is titled: 'Heaven (tian 天) and Earth (di 地), Eight Winds (bafeng 八風),<sup>1</sup> Five Elements (wuxing 五行), the Guest-Host Polarity (ke zhu 客主), Five Notes (wuyin 五音): Their Rightful Places (zhi ju 之居)'. Consisting of twelve characters (that correspond exactly to their English translations as given here), this title is written on the front face of the first bamboo slip. *Yinque Mountain Han Dynasty Tomb Bamboo Slips* (*Yinque shan Hanmu zhujian* 銀雀山漢墓竹簡), first series (published by Wenwu chubanshe 文物出版社), has not yet included reproduction of this divination book, and only in its opening pages when the overall condition of the bamboo slips is discussed is brief introduction of it made.

*Transcription of the Text of Yinque Mountain Han Dynasty Bamboo Slips* (*Yinque shan Hanjian shiwen* 銀雀山漢簡釋文) by (modern scholar) Wu Jiulong 吳九龍 catalogues this text as no. 11 of the *yinyang* texts of the seasons, and thus in Wu's book, after the transcribed text, whenever there is a note 'yin 11' 陰十一 in brackets, it is a reference to this text.<sup>2</sup> Although the complete text cannot be returned to its original state, these passages are here extracted, recorded, edited, and organised in order, as is given below:

1 In this context and often elsewhere, the character 風 ('feng') is a difficult word to translate as it can mean 'wind', 'melody', or 'style' or a combination of all three.

2 Wu Jiulong, *Yinque shan Hanjian shiwen*, 79.

TABLE 5.1 Transcriptions of the texts of Yinque mountain Han dynasty bamboo slips

<i>gong. gong</i> Wind: <i>gengzi, xinchou, gengwu, xinwei, wushen, yiyou ...</i>	1198
宮。宮風:庚子、辛丑、庚午、辛未、戊申、乙酉.....	
<i>shang. shang</i> Wind: <i>gengchen, xinsi, geng ...</i>	984
商。商風:庚辰、辛巳、庚.....	
<i>jiao. jiao</i> Wind: <i>wuxu, yihai, wuhai(chen), jisi, geng(yin)</i>	931
角。角風:戊戌、乙亥、戊亥〔辰〕、己巳、庚〔寅〕	
When birth is given to <i>jiao</i> Wind, then comes a three-day pre-sacrificial fast and on the fifth day, military (incursion) ...	1647
角風當生長三日宿戒，五日兵.....	
<i>zhi. zhi</i> Wind: <i>bingyin, dingmao, jiaxu, yihai, bingshen</i>	1475
徵。徵風:丙寅、丁卯、甲戌、乙亥、丙申	
<i>yu. yu</i> Wind: <i>renchen, gengsi, renxu, guihai</i>	960
禹〔羽〕。禹〔羽〕風:壬辰、庚巳、壬戌、癸亥	
third month Wind: Surrounding Wind ...	873
三月 風:周風.....	
... Wind inauspicious ...	932
..... 風凶.....	
beneficial to the <i>Guest</i> . Great Hard Wind, Pale-White Wind, Hard Wind; it is beneficial to be a <i>Guest</i> , but not beneficial to be a ( <i>Host</i> )	0795
利客。大剛風、暫風、剛風，可以為客，不可以為〔主〕	
eleventh month, all Pale-White, Surrounding, Hard, Great Hard, Inauspicious Wind; for all, it is beneficial to be a <i>Guest</i> gives birth to Soft Weak Wind	904
十一月，凡暫、周、剛、大剛、凶風，皆利為客 生溍弱風	
... rich <i>qi</i> -energy; by war, the <i>Guest</i> is defeated and can no longer attack; on returning, (a wall can be built) a thousand feet, ten thousand feet tall; wearing headgear and carrying swords ...	927
..... 盛氣也，以戰客敗不可攻。回，可〔為〕百丈千丈冠帶劍.....	
beneficial to a <i>Host</i> . <i>jiachen, yisi, bingwu, dingwei, wushen, jiyou</i> days ...	941
利主人。甲辰、乙巳、丙午、丁未、戊申、己酉日.....	
beneficial to a <i>Guest</i> . <i>renzi, guichou</i> . A <i>Host</i> (of) thirty-two (years of age) cannot be a <i>Guest</i> ...	958
利客。壬子、癸丑。主人卅二不當客.....	
... not finished; for three days, play music of the <i>huangzhong</i> mode; Heaven establishes the ordering of virtuous morality; the Quail constellation, the Net constellation.	773
.....不盡三日奏黃鍾，天立方，雜鳴畢。	

TABLE 5.1 Transcriptions of the texts of Yinque mountain Han dynasty bamboo slips (*cont.*)

Let supplicatory prayer be offered at the ancestral temple. On the day, when entering it, perform music of the <i>yingzhong</i> mode.	305
可禱祠。入之日，奏應鍾。	
... the ancestral temple; on the first three days staying there, perform music of the <i>ruibin</i> mode. (If) the sky is not overcast and rain does not fall, (there will be) no auspicious benefits. Some enter the border areas; wheat, in the autumn, shoots grow.	218
..... 祠入，之三日，奏蕤賓，天不陰雨，不吉利，有人邊麥秋苗生	
... supplicatory prayer is offered at the temple; bring in the Six Domestic Animals; in the three days after entering there, music of the <i>linzhong</i> mode is performed; Heaven must ...	306
..... 禱祠入，六畜入之，三日奏林鍾，天必.....	

Above is very scattered and fragmentary text, and it is not possible to appreciate the entirety of it, but it must undoubtedly be a book of divination using the characteristics of different Winds, and there are several facts that can be gleaned and are worth mentioning:

## 1

Regarding Winds matched to the Five Notes, and in particular their times of day expressed as Heavenly Stems and Earthly Branches, for example, for the *gong* melody *gengzi*, *xinchou*, *gengwu*, *xinwei*, *wushen*, and *yiyou*, the pattern is undoubtedly neither random nor without any sense of order. In fact, according to the Five Elements, it differentiates between *yang*-type *lü* 律 modes and *yin*-type *lü* 呂 modes (for example, *zi* 子 [the first of the twelve Earthly branches and as *jiazi* 甲子 the first of the combined Stem and Branch sixty-cycle] corresponds to *huangzhong* [the first of the six *lü* 律 modes]; *chou* 丑 [the second of the twelve Earthly branches, and as *yichou* 乙丑, the second of the sixty-cycle] corresponds to *dalu* [the fourth of the six *lü* 呂 and a semitone higher than *huangzhong*]). In addition, using the principle of eight semitones in distance (a perfect fifth) to generate the next pair, they are *renshen* 壬申 and *guiyou* 癸酉 (respectively the ninth and tenth of the sixty-cycle), and if this is carried on for another eight semitones, the next pair is *gengchen* 庚辰 and *xinsi* 辛巳 (respectively seventeenth and eighteenth in the sixty-cycle), and so on until the final *hai* 亥 (the twelfth and last Earthly Branch) is reached. From

the first *yang*-type *jiazi* 甲子, passing through the Five Elements, and with the *jiazi* 甲子 sixty-cycle and twelve *lü* 律 and *lü* 呂 modes matched inside a single system, the whole comprises the so-called ‘received notes’ (*nayin* 納音). I have previously indicated that in the Yunmeng 雲夢 Qin text on bamboo slips ‘Yu xuyu’ 禹須臾, the table of the sixty-cycle found there is a resultant product of ‘received notes’;<sup>3</sup> my colleague Liu Lexian 劉樂賢 hailed this as a great discovery, and has furthermore drawn attention to several bamboo slips of Yinque mountain where the Five Notes belong to the Five Winds as supporting evidence, and this interpretation is extremely convincing and so is not repeated here.

## 2

Regarding the names of the Eight Winds recorded on Yinque mountain bamboo slips, surviving bamboo slips indicate only the following: Great Hard Wind, Hard Wind, Pale-White Wind, Surrounding Wind, Inauspicious Wind, Great Weak Wind, and Soft Weak Wind. Here, deduced from Wang Bing’s (王冰, c.710–c.805) exegetical notes on *Basic Questions* (*Suwen* 素問),<sup>4</sup> the quotation of *Taigong’s Military Book* (*Taigong bingshu* 太公兵書; author: Jiang Ziya 姜子牙, d. 1015 BCE, honorific title Jiang Taigong 姜太公) in Sui dynasty Xiao Ji’s (蕭吉, 525–606) *Wuxing dayi* 五行大義, and Li Chunfeng’s (李淳風, 602–670) *Yisi Divination* (*Yisi zhan* 乙巳占) and the evidence they offer, the following general points are to be observed:

- i. *Basic Questions*, ‘Bazheng shenming lun’ 八正神明論 (chapter 26 overall, found in *juan* 8): ‘Assuming correct orderly flow of the Eight Seasonal Divisions, observe the emptiness of the Winds from the Eight Directions that corresponds to the times illness afflicts the person.’ 八正者，所以候八風之虛，邪以時至者也。 Wang Bing’s notes to this are (*juan* 19): ‘The Eight Winds: from East Region, Baby Wind; from South Region, Great Weak Wind; from West Region, Hard Wind; from North Region, Great Hard Wind; from North-East Region, Inauspicious Wind; from South(-East) Region, Weak Wind; from South-West Region, Scheming Wind; from North-West Region, Snap Wind.’ 八風者：東方嬰兒風：南方大

3 Jao Tsung-i, ‘Qinjian zhong de wuxing shuo yu nayin shuo’, 3: 98–125.

4 *Basic Questions* and *Lingshu jing* 靈樞經 (mentioned below) are the two books that comprise *Huangdi neijing* 黃帝內經, an extremely ancient medical text that is probably undatable and not written by a single author.

弱風；西方剛風；北方大剛風；東北方凶風，〔東〕南方弱風；西南方謀風；西北方折風。<sup>5</sup>

- ii. *Wuxing dayi* quotes *Taigong's Military Book*: 'kan is called Great Hard Wind; qian is called Snap Wind; dui is called Small Hard Wind; gen is called Inauspicious Wind; kun is called Scheming Wind; xun is called Small Weak Wind; zhen is called Baby Wind; li is called Great Weak Wind.' 坎名大剛風；乾名折風，兌名小剛風，艮名凶風；坤名謀風；巽名小弱風，震名嬰兒風，離名大弱風。<sup>6</sup>
- iii. Li Chunfeng gives: 'qian is High Snap Wind (original note: also called Charge [Wind]); kan is Great Hard Wind; gen is Inauspicious Wind; zhen is Baby Wind; xun is Great Weak (Wind) (original note: also given as Small Weak [Wind]); li is Great Weak Wind, kun is Scheming Wind (original note: also called Secretly Scheming Wind); dui is Small Weak (Wind).' 乾高折風（原注一名衝〔風〕）坎為大剛風，艮為凶風，震為嬰兒風，巽為大弱〔風〕（原注一云小弱〔風〕），離為大弱風，坤為謀風（原注一名陰謀風），兌為小弱。<sup>7</sup>

As recorded by these three authorities, although the names of the winds themselves vary to some degree, the places where they come from match the Eight Trigrams, whether they start with *kan* 坎 or with *qian* 乾. *Basic Questions* introduces the Eight Seasonal Divisions (*bazheng* 八正) and unifies them with the Four Directions (*sifang* 四方) and the Four Corners (*siyu* 四隅), so here let the writings of several authorities be compared and measured against the Yinqu mountain bamboo slips, and their differences listed:

TABLE 5.2 Comparisons between Winds given on Yinqu bamboo slips and other sources

Yinqu bamboo slips	Other
West Wind 西風	None 無
Pale-White Wind 暫風	Snap Wind 折風                      High Snap Wind 高折風
Great Hard Wind 大剛風	Great Strong Wind 大罡風
Soft Weak Wind 柔弱風	Small Weak Wind 小弱風
Inauspicious Wind 凶風	Inauspicious Wind 凶風

<sup>5</sup> *Huangdi neijing Suwen jiaozhu*, 371.

<sup>6</sup> Xiao Ji, *Wuxing dayi*, 17.105.

<sup>7</sup> Li Chunfeng, *Yisi zhan*, 10.190.

This quote comes from *juan 4* of *Yisi Divination*, the fourth paragraph of an essay called 'From the Eight Directions, Strong Winds Divination, the Eighty-First' ('Bafang baofeng zhan di bashiyi' 八方暴風占第八十一).

Using all the names of the Eight Winds, here let them be put in their original positions according to the diagram below:

TABLE 5.3 Locations of the Eight Winds

		water	
		<i>kan</i> 坎	
		North	
		Great Hard Wind	
		大剛風	
<i>qian</i> 乾			<i>gen</i> 艮
North-West			North-East
	Pale-White Wind 皙風		Inauspicious Wind 凶風
metal			wood
<i>dui</i> 兌			<i>zhen</i> 震
West			East
Hard Wind 剛風			(Baby Wind 嬰兒風)
	(Scheming Wind 謀風)	Soft Weak Wind 柔弱風	
	Surrounding Wind 周風?	South-East	
	South-West	<i>xun</i> 巽	
<i>kun</i> 坤		wood	
		大弱風	
		Great Weak Wind	
		South	
		<i>li</i> 離	
		fire	

Yinque bamboo slips also employ the appellation ‘Surrounding Wind’, which is not found in any other relevant text, and establishing the appropriateness of its temporary position adjacent to Scheming Wind requires more research.

### 3

As for the meanings of the titles given to the Eight Winds, here once again, let *Wuxing dayi* (‘*Di shiqi lun bagua bafeng*’ 第十七論八卦八風; in *juan* 4) be quoted to supply an explanation:

*Huainanzi* ('Dixing xun' 隆形訓; *juan* 4) gives: 'The North-East Region is called Azure Gate and gives birth to Ribbon Wind. The East Region is called Opening Bright Gate and gives birth to Bright Proletariat Wind. The South-East Region is called *Yang*-Energy Gate and gives birth to Pure Bright Wind. The South Region is called Hot-Weather Gate and gives birth to Sunlight Wind. The South-West Region is called White Gate and gives birth to Cool Wind. The West Region is called Heaven *Changhe* Gate and gives birth to Heaven *Changhe* Wind. The North-West Region is called Dark Capital Gate and gives birth to Not Surrounding Wind. The North Region is called Cold Gate and gives birth to Wilderness Wind.

淮南子曰：「東北方曰蒼門，生條風。東方曰開明門，生明庶風。東南方曰陽門，生清明風。南方曰暑門，生景風。西南方曰白門，生涼風。西方曰閭闔門，生閭闔風。西北方曰幽都門，生不周風。北方曰寒門，生廣莫風。」<sup>8</sup>

Regarding Azure Gate, in the North-East, wood is the governing force, spring's originating primal nucleus; it is therefore called Azure Gate. Regarding Opening Bright Gate, "Bright" represents *yang*-energy; the sun emerges from here; therefore, it is called the Opening Bright Gate. Regarding *Yang*-Energy Gate, the Monthly-Branch resides in *si* and pure *yang*-energy is the governing force; therefore, it is called *Yang*-Energy Gate. Regarding Hot-Weather Gate, (it signifies) times of waxing and waning; therefore, it is called Hot-Weather Gate. Regarding White Gate, the Monthly-Branch resides in *shen*, metal *qi*-energy's originating primal nucleus; therefore, it is called White Gate. Regarding Heaven *Changhe* Gate, the eighth Monthly-Branch resides in *you*, and the myriad objects contract. The "*Chang*" of "*Changhe*" means "great"; the "*he*" of "*Changhe*" means "closed"; times of contraction and closure, therefore, it is called Heaven *Changhe* Gate. Regarding Dark Capital Gate, "Dark" means "darkness", and the spirit Xuan Ming is the primal governing force. *Yin*-energy is concentrated so all is dark, and so it is called Dark Capital Gate. Regarding Cold Gate, it is where cold collects and is therefore called Cold Gate. These Eight Extremities and their regions are the places where the Eight Winds are generated.'

蒼門者，東北木將用事，春之始，故曰蒼門。開明門者，明，陽也。日之所出。故曰開明門。陽門者，月建在巳〔巳〕純陽用事，故曰陽門。暑門者，盛衰之時。故曰暑門。白門者，月建在申，金氣之始，

<sup>8</sup> Xiao Ji, *Wuxing dayi*, 4.104-5.

故曰白門。閭闔門者，八月建在西，萬物將收，闔，大；闔，閉。收閉之時，故曰閭闔門。幽都門者，幽，暗也，玄冥將始用事。陰聚故幽也，故曰幽都門。寒門者，積寒所在故曰寒門。此八極之方，是八風之所起也。」<sup>9</sup>

*Master Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals* (juan 13: 'You shi lan' 有始覽, passage 1: 'You shi' 有始; by Lü Buwei 呂不韋, d. 235) gives: 'In East Region, the Vastly-Flowing Wind; in South-East Region, the Movement Wind; in South Region, the Massive Wind; in South-West Region, the Desolate Wind; in West Region, the Whirling Wind; in North-West Region, the Fierce Wind; in North Region, the Cold Wind; in North-East Region, the Blistering-Hot Wind.' These appellations and their application also resemble the patterns outlined above.

《呂氏春秋》云：「東方滔風。東南動風。南方巨風。西南淒風。西方飄風。西北厲風。北方寒風。東北炎風。」此意亦同於前。<sup>10</sup>

*Taigong's Military Book* gives: '*kan* is called Great Hard Wind; *qian* is called Snap Wind; *dui* is called Small Hard Wind; *gen* is called Inauspicious Wind; *kun* is called Scheming Wind; *xun* is called Small Weak Wind; *zhen* is called Baby Wind; *li* is called Great Weak Wind. Regarding Great Hard Wind, it has greater *yin*-energy's *qi*-energy and likes to kill and thus is "hard". Regarding Snap Wind, its metal constituency is strong, and it can exert pressure on objects causing them to snap. Regarding Small Hard Wind, owing to its metal constituency it therefore also kills. Regarding Inauspicious Wind, *gen* is at Ghost Gate, so it is an inauspicious and harmful place. Regarding Scheming Wind, *kun* represents earth, the basis of greater *yin*-energy and much secret scheming. Regarding Small Weak Wind, *xun* is the eldest daughter and therefore it is called "weak". Regarding Baby Wind, *zhen* is the eldest son and it loves him and therefore it is called "child (baby)". Regarding Great Weak Wind, *li* is the middle daughter; also, she is weaker than the eldest daughter. With Great Hard Wind and Small Wind, the *Guest* is in the ascendancy. With Great Weak Wind and Small Weak Wind, the *Host* is in the ascendancy. "Inauspicious" means the presence of inauspicious and harmful matters. "Scheming" means the presence of people scheming insurrection. "Snap" means there will be imminent death. With Baby Wind, the *Host* is strong.

9 Xiao Ji, *Wuxing dayi*, 4.105.

10 Xiao Ji, *Wuxing dayi*, 4.105.



All these are means by which the Military School watches the waxing and waning of *Guest* and *Host*, observing whence a Wind has come.’

《太公兵書》云：「坎名大剛風，乾名折風。兌名小剛風。艮名凶風。坤名謀風。巽名小弱風。震名嬰兒風。離名大弱風。」大剛風者，大陰之氣，好殺故剛。折風者，金強，能摧折物也。小剛風者，亦金殺故也。凶風者，艮在鬼門，凶害之所也。謀風者，坤為地，大陰之本，多陰謀也。小弱風者，巽為長女，故稱弱也。嬰兒風者，震為長男，愛之，故曰兒。大弱風者，離為中女，又弱於長女也。大剛、小剛，客勝。大弱、小弱，主人勝。凶，有凶害之事。謀，有謀逆之人。折為將死。嬰兒風，主人強。此並兵家觀客主盛衰，候風所從來也。<sup>11</sup>

Yang Quan (*fl.* Western Jin dynasty) gives: ‘When spring’s *qi*-energy is balmy, its Wind is warmed and harmonious, a Joyful Wind. When summer’s *qi*-energy is at its richest, its Wind, replete with *yang*-energy, is chaste, a Happy Wind. Autumn’s *qi*-energy is vigorous, its Wind fiery and pure, an Angry Wind. Winter’s *qi*-energy is cold, its Wind concentrated and fierce, a Plaintive Wind. In addition are Winds from the Four Midway Directions (south-east, south-west, north-east, north-west), and with them comes *qi*-energy for the growth of life; the land of the various Regions is all differently appropriate, and each according to the emotional quality that arises caused by its Wind; the aforementioned are results of Heaven’s mandates as well as the manifestation of good governance. If the ruler promulgates decrees of virtuous morality, then the Winds will not rock good order, that is, purity, harmoniousness, proportionality, and efficiency. If government decrees lose these qualities, then the *qi*-energy will become angry, inauspicious, and explosive, whipping up sandstorms and snapping and uprooting trees. This is the principle of Heaven and Earth’s retribution, and all happens at the instigation and inspiration of the *qi*-energy of the Five Elements.’

楊泉云：「春氣臙，其風溫以和，喜風也。夏氣盛，其風陽以貞，樂風也。秋氣勁，其風燁以清，怒風也。冬氣冷，其風凝以厲，哀風也。」又四維之風，隨生成之氣，方土異宜，各隨所感而風者，天之號令，

11 Xiao Ji, *Wuxing dayi*, 4.105.

治政之象。若君有德令，則風不搖條，清和調暢。若政令失，則氣怒凶暴，飛沙折木。此天地報應之理也，皆五行之氣感召所致。<sup>12</sup>

*Taigong's Military Book* discusses the Military School who watches the waxing and waning of *Guest* and *Host*, that is, observing the Wind as the arbiter of decision-making; in the main, with Great Hard Wind and Small Hard Wind, *the Guest* comes into the ascendancy; with Great Weak Wind and Small Weak Wind, *the Host* comes into the ascendancy; with Baby Wind, *the Guest* is strong; simply put, the principle: 'If it is the *Guest*, it cannot be the *Host*' 可以爲客，不可以爲主 is here a precise proof of mutual concordance.

In addition, *Lingshu jing* 靈樞經 ('Essay on Nine Palaces and Eight Winds' ['Jiugong bafeng' 九宮八風]; essay 77, found in *juan 11*) records that the Supreme Unity (Taiyi 太一) travels the Nine Palaces, the Two Royal Courts (*liangchao* 兩朝), and the Eight Winds to make a divination predicting the auspicious or otherwise. It explains where the Eight Winds get their names from by employing the medical concept of the opposite polarities 'empty' (*xu* 虛) and 'full' (*shi* 實) used in pathology as a starting point, which implants a whole new meaning; the words used to express these ideas are recorded below:

From the day marking the Beginning of Autumn, the second, Xuanwei, the South-West Region.

立秋二（玄委西南方）

From the day marking the Autumn Equinox, the seventh, Cangguo, the West Region.

秋分七（倉果西方）

From the day marking the Beginning of Winter, the sixth, Xinluo, the North-West Region.

立冬六（新洛西北方）

12 Xiao Ji, *Wuxing dayi*, 4.105-6.

See *juan 9* of *Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era* (*Taiping yulan* 太平御覽) for a quotation of Yang Quan's *Wuli lun* 物理論, which although a different text, expounds similar ideas.

From the day marking the Summer Solstice, the ninth, Shangtian, the South Region.

夏至九（上天南方）

Shaoyao, central palace.

招搖中央

From the day marking the Winter Solstice, the first, Yezhe, the North Region.

冬至一（叶蟄北方）

From the day marking the Beginning of Summer, the fourth, Yinluo, the South-East Region.

立夏四（陰洛東南方）

From the day marking the Spring Equinox, the third, Cangmen, the East Region.

春分三（倉門東方）

From the day marking the Beginning of Spring, the eighth, Tianliu, the North-East Region.

立春八（天留東北方）<sup>13</sup>

According to eternal schedule, from the day of the Winter Solstice, the Supreme Unity lives in the Yezhe Palace for forty-six days. From the next day, he lives in the Tianliu Palace for forty-six days. From the next day, he lives in the Cangmen Palace for forty-six days. From the next day, he lives in the Yinluo Palace for forty-five days. From the next day, he lives in the (Shang)tian Palace for forty-six days. From the next day, he lives in the Xuanwei Palace for forty-six days. From the next day, he lives in the Cangguo Palace for forty-six days. From the next day, he lives in the Xinluo Palace for forty-five days. From the next day he lives once again in

<sup>13</sup> *Lingshu jing*, 11.11a–11b.

the Yezhe Palace, and this is the Winter Solstice once more. The Supreme Unity also travels around from day to day, and from the day that he lives in the Yezhe Palace, counting where he stays, every day he moves to a new place until on the ninth day, he returns to whence he came. His progress always follows this formula and never ceases, always returning finally to his starting point.

太一常以冬至之日，居叶蟄之宮四十六日，明日居天留四十六日，明日居倉門四十六日，明日居陰洛四十五日，明日居天宮四十六日，明日居玄委四十六日，明日居倉果四十六日，明日居新洛四十五日。明日復居叶蟄之宮，曰冬至矣。太一日游，以冬至之日居叶蟄之宮，數所在，日從一處，至九日，復反於一。常如是無已，終而復始。<sup>14</sup>

On the days when the Supreme Unity moves to another palace, Heaven must answer him with wind and rain, and wind and rain on these days is auspicious and means the harvest will be plentiful, the people peaceful, and sickness low. Before him, there is plenty of rain; after him there is drought. If the Supreme Unity, on the day marking the Winter solstice, undergoes a transformation, the divination is that of the ruler. If the Supreme Unity, on the Spring Equinox, undergoes a transformation, the divination is that of the *xiang* Minister. If the Supreme Unity, during the days in the Central Palace, undergoes a transformation, the divination is that of the *li* ordinary official. If the Supreme Unity, on the Autumn Equinox, undergoes a transformation, the divination is that of the general. If the Supreme Unity, on the day of the Summer Solstice, undergoes a transformation, the divination is that of the ordinary people. Regarding that which is termed a transformation, on the day when the Supreme Unity comes to live in these five palaces, a vicious wind comes and snaps branches and uproots trees, whipping up sandstorms and tossing boulders, and each according to his station makes a divination for better or worse, and through watching the Wind that comes, the divination will be made.

太一移日，天必應之以風雨，以其日風雨則吉，歲美民安少病矣。先之則多雨，後之則多汗。太一在冬至之日有變，占在君；太一在春分之日有變，占在相。太一在中宮之日有變，占在吏。太一在秋分之日有變，占在將。太一在夏至之日有變，占在百姓。所謂有變者，太一居五宮之日，

14 *Lingshu jing*, 11.11b.

病風折樹木，揚沙石，各以其所主占貴賤。因視風所來而占之。<sup>15</sup>

When a Wind comes from the home territory that it occupies, it is a 'full' wind and promotes life, providing sustained nourishment and nurture to the myriad beings. After its gusts have blown over there comes a 'empty' wind that does hurt to people and is an entity that promotes death and promotes harm, and the 'empty' wind should be observed with caution and avoided. Therefore, the sage expounds the philosophy of avoiding 'empty-evil', just as slingshots and arrows are to be avoided. Evil is thus prevented from causing harm, and that is what is meant by this process. For this reason, once the Supreme Unity has moved into the Central Palace, facing towards the Eight Winds, a divination of auspiciousness or otherwise is made.

風從其所居之鄉來爲實風，主生，長養萬物。從其衝後來爲虛風，傷人者也，主殺、主害者，謹候虛風而避之。故聖人日避虛邪之道，如避矢石然，邪弗能害，此之謂也。是故太一入徙立於中宮，乃朝八風，以占吉凶也。<sup>16</sup>

When the Wind comes from the South Region, it is named Great Weak Wind and it harms people; inside it inhabits the heart and outside it abides in the veins, and its *qi*-energy promotes heat. When the Wind comes from the South-West Region, it is called Scheming Wind and it harms people; inside it inhabits the spleen and outside it abides on the flesh, and its *qi*-energy promotes weakness. When the Wind comes from the West Region, it is called Hard Wind and it harms people; inside it inhabits the lungs and outside it abides on the skin, and its *qi*-energy promotes dryness. When the Wind comes from the North-West Region, its name is Snap Wind and it harms people; inside it inhabits the small intestine and outside it abides on the hand-*taiyang* (acupuncture point on the) veins, and when the veins are pierced, the blood will overflow, and when the veins are blocked, the blood will clot and not flow, which effectively triggers an explosion causing death. When the Wind comes from the North Region, its name is Great Hard Wind and it harms people; inside it inhabits the kidneys and outside it abides on the sinews joining the backbone, shoulders, and back, and its *qi*-energy promotes

<sup>15</sup> *Lingshu jing*, 11. 11b–12a.

<sup>16</sup> *Lingshu jing*, 11. 12a.

coldness. When the Wind comes from the North-East Region, it is called Inauspicious Wind and it harms people; inside it inhabits the large intestine and outside it abides below the ribs on both flanks and in the joints of the limbs. When the Wind comes from the East Region, it is called Baby Wind and it harms people; inside it inhabits the liver and outside it abides in tendon junctures, and its *qi*-energy promotes bodily moisture. When the Wind comes from the South-East Region, it is called Weak Wind and it harms people; inside it inhabits the stomach and outside it abides on the muscles, and its *qi*-energy promotes bodily weight. These Eight Winds all come from their 'empty' homelands and so cause illness in people.

風從南方來，名曰大弱風，其傷人也，內舍於心，外在於脈，氣主熱。風從西南方來，名曰謀風，其傷人也，內舍於脾，外在於肌，其氣主爲弱。風從西方來，名曰剛風，其傷人也，內舍於肺，外在於皮膚，其氣主爲燥。風從西北方來，名曰折風。其傷人也，內舍於小腸，外在於手太陽脈，脈絕則溢，脈閉則結不通，善暴死。風從北方來，名曰大剛風，其傷人也，內舍於腎，外在於骨與肩背之脊筋，其氣主爲寒也。風從東北方來，名曰凶風，其傷人也，內舍於大腸，外在於兩脅腋骨下及肢節。風從東方來，名曰嬰兒風，其傷人也，內舍於肝，外在於筋紐，其氣主爲身溼。風從東南方來，名曰弱風，其傷人也，內舍於胃，外在於肌肉，其氣主體重。此八風皆從其虛之鄉來，乃能病人。<sup>17</sup>

When the Supreme Unity goes out on his travels, 'on the days when he moves to another palace, Heaven must answer him with wind and rain,' therefore, when the Supreme Unity transplants his position, the Eight Winds undergo the transformations of birth and death, and when a Wind comes from its home territory, it is a 'full' wind and promotes life, providing sustained nourishment and nurture to the myriad beings. After its gusts have blown over there comes an 'empty' wind that does hurt to people and is an entity that promotes harm, and therefore upon observation of an 'empty' wind, it should be avoided. The nomenclature of the Eight Winds is entirely derived from negative connotations, thus *Lingshu jing* gives that the Eight Winds come from 'empty' homelands and so cause illness in people. This can be taken as proof of the anecdote (*Records of the Grand Historian* [*Shi ji* 史記], 'Book on Heavenly Officials' ['Tianguan shu' 天官書]; *juan* 27): 'Wei Xian (*fl.* Western Han dynasty) of the Han dynasty assembled the evidence of wind strength and direction of

17 *Lingshu jing*, II, 12a–12b.

the day after the sacrificial ceremony in the twelfth lunar month and also the morning of New Year's Day in order to determine the Eight Winds' verdict on the likely auspiciousness or otherwise of the coming year;' 漢魏鮮某臘明正月旦以決八風; 'Tianguan shu' also gives:

Wind coming from the South Region: severe drought.

風從南方來，大旱

(Wind coming from the) South-West Region: mild drought.

西南，小旱

(Wind coming from the) West Region: military incursion.

西方，有兵

(Wind coming from the) North-West Region: large beans, there is drizzling rain, war will be waged instantly.

西北 戎菽，爲小雨，趣兵

(Wind coming from the) North Region: there will be an average harvest.

北方 爲中歲

(Wind coming from the) North-East Region: there will be a plentiful harvest.

東北 爲上歲

(Wind coming from the) East Region: severe flooding.

東方 大水

(Wind coming from the) South-East Region: the ordinary people will suffer plague and pestilence; bad harvest.

東南 民有疾疫，歲惡

Therefore, the relative auspiciousness of the Eight Winds is a product of their mutual interaction and conflict coming from different directions, and the most powerful prevails....

故八風各與其衝對，課多者爲勝。.....<sup>18</sup>

(See: *Kaiyuan zhanjing* 開元占經 [juan 93; by Gautama Siddha, Chinese name: Qutan Xida 瞿曇悉達, fl. eighth century; Kaiyuan era: 713–741] that quotes *Zhengyue shuodan bafeng zhan* 正月朔旦八風占 [by Wei Xian]).<sup>19</sup>

The Eight Winds all interact in mutual conflict and come from ‘empty’ directions, so they mostly promote inauspiciousness. Regarding the two characters ‘large’ (*rong* 戎) and ‘beans’ (*shu* 菽), the following passage from (*Records of the Grand Historian*) ‘Tianguan shu’ proves this: ‘From dawn to breakfast time matches wheat; from breakfast time to when the sun begins westering matches *ji* millet; from when the sun begins westering to the time of the evening meal matches *shu* millet; from the time of the evening meal until later in the evening matches beans; and from later in the evening until sunset matches sesame.’ 食至日昃爲稷，昃至舖爲黍，舖至下舖爲菽，下舖至日入爲麻。<sup>20</sup> Wheat, *ji* millet, *shu* millet, beans, and sesame are substitute names for the divisions of the day that distinguish time periods ranging from breakfast through when the sun begins westering to sunset. ‘Large beans’ indicates the segment of time from the evening meal until later in the evening; taking the later phrases ‘plentiful harvest’ and ‘average harvest’ as proof, the subsequent phrase ‘there is drizzling rain’ should be read as a sentence. In fact, the appellation ‘drizzling rain’ is often found in oracle inscriptions, and it tells that there was drizzling rain at the time, which in turn indicates a suitable juncture for instigating military action. *Lunheng* 論衡, ‘Biandong pian’ 變動篇 (by Wang Chong 王充, 27–97 CE; chapter 43) gives:

According to (*Records of the Grand Historian*) ‘Tianguan shu’, at the beginning of the first lunar month, divination is made of the Winds from the Four Regions: Wind from the South Region denotes drought, from the North Region denotes moist air and heavy rainfall, from the East denotes plague and pestilence, and from the West denotes military incursions.

18 Sima Qian, *Shi ji*, 27.1340.

19 Qutan Xida, *Tang Kaiyuan zhanjing*, 93.1a–1b (807: 869).

20 Sima Qian, *Shi ji*, 27.1340.



The Grand Historian (Sima Qian 司馬遷, b. 145 or 135 BCE, writer of *Records of the Grand Historian*) gives a factual account when he informs that the Winds are used to divine flooding, drought, military incursion, and plague and pestilence, and that the outcome for people and objects, whether inauspicious or otherwise, is controlled by Heaven.

天官之書，以正月朝，占四方之風，風從南方來者旱，從北方來者澁，東方來者爲疫，西方來者爲兵。太史公實道言以風占水、旱、兵、疫者，人物吉凶，統於天也。<sup>21</sup>

The Winds from the Four Regions are employed to divine flooding, drought, military incursions, and plague and pestilence—these four items—and their prophetic pronouncements based on their mutual interaction and the resultant conflict. From this the significance in oracular inscriptions of the names of the Winds as coming from the Four Regions can be understood and that this must be connected to observing the Winds for the purposes of divination. Observing the Winds is in turn interlinked with agriculture to divine the abundance or otherwise of the harvest, and particular years are thus differentiated as ‘average’ or ‘plentiful’. In the Yin dynasty, divination was made on the basis of the Four Winds (*sifeng* 四風) and dissimilar to Wei Xian’s matching with the Five Notes and the Five Grains (*wugu* 五穀) in a detailed scheme, but in both cases, the significance of Wind divination emerges from observation of the harvests themselves and the rationale is identical. One oracular inscription gives: ‘The East Region is called Snap 析, while the Wind is called harmonious.’ 東方曰析風曰翬.<sup>22</sup> ‘Harmonious’ indicates ‘harmonious tillage’ and the plentiful harvest it produces, which resembles (in spirit) lock, stock, and barrel the imperial sacrificial ceremonies performed to initiate the spring sowing season recorded in (the early Warring States period text) *Discourses of the States* (*Guoyu* 國語, ‘Zhouyu shang’ 周語上; *juan* 1): ‘Five days previously, the blind soothsayer-musician reported that a Harmonious Wind had blown in;’ 前五日，警告有協風至;<sup>23</sup> this concordance has already been discussed in detail by scholars of oracle bones. On the Yinquе mountain bamboo slips, the North-West *qian* 乾 position matches Pale-White Wind 皙, which is also known as Snap 折 Wind, and the name most likely stems from the Yin dynasty East Region ‘Snap’ 析 (because the characters resemble one another), but the Region from which they emanate is different. Wei Xian has the five

<sup>21</sup> *Lunheng jiaoshi*, 15.653.

<sup>22</sup> *Jiaguwen heji*, no. 14294.

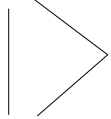
<sup>23</sup> *Guoyu jijie*, 1.17.

segments of the day matching the Five Grains, and the Five Notes determining the abundance or otherwise of the harvest, as is shown in the diagram below:

TABLE 5.4 Matches between the five divisions of the day and the Five Grains

dawn

旦

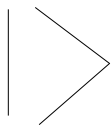


wheat  
麥

*gong* good harvest (auspicious)  
宮 —— 歲善 (吉)

breakfast time

食



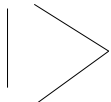
*ji* millet  
稷

*shang* military incursion  
商 —— 有兵

flooding *yu*  
水 —— 羽

sun begins westering

昋



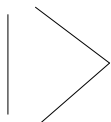
*shu* millet  
黍

*zhi* drought  
徵 —— 旱

drought *zhi*  
旱 —— 徵

time of the evening meal

餽



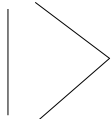
bean (large beans)  
菽 (戎菽)

*yu* flooding  
羽 —— 水

military activities *shang*  
兵 —— 商

later in the evening

下餽



sesame  
麻

*jiao* bad harvest (inauspicious)  
角 —— 歲惡 (凶)

plague and pestilence *jiao*  
疫 —— (角)

sunset

日入

Regarding the state of the harvest, the entry in *Han shu* 漢書, 'Wudi ji' 武帝紀 (*juan* 6; Emperor Wu: 156–87 BCE, r. 140–87 BCE) for the first year, the fifth month, of the Jianyuan 建元 era (140–135 BCE) is: 'As the lakes and rivers moistened the fields for thousands of *li* in all directions, the emperor commanded officials who managed the temples to restore and rectify the sacrifices made to mountains and rivers for the sake of the (most important) annual matter (the harvest) and for the rites to be enhanced at all levels.' 河海潤千里，其令祠官修山川之祠爲歲事，曲加禮。<sup>24</sup> Meng Kang's (孟康, *fl.* third century) notes to this passage read: 'These are supplicatory prayers offered for the sake of agriculture. As such and implemented in due fashion, they are annual events; therefore, they are called the "annual matter": 爲農祈也，於此造之，歲以爲常，故曰爲歲事也。<sup>25</sup> This, then, is the action of praying for a plentiful harvest.

Concerning this multiplicity of issues, most cannot be investigated in close detail relative to oracular inscriptions. The exception is the phrase: 'The Wind of the North Region is called "yi" 戾.' 北方之風曰戾。<sup>26</sup> On Yinque mountain bamboo slips, the North Region matches Great Hard Wind, which is also called Great Strong Wind; the character 戾 is perhaps a version of 疫 (also 'yi'), which means 'plague and pestilence'. The North Region accumulates *yin*-energy, and therefore during the third month of winter, a large special sacrificial ceremony took place devoted to driving out plague and pestilence. (*The Zhou Rites* ['Chunguan zongbo' 春官宗伯; chapter 3], 'Zhanmeng' 占夢, notes by Zheng Xuan [鄭玄, 127–200]).<sup>27</sup> The character 戾 is usually read as 役 (also 'yi'), and quoting as gospel the definition in *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (in *juan* 3, under the 'shu' radical 尪) 'guarding the borderlands', 戍邊,<sup>28</sup> the origin of its meaning is thus grounded in the cold frontier regions, which is extremely difficult to explain. 'Tianguan shu' has the Wind coming from the East Region as bringing

24 *Han shu*, 6.157.

25 *Han shu*, 6.157.

Meng Kang's notes presumably come from his *Han shu yinyi* 漢書音義 which does not survive but are widely quoted (including this sentence) in Yan Shigu's (顏師古, 581–645) *Han shu xuli* 漢書叙例.

26 *Jiaguwen heji*, no. 14294.

27 *Zhouli zhushu*, 25.771.

Complete sets of Zheng Xuan's notes are found in *Zhouli zhushu* 周禮注疏, where 'Zhan meng' is at the start of *juan* 25, and *Zhouli zhengyi* 周禮正義, where *juan* 48 includes 'Zhan meng'. Jao Tsung-i has not furnished an exact source for his citation of Zheng Xuan; the notes in *Zhouli zhushu* and *Zhouli zhengyi* are extremely similar and would thus seem to stem from a contemporary common source.

28 Xu Shen, *Shuowen jiezi*, 3B.13a (66).

In *Shuowen jiezi*, 役 is not found under the 'chi' radical 彳 (*juan* 2), which further supports Jao Tsung-i's argument.

‘plague and pestilence’ 疫; the people of the Yin dynasty, however, regarded ‘plague and pestilence’ as coming from the North Region, and this may explain the discrepancy.

## 4

The Wind coming directly from South Region is called Great Weak Wind. *The Zuo Commentary* (*Zuozhuan* 左傳; traditionally attributed to Zuo Qiuming 左丘明, fl. late Spring and Autumn period), ‘Duke Xiang’ (‘Xiangong’ 襄公; chapter 9), the Eighteenth Year of his Reign (‘Shiba nian’ 十八年) gives: ‘The army of the state of Chu mostly froze, and the campaigning season for the year was almost over; when the people of the state of Jin heard that the Chu army was there, (the celebrated musician) Shi Kuang (fl. late Spring and Autumn period) said: “They cannot harm us. Many times have I sung to the North Wind and also to the South Wind. The South Wind is the weaker, for the most part a voice of death, and that means that the Chu army will not prevail.” 楚師多凍，徒役歲盡，晉人聞有楚師，師曠曰不害，吾驟歌北風，又歌南風。南風不競，多死聲，楚必無功。<sup>29</sup> Du Yu’s notes to this passage are: ‘The songs were sung according to the correct *lü* mode as given by pitchpipes in supplication to the Eight Winds, and the sound of the South Region was faint.’ 歌者吹律以咏八風，南方音微。<sup>30</sup>

*The Zhou Rites* (‘Chunguan zongbo’), ‘Baozhang shi’ 保章氏: ‘By means of the Twelve Winds, this official investigates the harmoniousness of Heaven and Earth, decreeing the auspiciousness or otherwise of potentially disharmonious phenomena.’ 以十有二風，察天地之和，命乖別之妖祥。<sup>31</sup> Zheng Xuan’s notes to this give: ‘The twelve subdivisions of the twenty-four-hour day are each accorded their own Wind, and their musical mode can be blown on pitchpipes to ascertain their harmoniousness or otherwise, but the method of such discernment has been lost,’ 十有二辰皆有風吹其律以知和不（否），其

29 Zuo Qiuming, *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi*, 33.1094.

30 Zuo Qiuming, *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi*, 33.1094.

The precise source that Jao Tsung-i used for Du Yu’s notes to *The Zuo Commentary* is not clear as they occur in various forms, but possibly the earliest is *Zuozhuan zhengyi* (*juan* 33), which has notes by Du Yu and supplementary explanation by Kong Yingda (孔穎達, 574–648).

31 *Zhouli zhushu*, 26.831.

道亡矣,<sup>32</sup> which paraphrases as its fundamental argument the observations made by the passage from *The Zuo Commentary*. Note: The reason the sound of the South was faint and weakest was because the Wind of South Region was Great Weak Wind, and the evidence of these bamboo slips further illuminates and clarifies the veracity of this formula. In several places, the Yinque bamboo slips indicate musical performance in the modes *huangzhong*, *yingzhong*, *ruibin*, and *linzhong*, and perhaps the scope of the supplicatory ceremonies enacted had the twelve *lü* modes matched to the months of the year and then performed according to this schedule, but unfortunately the wording on the bamboo slips is obscure and its intention in this respect hard to fathom. Zheng Xuan records that the twelve divisions of the 24-hour day each had their own Wind, but how the ‘method of their discernment’ had been lost for such a long stretch of time awaits further exploration.

This essay provides only rough explanation of the overall general framework and does not reveal a deeper level of detail. Concerning the appellation ‘divination of the Winds’ (*fengzhan* 風占), Wang Chong in (*Lunheng*) ‘Biandong pian’ gives: ‘Regarding using the Wind to divine the superior and the abased, when the Wind comes from the ruler’s royal demesne and *xiang* Minister’s residence, then it is superior, but when it comes from the badlands of the criminal, then it is abased.’ 以風占貴賤者，風從王相鄉來則貴，從囚死地來則賤。<sup>33</sup> *Kaiyuan zhan jing* (*juan* 91) when divining Winds categorises them and speaks of auspicious Winds and inauspicious Winds that cause disaster, and remarks: ‘Care should be taken through detailed knowledge of the Five Notes to make measure of (the Winds from) the Eight Regions, observing their arising and cessation and thereby making divination of them.’ 當詳五音定八方，觀其起止占之。<sup>34</sup> Although these bamboo slips are damaged and incomplete, and besides, concerning the arts of Wind divination at the beginning of the Han dynasty prior to Wei Xian and Yi Feng (翼奉, fl. Western Han dynasty), only a rough framework remains of relevant discourse, a fraction of this art can still be glimpsed.

For the term ‘Wind *jiao*-note’ (*fengjiao* 風角), see (*The Official Book of the Later Han Dynasty* [*Hou Han shu* 後漢書]) ‘Biography of Lang Yi’ (‘Lang Yi zhuan’ 郎顛; in *juan* 30, ‘Part Two [of Two]’), notes by Li Xian (李賢, 655–684), which say: ‘Regarding the term “Wind *jiao*-note”, (it means) observing the

32 *Zhouli zhushu*, 26.831.

Notes to ‘Baozhang shi’ in *Zhouli zhushu* and *Zhouli zhengyi* are found in *juan* 26 and 51 respectively.

33 *Lunheng jiaoshi*, 15.652.

34 Qutan Xida, *Tang Kaiyuan zhan jing*, 91.4a (807: 856).

Winds from the Four Regions and Four Corners in order to make divination of the auspicious or inauspicious.' 風角，候四方四隅之風以占吉凶也，<sup>35</sup> *The Official Book of the Sui Dynasty* (*Sui shu* 隋書), 'Jingji zhi' 經籍志 (*juan* 32–35), 'Section on the Five Elements' ('Wuxing lei' 五行類; in *juan* 34) lists twenty-two items of this type (that contain the characters 'Wind' and 'jiao-note' consecutively in their titles), of which twelve are given as 'lost', and all these entries indicate the names Jing Fang (京房, 77–33 BCE) and Yi Feng.<sup>36</sup> (For example, Kyoto University's *Tiandi ruixiang zhi* 天地瑞祥志 [by Sa Shouzhen 薩守真, fl. Tang dynasty] quotes Yi Feng's *Fengjiao yaojue* 風角要決.) The Tang dynasty *taishiling* 太史令 Astrologer Royal, Li Chunfeng, gives: 'Ever since the time of Yi Feng, books on Wind and *jiao*-note divination have become extremely numerous, hundreds of *juan* in fact; some are detailed and some concise, encompassing the whole gamut of the genuine and the spurious.' 自翼奉已後、風角之書近將百卷，或詳或略，真偽參差。<sup>37</sup>

These fragmentary bamboo slips are somewhat early in date, and because of that their scholarly significance is especially high. In the section in *Yisi Divination* where Master Li (Chunfeng) discusses divination of strong winds of the Eight Regions, he provides a diagram with the Twelve Earthly Branches, Ten Heavenly Stems, and Four Midway Directions (*siwei* 四維) all matching one another, which is identical to equivalent Song dynasty diagrams of the Later Heaven (*Houtian* 後天) Eight Trigrams. On it, the following appellations are different: West Region *dui* 兌 Wind is called 'Charge Wind' (*chongfeng* 衝風), and East Region *zhen* 震 Wind is called 'Villain Wind' (*guifeng* 兗風) (that is, Baby Wind), and this itself is worthy of consideration. As this essay is written in haste, as a matter of course, there will be many errors in it, but an earnest hope is treasured that anyone with broad knowledge and sound scholarship aware of any will point them out for due correction.

12 November 1992, Hong Kong

This essay was originally a paper for the Guanxi University Conference on Han dynasty bamboo slips.

35 *Hou Han shu*, 30B.1053.

36 *Sui shu*, 34.1026–27.

Prevailing versions of this list give only seven (not twelve) of the twenty-two as lost. Of the twenty-two, two mention only Jing Fang, four mention only Yi Feng, and one mentions both; these seven do not correlate to the seven that are lost.

37 Li Chunfeng, *Yisi zhan*, 10.169.

## From Inscriptions on Bells Found in the Marquis Yi 乙 of Zeng's Tomb, a Discussion of the Science of Bell Modes and Tunings in Ancient China

### 由曾侯鐘銘談古代的鐘律學

From the inscriptions on bells and chimes found in Sui 隨 county, disparities between the musical modes, melodies, and tunings of the competing states of the Spring and Autumn period can be observed, but as their fundamental premise, all use the twelve *lü* 律 modes. These each embody a scale of Seven Notes (*qiyin* 七音), of which as their core are the Five Notes (or Voices; *wusheng* 五聲) of the pentatonic scale. Hu Yansheng (胡顏昇, fl. eighteenth century) states: 'Although there were Seven Notes in ancient times, they only used the Five Voices. *The Zuo Commentary* (*Zuozhuan* 左傳; traditionally attributed to Zuo Qiuming, fl. late Spring and Autumn period; 'Duke Zhao' ['Zhaogong' 昭公]; chapter 10; 'The Twenty-Fifth Year' ['Ershiwu nian' 昭二十五年]) gives: "The Seven Notes are subordinate and pay obeisance to the Five Voices;" and the two "altered" notes (the two required to make the pentatonic scale into a seven-note scale) were not used.' 古樂雖有七音，止用五聲。《左傳》云：「爲七音以奉五聲。」不用二變是也。 (*Yuelü biaowei* 樂律表微, *juan* 2)<sup>1</sup> Even up to the present day, the *guqin* does not use the two altered notes, which can be regarded as corroborating proof regarding the situation pertaining to ancient musical modes. The *lü* modes of the state of Zeng use a plethora of different names for the Five Notes when compared with those usually employed at the time and these can serve to supplement *Erya* 爾雅 (third century BCE) as annotated by Guo Pu (郭璞, 276–324) and provide a great deal of new material.

As given in the inscriptions on the bells and chimes from the Marquis Yi of Zeng's tomb, the status of *huangzhong* 黃鐘 in the note hierarchy is completely unimportant. Although the state of Zeng continued to use the Zhou dynasty names for the *lü* modes, mode *guxian* 姑洗 was the chief mode's *huangzhong* fundamental note or mode, and intermixed were modal names peculiar to the system of the Chu region. The Chu modes are an entire range of new names and do not continue the old Zhou traditions, with *lüzhong* 呂鐘 (the Chu name for *guxian*) as their chief, and the six *lü* 呂 modes given the appellation 'zhuo'

1 Hu Yansheng, *Yuelü biaowei*, 2.14a (220: 398).

濁 (which means a semitone lower).<sup>2</sup> Together with the modes of the state of Zeng, the different modal names of the Zhou dynasty and the states of Qi, Chu, and Shen for the same *lü* mode are also recorded, and thus it can be seen that at a time when Chinese territory was ruled by separate competing states, each state also had its own set of *lü* modes, just as the spoken language of each was sounded differently and the written character set different in form.

An overall impression is given that it was not until the Qin dynasty that the nomenclature and practice of the *lü* 律呂 modes came to be unified. *The Records of the Grand Historian (Shi ji 史記)*, ‘Yue shu’ 樂書 (*juan 24*) speaks thus: ‘When Law and Discipline are just, the land will be at peace ... and then render correct the Six Lü Modes and make them harmonious with the Five Notes.’ 紀綱既正，天下大定..... 然後正六律和五聲.<sup>3</sup> Thus, the work of rendering the *lü* modes correct was as important as policies of ‘making the axle length between carriage wheels identical’ 車同軌 and ‘writing with a uniform character set’ 書同文字. Implementation of the task of unifying the *lü* modes in the state of Qin is recorded in its entirety in *Master Lü’s Spring and Autumn Annals (Lüshi chunqiu 呂氏春秋; cited here and elsewhere in this essay by its alternative title Lülan 呂覽; by Lü Buwei 呂不韋, d. 235 BCE)*, ‘Zhongxia’ 仲夏 (*juan 5*) and ‘Jixia’ 季夏 (*juan 6*), and at that time the length of the *huangzhong* pitchpipe was set at three *cun* 寸 inches and nine *fen* 分 deci-inches, and the practice of regarding *huangzhong* as the chief of the *lü* modes appears to have begun and later became the established system. The science of bell modes and tunings was instituted from this point onwards.

*Master Lü’s Spring and Autumn Annals* advocate a doctrine of ‘appropriateness of sound’ (*shiyin* 適音; also the title of passage 4 of *juan 5*); this appropriateness manifests itself in taking the middle ground in respect of size and weight, and its doctrine states (in passage 4 of *juan 5*): ‘Let the *huangzhong* mode’s *gong* note be the basis of all sound.’ 黃鐘之宮，音之本.<sup>4</sup> From this, it is seen that instituting *huangzhong* as the fundamental of the *lü* modes

2 Regarding romanisation of modal families, the nomenclature can be confusing as the same syllable *lü* denotes both the characters 律 and 呂 commonly employed to name respectively the two families of six notes and the modes derived from them. The first of these 律 is also used as an overarching term for the whole system as well as ‘melody’ and ‘mode’ in a more general sense; the usage of 呂 is much narrower and only refers to the six notes or modes in its particular family. For this reason, in this translation, the pinyin syllable ‘lü’ ‘undecorated’ denotes 律 and followed by 呂 carries the meaning indicated by this character. Sometimes both terms are used together—*lü* 律呂—which denotes the single concept of both sets of six modes.

3 Sima Qian, *Shi ji*, 24.1223.

4 *Lüshi Chunqiu jishi*, 5.116.



emanated from Lü Buwei. *The Lost Book of the Zhou Dynasty* (*Yi Zhou shu* 逸周書;<sup>5</sup> approximately third century BCE) ‘Yueling jie’ 月令解 (*juan* 53) and *The Book of Rites* (*Li ji* 禮記), ‘Yueling’ 月令 (*juan* 6) both take the twelve *lü* modes and match them to the twelve months of the year, and this concept had its origin in the ancient text *The Mingtang yueling* 明堂月令.

In ancient China, bell modes and tunings became a specialist scholarly discipline. *Records of the Grand Historian*, ‘Lü shu’ 律書 (*juan* 25) gives; ‘The ruler manages affairs of state and institutes the Law; the measurements of objects and regulations as to axle length are one and all endowed by the Six *Lü* Modes, and the Six *Lü* Modes are the bedrock of the ten thousand actions.’ 王者制事立法，物度軌則，壹稟于六律，六律者萬事根本焉。<sup>6</sup> *Han shu* 漢書, ‘Pingdi ji’ 平帝紀 (*juan* 12; the emperor Ping: 9 BCE–6 CE, r. 1–6 CE): ‘In the fifth year of the Yuanshi era (5 CE), a general conscription was made of all those in the land knowledgeable of bell modes and tunings and who could teach these practices, and they were sent from their native locality in special carriages and dispatched to the capital in answer to the imperial summons.’ 元始五年，徵天下通知鐘律教授者，在所爲駕一封軺傳，遣詣京師。<sup>7</sup>

*Han shu*, ‘Lülü zhi’ 律曆志 (*juan* 21): ‘After the establishment of the Han dynasty, the Marquis of Beiping Zhang Cang (253–152 BCE) was the first to attend to matters of the *lü* modes and the calendar.’ 漢興，北平侯張蒼首律曆事。<sup>8</sup> (*Official Book of the Jin Dynasty* [*Jin shu* 晉書], ‘Lülü zhi (shang)’ 律曆志 (上); [*juan* 16] gives: ‘The first to articulate matters pertaining to musical notes and *lü* modes.’ 首言音律。<sup>9</sup>) (Continuing the quote from *Han shu*) During the time of the Han dynasty emperor Xiao Wu (usually called: Han Wudi 漢武帝, 156–87 BCE, r. 140–87 BCE), music officials carried out investigation and rectification. By the time of the Yuanshi era (1–5 CE) and Wang Mang’s (45 BCE–23 CE) seizure of the reins of power, out of desire to add lustre to his reputation, he too conscripted those knowledgeable of bell modes and tunings to a total of more than a hundred individuals and had the *xihe* calendrical official Liu Xin (c.50 BCE–23 CE) oversee the process of rectification and submit memorandums to him giving line-by-line descriptions of each action taken.’ 孝武時，樂官考正。至元始中，王莽秉政，欲耀名譽，徵天下通知鐘律者百（有）餘人。使羲和劉歆典領條奏。<sup>10</sup> In the latter years of the Western Han dynasty, experts knowledgeable of bell modes and tunings numbered more

5 Also commonly translated as *The Unofficial Book of the Zhou Dynasty*.

6 Sima Qian, *Shi ji*, 25.1239.

7 *Han shu*, 12.359.

8 *Han shu*, 21A.955.

9 *Jin shu*, 16.474.

10 *Han shu*, 21A.955.

than a hundred and were under the administration of the *xihé* official (the Han dynasty equivalent to the *dasinong* 大司農 finance officer) who had management of the matter.

The first of the two essays that constitute 'Lülü zhi' of *Han shu* preserves material on the practice of this time. A Yuan dynasty redaction of Ying Shao's (應劭, *fl.* second century) *Fengsu tongyi*, 'Shengyin pian', which is the sixth essay of the collection, frequently deploys the phrase: 'Respectfully according to Liu Xin's book on *lǚ* modes and tunings' 謹按劉歆鐘律 and so on and so forth, and employs a form of homonymic analysis to explain the Five Notes: *shang* 商, *jiao* 角, *gong* 宮, *zhi* 徵, and *yu* 羽, preserving many remnants of Liu Xin's exposition;<sup>11</sup> unfortunately, however, Liu Xin's book has not survived in its complete form and can no longer be viewed. The science of bell modes and tunings in ancient China was in fact different from Western scholarship's study of melody, modes, and tunings.

The *Han shu* also makes mention of 'those knowledgeable of bell modes and tunings who could teach these practices', and during the epoch of the Han dynasty emperor Wu (Han Wudi), 'music officials carried out investigation and rectification', and this was as given in (*Han shu*) 'Liyue zhi' 禮樂志 (*juan* 22): 'Establish the College of Music and the role of the *duwei* official for rendering the *lǚ* modes harmonious.' 立樂府置協律都尉.<sup>12</sup> The music officials took responsibility for the matter of 'rendering the *lǚ* modes harmonious', and the bell modes and tunings had an intimate relationship to the work of rendering the *lǚ* modes harmonious.

*Dadai lijì* 大戴禮記 ('Dadai' is Dai De 戴德, *fl.* first century BCE), 'Yue ling' 月令 gives: 'Rely on the *lǚ* modes to tune the bells and chimes.' 依律以調鐘磬.<sup>13</sup> Also, 'Xiaobian pian' 小辨篇 (*Dadai lijì*; essay 74, in *juan* 11): 'Stroke (pluck) the strings to investigate the *lǚ* modes;' 循絃以觀樂;<sup>14</sup> striking the bells to examine their pitch in relation to the *lǚ* modes was called 'bell modes and tunings' (*zhonglü* 鐘律). Yang Xiong (揚雄; 53 BCE–18 CE, also called Yang Ziyun 揚子雲) gives: 'Tuning the *qin* with the skill of the ancient musicians Kui and Bo Ya' 若夔牙之調琴 (Kui: *fl.* the epoch of the ancient semi-mythical emperor Shun 舜;

11 Ying Shao, *Fengsu tongyi jiaoshi*, 6.222.

12 *Han shu*, 22.1045.

13 The source for this citation is problematic. *Dadai lijì* as it survives in its most common redaction does not contain the relevant chapter 'Yue ling', but a chapter of this name is found as the sixth essay of *Xiaodai lijì* 小戴禮記, compiled by Dai De's nephew Dai Sheng (戴聖, *fl.* first century BCE, known as 'the Lesser Dai'). Even so, taken as a whole, Dai Sheng's book is composed principally of chapters found in *Dadai lijì*. The sixth essay 'Yue ling' does not however contain this quote and it is not readily traceable elsewhere.

14 *Dadai lijì jiegū*, 11.206.

Bo Ya 伯牙, 387–299 BCE). ('Ganquan fu' 甘泉賦)<sup>15</sup> This was the matter of tuning the *qin*. In 'Lüli zhi' of *Han shu*, two items 'making up the numbers' (*beishu* 備數) and 'harmonious notes' (*hesheng* 和聲) are central aspects to the notion of bell modes and tunings.<sup>16</sup> Later, Lei Cizong (雷次宗, 386–448) and He Yinzhi (何胤之, 446–531) made diagrams of bell modes and tunings, which recorded that Xun Xu (荀勗, d. 289) had carried out a comparative assessment of ancient writings on measurements of musical instruments; exercises of this kind were called 'tuning bells and regulating *lü* measurements according to the musical unit of length *chi*'. 調鐘律尺.<sup>17</sup>

Liang dynasty emperor Wudi (梁武帝, 464–549, r. 502–549), also called Xiao Yan 蕭衍, wrote a book titled *Zhonglü wei* 鐘律緯 whose text can be seen in *The Official Book of the Sui Dynasty* (*Sui shu* 隋書), 'Zhi' 志 (found in *juan* 16), which debates the merits and demerits of practices of previous generations. His theories have been afforded the appellation 'method of tuning the *lü* modes by means of a twelve-stringed dodecachord' 四通律法, and through the traditional manner of tuning by alternately subtracting or adding a third of a pipe's length to create respectively a series of alternate upward perfect fifths and downward perfect fourths by which a scale is formed 三分損益法,<sup>18</sup> he sought to generate a further subsidiary set of twelve *lü* modes; in addition, three surviving bells cast by the Zhou dynasty emperor Jingwang (周景王, d. 520 BCE, r. 544–520 BCE) in the *wuyi* 無射 mode and tuning were employed to deduce the modes and tunings of other bells. Liang dynasty emperor Wudi by means of 'a *di* flute tuned to the *yize* mode checked the tuning, and in this way the (bell) notes were consonant and in accordance with harmoniousness,' 夷則笛飲，則聲韻合和,<sup>19</sup> which describes a process by which the *di* flute was used to tune the pitches of bells. Thus, it is ascertained that tuning the bell modes was a process that made melody notes harmonious, and there were two methods that accomplished this: 1. by means of strings—relying on the *qin*'s *hui* 徽 nodes of vibration to establish set pitches; and 2. using a pipe of some kind—for example, in the Jin dynasty, in order to render the *lü* modes harmonious, *di* flutes tuned to these modes were employed.

In the Sui dynasty, He Tuo (何妥, fl. late sixth century) investigated and established bell modes and tunings (*The Official Book of the Sui Dynasty* [*Sui shu*], *juan* 75 [includes his biography]) and authored a text called *Yue shu*

15 *Wenxuan*, 7.328.

16 *Han shu*, 21A.956.

17 *Sui shu*, 16.406.

18 *Sui shu*, 16.389.

19 *Sui shu*, 16.390.

樂書 that comprises fifteen essays.<sup>20</sup> Su Kui (蘇夔; *fl.* late sixth–seventh centuries), who discussed music with Zheng Yi (鄭譯, 540–591), in his youth took for himself the name ‘bell modes and tunings’ (Zhonglü鐘律).<sup>21</sup> (*The Official Book of the Sui Dynasty* [*Sui shu*], *juan* 41 [includes ‘Su Wei zhuan’ 蘇威傳] and 78 [includes ‘Wan Baochang zhuan’ 萬寶常傳; Wan Baochang, d. 595]).<sup>22</sup> Many musicians took for themselves the mantle of responsibility for bell modes and tunings, and this was a tradition that had its inception in the Han dynasty.

When bell sets were excavated from the tomb of the Marquis Yi of Zeng, tomb no. 1 of Leigudun 擂鼓墩, Sui county, Hubei, many of these bells and chimes on racks were found to be furnished with characters that give a clear record of the names of *lüli* modes, which have initiated a breakthrough in our understanding of pre-Qin dynasty musical modes and tunings; most important was obtaining deeper comprehension of the connectivity between *qin* modes and tunings and those of the bells.

According to Huang Xiangpeng’s (黃翔鵬, 1927–1997) explanation, the two sentences ‘equivalent to the original *shang*’s complementary pitch’ 符 (符) 于素商之顛 and ‘equivalent to the original *gong*’s complementary pitch’ 符于素宮之顛 tell of the following: ‘From comparing measurements of the pitches and calculating the result, it can be determined that the actual pitches produced by these bells are higher than those indicated on the bells themselves. If they are to be understood in terms of the pitching function of stringed instruments of the *qin* type, then the pitch originally given on the bells themselves is that sounded when the string is plucked at the twelfth *hui* node of vibration.’ 由於對照測音和計算結果，知道此二鐘的實際音響，高於標音所示。按照琴屬樂器的絃准作用來理解時，可以看出原標音的音高應在十二徽。<sup>23</sup> From the complexity of the ‘notes are altered by squaring them’ 聲變成方 system of bell modes and tunings of the Marquis Yi of Zeng’s epoch, it can be seen that ‘differentiating notes and songs’ 辨別聲詩 was an extremely refined science.

Regarding bell modes and tunings, the most important facet to which attention should be paid is their ‘number’. *The Official Book of the Sui Dynasty* (*Sui shu*), ‘*Lüli zhi*’ 律曆志上 (Part One of Three; *juan* 16) gives: ‘The numbers arise from the *lü* tunings and mode, the *lü* tunings and mode are accomplished by the numbers.’ 數因律起，律以數成。<sup>24</sup> Confucius studied to play the *qin* and took Shi Xiang (師襄, *fl.* sixth–fifth centuries BCE) as his teacher. First, he practised

20 *Sui shu*, 75.1709.

21 *Sui shu*, 41.1190.

22 *Sui shu*, 78.1783.

23 Huang Xiangpeng, ‘Xianqin yinyue wenhua de guanghui chuanguo: Zenghou Yi mu de gu yueqi’, 228.

24 *Sui shu*, 16.387.

his pieces of music, and then he practised the numbers that lay behind them. (*Records of the Grand Historian*, 'Kongzi shijia' 孔子世家 [juan 47])<sup>25</sup> Liu Xin's *Book on Bell Modes and Tunings* (*Zhonglü shu* 鐘律書) has an essay in it called 'Beishu' 備數.<sup>26</sup> Nowadays, when scholars discuss the science of *lü* modes and tunings, they seek to research into the numerical relationships inside the scale.<sup>27</sup>

Ancient Chinese musical modes and tuning have *huangzhong* as their starting point and match the twelve months. Discussion of *lü* modes and tunings (in *The Official Book of the Sui Dynasty* [*Sui shu*], 'Lülü zhi, Part One [of Three]') gives:

The numbers themselves start by establishing the character 'zi' 子 (the first of the Twelve Earthly Branches), and this is the basis for the *lü* mode *huangzhong*. Take the number '1' and for each of the Earthly Branches multiply it by three; pass through nine of these multiplications and reaching the tenth Earthly Branch 'you' 酉, the number obtained is 19,683, which is twice five times from the original number: this is the methodology of creating 'lü'; continue multiplying by three until the twelfth Earthly Branch 'hai' 亥 is reached, and passing through the twelve Earthly Branches, the value obtained is 177,147; the number of Earthly Branches passed through matches to their totality, and this is *lü* accumulation. If multiplication is used to reduce this accumulated value (by dividing 177,147 by 19,683), the length is nine *cun* inches, which is the length of the pitchpipe that represents the *gong* note of the *huangzhong* mode. This is what is meant by 'the numbers arise from the *lü* tunings and mode; the *lü* tunings and mode are accomplished by the numbers.' Through this pitchpipe, the myriad matters pertaining to music can thereby be implemented, and the state of the *qi*-energy thus generated given a thorough investigation.

數起於建子，黃鐘之律，始一而每辰三之，歷九辰至酉，得一萬九千六百八十三，而五數備成，以爲律法。又參之終亥，凡歷十二辰，得十有七萬七千一百四十七，而辰數該矣，以爲律積，以成法除該積，得九寸，即黃鐘宮律之長也。此則數因律起，律以數成，故可歷管萬事，綜覈氣象。<sup>28</sup>

25 Sima Qian, *Shi ji*, 47.1925.

26 *Han shu*, 21A.955–56.

27 Miao Tianrui (繆天瑞, 1908–2009): *The Science of Lü Modes and Tuning* (*Lüxue* 律學), 1–22.

28 *Sui shu*, 16.387.

Also written is:

Therefore, from the twelve *lü* is obtained the value 177,147, and this is the absoluteness of *huangzhong*. Pushing out from this value both above and below, the absoluteness of the sixty modes can be established, and the method for obtaining these is the numerical value of nine-three ( $3^9$ ) which is 19,683.

是故十二律之得十七萬七千一百四十七，是爲黃鐘之實。推此上下，以定六十律之實，以九三之數萬九千六百八十三爲法。<sup>29</sup>

This is calculated according the *lü* techniques of Jing Fang (京房, 77–37 BCE), which can all be viewed in Liu Zhao (劉昭, fl. sixth century) of the Liang dynasty's *Xu Han lüli zhi* 續漢律曆志. Master Liu claims that his explanation of *lü* is more detailed than that of Liu Xin, so the main points of his argument are summarised here as a sequel to Ban Gu's (班固, 32–92 CE) treatises in *Han shu*. Here, 177,147 is the absolute value of *huangzhong*, and this numeral's formulation is seen in the citation in *Han shu*, 'Lüli zhi' of a paragraph in the 'harmonious notes' passage in Liu Xin's *Zhonglü shu*: 'Moving through the Twelve Earthly Branches starting with the first "zi"; using "three" as a multiplier, for the second of the Earthly Branches "chou", the numeral "3" is obtained; using three as a multiplier once more, for the third of the Earthly Branches "yin" 寅, the numeral "9" is obtained; and carrying on using three as a multiplier until the twelfth of the Earthly Branches "hai" 亥 is reached, then the numeral obtained is 177,147. 行於十二辰，始動于子。參之，於丑得三，又參之，於寅得九，至又參之，於亥，得十七萬七千一百四十七。<sup>30</sup> A table of these numerals is given below.

The suspicion must be that Liu Xin borrowed from Jing Fang and that Jing Fang in turn had borrowed from *Huainanzi* (淮南子; by Liu An, 劉安, 179–122 BCE).

177,147 is the fundamental numeral that denotes *huangzhong* and this number is calculated thus:  $1 \times 3^{11} = 177,147$ . The numeral '1' is represented by the Earthly Branch 'zi', which is the starting point for all the other numbers, with every Earthly Branch three times the value of the previous one; and after *zi*, the other eleven Earthly Branches are all represented in turn. Having passed through nine Earthly Branches, *you* is reached, and the value is 19,683, which is stated to be 'twice five times from the original number', 五數備成, because from *zi* to *you* comprises ten Earthly Stems, and ten is twice five, so it is called

29 *Hou Han shu*, 11: 3001–2.

30 *Han shu*, 21A.964.

TABLE 6.1 Matches between numerical formulation and the Twelve Earthly Branches

<i>zi</i>	子	1
<i>chou</i>	丑	3
<i>yin</i>	寅	$3 \times 3 = 9$
<i>mao</i>	卯	$9 \times 3 = 27$
<i>chen</i>	辰	$27 \times 3 = 81$
<i>si</i>	巳	$81 \times 3 = 243$
<i>wu</i>	午	$243 \times 3 = 729$
<i>wei</i>	未	$729 \times 3 = 2187$
<i>shen</i>	申	$2187 \times 3 = 6561$
<i>you</i>	酉	$6561 \times 3 = 19,683$
<i>xu</i>	戌	$19,683 \times 3 = 59,049$
<i>hai</i>	亥	$59,049 \times 3 = 177,147$

Twelve Earthly Branches are listed at the left

'twice five times'. This value of 19,683 can therefore serve as the method for creating 'lü' because:

$$19683 = 3^9$$

Taking each of the twelve modes individually, all have 19,683 as their 'denominator'.

As for why the term 'nine-three' 九三 is used for this number, it is because  $19,683 = 177147/9 = 3^{11}/3^2$ , in other words, 'three to the power nine'.<sup>31</sup>

Regarding its methods for generating the *huangzhong* value, *Records of the Grand Historian*, 'Lü shu' is different from *Xu Han lüli zhi* 續漢律曆志, thus:

TABLE 6.2 Ratios of you 酉 and hai 亥

<i>you</i>	酉	8,192 / 19,683
一萬九千六百十三分之八千一百九十二		
<i>hai</i>	亥	65,536 / 177,147
十七萬七千一百四十七分之六萬五千五百三十六 <sup>a</sup>		

a Sima Qian, *Shi ji*, 25.1250.

31 See Zhuang Benli, 'Zhongguo yinlü zhi yanjiu', In *Zhongguo yinyueshi lunji*, 1-99.

In the citation of this passage from the eight 'books' (*juan* 23–30; equivalent to 'treatises' ['Zhi']) of Sima Qian's (司馬遷, b. 145 or 135 BCE) *Records of the Grand Historian* in *The Official Book of the Jin Dynasty*, 'Lüli zhi', the character '之' has been added, and this indicates that a divisor is intended here.<sup>32</sup>

Regarding the length of the *huangzhong* pitchpipe, modern editions of *Master Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals*, 'Essay on Ancient Music' ('Guyue pian' 古樂篇; found in *juan* 5) state: 'It was three *cun* inches and nine *fen* in length, and when was blown, produced a note that was the *gong* note of *huangzhong*;' 其長三寸九分，而吹之以爲黃鐘之宮;<sup>33</sup> however, *Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era* (*Taiping yulan* 太平御覽), *juan* 565, quotes Master Lü and gives a length of nine *cun*. Other writers from the Han dynasty all give the length as nine *cun*. Jing Fang's writings on *lü* techniques give *huangzhong* as: 'One formulation is a length of nine *cun*, accurate to the nine *chi* feet standard.' 一日，律九寸，準九尺。<sup>34</sup> Modern scholar Chen Qiyou (陳奇猷, 1917–2006) has taken a closed pipe of a length 9 *cun* (20.78cm) and measured its frequency, seeking for the pitch G of a normal scale at a frequency is 384Hz, and has found that a closed pitchpipe of 9 *cun* in length produces virtually the same pitch as G and (to paraphrase 'Shiyin pian' 適音篇 in *juan* 5 of *Master Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals*) can be combined with the compromise (mean) between the clear and the turgid, and therefore established as the pitch standard, so the length of the *huangzhong* pitchpipe must be nine *cun*.<sup>35</sup> This is entirely in accordance with records left behind by Han dynasty individuals.

The value of 3 *cun* and 9 *fen* as recorded in *Master Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals* is however not necessarily a mistake, and researchers into *lüli* modes have consistently held an alternative view in order to explain it. Chen Qiyou's calculation, according to his research, comes to a length identical to that in Zheng Xuan's (鄭玄 127–200) notes to 'Yue ling' (in *The Book of Rites*; see *Liji zhengyi* 禮記正義 by Kong Yingda 孔穎達, 574–648; *juan* 14). *Huangzhong* is the longest of the pitchpipes as its notes are the deepest of the modes; *yingzhong* 應鐘 is the shortest as its notes are the highest. Just as the *Huainanzi* values for *lü*, which all use a multiplier of 9, *Han shu*, 'Lüli zhi' gives: 'Generating modes upwards, six are formed by additions; generating modes downwards, six are generated by reduction; and all use 9 as a multiplier.' 上生，六而倍之，下生，六而損之，皆以九爲法。<sup>36</sup> Taking an 81 value of *huangzhong* generated by

32 *Jin shu*, 16.487–88.

33 *Lüshi Chunqiu jishi*, 5.121.

34 *Taiping yulan*, 565.6b–7a. *Hou Han shu*, 11: 3002.

35 See Chen Qiyou, 'Investigation into the Length of the *Huangzhong* Pipe' ('Huangzhong guanchang kao'), 183–88.

36 *Han shu*, 21A.980.



9 *cun* × 9; the 54 value of *linzhong* 林鐘 is generated by 6 *cun* × 9; the 72 value of *taicou* 太簇 is a number generated by 8 *cun* × 9; the others can be obtained in a like manner, and in this way the necessity for fractional remainders is eliminated and only whole numbers obtained.

In ancient times, there were three methods for tuning and thereby establishing the *lü* modes: 'alternately subtracting or adding a third of a pipe's length to create respectively a series of alternate upward perfect fifths and downward perfect fourths by which a scale is formed'; 三分損益 'generating upwards and downwards by cycles of fifths' 下生上生, and 'mutually generating by a distance of eight semitones'; 隔八相生; they are in fact all simply the same method. The *lü* modes thus generated will, by definition, be mutually consonant. Zhu Zaiyu (朱載堉, 1536–1611) in *Lüxue xinshuo* 律學新說, 'Chuilü di ba' 吹律第八 gives:

All modes mutually generated will respond in harmoniousness to each other. If a person were to blow a pipe tuned to the *huangzhong* note (C or a transposition thereof), and another a pipe tuned to the *linzhong* note (G), then it would be harmonious with it; if a person were to blow the *linzhong* note, then the *taicou* note (D) would be harmonious with it; blowing the *taicou* note, the *nanlü* note (A) would be harmonious with it; blowing the *nanlü* note, the *guxian* note (E) would be harmonious with it; blowing the *guxian* note, the *yingzhong* note (B) would be harmonious with it; blowing the *yingzhong* note, the *ruibin* note (F#) would be harmonious with it, blowing the *ruibin* note, the *dalü* note (C#) would be harmonious with it; blowing the *dalü* note, the *yize* note (G#/Ab) would be harmonious with it; blowing the *yize* note, the *jiazhong* note (Eb) would be harmonious with it; blowing the *jiazhong* note, the *wuyi* note (Bb) would be harmonious with it; blowing the *wuyi* note, the *zhonglü* note (F) would be harmonious with it; blowing the *zhonglü* note, the *huangzhong* note (C) would be harmonious with it; a full circle that returns to its origin, and this is rotation of the *gong* note.

凡相生則相應和，倘若使一人吹黃鐘，仍令一人吹林鐘與之合，吹林鐘則太簇與之合，吹太簇則南呂與之合，吹南呂則姑洗與之合，吹姑洗則應鐘與之合，吹應鐘則蕤賓與之合，吹蕤賓則大呂與之合，吹大呂則夷則與之合，吹夷則則夾鐘與之合，吹夾鐘則無射與之合，吹無射則仲呂與之合，吹仲呂則黃鐘與之合，周而復始，是為旋宮。<sup>37</sup>

37 Zhu Zaiyu, *Yuelü quanshu*, 21.33a–33b (213: 575).

This is the phenomenon known as ‘mutually generating separated by a distance of eight semitones’, which in ancient times was probably understood as obtained through direct experience of the answering harmoniousness of musical sounds. *Guqin* strings tuned into harmoniousness with one another are the clearest example of this process.

*The Official Book of the Song Dynasty* (*Song shu* 宋書), ‘Lüzhi’ 律志 (*juan* 11) quotes Yang Xiong (also called Yang Ziyun 揚子雲):

The Five Notes are given birth by the Ten Heavenly Stems. (Annotations to the original text give: *jia* and *ji* become the *jiao* note; *yi* and *geng* become the *shang* note; *bing* and *xin* become the *zhi* note; *ding* and *ren* become the *yu* note; *wu* and *gui* become the *gong* note.)

聲生於日，（注調甲己爲角，乙庚爲商，丙辛爲徵，丁壬爲羽，戊癸爲宮。）<sup>38</sup>

*Lü* modes and tunings are given birth by the Twelve Earthly Branches. (Annotations to the original text give: *zi* is *huangzhong*; *chou* belongs to *daliü* [and so on through the Twelve Earthly Branches matched to the twelve *lü*].)

律生於辰。（注調子爲黃鐘，丑爲大呂之屬。）<sup>39</sup>

The Five Notes are governed by emotional quality.

聲以情質，<sup>40</sup>

The *lü* modes and tunings are harmonious with the Five Notes. (Annotations to the original text give: *Lü* pitchpipes are used for fine tuning the consonances of the bells and to render harmonious the ‘clarity’ [*qing*] or ‘turgidity’ [*zhuo*] of their Notes [bells tuned to *zhuo* are a semitone down from those tuned to *qing*].)

律以和聲。（注當以律管均鐘，和其清濁之聲。）<sup>41</sup>

38 *Song shu*, 11.208.

39 *Song shu*, 11.208.

40 *Song shu*, 11.208.

41 *Song shu*, 11.208.

When the Five Notes and *Lü* modes and tunings are harmonious with one another, music can be made by instruments constructed of the Eight Materials.

聲律相協，而八音生。<sup>42</sup>

In *The Records of the Grand Historian*, 'Lü shu', the Grand Historian gives: 'The emperor uses his jade astrolabes and rods to examine the Heavens for portends so that he can align himself with the Seven Moving Celestial Bodies (the five planets, the sun, and the moon) in his efforts to implement sound governance; that is (also), the twenty-eight constellations, the Ten Mothers (another term for the Ten Heavenly Stems), and the Twelve Sons (another term for the Twelve Earthly Branches). Bell modes and tunings have matched these from the most ancient of times. The *lü* modes were established and calendrical organisation set in motion, and measurements created of the phases of the sun and the moon, and measurement of the *lü* modes achieved in accordance with these.' 在旋璣玉衡，以齊七政，即天地二十八宿。十母、十二子。鐘律調自上古。建律運曆，造日度，可據而度也。<sup>43</sup> Owing to these principles, whenever Han dynasty scholars discussed the *lü* modes and the calendar, they took astronomy and *lüli* modes and combined them in this way.

Liu Xin's text 'Beishu' gives: 'As a logical progression arising out of the calendar, give birth to the *lü* modes and manufacture musical instruments thereto.' 夫推曆生律制器。<sup>44</sup> Zhang Yan (張晏, fl. second–third centuries) gives: 'Set in motion a logical progression from the Twelve Earthly Branches to generate the *lüli* modes.' 推曆十二辰以生律呂也。<sup>45</sup> Scholars of the Western Han dynasty were accustomed to taking the Ten Heavenly Stems and the Twelve Earthly Branches and importing these notions into musical notes and the *lü* modes, and bell modes and tunings were no exception. Jing Fang's *Lüli* 律曆 had already been included in Sima Biao's (司馬彪, d. 306) *Xuzhi* 續志 (juan 1; part of *Xu Han shu* 續漢書), so something of its flavour can be ascertained. As

42 *Song shu*, 11.208.

43 Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 25.1253.

'The emperor uses his jade astrolabes and rods to examine the Heavens for portends so that he can align himself with the Seven Moving Celestial Bodies' 在旋璣玉衡，以齊七政, is a citation from *The Book of Documents* (*Shangshu* 尚書), 'Shun dian' 舜典 (orthodox old-text chapter 2).

44 *Han shu*, 21A.956.

45 *Han shu*, 21A.957.

The source for this quotation is *Hanshu xuli* 漢書叙例 by Yan Shigu (顏師古, 581–645), and the notes are to 'Lüli zhi', *juan* 21.

for practitioners of the *congchen* 叢辰 school of divination and magic, tantalisingly, their book on *lü* modes titled *Ri yuan* 日苑 as listed in the ‘Yiwen zhi’ 藝文志, *juan* 30, of *Han shu* and comprising as many as twenty-two *juan* has unfortunately not survived.<sup>46</sup>

‘Bell modes and tunings’ (*zhonglü* 鐘律) had already become the title of an official governmental position. Liu Zhao’s supplementary notes to *Xu Han shu* (*juan* 25), ‘Baiguan zhi’ 百官志 (*juan* 2) quote the text *Hanguan* 漢官, saying: ‘At the Terrace of Virtue, forty men await imperial summons, of which seven men are appointed to the role of Bell Mode and Tuning Official.’ 靈台待詔四十人，七人候鐘律。<sup>47</sup> Also, in ‘Lüli zhi’ 律曆志 (*juan* 1 of *Xu Han shu*): ‘In the palace, those appointed to the role of Bell Mode and Tuning Official use jade pitchpipes tuned to the twelve *lü*.’ 殿中候鐘律，用玉律十二。<sup>48</sup> During the epoch of the Han dynasty emperor Jingdi (漢景帝, 188–141 BCE, r. 157–141 BCE), a Bell Mode and Tuning Official awaiting imperial summons called Yin Tong (殷彤, dates uncertain) gave exposition of tunings of the notes of all sixty modes. Appointment to the role of Bell Mode and Tuning Official and the duties it entailed was, in the Han dynasty, granted to full-time professionals dedicated entirely to the task, and by inference this means that it was a specialist vocation.

The records of successive dynasties regarding bell modes and tunings are found in detail in their ‘Lüli zhi’. Narratives in this respect prior to the Tang dynasty, whether they still exist or are lost, are listed here by chapter and verse; records of those whose contents can be investigated are made available for the purposes of further consideration.

**Guanzi** (管子; eponymous text by Guan Zhong 管仲, 723–645)

‘You guan pian’ 幼官篇 (essay 8) records that the Five Notes match the Five Numbers (*wushu* 五數), the Five Flavours (*wuwei* 五味), and the Five Colours (*wuse* 五色). ‘Essay on the Five Elements’ (‘Wuxing pian’ 五行篇; essay 41) gives: ‘The Five Officials and the Six Storehouses, the Five Notes and the Six *Lü* Modes. A solstice comes every six months, so for this reason, mankind has six *lü* modes, which is why the *lü* modes are able to form a roadway to Heaven and Earth.’ 五官於六府也，五聲於六律也。六月日至，是故人有六多（律），六多（律）所以銜天地也。<sup>49</sup> It also gives: ‘Investigate and verify the (Five) Notes; refine oneself through the twelve *lü* modes (bells), so as to

46 *Han shu*, 30.1768.

47 *Hou Han shu*, 25.3572.

48 *Hou Han shu*, 11: 3016.

49 *Guanzi jiaozhu*, 14.859.

discipline human emotions.' 審合其聲，修十二律（鐘），以律人情。<sup>50</sup> Also is recorded: 'The Yellow Emperor (in his own good time) made the Five Notes to rectify the Five Bells.' 黃帝作五聲，以政五鐘。<sup>51</sup> Naming the Five Bells after the Five Colours is not seen in subsequent texts and the suspicion is that this linguistic collocation is of only recent antiquity.<sup>52</sup>

'Zhou he pian' 宙合篇 (essay 11) gives: 'The Five Notes represent five different voices, and from them melody can be created ...; 夫五音不同聲，而能調.....'<sup>53</sup> 'If the Gentleman loses use of the Five Notes, then melodies and the *lü* modes and tunings will flow away and dissipate.' 君失音則風律必流。<sup>54</sup>

'Qingzhong wu pian' 輕重戊篇 (essay 84): 'From the midst of clarity emerges turbidity (from one set of tuned bells comes another a semitone lower), and this is rectification in response to the Five Notes.' 清中而濁，應聲之正。<sup>55</sup> All this is crucial information regarding the Five Notes and *lü* modes and tunings.

Also, 'Di yuan' 地員 (essay 58) records a place for the calling forth of the Five Notes and listening to the Five *Shi* (*wushi* 五施). As a unit of measurement, the '*shi*' is not given the name the 'greater *chi*' foot (*dachi* 大尺); rather it is seven *chi* feet in length (See: Yin Zhizhang's [尹知章, 660–718] notes [as given in *Guanzi buzhu* 管子補注]).<sup>56</sup>

The personnel tasked with measuring items issue their instructions according to the size of the items in question; this essay gives the numbers relevant to the Five Notes, and as such indicates the first green shoots of the emerging science of bell modes and tunings.

### ***Lü shu* 律書 in the *Ri shu* 日書 unearthed among the Qin Bamboo Writing Slips of Fangmatan 放馬灘**

The large numerical values recorded on these Qin bamboo slips for *lü* modes and tunings include 139,968 for *guxian*; below (on the bamboo slip) as a parallelism, the value for *zhonglü* (written as 中呂, not 仲呂) is 131,072; below is the principal *huang(zhong)*. These two large numbers are not seen in *Guanzi* or *Master Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals*. The occupant of the tomb

50 *Guanzi jiaozhu*, 14.860.

51 *Guanzi jiaozhu*, 14.865.

52 See: Li Chunyi, 'Research into Modes of Thought regarding Musical Notes and *Lü* Modes in "Essay on the Five Elements" in *Guanzi*' ('*Guanzi wuxing pian yinlü sixiang yanjiu*'), 57–81.

53 *Guanzi jiaozhu*, 4.211.

54 *Guanzi jiaozhu*, 4.211.

55 *Guanzi jiaozhu*, 24.1517.

56 *Guanzi jiaozhu*, 19.1072.

was probably buried in the eighth year (213 BCE) of the imperial reign of the Qin dynasty emperor Shihuang (秦始皇; 259–210 BCE; ruler of the state of Qin: 247–221 BCE; emperor: r. 221–210 BCE). The bamboo slips record numbers produced by the mutual generation of the twelve *lü* modes as well as the large numbers that represent each of the *lü* modes. Their representation of the tuning method of alternately subtracting or adding a third of a pipe's length to create respectively a series of alternate upward perfect fifths and downward perfect fourths by which a scale is formed is likely to be earlier than that of *Master Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals*.<sup>57</sup>

### *Master Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals (Lüshi chunqiu)*

'Zhongxia' contains the passages 'Dayue' 大樂, 'Chiyue' 侈樂, 'Heyue' 和樂 (original name: 'Shiyin'), and 'Guyue'; 'Jixia' (*juan* 6) contains the passages 'Yinlü' 音律, 'Yinchu' 音初, and 'Zhiyue' 制樂, and all are writings on music theory.<sup>58</sup> 'Musical Notes and Lü Modes and Tuning' sets out how the twelve *lü* modes are generated by alternately upwards and downwards processes of respectively subtracting or adding the third of a length of pipe. The equivalent passage quoted in *The Official Book of the Jin Dynasty (Jin shu)*, 'Lülü zhi' is identical to the version in modern editions of *Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals* but different from that in *Shuoyuan* 說苑 (by Liu Xiang 劉向, 77–6 BCE), 'Xiuwen pian' 修文篇 (*juan* 19). In addition is recorded: 'The *qi*-energies of Heaven and Earth combine to generate the Winds (melodies); regarding the solstices, the Winds of bells attuned to the months generate the twelve *lü* modes, and the twelve *lü* modes match respectively the twelve months.' 天地之氣，合而生風，日至則月鐘其風以生十二律，以十二律分配十二月。<sup>59</sup> (The first part of this quote up until the last comma is taken from 'Yinlü' 音律 in 'Jixia' 季夏 of *Master Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals*). This is the source from which *The Book of Rites*, 'Yue ling' takes its material. Cai Yong (蔡邕, 133–192) considers that Master Lü took the material for writing his book from 'Yue ling'.

Liu Fu (劉復, also called Liu Bannong 劉半農, 1891–1934) penned a text 'Lüshi chunqiu guyue pian xihuang jiejie' 《呂氏春秋 古樂篇》昔黃節解。<sup>60</sup>

*Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals* raises the issue of definition of 'enclosing the lesser' ('octave equivalence'; the term used here is *hanshao* 含少). The character 含 ('han') is equivalent to 涵 (also pronounced 'han' and also means 'enclose', 'encompass'). *Hanzhi* 漢志 ('Lülü zhi') give: 'The extremity of

57 Essay by: Dai Nianzu, 'Qinjian lü shu de yuelü yu zhanbu', 79–83.

58 *Lüshi Chunqiu jishi*, 2.

59 *Lüshi Chunqiu jishi*, 6.136.

60 *Wenxue*, 1934.6: 993–1001.

nothingness that is primal *qi*-energy encompasses the “three” that are Heaven, Earth, and Mankind, and coalesces them into “one.” 太極元氣，函三爲一。<sup>61</sup> (Yan) Shigu’s (顏師古, 581–645) notes to this phrase are: ‘The character 函 (涵) should be read as 含.’ 函讀爲含。<sup>62</sup> This articulates that the *gong* note can become ‘enclosed’, so ‘enclosing the lesser’ is in fact reproducing the *gong* note an octave higher. *The Official Book of the Sui Dynasty (Sui shu)*, ‘Lülü zhi’ (*juan* 16), *xu* 序 introduction: ‘In order to tune to exact octave equivalence, the ancient musician Ling Lun (mythical) was adept at the art of precision tuning by comparing the pitches of various pipes.’ 伶倫含少，乃擅比竹之工。<sup>63</sup> Pan Huaisu (潘懷素, 1894–1978) explains ‘the second comma’ (*di er yin cha* 第二音差), which in modern musical acoustics is also known by the same term ‘enclosing the lesser’;<sup>64</sup> but this usage is entirely different from that by the ancients of the same term.

### *The Book of Rites, ‘Yue ling’*

In ancient times, there existed a text called *Mingtang Yueling. The Lost Book of the Zhou Dynasty (Yi Zhou shu)*, *juan* 53, is titled ‘Yueling jie’, but is now lost; theories indicate that it was the basis for the equivalent section in *The Book of Rites*.

### *The Huainanzi*

‘Tianwen xun’ 天文訓 (*juan* 3) discusses the *lülü* modes in the most detailed manner hitherto and ‘Dixing xun’ 地 (隆) 形訓 (*juan* 4) touches on the evolution of the Five Notes. Liu An’s contribution to the science of bell modes and tunings expresses itself in roughly the following ways:

1. He established the *huangzhong* pipe as nine *cun* inches in length, which is in fact a multiple of the 3.9 *cun* given in *Master Lü’s Spring and Autumn Annals*, and in this regard, obtained whole numbers in the calculations without the requirement for any remainders.
2. He established the large number to represent the *huangzhong* note as reached by ‘setting up the number “one” and subjecting it to eleven multiplications by the same number, the multiplier in question being the number “three”: 置一而十一，三之爲積。<sup>65</sup> (‘Tianwen xun’) The formula he gives is  $1 \times 3^{11} = 177,147$ , identical to the large number calculated by

61 *Han shu*, 21A.964.

62 *Han shu*, 21A.965.

63 *Sui shu*, 16.385.

64 Qu Cheng, ‘Pan Huaisu de yuelü yanjiu jianjie’, 243.

65 *Huainanzi jishi*, 3,246.

the methodology evinced by the Qin bamboo slips of Fangmatan of the epoch of the emperor Shihuang.

3. He proposed the theory of two kinds of ‘altered’ notes: those ‘harmonious’ and those named ‘*miao*’ 繆.
4. He used methodology grounded in the number 81 to calculate the mutual generation of the twelve *lü* modes.
5. He matched the twelve *lü* modes to months of the year and the Twenty-Four Solar Terms (*niansi qi* 廿四氣). (Yang Meilei [楊沒累, 1897–1928] has written ‘*Huainanzi’s Science of Lü Musical Modes and Tuning*’ [‘*Huainanzi de yuelü xue*’ 《淮南子》的樂律學].)<sup>66</sup>

### *The Records of the Grand Historian*, ‘*Lü shu*’ 律書

‘It gives: “The Seven Moving Celestial Bodies and the twenty-eight constellations.” 書中「七正、二十八舍」.<sup>67</sup> Below are recorded the relationships between the Eight Winds, the Twelve Months, and the Twelve *Lü* Modes, as is methodology for how the numerology of the *lü* modes generates the bells that in turn individually generate *huangzhong* and the other modes. This description is not the same as equivalent passages in *Xu Han shu* and is greatly different from Jing Fang’s *Lü shu* 律術.

### Jing Fang: *Lü shu* 律術

A detailed examination of Liu Zhao’s *Xu Han Lüli zhi* reveals that Master Jing had made a significant breakthrough in the field of the science of *lü* modes and tunings.

### *Zhonglü zaiying* 鐘律災應 in twenty-six *juan*.

For details see: *The Official Book of the Sui Dynasty* (*Sui shu*), ‘Niu Hong zhuan’ 牛弘傳 (*juan* 49; Niu Hong: 545–611).

### *Zhonglü congchen ri yuan* 鐘律叢辰日苑 in twenty-two *juan*.

For information on the *congchen* school of magic and divination, see (*Records of the Grand Historian*) ‘Rizhe liezhuan’ 日者列傳 (*juan* 127). The Qin bamboo slips divination books on auspicious days use the phrase ‘agricultural divination’ (*jichen* 稷辰), which is ‘school of divination and magic’ (*congchen* 叢辰). Zhang Xuecheng’s (張學誠, 1738–1801) *Jiaochou tongyi* 校讐通義 mentions *Zhonglü congchen ri yuan*.<sup>68</sup>

66 *Min duo zazhi*, 8, no. 1 (1925): 121–70.

67 Sima Qian, *Shi ji*, 25.1243.

68 Zhang Xuecheng, *Jiaochou tongyi*, 12.27a (930: 795).



**Zhonglü xiaoxi** 鐘律消息 in twenty-nine *juan*.

*The Records of the Grand Historian*, ‘Book on the Calendar’ (‘Lishu’ 曆書; *juan* 26): ‘The Yellow Emperor established the Five Elements and initiated generation by the *yin* and *yang* energies.’ 黃帝建立五行，起消息。<sup>69</sup> Zhang Shoujie (張守節, *fl.* seventh century) in his *Shi ji zhengyi* 史記正義 quotes Huang Kan (皇侃, 488–545): ‘Generation by the *yang* energy is known as “*xi*”; generation by the *yin* energy is known as “*xiao*”. 陽生爲息，陰生爲消。<sup>70</sup> This corresponds to the rationale expressed in *The Book of Changes* (*Yijing* 易經).

**Huangzhong** 黃鐘 in seven *juan*.

See: Yao Zhenzong’s (姚振宗, 1842–1906) *Hanzhi tiaoli* 漢志條理. *The Records of the Grand Historian*, ‘Li shu’: ‘In the centrality of the extremity of nothingness is primal *qi*-energy that therefore becomes *huangzhong*.’ 太極中央元氣故爲黃鐘。<sup>71</sup> Note: the passage in *Han shu*, ‘Lülü zhi’ that comprises records on *huangzhong* must have a relationship to the book *Huangzhong*.

**Liu Xin: Zhonglü shu** in five chapters.

*Han shu*, ‘Lülü zhi’ and *Fengsu tongyi*, ‘Shengyin pian’ both contain numerous citations of Liu Xin’s *Zhonglü shu*. (*The Official Book of the Sui Dynasty* [*Sui shu*]) ‘Niu Hong zhuan’ includes two citations. Xu Jing’an’s (徐景安, *fl.* Tang dynasty) *Yue shu* 樂書 reproduces Liu Xin’s *Shuo wuyin* 說五音; Wang Mo (王謨, 1731–1817) and Huang Shi (黃奭, 1809–1853) of the Qing dynasty both produced reconstructed versions of this text.

**Fengsu tongyi, ‘Shengyin pian’**

This text contains several citations of Liu Xin’s *Zhonglü shu*. A reconstructed version of the latter’s lost text was produced by Wang Liqi (王利器, 1912–1998).

**Lei Cizong, He Yinzhi: Zhonglü tu** 鐘律圖

*The Official Book of the Sui Dynasty* (*Sui shu*), ‘Lülü zhi’ (*juan* 16): ‘At the present time, the length of the *chi* foot is that established by Du Kui (*fl.* late second–early third centuries). Lei Cizong and He Yinzhi collaborated to write *Zhonglü tu* in which they recorded that Xun Xu had carried out a comparative assessment of writings on ancient measurements; and the results were the same as the inscriptions on the bells themselves (as given in the illustrations). Xiao Ji’s

69 Sima Qian, *Shi ji*, 26.1256.

70 Sima Qian, *Shi ji*, 26.1256.

71 *Han shu*, 21A.981.

This quote comes in fact from *Han shu*, ‘Lülü zhi’.

(525–606) *Yuepu* 樂譜 indicates that in the Liang dynasty, this knowledge was required to pass examinations to reach the seventh grade of officialdom. This is incorrect' 今尺者杜夔尺也。雷次宗、何胤之二人作《鐘律圖》，所載荀勗校量古尺文，與此銘同。而蕭吉《樂譜》謂為梁朝所考七品，謬也。<sup>72</sup>

**Emperor Wudi of the Liang dynasty: *Zhonglü wei* in six *juan*.**

In *The Official Book of the Sui Dynasty* (*Sui shu*), 'Lülü zhi' (*juan* 16), the passages 'Hesheng pian' 和聲篇 and 'Shenduo pian' 審度篇 both cite from the Emperor Wudi's book when evaluating the merits and demerits of earlier generations, for example, when discussing the multiplication Ban Gu used in his theories, their judgment is that if one were to follow Ban Gu's train of thought 'the measurement for the length of the pitchpipe of *jiazhong* at only three *cun* inches and seven *fen* plus a remainder means its pitches will be excessively sharp.' 夾鐘唯長三寸七分有奇，其律過促。<sup>73</sup> According to Chen Qiyu's calculations, if Ban Gu's theories are followed, the *jiazhong* would be 3.75 *cun* inches long, which is utterly unreasonable.

The 'Zhi' of *The Official Book of the Sui Dynasty* (*Sui shu*) list *Zhonglü wei* as comprising six *juan* but now lost;<sup>74</sup> *The Official History of the Song Dynasty* (*Song shi* 宋史), 'Yiwen zhi' 藝文志 (*juan* 155–162) records it as consisting of one *juan*;<sup>75</sup> a reconstructed edition by Ma Guohan (馬國翰, 1794–1857) cites the four records of instruments from the available sources in a fair and equitable manner.

The 'Zhi' of *The Official Book of the Sui Dynasty* (*Sui shu*) list an item *Zhonglü wei bian zong jian* 鐘律緯辯宗見 in one *juan*, but no details are given as to its author, though the title suggests that it debates the book by the Liang emperor Wudi.<sup>76</sup>

***Yuelü yi* 樂律義 by Shen Zhong (沈重; fl. sixth century) in four *juan*.**

The 'Zhi' of *The Official Book of the Sui Dynasty* (*Sui shu*) give this text as comprising four *juan*; the 'Zhi' of *The Official Book of the Tang Dynasty* (*Tang shu*) indicate however that it consisted of five *juan* ('Old' official book: *juan* 46; 'New' official book: *juan* 57; the title is changed to *Zhonglü wei* 鐘律, so it may be a different book). The 'Zhi' of *The Official Book of the Sui Dynasty* (*Sui shu*) report that Qian Lezhi (錢樂之, 424–453) of the (Liu) Song dynasty evolved Jing

72 *Sui shu*, 16.403.

73 *Sui shu*, 16.389.

74 *Sui shu*, 32.927.

75 *Song shi*, 202.5053.

76 *Sui shu*, 32.927.

Fang's arrangement of sixty *lü* modes into an expanded total of 360 modes, and Liang dynasty *boshi* 博士 Doctor of Letters Shen Zhong listed their names and numbers. A reconstructed edition was produced by the nineteenth century scholarly series the Yuhan shanfang 玉函山房. For the original, see the passage in *The Official Book of the Sui Dynasty* (*Sui shu*), 'Lüli zhi' (*juan* 16) called 'Lü zhi ri' 律直日.

**Lüpu 律譜 by Mao Shuang (毛爽, fl. late sixth–early seventh centuries)**

See: *The Official Book of the Sui Dynasty* (*Sui shu*), 'Lüli zhi' (*juan* 16): 'At the beginning of the Kaihuang era (581–600), on obtaining twelve *lü* pitchpipes from Master Chen (untraceable), they were sent to those knowledgeable regarding music and the *lü* modes for evaluation and comparison, and laid out for Mao Shuang, the prefectural governor of Shanyang, and the *taiyueling* senior musicians Cai Ziyuan (untraceable) and Yu Puming (untraceable) to await the Twenty-four Solar Terms and create *Musical Notations* in response.' 開皇初，得陳氏律管十有二，校遣曉音律者，陳山陽太守毛爽及太樂令蔡子元、于普明等，以候節氣作《律譜》。<sup>77</sup> In the same treatise is a passage titled 'Houqi' 候氣 that quotes substantially from Mao Shuang's writings.

**Xiao Ji: Yuepu**

*The Official Book of the Sui Dynasty* (*Sui shu*), 'Lüli zhi' (*juan* 16) cites this text on several occasions and records that 'at the time of the Han dynasty emperor Zhang (56–88 CE, r. 75–88 CE), a Confucian scholar-official of Lingling called Shi Xijing (untraceable) obtained a jade *lü* pipe that had been buried underneath the Temple of the Ancient Mythical Emperor Shun in Lingdao County, and measured it in order to ascertain the correct length of the ancient *chi* foot so he could rectify the *lü* modes according to ancient practice.' 漢章時，零陵文學史奚景於冷道縣舜廟下得玉律，度以爲尺。<sup>78</sup> Master Xiao's *Yuepu jijie* 樂譜集解 comprises one *juan*, and a reconstructed edition was made by the Yuhan shanfang.

*The Official Book of the Sui Dynasty* (*Sui shu*), 'Jingji zhi' 經籍志 (*juan* 32–35) records *Yuepu* as *Yuepu ji* 樂譜集 in twenty *juan*, and this entry is the same as that in *The Official History of the Northern Dynasties* (*Bei shi* 北史; by Li Yanshou 李延壽, fl. seventh century; *juan* 89). Both the Old and New official books of the Tang dynasty give the title as *Yuepu jijie* 樂譜集解 in twenty *juan*.<sup>79</sup> This

77 *Sui shu*, 16.391.

78 *Sui shu*, 16.404.

79 *Sui shu*, 32.927. *Bei shi*, 89.2955. *Jiu Tang shu*, 46.1975. *Xin Tang shu*, 57.1436.

book is already lost, but another of Xiao Ji's works that is not, *Wuxing dayi* 五行大義, also discusses *lü* musical modes and tunings.<sup>80</sup>

*Tui qi yin* 推七音 in two *juan*; the 'parallel *chi* feet methodology' (*bingchi fa* 並尺法).

See: *The Book of the Sui Dynasty*, 'Jingji zhi'; also mentioned in the 'Zhi' of official books of the Tang dynasty (both Old and New) but given as consisting of one *juan*.

*Huangzhong lü* 黃鐘律 in one *juan*.

Listed in 'Zhi' of *The Official Book of the Sui Dynasty* (*Sui shu*).<sup>81</sup>

He Tuo's *Yue shu* in fifteen *juan*.

See: 'Zhi' of *The Official Book of the Sui Dynasty* (*Sui shu*).<sup>82</sup>

Xin Dufang (信都芳, *fl.* Northern Qi Dynasty, sixth century): *Yue shu zhu tu fa* 樂書註圖法

During the epoch of the Tang dynasty empress Wu Hou (唐武后, 624–705, r. 690–705; usually called Wu Zetian 武則天), this text is quoted by *Yue shu yaolu* 樂書要錄; it records the methodology of awaiting the Twenty-four Solar Terms.<sup>83</sup>

Su Kui: *Treatise on Music* (*Yue zhi* 樂志)

Cited by *Yue shu yaolu*.<sup>84</sup>

In the Ming and Qing dynasties, writings on the *lü* modes are extremely numerous and cannot all be outlined. Some included the term 'bell modes and tunings' in their titles; *Jiangyun lou shumu* 絳雲樓書目 lists Qian Xiling's (錢錫陵, untraceable) *Huangzhong yuantong* 黃鐘元統 (Yuantong era: 1333–1335) in one volume, though this book is now lost. Also, in the Ming dynasty, Ni Fu (倪復, *fl.* fifteenth century) of Ningbo's *Zhonglü tongkao* 鐘律通考. (The book has six *juan* comprising twenty-seven essays. One of these, 'Huangzhong benyuan dingfa zhang' 黃鐘本原定法章 is about bell modes and tunings; *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 edition.)<sup>85</sup> In the Qing dynasty, Gu Chenxu's (顧陳埏, *fl.* early eighteenth century) *Zhonglü chenshu* 鐘律陳數 (Ciyang tang 賜硯堂 essay

80 Xiao Ji, *Wuxing dayi*, 4.86.

81 *Sui shu*, 32.927.

82 *Sui shu*, 32.926.

83 *Yue shu yaolu*, 6.55–58.

84 *Yue shu yaolu*, 6.58–60.

85 Ni Fu, *Zhonglü tongkao*, 1.1a (212: 645).

series; vol. 4 [丁集 Ding ji]); Du Tiande's (都田德, untraceable) *Huangzhong tongyun* 黃鐘通韻 (comprising two *juan*; the author is from Changbai 長白, and his soubriquet is Qianwen 錢文; the first *juan* discusses the six *lü* modes and the Seven Consonances [*qijun* 七均] and delves into the nomenclature of *lülü* modes and the basis of the whole system; only when making exposition of the *gongche* 工尺 notation of wind and string music are the writings inundated with redundant information. The Department of Literature at Kyoto University holds an imprint by the Hall of the Three Surpluses [Sanyu tang 三餘堂] of the reign of the emperor Qianlong [乾隆, 1711–1799, r. 1735–1796]. This book is extremely rare.) Although titled 'bell modes and tunings', it is in fact a work that simply discusses the ordinary practice of the *lülü* modes. This appendix makes a record of this book.

## Further Discussion of Bronze Drums 銅鼓餘論

### 1 The *Chunyu* 鐔于 and Bronze Drums

The name ‘*chunyu*’ used for a bronze musical instrument is seen in *The Zhou Rites* (*Zhouli* 周禮), ‘Diguan’ 地官 (chapter 2), ‘Gu ren’ 鼓人: ‘Those who are called “drummers” teach the musical notes of the six types of drums and four instruments of bronze, which add rhythmic sectionalisation to musical sound. The four instruments of bronze are the *chun*, *zhuo* small bell, *nao* cymbals, and *duo* bell; the bronze instrument the *chun* is harmonious with the drums; the bronze instrument the *zhuo* gives rhythmic sectionalisation to the drums; the bronze instrument the *nao* causes the drums to stop and brings the music to a cadence; and the bronze instrument the *duo* is in communication with the drums.’ 掌教六鼓四金之音聲，以節聲樂，四金者，鐔、鐔、鐔、鐔也。以金鐔和鼓，以金鐔節鼓，以金鐔止鼓，以金鐔通鼓。<sup>1</sup> Zheng Xuan’s (鄭玄, 137–200) notes (cited in *juan 12* of the Tang dynasty compilation *Zhouli zhushu* 周禮注疏) give: ‘The instrument called here the “*chun*” is more generally known as the “*chunyu*”. It has a rounded shape with an expanded lip similar in form to the head of a hammer, and its upper portion is thus of wide diameter and its lower portion narrow. When music is made, it is sounded, and it harmonises with the drums.’ 鐔，鐔于也。圓如椎頭，大上小下。樂作鳴之，與鼓相和。<sup>2</sup> Jia Gongyan’s (賈公彥, *fl.* seventh century) supplementary explanation to Zheng Xuan’s notes gives: ‘The name “*chunyu*” emerged from the Han dynasty *dayu* music official.’ 鐔于之名，出於漢之大予樂官。<sup>3</sup>

*Discourses of the States* (*Guoyu* 國語; written early Warring States period), ‘Jinyu’ 晉語 (*juan 11*): ‘Zhao Xuanzi (趙宣子, 655–601 BCE) says: “Use the *chunyu* in warfare, and the *dingning* (*dingzheng*) tubular bell, thereby issuing warning to the people.” 趙宣子曰:戰以鐔于，丁寧 (即鈺)，儆其民也。<sup>4</sup> Also, the records in ‘Discourses of the State of Wu’ (‘Wuyu’ 吳語; *juan 19*) of the Conference at the Yellow Pool (Huangchi zhi hui 黃池之會; 482 BCE): ‘The ruler of the state of Wu, Fuchai (d. 473 BCE, r. 495–473), thereupon grasped the drumsticks and himself sounded the bells, drums, *dingning* (*dingzheng*) tubular

1 *Zhouli zhushu*, 12.371–75.

2 *Zhouli zhushu*, 12.374.

3 *Zhouli zhushu*, 12.374.

4 *Guoyu jijie*, 11.379.

bells, and *chunyu*.’ 吳王夫差乃秉枹，親就鳴鐘、鼓、丁寧、鐔于。<sup>5</sup> Notes by Wei (Zhao 韋昭, 204–273, in *Guoyu zhu* 國語注 to the passage from *juan* 11 cited above) give: ‘The *chunyu* is in shape like the head of a *dui* treadle-operated tilt hammer for hulling rice and is harmonious with the drums.’<sup>6</sup> 鐔于形如碓頭，與鼓相和。<sup>7</sup> Wei’s description directly matches that of Zheng Xuan.

Shen Yue’s (沈約, 441–513) *The Official Book of the Song Dynasty* (*Song shu* 宋書), ‘Yue zhi’ 樂志 (*juan* 19) gives: ‘The instrument called here the “*chun*” is more generally known as the “*chunyu*”. It has a rounded shape with an expanded lip similar in form to the head of a *dui* treadle-operated tilt hammer for hulling rice, and its upper portion is thus of wide diameter and lower portion narrow. Even nowadays among the common people this instrument can at times still be found.’ 鐔，鐔于也，圜如碓頭，大上小下，今民間猶時有其器。<sup>8</sup> Underneath this entry are those for the *zhuo*, *nao*, and *duo*, cited as given in *The Book of Rites*. Xiao Zixian (蕭子顯, 487–537) in *The Official Book of the Southern Qi Dynasty* (*Nan Qi shu* 南齊書), *juan* 35, ‘Biography of (Xiao) Jian, the short-lived Ruler of Shixing’ (‘Shixing Jianwang [Xiao] Jian zhuan’ 始興簡王 (蕭) 鑑傳; Xiao Jian: 473–491): ‘An inhabitant of Guanghan and Shifang called Duan Zu (*fl.* fifth century) presented a *chunyu* to Xiao Jian; it is an ancient musical instrument once used in the rites. It was three *chi* feet, six *cun* inches, and six *fen* deci-inches tall, in circumference three *chi* and four *cun*, and round like a segment of bamboo. Its bronze colour had blackened to become like lacquer, and the plates of which it was made were very thin. On its top was a bronze sculpture of a horse, and it was suspended by a rope tied to this horse one *chi* or more from the ground and filled with water. A vessel filled with water was also placed underneath it. Taking a bristled rod, kneeling carefully, and pouring water into the *chunyu*, by using the hands to brandish the rod and stimulate its vibrations, its sound is like thunder, clear and clean, resonating for a long time before fading, so in ancient times it was used to lend rhythmic sectionalisation to music.’<sup>9</sup>

5 *Guoyu jijie*, 11.379.

6 Wu Qian (吳騫, 1733–1813) indicates that in popular editions, after the character for ‘drum’ 鼓 (‘*gu*’), a character (‘military’) horn’ 角 (‘*jiao*’) has been omitted, but the Song dynasty edition of the Mingdao 明道 era (1032–1033) includes it.

7 *Guoyu jijie*, 11.379.

8 *Song shu*, 19.554.

9 *The Official History of the Southern Dynasties* (*Nan shi* 南史), *juan* 45 (43; in ‘Biography of [Xiao] Jian, the short-lived Ruler of Shixing’ [‘Shixing Jianwang (Xiao) Jian zhuan’ 始興簡王 (蕭) 鑑傳]), has identical wording, only it uses the character 淳 instead of 鐔 for the first character of ‘*chunyu*’ (both characters share the same pronunciation in modern Chinese). *Nan shi*, 43.1087. This is the most detailed description of the *chunyu* and has been quoted on many occasions since the Song dynasty. *Discussing Writing (and Explaining Characters)*;

廣漢什邡民段祖，以鐔于獻鑑，古禮器也。高三尺六寸六分，圍三尺四寸，圓如筍。銅色黑如漆，甚薄。上有銅馬，以繩懸馬，令去地尺餘，灌之以水。又以器盛水於下。以芒莖當心跪注淳于，以手振芒，則聲如雷，清響良久乃絕，古所以節樂也。<sup>10</sup>

Linghu Defen's (令狐德棻, 583–666) *The Official Book of the Zhou Dynasty* (*Zhou shu* 周書), *juan* 26, 'Biography of Husi Zheng' ('Husi Zheng zhuan' 斛斯徵傳): 'Musical instruments include the *chunyu*, but in recent times, it is no longer found. Someone had obtained one from the Shu region (equivalent to modern Sichuan), but no one recognised it for what it was. Husi Zheng saw it and said: "This is a *chunyu*." No one believed him. Husi Zheng then took as his authority Gan Bao's (280–336) *Zhouli zhu* and rubbed (pummelled) it with a bristled bamboo segment to produce a sound that had strong vibrations, and everyone sighed in amazement and was persuaded. Husi Zheng thereupon took the instrument and placed it inside the musical ensemble: 樂有鐔于者，近代絕無此器。或有自蜀得之，皆莫之識。徵見之曰：此鐔于也。眾弗之信，徵遂依干寶《周禮注》，以芒筒捋之，其聲極振，眾乃歎服。徵乃取以合樂焉。<sup>11</sup> Evidently, already in the epoch of the Six Dynasties, most did not even recognise what a *chunyu* was.

In the Tang dynasty, Du You (杜佑, 735–812) in his *Tongdian* 通典, *juan* 144, cites the above quotations to make explanation of the *chunyu*.<sup>12</sup> *Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era* (*Taiping yulan* 太平御覽, compiled in 977–783), *juan* 575, also quotes *The Zhou Rites*, *The Official History of the Song Dynasty* (*Song shi* 宋史),<sup>13</sup> *The Official Book of the Zhou Dynasty* (*Zhou shu*), and *Yue shu* 樂書, in total, four entries relevant to the *chunyu*.<sup>14</sup>

When Huang Bosi (黃伯思, 1078–1118) of the Song dynasty penned his 'Han jinchun shuo' 漢金鐔說, he cites *The Official History of the Southern Dynasties* (*Nan shi* 南史), 'Biography of (Xiao) Jian, the short-lived Ruler of Shixing' ('Shixing Jianwang [Xiao] Jian zhuan' 始興簡王 (蕭) 鑑傳; by Li Yanshou 李

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*Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字; by Xu Shen 許慎, 58–147), *juan* 14 Part One, for the character 鐔 ('bo'): 'The character 鐔 represents a large bell belonging to the category *chunyu*, so its sound matches those of bells and chimes: 大鐘淳于之屬，所以應鐘磬。Here the characters used are again 淳于, the same as is the case in *The Official History of the Southern Dynasties*. *Shuowen jiezi*, 14A.8a (297).

10 *Nan Qi shu*, 35.629.

11 *Zhou shu*, 26.432.

12 *Tongdian*, 144.3673.

13 The character here '史' ('*shi*', meaning 'history') should be written as '書' ('*shu*', meaning 'book'). There are two records of Song dynasties: for the earlier one, 420–479, the relevant text is *The Official Book of the Song Dynasty* [*Song shu*]; the equivalent for the later one, 960–1279, is *The Official History of the Song Dynasty* [*Song shi*].)

14 *Taiping yulan*, 575.8a (2598).



延壽, *fl.* seventh century; in *juan* 43): 'On the top of the instrument, there is now a crouching animal that can be tied with a rope such as is used for drawing water from a well, which is identical to the explanation in *The Official History of the Southern Dynasties*; however, the upper portion of the *chun* is large and has a rounded form with an expanded lip, and the lower portion tapers to a narrower shape, so it is not like a bamboo segment. If it is pounded on the ground, then sound is emitted from its top. If a rotating roll is performed on the upper face, then the sound roars splendidly and does not disperse, and is extremely loud and resonant, like thunder, a clear and clean symphony that lasts for a long time, and it is not necessary to pour in water or stimulate it to vibrate with a bristled rod. The instrument came originally in six sizes, their lengths proportionate to each other and arranged in an orderly sequence. Of these, three had already been placed in storage; their workmanship was of the highest order, and all were manufactured in the Zhou dynasty. Of the three instruments available today, one is inscribed with characters of the style of Han dynasty *huoquan* coinage and thus its provenance is the Han dynasty.' 今此器上有蹲獸，可繫以綆，與《南史》之說同。但鐔首巨而圓，下乃寢小，非若簫也。及舂之於地，則聲自上發，回旋鉤磕于鐔之首，磅礴不散，甚大而宏，亦若雷然，清響良久，不必注以水而振以芒也。此器本六，長短相弟，其三已歸內府，制作尤工，皆周器也。今此三器，其一有漢泉文，蓋漢器耳。<sup>15</sup>

According to this account, there were six members of the *chunyu* family of instruments in the Zhou dynasty, their lengths proportionate to each other in successive sizes; and given that there is the term 'a rack (sequence) of bells' (*bianzhong* 編鐘), it is then almost possible to talk of 'a rack (sequence) of *chun*'. Zhao Yanwei (趙彥衛, *fl.* late twelfth–early thirteenth centuries) in his *Yunlu manchao* 雲麓漫鈔, *juan* 2, explains the meaning of bronze *chun* in harmoniousness with the drums thus: 'Gautama Buddha striking a small bronze *zheng* 錚 (an alternative character to 鉦) bell is equivalent to the resonating surplus sound of *chun* and drum.' 釋氏擊小銅錚，即鐔和鼓之餘意。<sup>16</sup> Wu Qian (吳騫, 1733–1813) in 'Zhou huchun shuo' 周虎鐔說 gives 'that he had once obtained a Zhou dynasty tiger *chun* and on it was the character "十" (the numeral "ten"); the *chun* is harmonious with the drums, and they are not the same instrument. Citing Chen Xiangdao's (1053–1093) *Li shu*, (Wu Qian recounts) that in the Taichang Music Department of the Song dynasty imperial court, twelve bronze *chun* were arrayed, of which this specimen had once been the tenth.' 嘗得周虎鐔一，上有「十」字，鐔和鼓非一器。引陳祥道《禮書》宋太常樂設金鐔十

15 *Dongguan yulun*, *juan* one (of two). Huang Bosi, 'Han jin chun shuo', A.64a (187).

16 Zhao Yanwei, *Yunlu manchao*, 2.33.

有二，今此鐔亦當第十也。<sup>17</sup> This imparts the knowledge that twelve *chunyu* were part of the Song dynasty imperial musical system.

*Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era*, 'Music Category' ('Yuebu' 樂部; *juan* 563–584) quotes *Yue shu*: 'The instrument known as the *chunyu* is fashioned from bronze and in shape resembles a bell; its top is wide, its torso shaped like a bucket for raising water, and at its base is an opening of small diameter; on top of it, a crouching animal is affixed as a handle, and inside, like a *ling* bell, a bronze tongue is suspended. Whenever music is made on it, it is stimulated into vibration to make it sound, and it forms a harmonious combination with the drums.' 鐔于者，以銅爲之，其形像鐘，頂大腹攔口弁，上以伏獸爲鼻，內懸子鈴銅舌。凡作樂，振而鳴之，與鼓相和。<sup>18</sup> This passage indicates that it was equipped with a tongue that rocked back and forth.

The entries quoted above are familiar to all and sundry. Hong Mai (洪邁, 1123–1202) of the Song dynasty in his *Rongzhai xubi* 容齋續筆, *juan* 11, the entry 'The Ancient *Chunyu*' ('Gu *chunyu*' 古鐔于), had already made citational use of them.<sup>19</sup> Qing dynasty Chen Zhan's (陳鱣, 1753–1817) 'Investigation of the Bronze Chun' ('Jinchun kao' 金鐔考),<sup>20</sup> and Rong Geng's (容庚, 1894–1983) *Yin Zhou qingtongqi tonglun* 殷周青銅器通論 simply reiterate these several facts as their explanation and are extremely perfunctory.<sup>21</sup> *Tushu jicheng* 圖書集成, 'Yuelü dian' 樂律典, *juan* 98, lists an abundance of documents about the *chunyu*.<sup>22</sup>

*The Official Book of the Southern Qi Dynasty* (*Nan Qi shu* 南齊書), 'Treatise on Auspicious Omens' ('Xiangrui zhi' 祥瑞志; *juan* 18): 'In the first year of the Jianyuan era (479) in the Fuling prefecture (the character 涪 ['fu'] is incorrectly written as 浩 ['hao']) lived a person called Tian Jian (untraceable) of the Dan ethnicity, whose home was among mountain cliffs where often the cloudy ethers lingered.... on the twenty-seventh day of the fourth month, several *li* into the mountains, suddenly there appeared a pair of lights. Drawn towards the brightness, he obtained there an ancient bell and another instrument whose name was a "*chunyu*". The Dan people thought that it might be a magical object, so they presented it to the local temple and offered sacrifices to it.' 建元元年，涪（原誤作浩）陵郡蠻民田健，所住岩間，常留雲氣。.....四月二十七日，岩數里夜忽有雙光，至明往，獲古鐘一枚，又有一器名鐔于，

17 See: *Yugu wencun*, *juan* 9. Wu Qian, 'Zhou huchun shuo', 9.12 (1454: 269).

18 *Taiping yulan*, 575.8a (2598).

19 Hong Mai, *Rongzhai xubi*, 11.345–46.

20 *Jianzhuang zhuiwen*, *juan* 4. Chen Zhan, 'Jinchun kao', 4.2a–3b.

21 Rong Geng, Zhang Weichi, *Yinzhou qingtongqi tonglun*, chapter 5, no. 49, the *chunyu* category, 77.

22 *Gujin tushu jicheng*, vol. 738, 'Chun bu' 鐔部, 98.30b–33b.

蠻人以爲神物，奉祠之。<sup>23</sup> The Fuling prefecture was where the Dan people of Tianmen 天門 lived, and a *chunyu* was also discovered there. According to the records of ancient books, *chunyu* came mostly from the Shu region, therefore, when the Liang dynasty emperor Jian Wendi who only reigned for a short time (梁簡文帝, 503–551, r. 549–551) composed ‘Jinchun fu’ 金鎛賦, he included the lines: ‘Mine red nickel ores at Shulei; seek fine copper at Guanbin.’ 采赤鎛於蜀壘，求銅精於灌濱。<sup>24</sup>

*Record of Kuaiji* (*Kuaiji ji* 會稽記; by Kong Ye 孔曄, fl. Jin dynasty): ‘In a temple on Tu mountain is a musical instrument of the Zhou dynasty whose name is a “*chunyu*” and which is made of bronze. In form it is like a bell, a bell that is reflected in water, and is struck with a bristled rod to produce sound.’ 塗山廟中有周時樂器名鎛于，以銅爲之，形似鐘，有鐘映水，用芒剌則鳴。<sup>25</sup> This *chunyu* also comes from the Yue 越 region (note: in this essay, there are two Yue regions of identical pronunciation, but always differentiated by character: 越 or 粵). In the Sui dynasty, dances were divided into the ‘of letters’ genre (*wen* 文) and the ‘military’ genre (*wu* 武). *The Official Book of the Sui Dynasty* (*Sui shu* 隋書), ‘Yinyue zhi’ 音樂志 (*juan* 13–15; this citation is from *juan* 15) gives: ‘The military dances employ sixty-four people ... their left hands holding red shields, right hands holding large battleaxes, and choreographed patterns are made with the red shields and large battleaxes. Two individuals are at the front holding banners; two hold the *tao* drums equipped with stones on ropes that strike the drumhead when rocked; two hold *duo* bells and bronze *chun*; there are two four-person chariots, and two other individuals are standing. Two hold *nao* cymbals in a secondary role; two holding *xiang* instruments are to the left; two holding *ya* bells are to the right; and on each side, one is standing. From underneath banners, they flank the performance space, adjacent to the dancing contingent, in capes and hats identical to those of the dancers. *The Zhou Rites* (here given by its alternative name *Zhou Officers* [*Zhouguan* 周官]) stipulate that the bronze *chun* should be harmonious with the drums, the bronze *zhuo* gives rhythmic sectionalisation to the drums, the bronze *nao* causes the drums to stop and brings the music to a cadence, and the bronze *duo* is in communication with the drums.’ 武舞六十四人..... 左執朱干，右執大戚，依朱干大戚之文。二人執旌居前。二人執鼗，二人執鐸、金鎛，二四人興，二人作。二人執鑣次之；二人執相在左，二人執雅在右，各一人作。自旌以下夾引，並在舞人數，外衣冠同舞人。《周官》所謂以金鎛和

23 *Nan Qi shu*, 18.362–63.

24 *Wenyuan yinghua*, 71.3a (320).

25 *Shuowen jiezi yizheng*, 45.32b–33a (1242).

鼓，金鑼節鼓，金鏡止鼓，金鐸通鼓也。<sup>26</sup> In the Sui dynasty, the *duo* played together with the bronze *chun* in the serried ranks of performers of ‘military’ dances.

Dong You (董道, *fl.* late eleventh–early twelfth centuries) in ‘Guangchuan shuba’ 廣川書跋, *juan* 3, the entry on inscriptions on the ancient bell of Guozhou 虢州 reads: ‘An ancient bell of Guozhou presented to the emperor, it is slightly more than three *chi* feet, two *cun* inches in height; at its opening, its diameter is eight *cun* and three *li* micro-inches; at its top, its diameter is one *chi* and six *cun*. The inscription reads: “A fine piece by third brother Wang Bogao (untraceable, ancient).” These characters are so eroded and obliterated that they can no longer be deciphered. On investigation of its construction, on its upper reaches, it has none of the *mei* protuberances normally found on bells, and when hit, neither are there *sui* concave internal areas. It is equipped with *xian* edges on opposite flanks and a *yong* vertical strut as a handle emerges from its top; its *qu* midriff is not differentiated from the *gu* playing area just above the opening. The *wu* area above this flares outwards from the body, and a *heng* handle is situated above it.... This is probably the instrument called “*chunyu*” by the Zhou dynasty.’

.....虢州所上古鐘，其高三尺二寸有奇，口徑八寸三釐，其頂徑一尺六寸。銘曰：王叔伯高作。其字摩滅，不可復識。.....今考其制，在上無枚，其擊無隧，銑甬雖備，而祛鼓不辨，有舞外承，有衡上列。.....此殆周人所謂鐸于者耶。.....<sup>27</sup>

(*The Zhou Rites*, chapter 6, ‘Dongguan Kaogongji’ 冬官考工記: ‘Master Fu is the maker of bells. The two *luan* edges on opposite flanks of the bell are called the *xian* [the two corners at opposite sides of the opening of the bell]; the area between the two *xian* is called the *yu*; the area above the *yu* is called the *gu*; the area above the *gu* is called the *zheng*; and the area above the *zheng* is called the *wu*.’ 晁氏爲鐘，兩樂謂之銑（鐘口兩角），銑間謂之于，于上謂之鼓，鼓上謂之鉦，鉦上謂之舞。<sup>28</sup>) Zheng Zhong’s (鄭眾, d. 83 CE) notes to this passage (quoted in *Tongdian*, *juan* 144) give: ‘The *yu* is the *qu* above the bottom rim of the bell; the *gu* is where the bell is struck.’ 于，鐘臀上之祛也，鼓所擊處。<sup>29</sup> This *chunyu* is a specimen that carries an inscription. Note: *Jingnan cuigu bian* 荆南萃古編 written jointly by Zhou Maoqi (周懋琦, 1836–1896) and Liu Han (劉瀚, *fl.* nineteenth century) tells they had in their collection a Shang dynasty *chun* on which was the inscription: ‘In the first year

26 *Sui shu*, 15.358.

27 Dong You, *Guangchuan shuba*, 3:52–53.

28 *Zhouli zhushu*, 40.1291.

29 *Zhouli zhushu*, 40.1291.

of the ruler's reign, on the twelfth month, the *yichou* (twenty-sixth) day; made by Fu Ding (*fl.* late Shang dynasty), a tiger treasure.' 唯王元祀十有二月辰在乙丑，父丁作虎寶。<sup>30</sup> According to their assertions, it was obtained from Shimen 石門 county, Hunan. Zou Shilu's (鄒適廬, 1864–1940, also called Zou Shouqi 鄒壽祺) view was that it had a provenance of the state of Chu.<sup>31</sup> My suspicion is that it was a forgery.

Fang Yizhi's (方以智, 1611–1671) *Tongya* 通雅, *juan* 30: 'The musical instrument the *jiangyu* is of the *chunyu* type (here 淳, not the more usual 鎛; the latter is written with the "metal" radical 金 to its left that classifies it as made of metal; the classifier of 淳 is 氵, the "water" radical). In the Beihai prefecture is a place called Chunyu county; in the Spring and Autumn period, the Chunyu ducal state was equivalent to this county, and therefore became an aristocratic lineage. In fact, it took its name from the musical instrument ... which is harmonious with the drums. The "chun" 淳 was therefore written "chun" 鎛. The performance practice described in *The Zhou Rites* by which the drummers play the bronze *chun* in harmoniousness with the drums is just this ... After the Five Dynasties, the Zhou dynasty also had the instrument the *jiangyu*, and was this instrument of the *chunyu* type? In shape it was like an earthenware *fou* large drum and hung up on bell racks. The ancient bell that was presented from Guozhou to the Song dynasty court was determined by Dong You to be a *chunyu* 淳于! 將于, 淳于之類也。北海郡有淳于縣, 春秋淳于公國在此縣, 因以為氏。其實本樂器名 ... 與鼓相和。淳因作鎛。《周禮》鼓人以金鎛和鼓即此.....。五代後周有將于, 其鎛于之類乎? 形似瓦缶, 以虞懸之。宋時虢州上古鐘, 董道以為淳于。<sup>32</sup> Master Fang indicates that the state of Chunyu took its name from the instrument, and recent scholarship has echoed his theory.

Note: *The Book of Mountains and Seas (Shanhai jing* 山海經; 'Zhongshan jing' 中山經; chapter 5) also records the existence of the term '*chunyu*' 鎛于: 'On Yingliang mountain is also found much green jade "*chunyu*" ("that abides by") black stone.' 嬰梁之山, 上多蒼玉鎛于玄石。<sup>33</sup> Guo Pu's (郭璞, 276–324) notes: 'This indicates that green jade abides by black stone and is produced thereof. There are those who call *chunyu* the "musical instrument stone" and its form resembles the head of a hammer.' 言蒼玉依黑石而生也。或曰鎛于樂器石, 形似椎頭。<sup>34</sup> Hao Yixing (郝懿行, 1757–1825) quotes the sentence in

30 *Jingnan cuiqu bian*, 7529–30.

31 *Mengpo shi huogu congbian*. Zou Shouqi, Zhou Qingyun eds., 'Song hu chun', 26a.

32 Fang Yizhi, *Tongya* 通雅, 30.15b–16a (365–66).

33 *Shanhai jing jianshu*, 5.188.

34 *Shanhai jing jianshu*, 5.188.

'The Book of the West Mountains' ('Xishan jing' 西山經; chapter 2 of *Shanhai jing*) that gives that Gui 驪 mountain is 'chunyu' 鎛于 West Sea (Xihai 西海).<sup>35</sup> *Yupian* 玉篇 (by Gu Yewang 顧野王, 519–581; *juan* 2) renders this as: 'zhunyu West Sea; 淳于西海;<sup>36</sup> 'chun' 鎛 is identical in meaning and similar in pronunciation to 'zhun' 淳 and is here being used as a verb; therefore, Guo Pu's notes, in seeking for a derivation for 鎛, have come up with 'abides by'. (*The Book of Mountains and Seas*) 'The Book of the North Mountains' ('Beishan jing' 北山經; chapter 3) also cites 'Chunyu Wufeng 鎛于毋逢 mountain', which is clearly a placename.<sup>37</sup> From this it is apparent that ancient places called '淳于 Chunyu' or '鎛于 Chunyu' were more than one in number, but corroborating evidence as to whether manufacture there of the instrument *chunyu* caused these placenames to arise is scarce indeed, and it is difficult to pass judgment. *Zhengzi tong* 正字通 (by Zhang Zilie 張自烈, 1597–1675; *juan* 11) records that the characters for *chunyu* 淳于 can be written 鎛鈎.<sup>38</sup>

At the beginning of the Song dynasty, scholarly perception of the shape and manufacture of the *chunyu* was still riddled with misunderstanding. Regarding the *chun* 鎛, the summary of the genre of items of this name in *Xuanhe bogutu* 宣和博古圖 (by Wang Fu 王黼, 1079–1126) gives: 'In recent generations, Dou Yan (918–960) drew pictures of implements used in the rites, but at that time he had not seen the actual items themselves as manufactured in antiquity, so he created drawings from his imagination: in the shape of cups and *yu* vessels, facing upward and tied up in rows on both sides as if they belonged to the genre of instruments hung on racks; how preposterous! 近代竇儼撰為禮圖，當時未覩前製而臆度；如盃盃之狀，仰而繫其兩傍，以屬於簠虞，吁可笑已。<sup>39</sup> Master Zhou's (Zhou Qingyun 周慶雲, 1866–1934) Collection of the Mengpo shi 夢坡室 possessed a tiger *chun* of the state of Song, whose covering plate has been altered to become a lid, and underneath is a pedestal on which the instrument stands, which is completely at variance with the ancient method of manufacture and sufficient to make one guffaw with laughter.<sup>40</sup> The depictions of *chunyu* in *Sanli tu* 三禮圖 (by Nie Chongyi 聶崇義, fl. tenth century) and *Jingyou dayue tu* 景祐大樂圖 (Jingyou era: 1034–1038; also by Nie

35 *Shanhai jing jianshu*, 5,188.

36 Gu Yewang, *Daguang yihui Yupian*, 2,31.




37 *Shanhai jing jianshu*, 3,102.


38 Zhang Zilie, *Zheng zi tong*, 11.26a (1203).

39 Wang Fu, *Chongxiu Xuanhe bogutu*, 26.10b (840: 924).

40 See *Mengpo shi huogu congbian*. On this *chun* is an incised note that reads: 'If you strike here, a sound will be produced that is like that of bells.' 叩之則鳴，叟（如）鐘類耳。For an instrument itself to be furnished with explanatory text of this nature is extremely rare. Zou Shouqi, Zhou Qingyun eds., 'Song hu chun', 26a.

Chongyi) are entirely erroneous, and Hong Mai had already established this and corrected them.<sup>41</sup>

*Xuanhe bogutu* lists nineteen *chun* specimens. All bear no inscription, and the names of the various categories to which they belong are extremely numerous. These include: ‘dragon-tiger’ (*long hu* 龍虎) *chun* (above the body of this *chun* as protruding knob-like animal effigies are two tigers face to face), ‘mountain-patterned’ (*shanwen* 山紋) *chun*, and ‘flower-wreathed’ (*huanhua* 圓花) *chun* (on both these instruments, the handle-like protuberances are in shape  and ); one each of ‘horse-halter’ (*zhima* 繫馬) *chun*,<sup>42</sup> ‘tortoise-fisherman’ (*gui yu* 龜漁) *chun*, ‘fish’ (*yu* 魚) *chun* (these two instruments have animals as knob-like protruding effigies), and ‘paired-fish’ (*shuangyu* 雙魚; Pisces) *chun* (so called because adjacent to the knob-like protruding tiger effigies, fish-scale patterns have been incised); one ‘male-phoenix’ (*feng* 鳳) *chun*, seven tiger *chun*, and four ‘*dui*’ *chun* (their knob-like protuberances are made in the shape of the *dui* tilt hammer for hulling rice). The picture captions all give the *chun* as an instrument of the Zhou dynasty, which would seem to be problematic ascription. The Yizheng tang 亦政堂 revised edition of Lü Dalin’s (呂大臨, 1042–1090) *Kaogu tu* 考古圖, *juan* 7, takes bells, chimes, and *chun* together as a single category, and in his *Mige* 秘閣 repository, two *chun* were kept, both from Yuzhang 豫章 and equipped with protruding handles (in the  shape).<sup>43</sup> For the most part, the knob-like protuberance is the feature that distinguishes between different forms of *chunyu* and they can be divided into two main categories: animal effigies (including a few that represent fowls) and handle-shaped. Male phoenixes are extremely rare and so too horses, and only tigers feature frequently, so this variant has consistently been accorded the appellation ‘tiger *chun*’.

Books on the antiquities of bronze and stone that record the *chunyu* do not list it as frequently as other artifacts. *Xiqing gujian* 西清古鑑 (completed in 1751) lists items in the *chun* category in *juan* 37, including one Zhou dynasty tiger *chun* and two Zhou dynasty ‘plain *chun*’ (one of whose handle-shaped protuberances has the shape ).<sup>44</sup> *Qiugu jingshe jinshitu* 求古精舍金石圖 (compiled in 1813–1817) includes one tiger *chun* that is ovoid in shape.<sup>45</sup> The seventh picture in Li Taifen’s (李泰棻, 1896–1972) *Chi’an cangjin* 癡齋藏金

41 Hong Mai, *Rongzhai xubi*, 11.346.

42 Wang Fu cites as proof ‘Biography of (Xiao Jian) the (short-lived) Ruler of Shixing’ in which the *chunyu* that Duan Zuo (段祚; probably to be identified with Duan Zu 段祖) presented had on it a bronze horse. Wang Fu, *Chongxiu Xuanhe bogutu*, 26.10a (840: 924).

43 *Kaogu tu: Wai er zhong*, 7.1a (387).

44 *Xiqing gujian*, 37.4a–6b (842: 292–93).

45 *Qiugu jingshe jinshitu*, 26a–26b.

(published in 1940; Chi'an is Li Taifen's soubriquet.<sup>46</sup>) is of a tiger *chun*, a specimen heavy and robust in material construction that does not have any plaques prepared for characters to be moulded on; it is perhaps a Zhou dynasty piece.<sup>47</sup>

(Early twentieth century collector) Master Sumitomo 住有氏 had a tiger *chun* in his collection which was patterned like speckled toad-skin, see figure 129 of *Senokuseizho Zokuhen: The Collection of Old Bronzes of Baron Sumitomo* (泉屋清賞; published in 1921), and Rong Geng's *Haiwai jijin tulu* 海外吉金圖錄, figure 154. Lu Zengxiang's (陸增祥, 1816–1882) *Baqiong shi jinshi zhaji* 八瓊室金石札記: 'The tiger *chun* is of an ovoid shape. Its lower bouts are like screens erected on carriages to shade from the sun. On the tray above stands the effigy of a tiger. According to local custom, it is often called a *weng* (large and bulbous) bell.' 虎鐔橢圓，下角如幢，槃上立虎形，里俗呼爲甕鐘。<sup>48</sup> In addition, details are given of seven items that were included in the collection: 'The largest specimen is two modern *chi* feet, two *cun* inches, and five *fen* in height; the smallest is one *chi*, three *cun*, and one *fen*. At the base of the tray are effigies of a pair of fishes, in which respect it is somewhat different from Han dynasty *xi* basins used for soaking brush-pens that do not have these. Some of the *chun* are furnished with effigies of the heads of male or female phoenixes, which are in form like tigers standing.' 大者高今尺二尺四寸五分，小者高一尺三寸一分。槃底作雙魚，與漢洗稍異。有等作鳳皇獸首者，形製均同立虎。<sup>49</sup> These are 'male-phoenix *chun*', and the records of them here match those of *Xuanhe bogutu*.

In the Han dynasty, most *chunyu* were furnished with tiger effigy knob-like protuberances whose feet appear to be climbing out of the top plate and attached under those feet are fish-like forms or plaques furnished with writing. Wu Qian of the Qing dynasty had tiger *chun* in his collection at the Baijing lou 拜經樓, as is shown in Zhang Yanchang's (張燕昌, 1738–1814) *Jinshi qi* 金石契, which records that next to the 'tiger knob-like protuberance' were patterns of fish scales to the right and a bow and ge 戈 sabre-spear to the left. On the top was the character 十 ('*shi*': 'ten') and underneath the character 宜 ('*yi*': a surname), both fashioned in characters that stand proud of the surface. Master Wu explains thus: 'The *chun* that were harmonious to the drums were not just one in number and consequently were calibrated according to their

46 Chi'an 癡齋 means 'Infatuated with Ancient Bronze Vessels' or 'Thatched Cottage of Infatuation'.

47 Li Taifen, *Chi'an cangjin*, pl. 7.

48 Lu Zengxiang, *Baqiongshi jinshi zhaji si juan*, 2.25b (11: 707).

49 Lu Zengxiang, *Baqiongshi jinshi zhaji si juan*, 2.25b (11: 707).



size and weight, with this *chun* the tenth in the sequence. The missing characters that come after the character *yi* 宜 should be *zisun* 子孫, which represent the descendants of the family that had inherited the instruments. 和鼓之鐔非一，是以大小輕重各有不同，此其第十鐔。宜下缺文，當爲子孫也。<sup>50</sup> Thus, he views it as a Zhou dynasty piece. Wu Yun (吳雲, 1811–1883), however, contradicts him and states that the character 宜 on the *chun* is in fact 囿, and the style of the calligraphy is of a specimen of the Han dynasty. Among items in his collection that carried characters, those that bear the two characters 貨泉 (*'huoquan'*, often used on coins) were probably cast in the epoch of Wang Mang (王莽, 45 BCE–23 CE). Wu Yun's *Lianglei xuan yiqi tushi* 兩壘軒彝器圖釋, *juan* 9, includes a Han dynasty *chun* on whose knob-like animal protuberances are images of *huoquan* coins as well as patterns of fish and waterweeds and bows and arrows.<sup>51</sup>

*Erbai lanting zhai jinshi ji* 二百蘭亭齋金石記 (volume 4) includes a Han dynasty *chun* whose form and construction are the same as the specimen just discussed.<sup>52</sup> Lu Zengxiang records that this *chunyu* had a line of four characters in the style found on *huoquan* coins, but they were largely eroded and hard to decipher; they seemed to read: 'Greater *quan* coinage, fifty.' 大泉五十.<sup>53</sup> He also records: 'In the *xinsi* year of the Guangxu era (1881), (Pan) Boyin (*fl.* late nineteenth–early twentieth centuries) sent me a piece of paper that was an ink rubbing of a tiger *chun*. On the left is a fish-like form, while on the right, a bow and two arrows and an image of a quiver, that is, the former (the bow) is rounded and the two arrows are straight, similar to the "chamber style" found on old artifacts; in addition, after three *heng* horizontal strokes come two *zhe* hooked strokes, and the result resembles an inverted calligraphic form of the character 己 (*'ji'*). 光緒辛巳，(潘)伯寅寄虎鐔搨墨一紙，左作一魚形，右作一弓二矢及箠形，前作一圓二直，似古器中所謂室形者，又有三橫後作二折，似是己字反文。<sup>54</sup> The patterns and writing are even more complex and also indicate that it is an artifact of the Han dynasty.

*Xiao jiaojing ge jinwen taben* 小校經閣金文拓本 (published in 1935 by Liu Tizhi 劉體智, 1879–1962), *juan* 1, 'Chunyu Type' ('Chunyu lei' 鐔于類) lists three specimens:

50 Wu Yun, 'Han chun', 9.15b–16a (440–41).

51 Wu Yun, 'Han tonggu (1)', 9.13a (435).

'Yuzao' 魚藻 is poem 221 in *The Book of Songs* (*Shijing* 詩經) and found in the 'Lesser Ya' ('Xiaoya' 小雅) section.

52 Wu Yun, *Erbai lanting zhai shoucang jinshiji*, 4.1a.

53 Lu Zengxiang, *Baqiongshi jinshi zhaji*, 2.26a (11: 707).

54 Lu Zengxiang, *Baqiongshi jinshi zhaji*, 2.26b (11: 707).

1. *Chunyu* called ‘Third Ji’ (*sanji* 三己); decorative writing patterns in the form of fishes as well as: ‘三 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 (船)’ and so on. (See Figure 7.a) (三 ‘san’ means ‘three’; 船 ‘chuan’ means ‘boat’.)
2. *Chunyu* inscribed ‘First Ji’ (*jia ji* 甲己); fish emblems as well as the characters: ‘十九 𠂔’ (*shijiu*; the third character is obscure and has no ascribed pinyin pronunciation). See also the notes in *Shanzhai jijin lu* 善齋吉金錄 (by Liu Tizhi), ‘Musical Instruments’ (‘Yueqi’ 樂器).
3. *Chunyu* inscribed ‘Yi Family’ (*Yi jia* 义家); the writing on the instrument itself cannot be deciphered.<sup>55</sup>

Sichuan University Museum and Chongqing Museum have each a *chunyu* in their collection that carries writing. According to the catalogue descriptions of them, the former was excavated in Wan 萬 county and the latter in Chengdu itself. Tracing copies of the pictorial writing shapes that both instruments carry have been made by Xu Zhongshu (徐中舒, 1898–1991). After comparison with pictorial writing on weaponry of Dongsunba 冬筍壩 boat-coffin burials and characters of the Moxie 麼些 ethnicity, these shapes are found to resemble these latter two styles closely, a similarity especially apparent between the symbol 𠂔 on the Sichuan University *chunyu* and 𠂔 on the Dongsunba *mao* 矛 spear that establishes that the *chunyu* had undoubtedly been manufactured by inhabitants of the Ba region or state in Sichuan. In addition, the symbol 𠂔 on the Sichuan University *chunyu* resembles pictorial writing on specimens found in the aforementioned *Xiao jiaojing ge jinwen taben, juan 1*, and is in fact the character ‘船’ that means ‘boat’, which indicates that there must have been a connection between these items.

*Chunyu* are mostly inscribed with unusual characters. During the Southern Qi dynasty, the Dan ethnicity area of Fuling prefecture also produced *chunyu*, which were probably manufactured in the Dan ethnicity area of Ba region, and they are cut with indigenous characters of Yi 夷 non-Han races. Lu Zengxiang records that Master Zhang (張氏 Zhang Shi; it is unclear to whom this refers) of Xiangyin 湘陰 had a *chun* in his collection on the inside of whose upper tray were the two characters ‘己丑’ (*jichou*) in seal script.<sup>56</sup> Zou An (鄒安, 1864–1940) records seeing a large *chunyu* kept by Master Cheng (程氏 Cheng Shi; also unclear to whom this refers) of Xin’an 新安 on whose flanks were moulded the characters ‘Made by Third Brother 𠂔’ (𠂔 叔作), and additionally explains the unusual (first) character as 𠂔 (‘hu’), though this is incorrect. Also, he comments that this *chunyu* is furnished with an inscription that reads:

55 Liu Tizhi, *Xiao jiaojing ge jinwen taben*, 1.101a–102a (1:211–13).

56 Lu Zengxiang, *Baqiongshi jinshi zhaji*, 2.26a (11: 707).

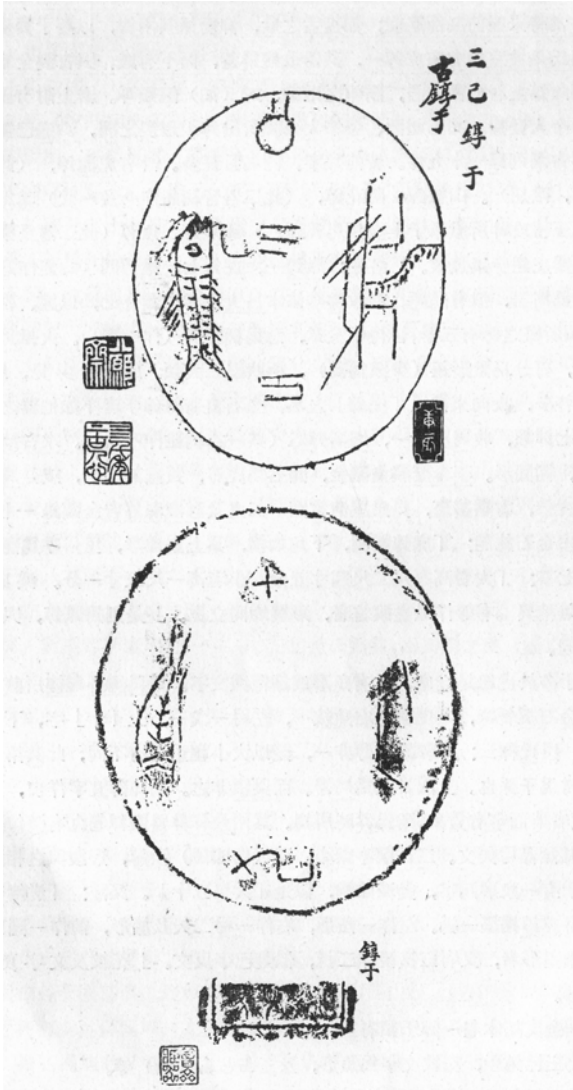


FIGURE 7.A *Xiao jiaojing ge jinwen taben*. Individual representation of the inscriptions on each of the three *chunyu*  
 PHOTO AUTHORIZED BY SHIN WEN FENG PRINT COMPANY

‘Third Ji’ *Chunyu*  
 Ancient *Chunyu*  
*Chunyu*

“A *zun* bell made by Third Brother Hu;” 罇于銘曰祐叔作罇鐘;<sup>57</sup> from this, the knowledge is gained that the *chunyu* was also known in ancient times as a ‘bell’ (*zhong* 鐘). *Discussing Writing and Explaining Characters* (*Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字; by Xu Shen 許慎, 58–147 CE), under the entry for the character 罇 (‘*bo*’), gives: ‘The character 罇 represents a large bell belonging to the category *chunyu*; and it can thus be understood that large *bo* bells, ordinary *zhong* bells, and *chunyu* are one and the same.’ 大鐘罇于之屬,<sup>58</sup> 知罇、鐘、罇于，一也。 These specimens are all *chunyu* that carry inscriptions, but unfortunately, I have not yet seen rubbings of the inscriptions themselves, so appended here are notes of them as a preparation for further investigation.

I have seen at first hand a Sichuan *chunyu* with the tiger knob-like protuberance and a *chunyu* of the Warring States period excavated at Ta'erpo 塔而坡 in Xianyang 咸陽 that is furnished with a *chi* 螭 mythical beast of extremely fine workmanship as its knob-like protuberance (now held in the Xianyang Museum); and a Shanghai green porcelain *chunyu*; a set of *chun* in racks from Guizhou already thirty years ago; for *chunyu* in Hunan and Hubei, see (modern scholar) Master Xiong Chuanxin's 熊傳薪 monograph on the subject.<sup>59</sup> *Lushi zhaji* 陸氏札記 (Master Lu: Lu Zengxiang): ‘*Chunyu* come predominantly from the nearby region inhabited by the Miao barbarians, so it is probably a musical instrument made by them; it is like the bronze drum.’ 罇于出多近苗蠻之區，殆蠻人所作樂器，如銅鼓之類。<sup>60</sup> In recent years, Xu Zhongshu in his essay ‘A Preliminary Discussion of the Culture of the Bashu region of Sichuan’ (‘Bashu wenhua chulun’ 巴蜀文化初論) has put forward a new theory that the *chunyu* had its origins in the Shu region and that the bronze drum was a transmogrification of its shape.<sup>61</sup> Here, an attempt will be made to investigate places where *chunyu* have been excavated, for example, the two specimens shown in *Kaogu tu* were obtained in Yuzhang, and the ancient bells noted by Dong You were unearthed in Guozhou. *Rongzhai xubi* (*juan* 11) records that a *chunyu* was obtained in the fourteenth year of the Chunxi 淳熙 era (1187) from Cili 慈利 county in Lizhou 澧州, Wuli 五里 mountain, next to the tomb of Nanwang, emperor of the Eastern Zhou dynasty (周赧王, d. 256 BCE, r. 315–256 BCE); in the third year of the Shaoxi 紹熙 era (1192), a *chunyu* was also obtained from Changyang 長楊 county in Shanzhou 陝州.<sup>62</sup> *Record of Kuaiji* also notes

57 Zou An, *Zhou jinwen cun buyi*, 23: 246.

58 Xu Shen, *Shuowen jiezi*, 14A.8a (297).

59 Xiong Chuanxin, ‘Hu’nán chutu de gudai chunyu zongshu’, 36–42. Xiong Chuanxin, ‘Woguo gudai chunyu gailun’, 80–89.

60 Lu Zengxiang, *Baqiongshi jinshi zhaji*, 2.26a (11: 707).

61 *Journal of Sichuan University*. Xu Zhongshu, ‘Bashu wenhua chulun’, 21–44.

62 Hong Mai, *Rongzhai xubi*, 11.345–46.

a *chunyu* from Tu mountain.<sup>63</sup> Newly unearthed specimens of recent years include:

**Anhui, Su 宿 county.** Together with a *wu(xu)zhuyu* 無(鄔)諸俞 *zheng* tubular bell, a bronze *chun* was also unearthed, on opposite sides of which are square fittings each pierced by a hole so that ropes could be tied to them, and its provenance is the Spring and Autumn period.<sup>64</sup>

**Jiangxi, Xiushui 修水 county.** An excavated *chunyu* of the Warring States period decorated with patterns of coiled *kui* dragons (*pankui* 蟠夔); enclosed inside the *chunyu* abdominal cavity is a bell. Xiushui was the territory of the ancient vassal state of Ai (Ai hou guo 艾侯國).<sup>65</sup> Shaanxi also has a Zhou dynasty tiger *chun*;<sup>66</sup> Fuling in Sichuan has also produced a *chunyu* with a knob-like tiger protuberance.<sup>67</sup> Hunan Museum keeps a *chunyu* collected in Xiangxi 湘西, and on it is a knob-like snake protuberance, a feature that is extremely rare.

Judging by these examples, *chunyu* were produced in places evidently widely distributed across the modern provinces of Shaanxi, Jiangxi, Anhui, and Hunan, and they were not solely manufactured in Sichuan, and neither were they universally inscribed with strange and unusual characters. This is the first fact.

Regarding the societal function of *chunyu*, according to the narration of *Discourses of the State of Wu (Wuyu)*: ‘The ruler of the state of Wu grasped the drumsticks and himself sounded the bells, drums, *dingning* (*dingzheng*) tubular bells, *chunyu*, and set the *duo* bells into vibration.’ 王乃秉枹，親就鳴鐘、鼓、丁寧、鐸于，振鐸。<sup>68</sup> *Huainanzi* (淮南子; by Liu An 劉安, 179–122 BCE), ‘Binglüe xun’ 兵略訓 (essay 15): ‘When two armies face off against one another, their drums and *chunyu* view each other across the divide;’ 兩軍相對，鼓、鐸相望;<sup>69</sup> as is verified by surviving excavated artifacts as given below:

1. **Excavated in the town of Shanbiao 山彪 in Henan, a patterned basin depicting a military attack by water and land.** As is revealed by the figurative design, the *dingning* (*dingzheng*) tubular bell and *chunyu* are both situated together above the drum stands. A drum major holds a

63 *Shuowen jiezi yizheng*, 45.32b–33a (1242).

64 *Wenwu*. Hu Yueqian, ‘Anhui sheng Su xian chutu liangjian tong yueqi’, 31, Illustration 3.

65 *Archaeology*. Jiangxi sheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui, ‘Jiangxi Xiushui chutu Zhanguo qingtong yueqi he Handai tieqi’, 265.

66 See: *Pictorial Explanation of Bronzes in the Shaanxi Provincial Museum*. Shaanxi sheng bowuguan, Shaanxi sheng wenwu guanli weiyuan hui, *Qingtongqi tushi*, 124, pl. 129.

67 Xu Zhongshu, ‘Sichuan fuling xiaotianxi chutu hu’niu chunyu’, 81–83.

68 *Guoyu jijie*, 19.550.

69 *Huainanzi jishi*, 15.1056.

drumstick in one hand in the vicinity of the drumhead while his other hand holds a drumstick near the *chunyu*, seeking to facilitate deployment of military formations in attack or retreat, and his opponents do likewise. This is precisely a situation of drums and *chun* looking at each another across the divide.<sup>70</sup>

2. **In Jinning 晉寧, Yunnan, from Shizhai 石寨 mountain, an excavated bronze instrument of the Han dynasty state of Dian.** In the upper portion of the composition is a large scene of the ceremonial swearing of oaths of alliance, with a hundred and twenty or more people carved or cast. The individual on the top of the building is the chief officiator at the sacrifice and below are sacrificial beasts. In addition, a person is striking a bronze drum with his right hand and a *chunyu* with his left. According to observatory notes made by Feng Hanji (馮漢驥, 1899–1977), on the sacrificial terrace are several crowds of people sporting different types of topknotted hairstyles. Between the sacrificial terraces are found four ensembles of instruments, of which only one comprises the bronze drum and *chunyu*. Their performance practice is for two posts to be erected vertically on the ground, and between them at the top a horizontal strut fixed which passes through the ear-like attachments of both bronze drum and *chunyu* and from which they are thus suspended. A man with a wound topknot that pulls up the cloth on his back is striking the bronze drum with his right hand and the *chunyu* with his left.<sup>71</sup>

The two performance contexts indicated above are sufficient to furnish powerful proof in support of the observation in *The Zhou Rites* that the bronze *chun* is harmonious with the drums. ‘Sicheng fu yaoren xiansui bei’ 泗城府僛人獻歲碑 (Ming dynasty) states: ‘Every year on the first day of the first month, people of all the various villages of the Yao ethnicity visit the prefectural capital to perform the ceremony of presentation to the New Year, striking the bronze drum and *chunyu*, one person singing the call and a hundred answering in response.’ 每歲正月首，偕諸寨僛人詣府行獻歲禮，擊銅鼓鐃于，一唱百和。<sup>72</sup> This is evidence of the combined usage of *chun* and drum and illuminates that customs of the Yao ethnicity had retained this practice. Applying them to the joint requirements of ceremony and warfare is entirely possible. Formerly, Wu Qian’s

70 Guo Baojun (郭寶鈞, 1873–1971), *Shanbiao zhen yu liuli ge*, 23.

71 See Master Feng’s ‘Research into Bronze Instruments excavated at Shizhai Mountain, Jinning’, and the second of the seven accompanying illustrated appendices. *Archaeology*, 1963. Feng Hanji, ‘Yunnan Jinning Shizhai shan chutu tongqi yanjiu: Ruogan zhuyao renwu huodong tuxiang shishi’, 325.

72 Quoted in (modern scholar) Wang Ningsheng’s 王寧生 writings. ‘Shilun Zhongguo gudai tonggu’, 188.

'Differentiation between the Bronze Chun and the Chunyu' ('Jinchun chunyu bian' 金鎛鎛于辨) had stated that although the bronze *chun* and the *chunyu* were of the same shape, their usage was different:<sup>73</sup> a distinction should be made between the bronze *chun* that was an instrument that had the musical function of forming harmoniousness with the drums, whereas the *chunyu* was a military instrument that performed in concert with drums and horns (the argument is made in *Jinshi qi*), and although the differentiation and analysis of this argument are subtle, it is still one step away from the truth. From the patterned representations of warfare on basins, knowledge is gained that in the society of the Warring States period, the *chunyu* and drums did indeed coexist, but it is difficult to determine with certainty whether the physical form and manufacture of the bronze drum evolved from the *chunyu*. This is the second fact. Regarding the origin of the bronze drum, Zhu Yizun (朱彝尊, 1629–1709; soubriquet: Zhu Zhucha 朱竹垞) of the Qing dynasty discusses it as follows:

The bronze *chun* is harmonious with the drums; another name for it is the *chunyu*, and it is in the hands of the drummers, as can be seen from *Chunqiu neiwai zhuan*,<sup>74</sup> and it was present prior to the appearance of bronze drums ... believing that the *chun*'s essence is to be harmonious with the drums, I measured the specimen I had to hand and found it was of broadly similar dimensions (to an equivalent drum), the important difference being that the drum is bulbous at its waist, whereas the *chun* tapers to its lower reaches; the drum is covered at both ends, but the *chun* is open at the bottom. Thus, when the (bronze) drum was first cast, it was a perfect compromise between the two, which is why people of the Shu region call the *chunyu* a drum ...

金鎛和鼓，亦名鎛于，掌之鼓人，見於《春秋內外傳》，先銅鼓有之。……竊鎛本以和鼓，度其形亦略似。第鼓穹其腰，而鎛削其下，鼓蒙兩面，而鎛去其底。（銅）鼓初鑄必取二器折衷之，蜀人所以名鎛于鼓云……

*Pu shu tingji* 曝書亭集,juan 46<sup>75</sup>

73 Wu Qian, 'Jinchun chunyu bian', 7.1a (1454: 244).

74 *Internal Biographies* is another name for *The Zuo Commentary* (*Zuozhuan* 左傳; traditionally attributed to Zuo Qiuming, fl. late Spring and Autumn period); *External Biographies* is another name for *Discourses of the States*.

75 Zhu Yizun, 'Nanhaimiao er tonggu tuba', 46.8a–9a (1318: 173–174).

Master Zhu considers that manufacture of the bronze drum was a result of pondering both the *chunyu* and the drum and making it accordingly, and this theory, when compared to Master Xu's opinion that the bronze drum came from the *chunyu*, is much closer to a common-sense appraisal of the actual situation. Zhu's words are rarely read, and cited in only a small number of cases, so they are recorded here in their entirety.<sup>76</sup> Umehara Sueji (梅原末治, 1893–1983) records the excavation of an earthenware *chunyu* on which was a simple unadorned knob-like protuberance,<sup>77</sup> and some scholars have expressed the opinion that this was the template from which the bronze *chunyu* evolved, but unfortunately only one specimen of this kind exists, and I have not heard of the discovery of any in other locations.

## 2 Yin, Jin, and Tang Dynasty Drums

Rong Geng's *Shangzhou yiqi tongkao* contains records of two bronze drums:<sup>78</sup> one in the Sen-Oku Hakukokan Museum 泉屋博古館 that is furnished with two effigies of birds with human heads and is a drum with a long aperture; the other, patterned with curled venomous snakes (*panhui* 蟠虺) and excavated in Fengxiang 鳳翔 in Shaanxi, resembles in form a segment of bamboo and has a flat head on top and an open aperture at the bottom. John Calvin Ferguson (福開森, 1866–1945) wrote his *Two Bronze Drums* (*Zhou tonggu kao* 周銅鼓考; published in Beijing in 1932) on them. In June of 1977 in Chongyang 崇陽 county in Hubei, a Shang dynasty drum was unearthed that is ovoid in shape, has a diameter of 39.2cm, drumheads at either end for striking, and whose sides are decorated with 'cloud-thunder' (*yunlei* 雲雷) and 'nipple-nodule' (*ruding* 乳釘) patterns. On the body of the drum is a knob-like cast protuberance furnished with holes for using to hang it, and at its lower reaches is a square pedestal as its 'feet' whose form is both unusual and imposing, features that indicate clearly that it was a drum that could stand upright of its own accord. Its very existence suggests that in the Shang dynasty, the technology

76 Wu Yun in his *Lianglei xuan yiqi tushi* cites Zhu Zhucha's 'Investigation of the Bronze Drum' ('Tonggu kao'). Note: *Pu shu ting ji*, *juan* 56–58, comprise 'investigations' and none of these is about the bronze drum, so the reference must be to (the passage cited below) 'Nanhai (miao) er tonggu ba'. Wu Yun, 'Han tonggu 1', 9.13a (435). Zhu Yizun, 'Nanhaimiao er tonggu tuba', 46.7a–9a (1318: 173–174).

77 *Investigative Thesis on Chinese Archaeology*, 'New Material on Grave Goods.' Umehara Sueji, 'Shina ko meiki no isshin shiryō', pl. 87.

78 Rong Geng, *Shangzhou yiqi tongkao*, 513, pls. 978, 979.



for casting huge bronze drums was already known.<sup>79</sup> From the perspective of physical form, this type of two-headed drum was the 鼗 (*'fen'*) mentioned in *The Book of Rites* ('Dongguan kaogong ji'), 'Yun ren' 輿人.<sup>80</sup> *Shuowen jiezi* (*juan* 6) gives: 'The large drum is called a *fen*; it is eight *chi* feet in size and has two drumheads, and its function is to encourage military prowess.' 大鼓謂之鼗，八尺而兩面，以鼓軍事。<sup>81</sup> *The Book of Songs* ('Da ya' 大雅), 'Lingtai' 靈臺 (poem 242): '*Fen* drums and *yong* large bells.' 賁鼓維鏞。<sup>82</sup> *Jingdian shiwen* (經典釋文; by Lu Deming 陸德明, c.550–630; *juan* 7) outlines that the character 賁 (*'fen'*) that is the first of the four that constitute this poetic line should more correctly be written as 鼗 (*'fen'*).<sup>83</sup> The instrument intended here is the *fen* drum made from bronze.

The bronze drum has always been regarded as characteristic of Luoyue 駱越 culture. The earliest relevant mention of this is in *The Official Book of the Later Han Dynasty* (*Hou Han shu* 後漢書), 'Biography of Ma Yuan' ('Ma Yuan zhuan' 馬援傳; Ma Yuan: 14 BCE–49 CE, also called Ma Fubo 馬伏波; *juan* 24): 'In Jiaozhi, a bronze drum of the Luoyue culture was obtained, which was thereupon cast into the form of a horse.' 於交趾得駱越銅鼓，乃鑄爲馬式。<sup>84</sup>

79 For details on the Chongyang bronze drum, see *The People's Pictorial* (*Renmin huabao* 人民畫報), September 1978; also, *Wenwu*. E Bo, Chong Wen, 'Hubei Chongyang chutu yi jian tonggu', 94.

80 *Zhouli zhushu*, 40.1304.

81 Xu Shen, *Shuowen jiezi*, 5A.15b (102).

82 *Maoshi zhengyi*, 16.1225–26.

83 *Maoshi zhengyi*, 16.1225–26.

84 *Hou Han shu*, 24.840.

Zeng Zhao (曾釗, 1793–1854) of the Qing dynasty recounts: 'In *Dongguan Hanji* (compiled in the Eastern Han dynasty) is written (in *juan* 12) that Ma Yuan sent a memorandum to the emperor that he had obtained bronze in the Luoyue region and had it cast into a statue of a horse. Fan Ye's (范曄, 398–445) book (Fan Ye was the principal writer of *The Official Book of the Later Han Dynasty* [*Hou Han shu*]), so the reference is to this text) states that Ma Yuan obtained a bronze drum, which is either an error at the time of writing or a later mistake when cutting the printing blocks. My suspicion is that the character "drum" 鼓 (*"gu"*) should elide with that for "cast" 鑄 (*"zhu"*) to form a two-character verb collocation, in which case the whole reads: "(Ma Yuan obtained bronze in the Luoyue region and had it) cast into the form of a horse." 《東觀漢記》載援奏以所得駱越銅，鑄以爲馬。范書云得銅鼓，或當時之誤，或後刻之譌。鼓字疑連鑄字讀，謂乃鼓鑄爲馬式。Reading the character for 'drum' 鼓 of 'bronze drum' 銅鼓 (*'tonggu'*) as a verb fundamentally contradicts the wording of the original text, and to do this is also at variance with *Records of Linyi* (*Linyi ji* 林邑記; now lost, quoted in sixth century texts). Zeng Zhao, 'Guangzhou zongdu junmen tonggu ji', 3.29a–29b (152i: 550).

*Shuijing* (*zhu*) 水經(注); by Li Daoyuan (酈道元, 466–527),<sup>85</sup> ‘Wenshui zhu’ 溫水注 (in *juan* 36) quotes *Records of Linyi* (*Linyiji* 林邑記): ‘In addition to Putong Tonggu, both Anding and Huanggang Xinkou in the Yue 越 region are places under the jurisdiction of Tonggu (銅鼓; these two characters mean “bronze drum”), that is, the territory of Luoyue. Bronze drums are found there, which is how it got its name. Ma Yuan obtained a drum there, brought it back, and used it to cast a statue of a horse.’ 浦通銅鼓外，越安定黃崗心口，蓋藉度銅鼓，即駱越地，有銅鼓因得其名，馬援取其鼓以鑄銅馬。<sup>86</sup> Anding is modern Du’an 都安 county; this passage marks the beginning of the usage of ‘bronze drum’ as a placename. In addition, ‘Yishui zhu’ 夷水注 (in *juan* 37) quotes *Records of Linyi*: ‘This river flows east through Anding county and joins the Yangtze River to the north.’<sup>87</sup> In midstream is a bronze boat cast by the ruler of Yue 越, which, when the flowing waters subside, can be seen by one and all.’ 其水東逕安定縣，北帶長江，江中有越王所鑄銅船，潮水退時，人有見之者。<sup>88</sup> Evidently, in the vicinity of Anding, not only were drums cast in bronze, but boats too.

*Guangdong xinyu* 廣東新語 (by Qu Dajun 屈大均, 1630–1696), *juan* 16: ‘In the Yue 粵 region, bronze drums are widely distributed and have mostly been obtained by digging them from the ground ... Lianzhou has a Bronze Drum pond, and Qinzhou a Bronze Drum village; in addition, in the north of Bobai county is a Bronze Drum pool.’ 粵處處有銅鼓，多從掘地而得。……廉州有銅鼓塘，欽州有銅鼓村。又博白縣北有銅鼓潭。<sup>89</sup> *Zheng He’s Navigation Chart* (*Zheng He haihang tu* 鄭和海航圖; Zheng He: 1371–1433) includes two mountains that are called Bronze Drum mountain (Tonggu shan 銅鼓山): one is in the east of Wenchang 文昌 county and the other south of Ling 靈 mountain (in Vietnam), which was a place once famous for producing bronze drums. Taking the one to prove the other, *Records of Linyi* is evidently a source that can be trusted.<sup>90</sup>

In recent years, bronze drums have been excavated in Yunnan; for example, in 1961 in Dabona 大波那 in Xiangyun 祥雲 county, one was excavated from a tomb whose occupant was buried in a wooden *guo* 槨 outer coffin and a bronze *guan* 棺 inner coffin. The tomb was, according to carbon dating, closed seventy-five years either side of 465 BCE, and so the drum is an artifact of approximately the late Spring and Autumn or Warring States periods.

85 *Shuijing* 水經 itself is by Sang Qin 桑欽 (*fl.* Eastern Han dynasty).

86 *Shuijing zhushu*, 36.3000–1.

87 This quotation is not in fact from the passage ‘Notes on the Yi River’ but pertains to the preceding river in the text.

88 *Shuijing zhushu*, 37.3050.

89 Qu Dajun, *Guangdong xinyu*, 437.

90 *Zheng He hanghai tu*, 40, 44.

Nowadays, Dabona is a village that contains a mixture of Han Chinese and members of the Bo 僂 ethnicity. According to the archaeological report of the excavation:

Bronze drum, one item. The drumhead is decorated with a four-pointed 'radiant star' ✧, outside whose ambit there are no circular 'aura' patterns. The 'thorax' and 'waist' sections of the drum chamber are devoid of decorative patterns. The thorax section is particularly bulbous, exceeding the drumhead in diameter, but the waist section is suddenly narrower. As the inward taper reaches the feet it flares out once more. A pair of ear-shaped attachments (henceforth 'ears') are situated at the junction of the thorax and waist sections. It is 28cm in height and the drumhead 23cm across, the diameter at the feet being 38cm. Its form and manufacture are relatively primitive. The drumhead does not yet have a twelve-pointed radiant star; the pair of ears are likewise not furnished with rope braid patterning, so it evidently belongs to the early period of bronze drum manufacture and their embryonic form.

銅鼓一件，鼓面作四角光芒 ✧，外周無暈紋，胴部腰部無紋飾。胴部特別膨脹，超過鼓面，腰部驟然收細，至足部入向外發展。雙耳位於胴部與腰部之間，通高二八公分，面二三公分，足徑三八公分。銅鼓造型比較原始。鼓面上還沒有十二角光芒。雙耳也不作繩辮紋，顯然屬於早期銅鼓的雛形。<sup>91</sup>

At present, this is the earliest known surviving bronze drum. Feng Hanji has observed aspects of close similarity in form between the Xiangyun bronze drum and a bronze cooking pot that was unearthed at the same time and thereby highlighted that the bronze drum possibly evolved from the bronze pot, which was not just a cooking utensil, but could be inverted to become a percussion instrument.<sup>92</sup> Investigation of *The Official Book of the Wei Dynasty* (*Wei shu* 魏書), *juan* 101, (which includes) 'Lao zhuan' 獠傳 finds that it gives: 'Bronze is cast into a utensil with a large aperture and a narrow waist, which is called a bronze *cuan*.' 鑄銅爲器，大口寡腹，名曰銅爨。<sup>93</sup> 'A bronze cooking utensil' is what is meant by 'a bronze *cuan*', and this item is not necessarily a precursor to the bronze drum. Regarding the various types of Western Han

91 Yunnan sheng wenwu gongzuodui, 'Yunnan Xiangyun Dabona muguo tongguan mu qingli baogao', 611, 614.

92 Wenwu. Feng Hanji, 'Yunnan Jinning chutu tonggu yanjiu', 58.

93 *Wei shu*, 101.2249.

dynasty bronze drums that have emerged from Shizhai mountain, in only the first two excavations between 1955 and 1957, seventeen were excavated as well as nineteen bronze-drum shaped receptacles for the shells used as currency; for details, see: *Report on Excavations at Shizhai Mountain (Shizhai shan fajue baogao 石寨山發掘報告)*.<sup>94</sup> From Lijia 李家 mountain in Jiangchuan 江川, eight bronze drums were excavated in 1972 whose provenance was approximately the Western Han dynasty. The bronze drums unearthed in Yunnan have already been organised into a specialist book on the subject called *Yunnan sheng bowuguan tonggu tulu 雲南省博物館銅鼓圖錄* (published in 1959 in Yunnan).

Recently, on the island of Hainan, Lingshui 陵水 county, four bronze drums adorned with 'cloud-thunder' patterns have been excavated, which apparently have a provenance of the Warring States period. *Guangdong xinyu (juan 16)* records two bronze drums in the Thunder God Temple (Lei miao 雷廟) of Yinglinggang 英靈岡 in Leizhou 雷州 that were kept in a small room there and played by acolytes from time to time for the enjoyment of the Thunder God; they were thus called 'thunder drums', from which the close relationship between bronze drums and thunder can be appreciated. Also, in Guangxi, Gui 貴 county, 25 Western Han dynasty tombs and 104 Eastern Han dynasty tombs have been excavated, but in only one of the early Eastern Han dynasty tombs was a bronze drum found.<sup>95</sup> It can thus be seen that in the Warring States period and Western Han dynasty, bronze drums had already appeared in the region of Dian lake (Dian chi 滇池), their players were not limited to ethnicities of the Luoyue culture, and their use did not begin in the epoch of Ma Fupo (Ma Yuan);<sup>96</sup> the notion of a 'Ma Yuan drum' is in fact entirely without foundation.<sup>97</sup> *Shuijing zhu*, 'Heshui zhu' 河水注 (*juan 3*) under an entry on Lishi 離石 county records that in the Longsheng era (龍昇, 407–413) of the reign of the Xiongnu ruler Helian Bobo (赫連勃勃, 381–425, r. 407–425) in the fortress city of Tongwan 統萬, bronze was cast into a large drum, but more details of this are not known.

94 Yunnan sheng bowuguan, *Yunan Jinning Shizhaishan gumu qun fajue baogao*, 79.

95 For an image of this artifact see: *Kaogu xuebao*. Guangxi sheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui, 'Guangxi Guixian Hanmu de qingli', 159.

96 *Taozhai jijin lu* 陶齋吉金錄 (compiled by Duan Fang 端方, 1861–1911), *juan 7*, has notes on a bronze drum whose inscription reads: 'In the sixth year of the Jianwu era (30 CE); made by (Ma) Fupo', 建武六年伏波造, but these characters are a forgery. *Taozhai jijin lu*, 7.1a–1b.

97 Bronze drums were not made by Ma Fupo, as has already been successfully argued by Zeng Zhao. See his: *Miancheng lou jichao*, *juan 3*, 'Guangzhou zongdu junmen tonggu ji'. Zeng Zhao, 'Guangzhou zongdu junmen tonggu ji', 3.29a–29b (152: 550).

*Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era*, *juan* 582, quotes the Jin dynasty native of Kuaiji, Yu Xi (虞喜, 281–356), whose *Zhilin* 志林 gives: ‘In the twenty-fourth year of the Jianwu era (48 CE), a man of the South prefecture presented a bronze drum that carried an inscription.’ 建武二十四年，南郡男子獻銅鼓，有銘。<sup>98</sup> Fang Xinru (方信孺, 1177–1222) of the Song dynasty in *Nanhai baiyong* 南海百詠 had once quoted this sentence to refute the error that the bronze drum was first mentioned in *The Official Book of the Sui Dynasty* (*Sui shu*, ‘Dili zhi’ 地理志, *juan* 29–31);<sup>99</sup> however, even if accustomed to seeing bronze drums that were mostly devoid of characters, records in books on the antiquities of bronze and stone do still occasionally contain listings of one or two that were furnished with inscriptions. *Baqiong shi jinshi zhaji*: ‘The circumference of the bronze drum here is four *chi* feet and eight *cun* inches, in height it is eight *cun* and five *fen* deci-inches, and it is an antique piece belonging to Ye Dongqing (*fl.* Qing dynasty). In the fourth month of the *jiaxu* year (presumably 1874), it was damaged by fire, flattened on one side, and the damage cannot be rectified. It carries an inscription that reads: “Made by the Great Ruler on the eighteenth day of the sixth month of the *gengwu* year;” eleven characters in small seal script, probably inscribed at the instigation of the chief of the Miao barbarians.’ 銅鼓圍圖今尺四尺八寸，高八寸五分，葉東卿故物也。甲戌四月厄於火，罅扁不可整理矣。有款識云：「大王庚午季六月十八日造」，小篆十一字，蓋苗蠻長所爲也。<sup>100</sup> These were probably carved by someone of a later epoch.

In the Jin dynasty, the Yi (non-Han) races of Guangzhou collected Han dynasty currency and used it to cast drums. *The Official Book of the Jin Dynasty* (*Jin shu* 晉書), ‘Shihuo zhi’ 食貨志 gives: ‘In the third year of the Taiyuan era (378), the Jin dynasty emperor Xiaowu (362–396, r. 376–396) issued a decree that stated: “Currency is the most onerous treasure of the state. The lowly person is greedy for profit and thus unceasingly ruins all that is around him, and local *jiansi* officials should pay close attention to this. The Yi races of Guangzhou regard bronze drums as extremely precious, but their region has never produced the copper required for casting them. I have heard that both official and private merchants from here have been there, frequently transporting currency greedily, weighing up items, and always choosing according to weight; for this reason, they entered Guangzhou. Their goods were then traded with the Yi races who melted them down and cast them into drums. This behaviour is absolutely forbidden, and those caught perpetrating it will be

98 *Taiping yulan*, 582.4b (2624).

99 Fang Xinru, *Nanhai baiyong*, 3123: 21.

100 Lu Zengxiang, *Baqiongshi jinshi zhaji*, 2.26b (11: 707).

subject to the full rigour of the law.” 孝武太元三年，詔曰：錢，國之重寶。小人貪利，銷壞無已，監司當以爲意。廣州夷人寶貴銅鼓，而州境素不出銅，聞官私賈人皆於此下貪比輪錢斤兩差重，以入廣州，貨與夷人鑄敗作鼓，其重爲禁制，得者科罪。<sup>101</sup>

In this way, the Yi races of Yue 粵 used Han currency as the raw material for casting their drums, which led to the practice being forbidden by the Jin regime, and this also tells us that the ability of the Yi races of Yue 粵 to cast drums has a long history. As for those cast by the Han race, *Qiongzhou fu zhi* 瓊州府志, *juan* 43, 'Jinshi' 金石: 'A bronze drum was discovered in the town of Haikou on which someone's full name was clearly cast, and the text read: "In the twelfth year of the Chenghua era (1476) of the Magnificent Ming dynasty, in Panyu in Guangzhou, the prefectural capital, cast by Li Futong (*fl.* late fifteenth–early sixteenth century) of the Hakka ethnicity." 海口市發現之銅鼓，其上分明鑄刻姓名，文云「大明成化十二年廣州府番禺客人李福通鑄造」。<sup>102</sup> (The drum is now kept at the Tianning Temple [Tianning si 天寧寺].)

As for a late period bronze drum excavated in Guangxi that has eight characters cast on it in the *kaishu* (modern standard) script: 'For eternal generations, family property for ten thousand dynasties, received as a treasure,' 永世家財萬代進寶, it is likely to have been an article cast by Han craftsmen for transport into borderlands occupied by the Miao ethnicity. Regarding bronze drums bearing writing, Luo Zhenyu (羅振玉, 1866–1940) in *Jinni shixie* 金泥石屑 records an inscription on a bronze drum: 'Made on the fifth day of the eleventh month of the greater *jiashen qinmao* (*xinmao*?) year' 大甲申親〔辛?〕卯歲十一月五日造。(In the collection of Master Qian [錢氏, untraceable, *fl.* late nineteenth–early twentieth centuries] of Taicang 太倉) In addition, he states: 'Master Li (untraceable, *fl.* late nineteenth–early twentieth centuries) of Yangzhou has in his collection a Jin dynasty bronze drum that has a date of the Yixi era (405–419) inscribed on it in the *kaishu* script, and it is undoubtedly an authentic piece. I requested a rubbing of the inscription but to no avail.' 揚州李氏藏晉銅鼓有義熙年月，楷書陰刻，決爲真物，予求其拓本，不可得也。<sup>103</sup>

As far as Master Li's Jin dynasty drum is concerned, Wang Jun (汪鑿, b. 1816) in *Shi'er yan zhai jinshi guoyan lu* 十二硯齋金石過眼錄, *juan* 3, states that it had come from the Yu 虞 Temple;<sup>104</sup> however, Xu Shujun (徐樹鈞, 1842–1910) in *Baoya zhai tiba* 寶鴨齋題跋 explains it as employed by the *yuhou* 虞候

101 Zheng Shixu's *Tonggu kaolie* has already cited this entry.

102 *Daoguang Qiongzhou fu zhi*, 43.46a.

103 Luo Zhenyu, *Jinni shixie*, 13: 5321.

104 Wang Jun, *Shi'er yan zhai jinshi guoyan lu*, 3.10b (13: 335).

military official of ancient times and considers that it was a drum for use by the army; his justification for this is: ‘Liu Juqing (1874–1926; also called Liu Shiheng 劉世珩) had observed and set before us a rubbing of a bronze drum of the Yixi era.... its inscription read: “In the tenth month of the fourth year of the Yixi era, a drum of the *yujun* military official, in width three *chi* feet and five *cun* inches; the vanguard *shuai* commander of Ningyuan, acting *kaicao* commander Du Long (untraceable, *fl.* fifth century);” this inscription comprised twenty-five characters. Note: In the Sui dynasty, there were two *yuhou* officials: “left” and “right”; and in the Song dynasty, each army had a *du yuhou* commander who individually controlled both cavalry and infantry armies. The Jin dynasty had a *kaicao canjun* commander, and the Qi dynasty “left” and “right” *kaicao* commanders, one each. In the Sui dynasty, the “left” and “right” defence ministries each employed an individual who served as the *kaicao* acting *canjun* commander. The Jin dynasty emperor Wudi (236–290, r. 266–290) established the position of *weishuai* defence commander, which in the fifth year of the Taishi era (269), was divided into “left” and “right” *shuai* commanders, and additionally there were also “front” and “back” *shuai* commanders, as well as the position of “central” *shuai* commander, so in total five *shuai* commanders. The Jin dynasty had the post of Ningyuan general. The inscription on this bronze drum uses the term “*yujun*”, so in the Jin dynasty, there was already an official of that rank; it gives: “vanguard ... Ningyuan,” which indicates a commander of Ningyuan senior to an ordinary general; it gives: “acting *kaicao* commander,” which is identical to the Jin dynasty *kaicao can(jun)* commander.’ 劉聚卿觀察出示義熙銅鼓拓本，..... 其文曰：「義熙四年十月虞軍官鼓，廣三尺五寸，前鋒寧遠率行鎧曹杜龍」二十五字。按隋有左右虞候，宋每軍有都虞候，分掌馬步軍。晉有鎧曹參軍，齊有左右鎧曹各一人，隋左右衛府有鎧曹行參軍事一人。晉武帝置衛率，泰始五年分爲左右率，又加前後二率，又置中衛率，是爲五率。晉有寧遠將軍，此銅鼓文曰虞軍，是晉時已有虞軍之名；曰前鋒寧遠，是寧遠將軍之率；曰行鎧曹，與晉鎧曹參〔君〕正同。<sup>105</sup>

Note: This Jin dynasty drum was used for military purposes and does not necessarily have any relationship to the bronze drums of non-Han Yi races of the south-west, though it does serve to prove Yu Xi’s theories in *Zhilin* regarding inscriptions on bronze drums. Luo Shilin’s (羅士琳, 1783–1853) *Jin yixi tonggu kao* 晉義熙銅鼓考 records its physical form;<sup>106</sup> this piece, having undergone a detailed appraisal to establish its authenticity, can be regarded as the only surviving example of a Jin dynasty drum. *Tang liu dian* 唐六典 (by Zhang Jiuling 張九齡, 678–740, et al.; *juan* 16) gives: ‘According to their manufacture, drums

105 Xu Shujun, *Baoya zhai tiba*, 391.

106 Luo Shilin, *Jin yixi tonggu kao*, 111: 103–109.

used for military purposes can be divided into three categories: firstly, bronze drums; secondly, war drums; and thirdly, *nao* drums.' 凡軍鼓之制有三:一曰銅鼓, 二曰戰鼓, 三曰鐃鼓.<sup>107</sup> This bronze drum was manufactured as a military drum.

*Dazhou zhengyue* 大周正樂 (by Dou Yan 竇儼, 918–960) (cited in the 'Music Category' of *Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era*) gives: 'Bronze drums are cast from bronze; they are open at one end; the other end is covered, and this is where they are struck. Types of bronze drums of the southern non-Han Yi ethnicity, the Indo-Chinese state of Funan, and India are all like this.' 銅鼓鑄銅爲之, 虛其一面, 覆而擊其上。南蠻、扶南、天竺類皆如此。<sup>108</sup> Qu Dajun states: 'Regarding bronze drums, those made of copper are of superior quality and those of brass inferior. Their sound abides by and emerges from the umbilical midpoint of the drumhead. In Guangzhou, there are only ten or more craftsmen able to melt the metal to cast bronze drums, and they are very secretive about their craft and will pass it on only to their sons and not their daughters.' 凡爲銅鼓以紅銅爲上, 黃銅次之。其聲在臍。廣州鍊銅鼓師不過十餘人, 其法絕秘, 傳子不傳女。<sup>109</sup>

Texts that deal with the excavation of bronze drums include the following: Liu Xun (劉恂, *fl.* ninth century) of the Tang dynasty's *Lingbiao luyi* 嶺表錄異 records that in the time of the Tang dynasty emperor Xizong (唐僖宗, 862–888, r. 873–888), on the day that Zheng Yin (鄭綱, 752–829; see below) who was sent to pacify the region of Panyu arrived, the Governor of Gaozhou 高州, Lin Ai (林藹, *fl.* ninth century), obtained a bronze drum from the tomb of a barbarian chief on which were cast effigies of frogs and toads. In addition, it also records that at the end of the Xiantong era (咸通, 860–874), the administrator of Youzhou 幽州, Zhang Fangzhi (張方直, *fl.* ninth century), dug from the earth a bronze drum at Gongzhou 龔州 (modern Pingnan 平南 in Guangxi).<sup>110</sup> Chronologically, the matter concerning Zheng Yin is listed as occurring after that of Zhang Fangzhi (which is problematic considering Zheng Yin's lifespan).

Note: Zhu Yizun's *ba* postscript regarding the two bronze drums of the Southern Sea Temple (Nanhai miao 南海廟) in Guangzhou gives: 'The Temple of the Southern Sea God of the upper reaches of the Boluo river has two bronze drums. The provenance of the largest of these is when the Tang dynasty Military Commissioner of Lingnan, Zheng Yin, set forth on his pacification

107 *Tang liu dian*, 16.460.

108 *Taiping yulan*, 582.6b (2625).

109 Qu Dajun, *Guangdong xinyu*, 銅鼓 no. 465, 438.

110 Liu Xun, *Lingbiao luyi*, A.4.



mission; the Governor of Gaozhou, Lin Ai, had obtained it from a household of the Dong ethnicity to present to Zheng Yin, and he brought it to the forecourt of the Temple where the gift was given. Its drumhead is five *chi* feet wide and from the hidden umbilical midpoint of the drumhead radiating outwards are evenly strewn patterns of sea fishes, crustacea, frogs, and so on. On both flanks are ears. The whole drum is slightly green in colour and mottled with patches of a cinnabar tint. (The second and smaller drum) surfaced when water levels subsided on the mudflats at Xunzhou and is entirely green in hue but speckled with markings like a partridge.' 波羅江上南海神廟銅鼓二。大者，唐嶺南節度鄭綱出鎮時，高州守林藹得之峒戶以獻綱，納諸廟前，面闊五尺，臍隱起羅布海魚蝦蟃等紋，旁設兩耳。通體色微青，雜以丹砂癍。一從潯州灘水湧出，色純綠，雜以鷓鴣斑。<sup>111</sup>

*Xiqing gujian*, *juan* 37, also cites the matter of Zheng Yin but gives that the bronze drum was obtained from Chunzhou 春州; Gaozhou and Chunzhou are nonetheless relatively near to each other. On investigation, it is found that on the *guichou* 癸丑 (fiftieth) day in the third month of the fifth year of the Yuanhe 元和 era (810) of the reign of the Tang dynasty emperor Xianzong (唐憲宗, 778–820, r. 793–820),<sup>112</sup> Zheng Yin emerged to take up the reins of power as the Military Commissioner of Lingnan,<sup>113</sup> thus to give these events as happening during the reign of the emperor Xizong is in fact an error. *Tang yu lin* 唐語林 (by Wang Dang 王讜, fl. late eleventh–early twelfth centuries), *juan* 1, tells of how Zheng Yin of Yangwu 陽武 desired to write a book entitled *Yi bi* 易比,<sup>114</sup> which indicates he probably enjoyed a significant reputation as a Confucianist and could be named in the company of Zhang Shen (張參, 714–786) and Chang Gun (常袞, 729–783). (*The Old Official Book of the Tang Dynasty* [*Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書; *juan* 159 contains a 'Biography of Zheng Yin' ('Zheng Yin zhuan' 鄭綱傳)])<sup>115</sup> In addition, *Nanhai baiyong* in the entry for 'Bronze Drum' ('Tonggu' 銅鼓) gives: 'Bronze drums are found in Southern Sea Temples of both the East and the West. The one in the East Temple has a diameter of five *chi* feet and five *cun* inches and is half as much as this in height. Folk tales tell that it is relic of the epoch of the mythical ruler Hong Shengwang.' 南海東西廟皆有銅鼓，東廟者徑至五尺五寸，高有其半。俗謂洪聖王舊物。<sup>116</sup>

111 Zhu Yizun, 'Nanhaimiao er tonggu tuba', 46.7a–7b (1318:173).

112 Most sources of *The Old Official Book of the Tang Dynasty* give the *guisi* 癸巳 (thirtieth) day instead.

113 *The Old Official Book of the Tang Dynasty* (*Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書), 'Annals of the Emperor Xianzong' ('Xianzong ji' 憲宗記; *juan* 15). *Jiu Tang shu*, 'Xianzong', 14.430.

114 Wang Dang, *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.46.

115 *Jiu Tang shu*, 159.4180.

116 Fang Xinru, *Nanhai baiyong*, 3123: 21.

The same book also gives: 'The armoury in the prefectural capital also possesses two specimens, and the provenance of one of these is when Tang Xizong sent Zheng Xu to pacify the region of Panyu, and the day the latter arrived, the Governor of Gaozhou, Lin Ai, presented it to him; for narration of the events, see *Lingbiao luyi*.' 府之武庫亦有其二，其一蓋唐僖宗朝鄭續鎮番禺日，高州太守林藹所獻。云事見《嶺表異錄》。<sup>117</sup> In this version of the passage, the name Zheng Yin 鄭綱 is erroneously given as Zheng Xu 鄭續, and subsequently both Huang Zuo (黃左, 1490–1566) and Ruan Yuan (阮元, 1764–1849) in *Guangdong tong zhi* 廣東通志 make the same mistake; it was not until Yang Ji (楊霽 b. 1837) in the Guangxu era (光緒, 1875–1909) text *Gaozhou fu zhi* 高州府志, 55, that the error was rectified. Only Fang Xinru takes the large drum of the East Temple of the Southern Sea and the drum that Zheng Yin obtained in Gaozhou and determines them to be two unrelated matters, which is also at variance with Zhu Yizun's narrative.<sup>118</sup> The large drum in the Temple of the Southern Sea God has a drumhead diameter as wide as five *chi* feet and five *cun* inches, so Zhu Zhucha regarded it as the largest of possible drums, however, Pei Yuan 裴淵 of the Jin dynasty in *Record of Guangzhou* (*Guangzhou ji* 廣州記) gives: 'The Li and Lao ethnicities cast bronze into drums, and they only regard tall and large drums as precious, and their drumheads have to be as wide as a whole *zhang* (ten *chi* feet) or more before they can be regarded as unusual.' 俚僚鑄銅爲鼓，鼓唯高大爲貴，面闊丈餘，方以爲奇。<sup>119</sup> The large drum of the Southern Sea Temple bears no comparison with this. The bronze drums excavated in all areas of the Yue 粵 region have been recorded in detail by Qu Dajun. As noted by Xie Qikun (謝啓昆, 1737–1802) in 'Investigation of

117 Fang Xinru, *Nanhai baiyong*, 3123: 21.

118 The copy available nowadays of *Lingbiao luyi* is in fact a composite version made in the fortieth year of the emperor Qianlong's (乾隆, 1711–1799, r. 1736–1796) reign by officials of the Four Repositories (*Siku* 四庫) based on extracts from the *Great Encyclopedia of the Yongle Era* (*Yongle dadian* 永樂大典; Yongle era: 1403–1424). Master Fang's *Nanhai baiyong* was not included in the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書, and it was not until the Daoguang era (道光, 1821–1851) that a manuscript copy in Jiang Fan's (江藩, 1761–1831) collection was used for publication. The suspicion is that Zhu Zhucha had not had sight of these. He had himself been to 'Sheep City' (羊城 Yangcheng; another name for Guangzhou) and had had the opportunity to view the two drums with his own eyes. Weng Fanggang's (翁方綱, 1733–1818) long poem in the ancient style about a rubbing of a song inscription on a bronze drum includes the lines: '(Aforetimes) on ten occasions, I ascended to the Southern Sea Temple; in its halls, streamers hang at both east and west; the drum at the east is the largest, and that at the west the smallest;' 十登南海廟，殿庭縵索東西垂。東者最大西次小; this description is entirely congruent with Zhu Zhucha's remarks. (Weng Fanggang's poem is usually titled: 'Tonggu ge ti Qufu Yan shi taben' 銅鼓歌題曲阜顏氏拓本.) Weng Fanggang, 'Tonggu ge ti Qufu Yanshi taben', 82.11b (1: 1248).

119 *Taiping yulan*, 785.8b (3478).

Bronze Drums' ('Tonggu kao' 銅鼓考), the drums of Yulinzhou 鬱林州 in Beiliu 北流 county all have a diameter of two *chi* feet or slightly more, and none is larger than that mentioned by Pei Yuan.<sup>120</sup> Accounts indicate that the largest and heaviest drum of all was discovered in the second year of the Republican era in Liucheng 柳城 in Guangxi and was seven hundred *jin* (斤; 350kg) in weight; see *Liucheng xian zhi* 柳城縣志 (published in 1940), 'Jin shi' 金石.<sup>121</sup>

In *The Official Book of the Chen Dynasty* (*Chen shu* 陳書), 'Biography of Ouyang Wei' ('Ouyang Wei zhuan' 歐陽頎傳; included in *juan* 9; Ouyang Wei: 497–563): 'Lan Qin (*fl.* sixth century) went on a campaign to subdue the Lao barbarians and captured Chen Wenche (also *fl.* sixth century) as well as numerous other prisoners-of-war, who presented him with a bronze drum the like of which had not been seen for several dynasties, and Ouyang Wei predicted that his achievement would be recognised by the imperial court.' 蘭欽南征夷獠，擒陳文徹，所獲不可勝計，獻大銅鼓，累代所無，頎預其功。<sup>122</sup> In addition is also given: 'Ouyang Wei's younger brother Ouyang Sheng (*fl.* sixth century) was appointed the administrator of Jiaozhou and his second younger brother Ouyang Sui (also *fl.* sixth century) appointed the administrator of Hengzhou, and the combination made for an illustrious family whose reputation caused the ground of south China to shake; on many occasions, they dispatched bronze drums and livestock to the imperial court, as well as presenting all things rich and strange.' 時頎弟盛為交州刺史，次弟遂為衡州刺史，合門顯貴，名振南土。又多致銅鼓、生口，獻奉珍異。<sup>123</sup> Note: The Ouyang clan of Changsha from Ouyang Wei to Ouyang He (歐陽紘; 537–570) was a resplendently powerful family, and their autocratic control of the region absolute.<sup>124</sup> Their power reached as far as areas such as the borderlands of Hunan and Guangxi with Guangdong, which matches precisely the region where bronze drums were produced; thus, in that period many bronze drums were obtained, and history has called it the epoch of large drums, but sadly no detailed records survive. Those accounts that do exist usually narrate that the bronze drums that Ouyang Wei presented were won on the battlefield, and they are untrustworthy.

120 Xie Qikun, 'Tonggu kao', 15.2a (22: 239).

121 *Guangxi sheng Liucheng xianzhi*, no. 127, 3.30.

122 *Chen shu*, 9.157.

123 See also: *The Official History of the Southern Dynasties*, 'Biography of Ouyang Wei' ('Ouyang Wei zhuan'; included in *juan* 66) whose wording is broadly similar. *Chen shu*, 9.157–159. *Nan shi*, 56.16131–614.

124 See: 'Ouyang shi shici bei' 歐陽氏世次碑, as recorded in Wei Xizeng's (魏錫曾, 1828–1881) *Feijian zhai beilu* 非見齋碑錄 of which the Central Library in Taiwan has the original manuscript in its collection.

*The New Official Book of the Tang Dynasty* (*Xin Tang shu* 新唐書), 'Biography of Feng Ang' ('Feng Ang zhuan' 馮盎傳; in *juan* 110; Feng Ang: 571–646): '(Feng) Ziqiu (*fl.* seventh century) struck the bronze drum and deceptively dispatched his underlings to arrest Xu Guan (*fl.* seventh century); 子猷擊銅鼓，蒙排執御史許瓘;<sup>125</sup> in *juan* 222 ('Southern Barbarians' ['Nanman' 南蠻]), Part Three (of Three), a section titled '(South of the) Western Cuan' ('Xicuan [zhi nan]' 西爨〔之南〕): 'Assemble together, strike bronze drums, blow horns.' 會聚擊銅鼓吹角.<sup>126</sup> *Broad Records of the Taiping Era* (*Taiping guang ji* 太平廣記; completed in 978), *juan* 205 (section titled 'Bronze Drums' ['Tonggu' 銅鼓]): 'In the Zhenyuan era (785–805) of the Tang dynasty, the households of chieftains of the southern barbarians all had bronze drums.' 唐貞元中，南蠻酋首之家皆有此鼓.<sup>127</sup> Bronze drums were clearly a symbol of power for the inhabitants of south China, and whenever they assembled, they played on these drums for their amusement.

As shown in Li Jiarui's (李家瑞, 1895–1975) 'Distribution Map of Bronze Drums since the Han and Jin Dynasties' ('Han Jin yilai tonggu fenbu ditu' 漢晉以來銅鼓分佈地圖),<sup>128</sup> a reasonable deduction made according to those areas where bronze drums have been discovered with comparative frequency is that these instruments were originally the possessions of the Yi 彝 (different from the non-Han Yi 夷), Miao 苗, Zhuang 僮, and Yao 徭 ethnicities, however, up until the present, the only evidence that the Yi 彝 had the bronze drum comes from the Shizhai mountain locality in Yunnan. In other words, there are no written records that the bronze drum was played by the Tang dynasty Wuman 烏蠻 barbarians of the south-west, which has led some scholars to speculate that the Yi 彝 were not definitively an ethnicity that played the bronze drum.<sup>129</sup> He Jisheng's 何紀生 rewritten 'Gudai tonggu fenbu diyu' 古代銅鼓分布地域<sup>130</sup> supplies abundant material and indicates that in the six south-western provinces, bronze drums have been unearthed from a total of 132 locations, which is abundant evidence to demonstrate that they were an intrinsic component of the common culture of the races of the south-west and did not belong only to the Luoyue cultural system.

125 *Xin Tang shu*, 110.4114.

126 *Xin Tang shu*, 222B.6320.

127 *Taiping guangji*, 205.1564.

128 *Archaeology*. The actual title is slightly different: *Map of Discoveries of Bronze Drums since the Han and Jin Dynasties*. Li Jiarui, 'Han Jin yi lai tonggu faxian diqu tu', 504, 507.

129 Article by Du Shan in *Archaeology*; Du Shan, 'Yizu bushi shiyong tonggu de minzu', 425, 428.

130 *Archaeology*. He Jisheng, 'Lüeshu Zhongguo gudai tonggu de fenbu diyu', 31–39.

In 1974, Hong Sheng 洪聲 published his *Research into the Ancient Bronze Drums of Guangxi* (*Guangxi gudai tonggu yanjiu* 廣西古代銅鼓研究) that established that according to accession numbers, the Guangxi Zhuang Ethnicity Autonomous Region Museum had startlingly collected a total of 325 bronze drums, and of these, those of Guangxi were the most numerous.<sup>131</sup> Evidently, from the Han and Jin dynasties onwards, the Li and Lao 僚 ethnicities treated the casting of bronze drums as an ennobling activity. On examining artifacts excavated at the Warring States tombs in the Yin 銀 mountains at Pingle 平樂 in Guangxi, there is only weaponry made of bronze, that is, spears and swords, and no bronze drums are to be found, which means that the custom of casting bronze drums is not as early there as it was in the Dian 滇 region. This has therefore led scholars of recent times to postulate that the non-Han Yi 夷 races of the Dian south-western marches were the first to manufacture bronze drums.<sup>132</sup>

Regarding the origin of bronze drums, Wang Shu (王澍, 1668–1743; the intended individual is actually Zhang Shu 張澍, 1776–1847) of the Qing dynasty in *Shiben cuiji buzhu* 世本粹集補注 cites Du You's *Tongdian* and gives: 'Shiben (a lost Warring States text) tells: "Wu Xian (fl. Shang dynasty) made a bronze drum.'" 《世本》：巫咸作銅鼓。<sup>133</sup> In (*Records of the Grand Historian* [*Shiji* 史記]) 'Fundamental Annals of the Yin Dynasty' ('Yin benji' 殷本紀; *juan* 3), Wu Xian was an official of the ruler Da Wu (大戊; fl. Shang dynasty) who successfully administered the affairs of the royal household and wrote *Xian's Governance* (*Xian Yi* 咸乂).<sup>134</sup> In Hubei, a Shang dynasty two-headed *fen*-type bronze drum has been excavated that demonstrates that the record in *Shiben* is not entirely devoid of foundation. Note: *Tongdian*, *juan* 144: 'Bronze drums are cast from bronze; they are open at one end; the other end is covered, and this is where they are struck. Types of bronze drums of the southern non-Han Yi ethnicities, the Indo-Chinese state of Funan, and India are all like this; in Lingnan, they are possessed by wealthy families; the largest are more than a *zhang* in width.' 銅鼓，鑄銅爲之，虛其一面，覆而擊其上，南夷、扶南、天竺類皆如此，嶺南豪家則有之。大者廣丈餘。<sup>135</sup> In addition, (*Tongdian*) 'Leather Category' ('Gelei' 革類; in *juan* 144) gives: 'Regarding drums, *Shiben* states that non-Han Yi races make drums.' 鼓，《世本》云：夷作鼓。<sup>136</sup> This reference clearly indicates

131 *Kaogu xuebao*. Hong Sheng, 'Guangxi gudai tonggu yanjiu', 45–90.

132 See Wang Ningsheng's 'Speculatory Discussion on Ancient Chinese Bronze Drums' in *Kaogu xuebao*. Wang Ningsheng, 'Shilun Zhongguo gudai tonggu', 159–192.

133 Zhang Shu, *Shiben cuiji buzhu*, 1.15.

134 Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 3.100.

135 *Tongdian*, 144.3674.

136 *Tongdian*, 144.3675.

leather-headed drums. Wang (Zhang) Shu goes on to elaborate that when Zhuge Liang (諸葛亮, 181–234) made bronze drums, he took as his template the one mentioned in the context of Wu Xian.

On investigation of actual specimens, the bronze drum age can be pushed back to the Yin dynasty. Those furnished with fine and elegant geometric thunder patterns are early items of ancient history and were already circulating in the Warring States period; those with the embossed script of ‘five *zhu*’ 銖 coinage on plaques prepared for writing to be moulded on have a provenance that reaches into the late Han dynasty.<sup>137</sup> All the bronze drums documented in *Xiqing gujian* are regarded as being of Han dynasty provenance, a notion that is the result of scholars of earlier generations being constrained by the Ma Fubo theory. In the epoch of the Tang dynasty emperor Zhaozong (唐昭宗, 867–904, r. 888–904), Liu Xun describes a bronze drum that he had seen: ‘All over its body were images of insects, fish, flowers, and grasses.’ 其身遍有蟲魚花草之狀。<sup>138</sup>

From the Sui dynasty onwards, the power and influence of the Han gradually penetrated neighbouring areas of the non-Han Yi 夷, Lao, Man, and Dan races, and craftsmanship and technologies were gradually absorbed over the generations and became ever more refined. The casting of bronze drums went as far as to use melted Han dynasty coinage as its raw material, for example, the bronze drum that emerged from the tomb of Yang Can (楊粲, fl. late twelfth–early thirteenth centuries) in Zunyi 遵義 in Guizhou was cast from Song dynasty Yuanyou era (元祐, 1086–1093) *tongbao* 通寶 currency.<sup>139</sup> *The Official History of the Ming Dynasty* (*Ming shi* 明史), ‘Biography of Liu Xian’ (‘Liu Xian *zhuan*’ 劉顯傳; in *juan* 212; Liu Xian: d. 1581) records that in the ninth year of the Wanli 萬曆 era (1580), the *xunfu* 巡撫 Governor-General of Sichuan obtained ninety-three drums from Jiushi 九絲 mountain in Xingwen 興文 county. This is the largest single quantity of bronze drums recorded in historical texts and indicates that widespread manufacture took place in later periods. Li Guangting’s (李光庭, fl. late eighteenth–early nineteenth centuries) compilation *Jijin cun* 吉金存, *juan* 4, includes two bronze drums, of which one even has a pattern of the character 酉 (‘you’, meaning: ‘the 10th earthly branch’) in its central aura, with the character itself used as the source of the design; in addition, the other in its second aura has incised images of animals and what

137 Consult: Huang Zengqing’s 黃增慶 ‘A Preliminary Exploration of Excavated Bronze Drums of the Western Shang dynasty’ in *Archaeology*. Huang Zengqing, ‘Guangxi chutu tonggu chutan’, 578–588.

138 Liu Xun, *Lingbiao luyi*, A.4.

139 Li Yanyuan, ‘Guizhou sheng Zunyi xian chutu tonggu’, 54–56.

appear to be branches bearing blossom in the style of Chinese paintings.<sup>140</sup> Whether this piece is a forgery cannot be ascertained, but both belong to a late period and represent the phenomenon of a style after it has deeply imbibed Han culture.

### 3 Records of Bronze Drums Overseas Together with Discussion of 'Export Drums'

Prof. Matsumoto Nobuhiro (松本信廣, 1897–1981) in his book *A Study of the Religious Thoughts of Ancient Indian and Chinese Rice Farmers* gives detailed exposition one by one of the bronze drums held in every area and only to some extent does not touch on those kept in certain regions overseas.<sup>141</sup>

*Juan 37* of *Xiqing gujian* includes fourteen bronze drums. The first of these has a drumhead that is in diameter two *chi* feet, five *cun* inches, and three *fen*, and to the side of the drumhead, ridden by a knight and galloping forth, an effigy of a horse is leaning, a format said not to have been found on ancient specimens (Figure 7.b). Shang Chengzuo's (商承祚, 1902–1991) *Shi'er jia jijin tulu* 十二家吉金圖錄 includes a bronze drum belonging to Sun Zhuang (孫壯, b. 1879), soubriquet Xueyuan 雪園, and its patterns include four mounted knights, and at the drum rim, six people are dancing, which is an extremely similar genre of design.<sup>142</sup> The second, third, fourth, and sixth drums of *Xiqing gujian* are furnished with four frogs; the remaining drums have coinage patterns, flags and banners, birds, lightning patterns, and so on, and these characteristics are not at all like those of the first drum. (*Xiqing xujian jiabian* (西清) 續鑑甲編 (also completed in 1751) records four drums, and all have no frogs. The first of these drums has a drumhead diameter of approximately two *chi* feet and five *cun* inches, and the others are small drums, the third and fourth sporting patterns of flags and banners.<sup>143</sup> *Xiqing xujian yibian* 西清續鑑乙編 (also completed in 1751) lists five drums, of which one is furnished with four frogs and whose diameter is approximately two *chi* feet and four *cun* inches, while the others are small drums whose diameters are about a *chi*, and they have no frogs.<sup>144</sup> All the drums recorded in *Xiqing gujian* were kept on the Chinese mainland

140 Li Guangting, *Xiangyan jieti*, 5:26b–27a (1272:222–23).

141 Matsumoto Nobuhiro, *Kodai Indoshina Inasaku-min Shūkyō shisō no kenkyū*.

142 Shang Chengzuo, *Shi'er jia jijin tulu*, 18b–22a.

143 *Xiqing xujian jiabian*, 18.1a–4b (1108: 279–80).

144 *Xiqing xujian yibian*, 18.1a–5b (1109: 112–14).

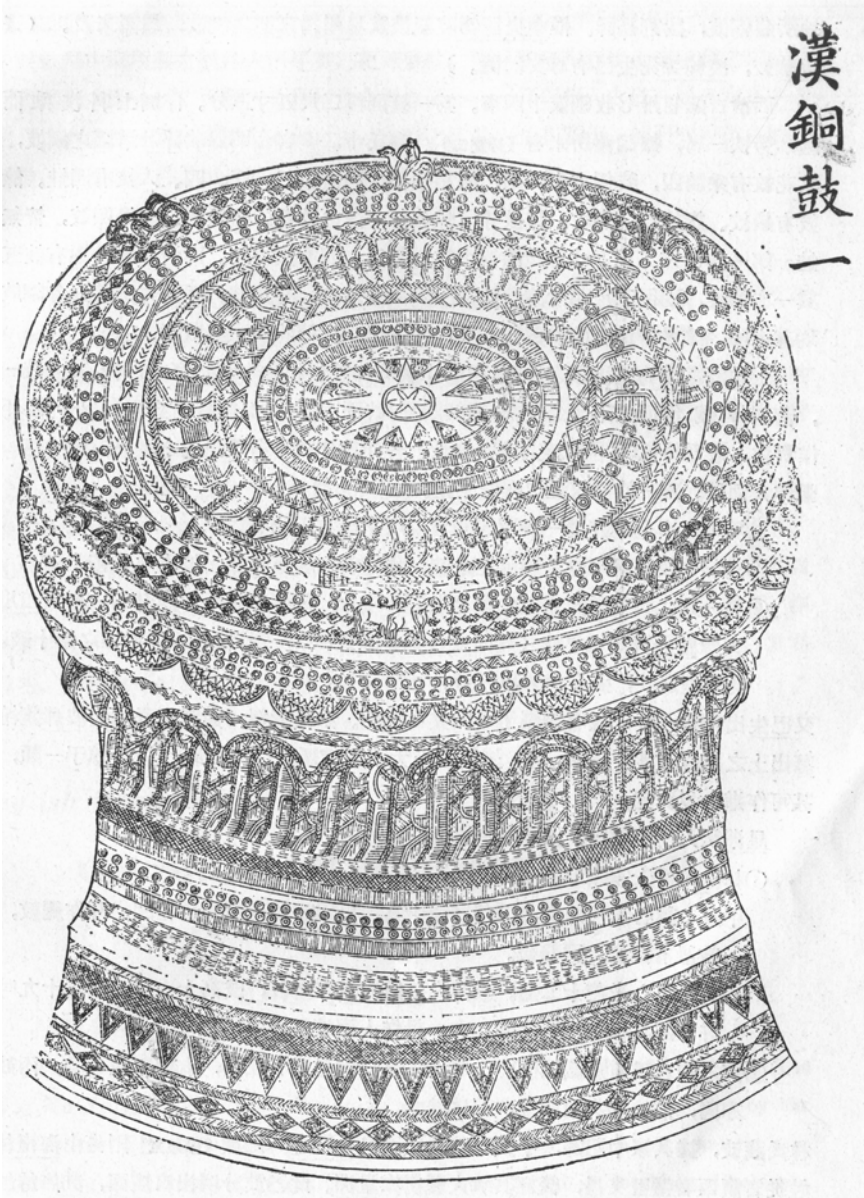





FIGURE 7.B The first illustration of a drum in *Xiqing gujian*  
PHOTO AUTHORIZED BY SHIN WEN FENG PRINT COMPANY



and a part of those listed in the *Sequels* were found on Taiwan, that is, those mentioned below as in the collection of the Central Museum.

Han bronze drum, no. 1.

The drums currently held in the Shilin 士林 Palace Museum are ancient items that had been accepted into the former Central Museum from the Palace Museum of Shenyang (Fengtian xinggong 奉天行宮), and they include a large drum whose old accession number is 451. Its diameter is 77cm and rope-like patterns decorate its four ears. Apart from the four frogs on the drumhead, at the edges are perched *luan* 鸞 phoenixes, one on each, though the arrangement is not symmetrical. Of the three hundred bronze drums collected in Guangxi, some have frog decorations, but on none is a *luan* phoenix to be seen, so this is a most unique characteristic (Figure 7.c). On the auras of the other four drums, all have patterns of flags and banners, with the slight variations in design: , , and , and on one, the aura is formed of human face patterns; on another, the patterned design is almost completely worn flat and indiscernible.

In the region of Xingma (星馬, Singapore and Malaysia), regarding excavated bronze drums that are well known, they have been found in the following locations on the Malayan peninsula:

1. A drum excavated in Batu Pasir Garam, Sungai Tembeling, in the state of Pahang and now held in the Singapore Museum; the centre of the drumhead emits a ten-rayed radiant star.
2. A fragment of a drum found in 1964 in the town of Klang in the state of Selangor. In the auras of this fragment are four flying birds. It is somewhat similar to the drum in the Sichuan University Historical Museum<sup>145</sup> and the tenth drum in *Xiqing gujian*; drums of this kind are likely to be imports from China.

In addition, a drum has also been excavated in Klang that is said to be an artifact of Dong 東 mountain culture, but investigation of its form and manufacture reveals that it is in fact similar to bronze bells excavated from the tomb of the bronze inner coffin of Dabona, Xiangyun county, Yunnan;<sup>146</sup> all conform to a design of wide upper bouts tapering to narrower lower reaches, and their horizontal cross-section is an oval shape similar to that of the *chunyu* genre and thus worthy of closer research.

In Singapore (here given as Xingzhou 星洲), regarding bronze drums in private collections, I have viewed items in two depositories:

<sup>145</sup> Wen You, *Gu tonggu tulu*, pl. 27, no. 17.

<sup>146</sup> *Archaeology*. Yunnan sheng wenwu gongzuodui, 'Yunnan Xiangyun Dabona muguo tongguan mu qingli baogao', 612.




FIGURE 7.C Bronze drum with four frogs and a perching phoenix. (In the collection of the Taiwan Central Museum)

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1. Dr Lin Xudian's 林徐典 residence contains two drums:

Drum A: The centre of the drumhead emits a six-rayed radiant star. The thorax has nineteenth auras, alternating cloud-thunder and hempen cloth patterns, and the ears are adorned with roped patterns. At the drumhead edge are four frogs, though these are already damaged.

Drum B: The centre of the drumhead emits a twelve-rayed radiant star, and the auras are nine in total. The fifth aura has the pattern . The drum is 28cm tall and its drumhead diameter is approximately 48cm. It has four ears with rope patterns, and these are intact and in excellent condition. One of the auras has a human face pattern that is the same as that on the drum in the Central Museum.

2. The distinguished Chen Zhichu's (陳之初, 1909–1972) Xiangxue zhai 香雪齋 keeps three drums.

Drums A and B both have twelve-rayed radiant stars emitting from their centres and frog effigies that are not limited to one aura. Drum C is the same, but on one side it has two effigies of elephants that are absent on the other side. All belong to the third model of Franz Heger's (黑格爾, 1853–1931) classification system, and they must therefore come from Myanmar.

Regarding Master Lin's collection, according to his family records, Drum A was bought by his father from Sarawak and Drum B (Figure 7.d) came initially from an individual surnamed 'Lin' of Hainan who was serving as an official in Guangxi and who took it to Wenchang (in Hainan); his father later brought it personally to Singapore. Drum B clearly originates from Guangxi; its flag and banner patterns are the same as the design on the specimen shown in figure 40 of Master Wen's *Gu tonggu tulu*, a drum kept in a private collection in Guiyang. Master Wen gives: 'I have seen some fifty or more actual specimens that resemble this drum.' 所見貴物與此相近者在五十具以上.<sup>147</sup> The eighth, twelfth, and thirteenth drums in *Xiqing gujian* as well as three small drums in the Central Museum all carry patterns that are similar to these. Specimens collected in Liuzhou 柳州 as illustrated in figure 10 of *A Preliminary Investigation of Bronze Drums of Guangxi* (*Guangxi tonggu chutan* 廣西銅鼓初探; by [modern scholar] Huang Zengqing 黃增慶) are also the same,<sup>148</sup> from which it is seen that patterns of this type were extremely widespread in Guangxi. There can therefore be absolutely no doubt that this drum was of a type manufactured in China that had penetrated the regions around the South China Sea. My own rudimentary opinion is that bronze drums excavated or preserved in South-East Asia should be strictly differentiated into two discrete genres:

147 Wen You, *Gu tonggu tulu*, pl. 40, no. 25.

148 Huang Zengqing, 'Guangxi chutu tonggu chutan', 584.

those produced by indigenous manufacture and those imported from China. The latter are exports from China, just as varieties of porcelain included types specifically produced for export, and Master Lin's Drum B is a pertinent example of just such a phenomenon. Therefore, to those researching into bronze drums of the regions bordering the South China Sea, distinguishing which are 'export' drums cannot be neglected.

The blossoming of patterns of flags and banners was comparatively late, and this is a scholarly field that Feng Hanji has analysed, and he has drawn attention to pattern types combining flags and banners and the character 壽 ('*shou*', meaning 'longevity') on drums kept in Yunnan. Gui Fu (桂馥, 1735–1805) of the Qing dynasty, when living in Kunming, once wrote a *ba* postscript on a bronze mirror that carried patterns of flags and banners, and declared that the mirror handle had seal script characters on it that read: 'On the first day of the fifth month ... for Wang's children and grandchildren down the generations to hold in their possession;' 五月初吉□王子子孫孫永用;<sup>149</sup> the writing reads from right to left, the characters are all inverted, and it was obtained in Dingyuan 定遠, but its patterns are identical to those on the bronze drum. Master Gui determined that it was an artifact of the Nan Zhao 南詔 state, so it did not need to conform to Tang dynasty calendrical conventions regarding the names of eras and instead simply furnishes the month of manufacture and nothing more.<sup>150</sup> Although it may indeed not be an artifact of the Nan Zhao state, nonetheless, given that it employs bronze drum pattern types on a mirror, it is an extremely rare specimen.

Regarding bronze drums currently kept in Taiwan, apart from two drums at Taiwan University about which records have already been furnished by Ling Chunsheng (凌純聲, 1902–1981), such as have reached my eyes and ears are outlined briefly below:

The Taipei Nanhai Road (Nanhai lu 南海路) History Museum has a huge drum in its collection that was obtained during the Second World War from Bao 保 mountain in Yunnan and donated by Huang Qiang (黃強, 1887–1974). From the centre of the drum, the sun's rays are emitted along eight pathways, and there are six registers of auras on the drumhead and six frogs. It is a drum of Heger's second type. Rope patterns that are simple in design are found on the pair of ears. The drum is 62.55cm tall and 104.78cm in diameter, with a

149 For a picture of the artifact and Master Gui's *ba* postscript, see Wang Hanzhang, 'Gudong lu' 古董錄, 3.

150 For a picture of the artifact and Master Gui's *ba* postscript, see Wang Hanzhang, 'Gudong lu', 3.



FIGURE 7.D Bronze drum B. In the private collection of Lin Xudian of Singapore  
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diameter at the base of 115.57cm. The frogs are 3.18cm high, 6.67cm long, and 3.81cm wide (Figure 7.e).

This Museum also has in its collection two small drums: the drumhead of one has six frogs, a radiant star emitting light rays of eight pathways, and its patterns are of 'matted' (*xi* 席) and 'wave' (*bolang* 波浪) types; on the drumhead of the other are four small frogs, light rays of six paths, and above are coinage patterns.

According to *The Official History of the Ming Dynasty (Ming shi)*, 'Dili zhi' 地理志 (*juan* 40–46), Bao mountain was under the jurisdiction of Yongchang 永昌, the prefectural capital. In the east of the county is Ailao 哀牢 mountain.<sup>151</sup> The Tianqi era (天啓, 1621–1627) text *Dianzhi guji* 滇志古跡 (by Liu Wenzheng 劉文徵, 1555–1626): 'The Zhuge well is at Ailao, and on the mountain is an enormous rock.' 諸葛井，在哀牢，其山上一巨石。<sup>152</sup> Also: 'At Bao mountain, there is a break in the mountain chain, and in a former time, Wu Hou (another name for Zhuge Liang) passed through this place.' 保山斷脈，昔武侯過此地。<sup>153</sup> Also: 'Ten *li* to the south-west of the Tengyue prefecture is a place called Leigu mountain (literally: "strike the drum mountain"). Kong Ming (another name for Zhuge Liang) bivouacked his army there and had his drums struck on the mountain.' 騰越州西南十里曰擂鼓山，孔明駐兵擊鼓其上。<sup>154</sup> In the locality of Bao mountain, there have consistently been numerous legends about Zhuge's drumming, and although they are by their very nature untrustworthy, the manufacture of bronze drums here is not accidental.

The Taipei Provincial Museum has six bronze drums in its collection, which are, according to the accession catalogue, old items of Japanese provenance, originally sought out and bought in Guangdong. Of these, most deserving of attention are two drums:

#### Drum A

The original Museum accession number is 1713. The drum is 38.58cm in height and its drumhead 59.21cm in diameter tapering slightly to 58.10cm at the base. On the drum rim are three frogs and three bulls or cows; the radiant star has seven rays, and each of these is furnished with a sun-like emblematic pattern of the design . The auras on the drumhead form four registers, and the component designs of the register nearest the edge resemble the sun-like motif

151 *Ming shi*, 46.1188.

152 As given in Li Genyuan (李根源, 1879–1965), *Yongchang fu wenzheng*, 'Jizai' 紀載, Tianqi 天啓, *Dianzhi* 滇志, *guji* 古蹟, 7.8a, 'Ming 5' 明五.

153 Li Genyuan, *Yongchang fu wenzheng*, 'Jizai', Tianqi, *Dianzhi*, *guji*, 7.8a, 'Ming 5'.

154 Li Genyuan, *Yongchang fu wenzheng*, 'Jizai', Tianqi, *Dianzhi*, *guji*, 7.8b, 'Ming 5'.

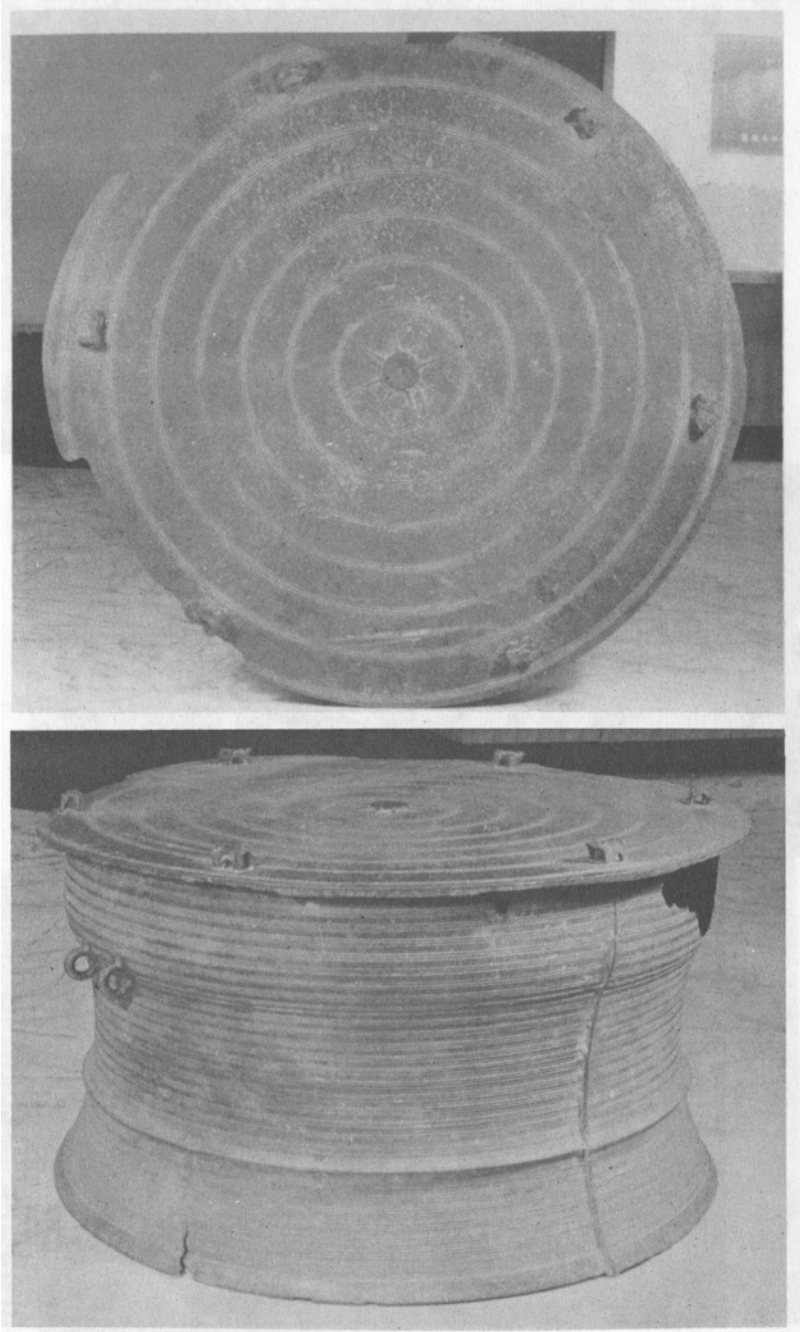



FIGURE 7.E Bronze drum of Bao mountain, Yunnan  
PHOTO AUTHORIZED BY SHIN WEN FENG PRINT COMPANY

described above, while the other three registers are composed of square-like patterns. The patterns on the body of the drum are also like these, and the ears are not furnished with rope-like designs. This is a drum of Master Heger's second type, and its date of manufacture comparatively late.

### Drum B

The original accession number is 'south 960'. The drum is 26.67cm tall, the diameter of its drumhead 47.63cm, and the diameter at the base 46.36cm. On the drumhead, the radiant light-emitting star has twelve rays, and cicada designs are found in between these. The ears exhibit rope patterns. It is of the fourth Hegerian type. On the drumhead, the auras comprise eight registers and are interspersed with patterns formed of the emblem  and of the nipple-nodule type. Inside the fifth aura, dragon patterns are incised, and two lines of Chinese characters cast, their inscription moulded in relief; one reads: 'For ten thousand generations, a received treasure' 萬代進寶; the other reads: 'For eternal descendants, a family heirloom' 永世家財. Another six characters form a horizontal line set inside a frame and appear to be: 'Made in the sixth year of the ... guang era by...' ?光六年 ?□造. The overall effect is neither clear nor well-defined and likely to have been subsequently appended. Huang Zengqing's *Guangxi tonggu chutan* gives: 'A drum collected in Bama county carries the inscription: "Set up in the second year of the Daoguang era (1822)," 在巴馬縣採集的一件上有「道光二年建立」的銘文,<sup>155</sup> which could be used as a point of comparison. Specimens in the Sichuan Museum in Chengdu (Wen You's *Gu tonggu tulu*, fig. 49) and the Royal Imperial Natural History Court Museum in Vienna as well as figure 16 in Huang Zengqing's book,<sup>156</sup> a drum collected in Liuzhou, all belong to type four of Heger's drum classification system and have dragon patterns and eight-character aphorisms such as: 'For ten thousand generations, a received treasure; for eternal descendants, a family heirloom;' thus, there are in total four known examples of drums of this category. Drums of this type that carry inscriptions have an extremely late provenance and are copies made by Han Chinese and not the craftsmanship of non-Han Yi ethnicities of the south-west.

Regarding the other four drums in the collection, all exhibit the commonly seen patterns of flags and banners. Of these, one that was originally given the accession number 958 has a twelve-rayed radiant star and is the same as the specimen in Master Lin's collection in Singapore that also sports a twelve-rayed

<sup>155</sup> Huang Zengqing, 'Guangxi chutu tonggu chutan', 588.

<sup>156</sup> Franz Heger, *Alte Metalltrommeln aus Südost-Asien*, fig. 28; also: *Dongnan ya gudai jinshu gu*, 456.



radiant star. It has a finely grained banner pattern and belongs to the fourth type in the categorisation system. The other specimens are not discussed here.

The distinguished Li Chengfa 李成發 of Taipei has in his family collection a drum whose drumhead diameter is 68cm and height 51cm; the circumference around the body at the widest point is 155cm and the diameter at the base 51cm. It has a three-layered design of four frogs at the four corners, and above and below the ears are rope-like patterns. The lower portion of the thorax is in shape a rounded bamboo segment, that is, a drum of Heger's third type. On the drumhead is a twelve-pointed star. The auras comprise two registers and are surrounded by fish and waterweed, intricately beautiful and ingeniously crafted. *Zunyi fu zhi* 遵義府志 (completed in 1838), 'Jinshi' 金石 (*juan* 11) gives: 'On the faces of the bronze drum on all sides are patterns of flowers, grasses, insects, and frogs. They are of classic beauty and elegance, with a dappled and speckled appearance. In the nineteenth year of the Jiaqing era (1814), the aborigines dug a specimen from the ground that resembled this type of drum very closely.' 銅鼓四周花草蟲黽紋，古致斑駁。嘉慶十九年土人掘得，殆此一類之鼓。<sup>157</sup> Master Li also has a small drum that carries flag and banner patterns and conforms to the fourth type of the classification system.

(Modern scholar) Wang Ningsheng 汪寧生 in his writings discusses drums of the Ximeng 西盟 (a placename, in Yunnan) type, which are to be classified in Heger's third category and are widely disseminated in Myanmar and Thailand. According to the Catalogue, several dozen specimens of this kind have been accessioned into the collection of the Yunnan Museum, and they are probably a late type of drum that was common in the south-west. He cites material from *The Encyclopedia of Burma* (*Miandian baikequanshu* 緬甸百科全書) entry on patterns on bronze that indicates that the centre for the manufacture of this genre of drums was Kayah state, and buyers from other states in Myanmar came there to make purchases.<sup>158</sup> Drum making began there some five hundred years ago and until recent times casting was still taking place, and it was the Zhuang ethnicity of China that had brought the technology into Myanmar. In the Thailand Museum, I viewed a fragment of a bronze drum on which standing effigies of frogs were not to be found, but had been replaced by snails as decoration, which is a very gaudy and individual variant. It also had railing-type patterning that closely resembles domestic architecture of the Wa 佤 ethnicity of Ximeng (see Figure 7.h) and has its own special characteristics.

Friends and colleagues have spoken of bronze drums in Indonesian museums that are also carved with Chinese characters. In fact, having gone to

157 *Daoguang Zunyi fu zhi*, 11.4b (715: 437).


158 Wang Ningsheng, *Tonggu yu nanfang minzu*, 57.

Jakarta to carry out special investigations together with museum personnel, I found that these observations were in fact misunderstandings of patterning.

In the exhibition hall of the Gambir (a placename) Museum in the Indonesian capital Jakarta, regarding the bronze drums in the collection, the largest are four in number (it is said that the biggest was unearthed in Pedejang in Bali, and it is two metres in diameter). Drums of a middle size are eight in number, and there are five small drums. The principal places where they have been excavated include the following locations:<sup>159</sup>

TABLE 7.1 Principal places where drums in the Gambir Museum were excavated

Sangeang island (on the coast of Sumbawa)	Matsumoto 54
Semarang Museum accession no. 1831.	Matsumoto 46
Pekalongan (in Central Java)	Matsumoto 44
Banjoemas (excavated in Central Java, Desa Messi) Museum accession no. 1830.	Matsumoto 43

In addition, there is also a drum excavated in Bantam which is of the fourth type in the classification system; furnished with a pair of ears, it has a flat-faced short body and an overall shape , which is strikingly similar to the form of Master Lin of Singapore's drum. Note: Bantam is two and half hours by bus or rail from Jakarta. Called Wandan 萬丹 in Chinese, it was formerly a small mercantile town, whose contact with China was the earliest of the region. To this day, an ancient temple exists there whose name is 'Wandan, Guanyin, the Buddhist Ancestor' (Wandan Guanyin fozu 萬丹觀音佛祖) that was established in 1566.<sup>160</sup> It was originally called 'The Academy of Ten Thousand Virtuous Moralities' (Wande yuan 萬德院) and inside on bronze chimes are cast the lines: 'Presented respectfully by Chen Zhancheng (*fl.* nineteenth century), arrayed and displayed as a gift afore the terrace of the Wandan Buddhist

159 For these, see Matsumoto Nobuhiro's *A Study of the Religious Thoughts of Ancient Indian and Chinese Rice Farmers* and the records included therein; the classification numbers employed in his text are included here for reference and further consideration.

160 The ruins in front of the temple are remnants of a Portuguese quayside.

Ancestor; the twenty-fourth year of the Guangxu era (1898), the *wuxu* year ... set-up.' 陳展成敬奉，萬丹佛祖臺前，光緒二十四年戊戌..... 立。Nearby, dating to the nineteenth year of the emperor Qianlong's reign (1754), is also Gao Caiguan of Nanjing's Tomb (Nanjing Gao Caiguan mu 南靖高彩官墓); relics such as these of Chinese people are extremely abundant. This drum's shape and method of manufacture resemble closely those exported from China, which is a fact that deserves to be noticed. Zhang Xie's (張燮, 1574–1640) *Investigation of the East and West Oceans* (*Dong xi yang kao* 東西洋考; the East and West Oceans are the eastern and western halves of the South China Sea), the entry on the products of Xiagang (下港, the Ming dynasty name for Bantam) gives: 'The bronze drums there are the same as those now used by Chinese people, and of all the countries in the region, most are found in Java. When brought into vibration, their sound is sufficient to prevent the clouds from moving, and individually their value can reach several dozen gold ingots.' 銅鼓即今華人所用者，諸國以爪哇爲最。振響遏雲，價值可數十金。<sup>161</sup> Thus, it is seen that the bronze drums of Java have all along had an intimate relationship with those of China.

Regarding bronze drums in Singapore, the specimen in the collection of the Raffles Museum was excavated near the Tembeling river in Pahang in 1926. Matsumoto 40, it belongs to type two of the Heger classification scheme. Those who have discussed it have speculated that it is a 'round-vessel' (*guan* 罐) drum of the Han dynasty, of a similar genre to those described in *Yulinzhou zhi* 鬱林州志 (compiled in 1891).<sup>162</sup>

Regarding the damaged drum excavated in the environs of Klang in Selangor on the Malay peninsula, Matsumoto 41 cites a detailed description of it in *The Journal of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* (*Tōyō-Gakuhō* 東洋學報): on the drumhead is a radiant star of ten rays, and the design of the fifth aura is a pattern of four flying birds; the drumhead patterns are extremely similar to those on the only bronze drum unearthed at a Han dynasty tomb in Gui county in Guangxi. The drumhead radiant star of the latter has eight rays, see Matsumoto 11; the remainder consists of 'comb-tooth' (*zhi chi* 櫛齒) patterns, small circles containing hearts, and designs of four flying birds; their form and positioning are all identical. Thus, the Selangor drum can be confirmed as a Han dynasty specimen of the Luoyue culture from Guangxi that penetrated at an early date into the Malay peninsula.

In recent years, bronze drums have also been excavated on the Malay peninsula at two locations: Selangor and Terengganu on the East Sea coast.

161 Zhang Xie, *Dongxiyang kao*, 46.

162 Qiu Xinmin, *Dongnanya gudai shidi luncong*, 75.

### Location A

In 1964 in Kampong Sungai Lang in Selangor, two specimens were unearthed, one a large drum with superimposed folded patterns (*lei die* 壘疊) and the other a small drum with small square holes at the neck-ear area where rope marks are also found. According to the results of radiocarbon dating, the latter was made in the period around 485 BCE, somewhat prior to the Han dynasty.

For description and analysis of these two drums, see B. A. V. Peacock, *The Drums at Kampong Sungai Lang*; for pictures, see *Malaya in History*, vol. 10, 1965, no. 1; for the small drum, see also *Malaysia in History*, vol. 11, 1967, nos. 1–2. The large drum has a radiant star of twelve rays and four frogs. When compared with figures three and four of Huang Zengqing's text, it is of the second type (middle period), and its patterns closely resemble those of specimens collected at Dayao 大搖 mountain and Guiping 桂平 county of central Guangxi. The auras of these are irregularly wide and narrow, and the fifth and sixth decorated with patterns of flying egrets, feathered humanoids and interlinked circular emblems, and 'comb-and-eye' (*zhi mu* 櫛目) designs; there is not a great deal of difference between the drums. This template also shares similarity with a specimen in the collection of the Sichuan University Museum of History that is illustrated in figure 25 of Wen You's book and regarded as a late period drum of the B type. Thus, the indications are that the large drum (one of the two excavated in Selangor) was also an item imported from Guangxi. The drumhead of the small drum is supplied with patterns of four flying birds, and its special characteristic is that there are square holes at the neck-ear area. When the two drums were excavated, it was found that they had both been placed on wooden planks, which indicates that they had been greatly treasured by their original owners.

### Location B

In June of 1964 in Kuala Trengganu, two drums were excavated, and according to the Heger classification system both were of the first type. They were the first specimens found on the eastern seaboard of Malaysia. For explanation and illustration, see: Peacock: 'Two Dong So'n Drums from Kuala Trengganu', *Malaysia in History*, vol. 10:2, 1967. The first drumhead is decorated with patterns of paired layers of birds, and the incised area cut with boat shapes furnished with oars. Above this are designs of interlinked patterns that turn back on themselves and sawtooth patterns.

The Musée Louis Finot (now called the National Museum of Vietnamese History) of Hanoi in Vietnam has many bronze drums in its collection. My French friend the scholar Dr L. Vandermeersch has written an article: 'Bronze Kettledrums of South-East Asia' (*Journal of Oriental Studies* 3, 1956:291,

Hong Kong), and its accompanying figures are worthy of consideration. Of these drums, specimens of the fourth type were excavated at Long-Lôi-són and Há-nam, and Pinh Schiang on the Chinese border. All have flag and banner patterns, and between pairs of auras are patterns of protruding round nodules; for pictures, see the above paper, pls. XII–XV; the patterning is same as that found on a drum of Master Lin of Singapore. The specimen in the pictures appended to Zheng Shixu's (鄭師許, 1897–1952) *Tonggu kaolüe* 銅鼓考略 that discusses drums in the Shanghai Museum collection (fig. 1 in the original book) is entirely identical.

Drums of the fourth type in Heger's classification system, according to Zheng's research results, clearly have a relationship with Han people, and the places where they have been excavated run in a belt across southern China; to this day among the Miao ethnicity of north Guangxi bordering on Hunan and Guizhou there are people who still use them. The drums in Hanoi of the fourth type also include some that come from China. Owing to their small size, drums of this type are readily portable and so easily disseminated and exporting them can be conveniently accomplished. In Guangxi, many drums were excavated in the Song dynasty in Hengzhou 橫州 and Binzhou 濱州. *The Official History of the Song Dynasty (Song shi)*, 'Wuxing zhi' 五行志 (*juan* 61–67) records that in the Xining 熙寧 and Yuanfeng 元豐 eras (respectively, 1068–1077 and 1078–1085), seventeen bronze drums were obtained in Hengzhou and one ancient bronze drum in Binzhou. Evidently, bronze drums that had originally been excavated in Heng county (that is, Hengzhou) and Binyang 賓陽 (that is, Binzhou) could be easily brought into Vietnam.

#### 4 The Literature of Bronze Drums

Down the various dynasties, many works have been composed by literati on the subject of bronze drums, including Tang dynasty *shi* 詩 poems by Du Mu (杜牧, 803–852) and Xu Hun (許渾, 788–860), and *ci* 詞 poems (lyric songs) by Wen Tingyun (溫庭筠, c.812–c.870) and Sun Guangxian (孫光憲, 896–968); all mention bronze drums in association with the ritual offering of sacrifices to temple gods as a universally acknowledged fact.

##### 4.1 *The Drum of the Temple of the Southern Sea God*

Ever since Fang Xinru of the Song dynasty's *Nanhai baiyong*, the bronze drum in the Temple of the Southern Sea God in Guangzhou has appeared several times in *shi* and *fu* 賦 poetical compositions. Li Suiqiu (黎遂球, 1602–1646) of the Ming dynasty in the *xu* 序 introduction to his 'Boluo tonggu fu' 波羅銅鼓賦

gives: 'At the Boluo River temple is a bronze drum, and its drumhead is decorated with a pair of frogs. It is said that it was cast by Ma Fubo. Formerly, it was buried in the ground, and at that place the croaking of frogs was often heard, so a hole was dug, and it was brought to the surface. One of the frog effigies still remained on it. The drum was presented to the temple and from time to time is played in ceremonies propitiating Zhurong, the God of Fire.' 波羅廟有一銅鼓，面綴兩蛙。云是馬伏波將軍所鑄，向埋地中，其處每聞蛙聲，因掘起得之。蛙形尚存其一。共奉鼓於廟，時鳴以祀祝融。<sup>163</sup> Although the events recounted are both fictitious and ridiculous, they do indicate that the people of the Yue 粵 region played the bronze drum in ceremonies propitiating the God of Fire and demonstrate that this custom had a long history. *The Book of the Barbarians* (*Manshu* 蠻書; by Fan Chuo 樊綽, fl. ninth century) states that when the Ba clan made ceremonial sacrifices to their ancestors, they struck drums as part of the ritual.

In the Qing dynasty, the poet Liang Peilan (梁佩蘭, 1629–1705) of Lingnan wrote 'Song of the Bronze Drum in the Temple of the Southern Sea God' ('Nanhai shenmiao tonggu ge' 南海神廟銅鼓歌) and an extract of this poem is cited here: 'In the Southern Sea Temple, the God is the Ruler of Handsome Profit; when the Four Seas were quartered, his was the southern part. Bronze drums are placed in the left portion of the Ruler's temple; solemn and stately, from the drums hang four small locks. When the Greater Shaman strikes the drums, the tide water levels; when the Lesser Shaman strikes the drums, the river water clears. The fifteenth day full moon of the second month is the Ruler's birthday; to the sound of drums, the acolytes, making obeisance, exit and enter.' 南海廟神廣利王，割據四海南海方。銅鼓置在王廟左，莊嚴鼓懸四小鎖。大巫一扣潮水平，小巫一扣江水清。二月望日王生日，鼓聲掌人拜出入。<sup>164</sup> Evidently, in the early Qing dynasty at the Temple of the Southern Sea God, a vernacular custom was sustained of shamans striking drums as prayerful offerings. Men of letters of other provinces who came to the Yue 粵 region all took an abiding interest in its bronze drums.

Zhao Zhixin (趙執信, 1662–1744) in his *shi* poem 'Passing the Temple of the Southern Sea, as it was too late to ascend therein, presented to Fellow Boat Passenger Wang Mingfu' ('Guo Nanhai miao, yi wan buji deng, cheng tongzhou Wang Mingfu' 過南海廟，以晚不及登，呈同舟王明府; Wang Mingfu, fl. late seventeenth–early eighteenth centuries) gives: 'At the ancient temple of the Boluo River, at dusk, the door had shut itself; the lustre of Changli's writings shines amidst the arrayed stars. The bronze drum of Luoyue is cold yet still

163 See Li Suiqiu, *Lianxu ge ji*, 1.9 (183: 29).

164 See: Liang Peilan, *Liuyingtang ji*, 3.2–3 (120: 455).

sounds; at this moment, Zhurong is visiting the Hundred Spirits of the Sea. The sea wind soughs and sighs, the clouds are dusky dark; at Fuxu, the dragons and fish higgledy-piggledy are dispatched and received.' 波羅古廟昏自扃，昌黎文光閃列星。駱越銅鼓寒有聲，祝融此時朝百靈；海風颯颯雲冥冥，扶胥龍魚紛送迎。<sup>165</sup> (Changli: another name for the poet Han Yu 韓愈, 768–824) Even though Zhao had not yet seen the bronze drum, he was able to give it embodiment in poetry.

Li Kai (李鐸, 1686–1746) composed *Songs of Three Instruments* (*Sanqi ge* 三器歌) of which the first describes the bronze drum of the Temple of the Southern Sea God with the following lines: 'Deep voice, cavernous body, drum-head thin as paper; four beasts crouch in ambush like curled *chi* dragons. A fish-filled sea, heavenly horses, patterned registers hidden or rising; jewelled net, fine delineation, golden silkworm threads. Deeply speckled in red and green, ancient colour thickly daubed; black ice in solidified union, its soul a crocodile skin.' 深腔洞底面紙薄，四獸蹲伏如盤螭。魚海天馬重隱起，寶網細界金蠶絲。斑淹丹碧古色湛，玄冰凝結靈鼉皮。<sup>166</sup> This takes the drum patterns and describes them in minute detail.

In the *yimao* 乙卯 year of the reign of the emperor Qianlong (1795), Zhu Gui (朱珪, 1731–1806) of Daxing 大興 came to the Southern Sea to take part in a sacrificial ceremony at the God's Temple and composed a 'Song of the Bronze Drum' ('Tonggu ge' 銅鼓歌) an extract of which reads: 'Looking at the bronze drum, it is of form rich and strange; its diameter full five *chi*, its circumference a *zhang* and five *cun* inches; its face flat, body empty, decorated with *jiao* and *kui* dragons. Striking it "keng-hong", still more "tang-ta"; its body massive, manufacture ancient, a remnant of whom? Let its splendid words give voice, vibrating for ten *li* (about three miles); scaring off foreign vessels, the army of the Boluo River! ... The *dingning* (*dingzheng*) bell (obtained from) the senior concubine had already suffered damage after being struck. (Original note: "The 'palace west second drum' is in diameter only a fifth smaller than this drum, and its body is already split from striking it.") Accounts indicate that in the Yuanhe era (806–820), the Military Commissioner Zheng obtained it from the (*tai*)*shou* Governor of Gao(zhou) and donated it to the Temple. (Original note: "According to *Guangdong tong zhi*, in the Tang dynasty, the Governor of Gaozhou, Lin Ai, obtained it from a barbarian tomb; the Military Commissioner Zheng Yin took it and presented it to the Temple.") Every time in the summer heat when pestilence and scrofulous disease erupt, it is moved and placed in the prison to expel the fierce *chi* monster....' 載觀銅鼓模範奇，

165 *Poetry Anthology of Yi Mountain*, juan 8. Zhao Zhixin, *Yishan shiji*, 8.5 (210: 246).

166 Li Kai, *Jie chao ji*, 5.18 (259: 54).

徑盈五尺圍丈五，面平空腹蟠蛟夔，叩之鏗鉤更鞞鞞，體恢製古誰所遺？  
 夸言發聲震十里，驚走番舶波羅師！……丁寧右膝撞已虧。（原注：「殿西亞鼓」徑小五分之一，腹已撞裂。）誌云元和節度鄭，得自高守供諸祠。（原注：《通志》唐高州守林靄得于蠻冢，節度使鄭綱以獻廟。）……每當夏歆疫癘作，移置狴犴禳兇魘。<sup>167</sup>

Xia Zhirong (夏之蓉, 1697–1784) wrote an investigative summary of bronze drums of the Southern Sea that states: 'In the Jiaping era (1522–1566), the rebel pirate Zeng Yiben (*fl.* sixteenth century) once plotted to take the bronze drum away, but the iron chain he was using suddenly snapped and it could not be lifted.' 嘉靖間，海寇曾一本曾謀移之，鐵索忽斷不可舉。<sup>168</sup> In addition, there is a song of the bronze drum of the Temple God (*Banfangzhai biannian shi* 半舫齋編年詩).<sup>169</sup> Wu Cihe (吳慈鶴, 1778–1826) of Suzhou (called here Dongwu 東吳) also composed a song for the Ma Fubo bronze drum of the Temple of the God of the Southern Sea, a passage of which reads: 'In the Zhurong shrine is the Fubo drum; as if cast on campaign against the barbarians of Jiuzhen, its mat finish a blood-bespeckled embroidery of mossy flowers bedewed; in the midst of this, a scattered pattern of a hundred minute stars is spread. The pair of medallions possesses the voice of armoured soldiery; half-dead toads spew out yellow fume.'<sup>170</sup> 祝融祠中伏波鼓，猶是征蠻九真鑄。血斑繡澀蘚花露，落落中邊百星布。雙枚俱有甲兵聲，半死蝦蟆吐黃霧。Truly a purple patch of sumptuously beautiful literary artifice, it is just that this drum has absolutely nothing to do with Fubo. The custom of lifting the bronze drum into the prison to dispel pestilence continued in this manner until the end of the Qing dynasty.

In the Chinese Library of Singapore University, I once carried out an investigative reading of *Lat Pao* ('Le bao', 叻報; a Chinese language newspaper) and found that on the eleventh day of the sixth month of the *wuzi* 戊子 year of the Guangxu era (1888), an article headlined 'Bronze Drum dispels Pestilence' ('Tonggu zhuyi' 銅鼓逐疫) gives: 'The thirteenth day of the second month is the anniversary of the birth of the God, Zhurong, and annually at this time the God is paraded in public; the Yue 粵 people strike the drum in order to please the God; its sound is "cheng-yao" and "tang-ta", and its colour striped, speckled, and a confusion of complexity. Yang (untraceable, *fl.* late Qing dynasty), the magistrate of Panyu, issued a command to request the drum from the God, and

167 Zhu Gui, *Zhizuzhai shiji*, 10.23 (376: 454).

168 Xia Zhirong, 'Nanhai tonggu kaolüe', 8.9b (287: 546).

169 Xia Zhirong, 'Nanhai shenmiao tonggu ge', 7.7b–9a (287: 338–39).

170 *Cenhua jushi lanjing lu*, *juan* 1. Wu Cihe, 'Nanhai shenmiao fubo tonggu ge', 1.2–3 (524: 4–5).



it was lifted into the prison. It is struck to disperse malevolent miasmas and dispel pestilence.' 二月十三日爲祝融生日，歲時報賽，粵人擊之以樂神。聲噌吰以鞀鞀，色斑駁而陸離。番禺楊大令飭差請鼓於神，昇至獄中，擊以驅邪辟疫。<sup>171</sup> Note: This article plagiarizes Qu Dajun's *Guangdong xinyu*. Thus, this additional usage of the bronze drum can be seen in Qing dynasty poems and songs as well as news reports.

#### 4.2 *The Bronze Drums of Lianzhou 廉州 and Huazhou 化州 in Guangdong*

The drums are hung in the Hall of the God. Shi Qian (史遷, fl. late fourteenth–early fifteenth centuries) of the early Ming dynasty's *Qingjinji* 青金集 contains 'Song of the Bronze Drum' ('Tonggu ge' 銅鼓歌) that includes the following lines: 'Its upper circular mirror face has not yet been wiped; hanging down, the bronze connects completely with its empty centre. Taller than two *chi* feet, in breadth as much as twice that; iron chains bound together as its city wall.' 上圓鏡面未應拭，下垂銅徹連中空。高餘二尺闊複倍，鐵索互紐當垣墉。<sup>172</sup> The introduction reads: 'South-east of the Confucian temple in Lianzhou, at the Hall of the Earth Lord in Zitong hangs a bronze drum, its inscription and patterning both peculiarly individual.... Also, on the Ridge of the Divided Grasses two or more hundred *li* south of the bronze pillar in Dangzhou.' 於廉州孔廟東南梓潼帝君殿懸銅鼓，款識花紋特異。.....又銅柱當州南二百餘里分茅嶺上。<sup>173</sup> Shi Qian's soubriquet was Liangchen 良臣 (meaning: 'virtuous official') and as a hermit of the late Yuan dynasty, he sang in harmonious poetic answer to the generation of Yang Weizhen (楊維禎, 1296–1370); in the first years of the Hongwu era (洪武, 1368–1398), serving as an official in Lianzhou in the early period of the Ming dynasty, this was the bronze drum that he saw, hanging from iron chains.

He Jisheng in his 'Table of the Regional Dispersal of Ancient Bronze Drums' ('Gudai tonggu fenbu diyu biao' 古代銅鼓分布地域表) lists that in the Lian River 廉江 county of Guangdong, a total of six bronze drums were excavated and all were of the Qing dynasty, so this might supplement the lacunae. Peng Chuanzu (彭傳祖, untraceable) in *Huazhou zhi* 化州志, *juan* 4, also includes a bronze drum song: 'The bearded Su has such a sincere disposition (Note: This refers to the prefectural educational official Su Tingrui [蘇庭瑞, untraceable]) ... and he narrates that this drum was excavated in uncultivated lands around Shiwan village.... the toads look with angry eyes; the four corners are

171 Qu Dajun, *Guangdong xinyu*, 16.436.

172 Shi Qian, 'Tonggu ge', 97: 432.

173 Shi Qian, 'Tonggu ge', 97: 432.

split. When weighed it comes to sixty *jin* and in circumference is seven *chi*. 髯蘇意氣何拳拳（注謂州監生蘇廷瑞）……爲言此鼓出石灣村外野……蟾蜍怒目四隅列，斤權六十圍七尺。<sup>174</sup> In the *Huazhou zhi*, 'Jin shi lue' 金石略 gives: 'In the *bingxu* year of the *Guangxu* era (1886), the people of Shiwan obtained a bronze drum from a derelict pool, whose circumference at its widest point was more than two *chi* feet, and it was one *chi*, five *cun* tall.' 光緒丙戌，石灣人於墟塘得銅鼓，大徑二尺許，高一尺有五。<sup>175</sup>

#### 4.3 Concerning Literary Compositions 'Song of the Bronze Drum' ('*Tonggu ge*' 銅鼓歌) of *Yazhou* 雅州 and *Longzhou* 龍州

'Song of the Bronze Drum' by Cao Yin (曹寅, 1658–1712): 'The *Yazhou* bronze drum: on the birds' feathers is verdigris; four knob-like toad protuberances, carved venomous snake shapes; how can one countenance allowing it to be suspended to let water drip off it and to be defiled by being arrogantly struck; some even suppose it was a cooking pot to serve a packed hall of barbarians. It is also said that the Chief Minister Zhuge Liang in his "Crossing the (Jinsha 金沙) River at Luzhou 瀘州" campaign in the South had it cast as a commemorative model of his military dispositions. The remnant tracks of the virtuous of yesteryear cannot be traced, their linguistic frailties and peculiarities mostly unorthodox....' 雅州銅鼓鳥羽青，四蟾蜍紐鏤虺形，豈堪懸注肆考擊，或疑烹飪充蠻廷。又云丞相渡瀘時，鑄以張軍留模型。前賢遺迹不可測，語患怪誕多離經。<sup>176</sup> His own notes: 'The drumhead is like a scientific instrument, with four knob-like protuberances standing upright, and I think it was for measuring and quantifying the ways of water and soil.' 鼓面若儀器，四紐峙立，疑可測驗水土。<sup>177</sup> Viewing the four knob-like protuberances as used for measuring and quantifying the ways of water and soil is an entirely absurd observation; 'on the birds' feathers is verdigris' indicates patterns of flying birds amid the auras. Drums of various sizes of Selangor in Malaysia whose patterning is of this type have been mentioned above. The border regions of Sichuan have always been plentiful producers of bronze drums, and many employ the phrase 'bronze drum' in placenames themselves;<sup>178</sup> only the bronze drums of *Yazhou* are not seen in the various 'accounts' of regions.

Li Weiyin (李維寅, 1747–1797) of *Daxing* also composed a 'Song of the Bronze Drum (of *Longzhou*)' ('[*Longzhou*] *Tonggu ge*' (龍州) 銅鼓歌) that

174 *Lidai tonggu wenxue wenxian jicheng*, 368.

175 *Guangxu Huazhou zhi*, 12.40a (410).

176 *Cao Yin, Lianting shichao*, 2.19a (201: 369).

177 *Cao Yin, Lianting shichao*, 2.19b (201: 369).

178 See He Jisheng's text that quotes *Sichuan tong zhi* 四川通志 (completed in 1733). He Jisheng, 'Lüeshu Zhongguo gudai tonggu de fenbu diyu', 37.

gives: 'I, an official, obtained a bronze drum in Xuanhua, ... An empty sounding chamber, below the playing surface, it tapers slightly at the waist; in diameter, two or more *chi* feet, in height about one *chi*. Absolutely flat, like a mirror's surface, on it are protrusions like musk deers' umbilicuses; twelve toads, of which only five or six remain. Above, a pattern of clouds; below, thunder swirling. Sculpted dragons, serpents, interspersed with patterns of axes.' 我官宣化獲銅鼓，.....虛中頑下微束腰，徑二尺強高尺許。規平鏡面突麝臍，十二蟾蜍餘六五。.....上文雲云下雷回，彫刻龍蛇雜亞斧。<sup>179</sup> This describes the form and manufacture of bronze drums as being extremely fine. Also given is: 'I have heard that the Miao people guard heavy instruments; the Ge people those decorated with birds, the Tong people those decorated with flowers; tribal chieftains supervise. Weddings, funerals, and conferences of alliances when offerings of wine and sheep are laid out; in front of the halls, beat and break the golden velvet orchids (drumsticks). To mistake tradition-transmitted sacrificial instruments for weaponry, is this not rendering vulgar the nomenclature of the dynastic annals. (Ma) Fubo is called "great" and Zhuge Liang "small"; in differentiating emptiness, what difference is there then from Zhou dynasty blind musicians. Fubo transmitted the Ma family style into Luoyue, yet it has not been heard that casting a drum corresponds to a bronze pillar. Zhuge Liang marched his army but did not reach Yue 粵; his ruined drums he preferred to discard at Yufupu. On gossamer threads, the written records, their words without foundation; let the divine alligator roar until hoarse and no words follow.'<sup>180</sup> 我聞苗民守重器，犵鳥獐花都老主。婚喪盟會置酒羊，庭前敲折金釵股。流傳禮器譌兵器，紀代標名無乃魯。大曰伏波小諸葛，鑿空何異周庭瞽。伏波馬式傳駱越，不聞鑄鼓配銅柱。諸葛行軍未到粵，敗鼓寧遺魚腹浦。紛紛記載辭無根，靈鼉一吼喑不語。<sup>181</sup> This passage makes a step-by-step correction to the hoary old narratives and is entirely apposite.

#### 4.4 *Regarding 'Song of the Bronze Drum' of Bozhou* 播州

Zhang Zhidong's (張之洞, 1837–1909) 'Song of the Bronze Drum' ('Tonggu ge' 銅鼓歌) gives: 'In the fourth year of the Xianfeng era (1854), Guizhou erupted in disorder, and the first disaster that Bozhou suffered implicated the Miao people ... who took children, both boys and girls, as prisoners and then freed them and did not slay them, giving them arable land and setting them to work in the fields, ploughing and hoeing. Not one goblet of clear wine was drunk,

179 Li Weiyin, 'Tonggu ge', 96.4a (1: 1467).

180 *Wanqingyi Qing shi hui, juan* 56. Li Weiyin, 'Tonggu ge', 1467 (96.4).

181 Li Weiyin, 'Tonggu ge', 96.4a–4b (1: 1467).

and alone and unaided they discovered an object more deeply voiced than a *dingning* (*dingzheng*) tubular bell and shorter than a *gao* bass drum. The surrendered non-Han Yi ethnicity kowtowed and told their story: that it came from the time when Han Minister (Zhuge Liang) had pacified the Tong and Yao ethnicities. Alas! The Han Minister, trusting his magical military prowess, sent an official memorandum that he would campaign against the pillaging barbarians by first attacking and occupying barren land ... Casting bronze into a drum to bestow on the chieftains, he delved into the earth to protect his treasure and buried it in a mountain col. Every year, only when making offerings to the ghosts would anyone dare to strike it, to the sound of reed mouth organs, shamans singing, a disorderly “*ao-zao*”; unlike when engaged in battle and strife, united with the massed soldiery; flowery locks, bare feet, vying to make gestures of salutation to one another. A drum that is worth a hundred cows; to possess one of these is to be rich, to possess ten, a wealthy chieftain. The drum is dead, the Miao are exterminated so the old records tell; with might recompense mistreatment, giving them nowhere whither to flee. 咸豐四年黔始亂，播州首禍連群苗……俘其子女赦不殺，授之畚田使耕耨。清酒一鍾亦不飲，獨取一物深於丁寧短於馨。降夷稽首述故事，傳自漢相安獐獠。嗚呼漢相信神武，拜表討賊先不毛。……範銅爲鼓賜酋長，坎地寶護埋山坳。歲時祀鬼乃敢擊，蘆笙巫唱紛噉嘈；不然戰鬥合徒衆，花鬢赤脚奔相招。一面足可直百牯，擅一爲富擅十爲酋豪。鼓亡苗滅古記語，以威報虐將焉逃。<sup>182</sup>

... its circumference four *chi* and eight *cun* still more; not yet reaching the four ears and already the waist narrows. Ribbioned patterns of curled and pouncing beasts, red egrets soaring aloft. Fine nipple-nodules, some 302 in all, corresponding to each other around the circumference. (Reading the inscription) As if its seal script cannot be differentiated, many times resorting to drawing the character on one's belly, but still finally stumped by its inarticulateness. Earthy flowers, dark red and green, suffuse into the sinewed design; thunder patterns wind and curl, surrounding the radiant star Gao Yao (an ancient mythological ruler). The centre is lustrously smooth and causes not the hand to linger; but is perfect for receiving the urgent strikes of a two-*chi*-long drumstick. On a fine morning, meeting the guest (god), the wind (melody) and sun are beautiful; flat as a surface of water, beaten and struck, its sound the *pulao* monster's roar. Like observing the leaping bright moon in a mountain-gorge stream; the sacrificed bull, the sipped wine, joyfully inviting one another. Suddenly, the barbarian wind stirs up pestilential rain, and in

182 Zhang Zhidong, “Tonggu ge”, 1: 476.

the midst, the iron horse neighs “xiao-xiao”. Strike once, strike again, rotating to perform the composition “Jichu”; on the battlefield, searching for ghosts of fallen warriors, “ti-hao” they howl. Do not press for war, instead pass around the wine; let the bronze dragon in sorrow and anger release a long growl...’  
 .....圍徑四尺修八寸，四耳無當約其腰。文螭蟠拏朱鷺翥，細乳三百有二相周遭。髣髴篆文不可辨，屢煩畫肚終牙孽。土花紺碧沁肌理，靄紋宛轉環皋陶。中心瑩滑不留手，恰受二尺棲推敲。良辰會客風日美，水面考擊鳴蒲牢。如觀溪峒跳明月，宰牛呷酒歡相邀。忽然蠻風捲瘴雨，中有鐵馬聲蕭蕭。一擊再擊轉激楚，戰場萬鬼皆啼嗥。不用趣戰用行酒，銅龍悲憤發長號。<sup>183</sup>

With rhymed words narrating the origins and functions of the bronze drum, this passage is indeed detailed and comprehensive. Feng Dengfu (馮登府, 1783–1841) ‘Tonggu ge wei Ma Xiaomei fu’ 銅鼓歌爲馬小眉賦 (Ma Xiaomei, fl. late eighteenth–early nineteenth centuries) gives: ‘A drum worth a thousand head of cattle, a thousand eight hundred battling for supreme masculinity; the Pahang pig belly is full of air; staring aggressively with fish-eyes brightly shining.’ 此鼓一面千牛直，千八百口爭豪雄，彭亨豕腹氣煜煜，瞪突魚目光熊熊。<sup>184</sup> (*Baizhu shikan shicun* 拜竹詩龕詩存; Feng Dengfu’s poetry anthology) Li Zonghan (李宗瀚, 1770–1832) ([soubriquet] Chunhu 春湖) ‘Song of the Bronze Drum’ (‘Tonggu ge’ 銅鼓歌): ‘Unearthed by the aborigines and shown off as a dazzlingly strange item; washed and scraped of mossy speckles to boost its market value. Its face smooth like a mirror and tapered waist like a basket; like a *dīng* vessel, it has ears through which something can be passed to lift it. Its circumference endures carvings and inscriptions of shape unusual; square mats, circular coinage, as if measured out precisely.’ 土人掘得炫奇貨，湔剔蘚斑高市估，面平若鏡腰若籃，若鼎有耳貫堪舉。周遭鏤刻形狀殊，方篋圓錢儼規矩。<sup>185</sup>

*The Official History of the Song Dynasty (Song shi)*, (found in) *juan* 496, ‘Xinan zhuyi’ 西南諸夷: ‘In the seventh year of the Dazhong xiangfu era (1014), the army commanders of the non-Han Yi races as a token of submission paid tribute of cattle and sheep, bronze drums, and mechanical implements.’ 大中祥符七年，夷人諸軍首服納牛羊、銅鼓器械，<sup>186</sup> The non-Han Yi races of the south-west have historically presented bronze drums as tax. Torii Ryūzō (鳥

183 *Guangya tang shiji* 廣雅堂詩集; see also *Jindai shichao*. Zhang Zhidong, ‘Tonggu ge’, 1: 476.

184 *Lidai tonggu wenxue wenxian jicheng*, 164–65.

185 Li Zonghan, *Jingyushi ou cun gao*, A.33b (492: 514).

186 *Song shi*, 496.14228.

居龍藏, 1870–1953) *Report on Investigation of the Miao People (Miaozu diaocha baogao* 苗族調查報告) records the performance practice of the Miao ethnicity of Guizhou of using bronze drums, which precisely supports the evidence of this poem.<sup>187</sup> The Miao ethnicity are fond of playing the reed mouth organ and bronze drums and dancing as a form of entertainment, so when the poem gives: ‘To the sound of reed mouth organs, shamans singing,’ and ‘like observing the leaping bright moon in a mountain-gorge stream,’ these are real-time descriptions of witnessed experience. ‘Red egrets soaring aloft’ describes a pattern of flying birds; ‘Fine nipple-nodules, some 302 in all,’ probably indicates Master Heger’s fourth type of drum on which inside the auras are to be found patterns of small and fine round protruding nodules; thus, here the number of nipple-nodules is as many as this.

As far as ‘a drum that is worth a hundred cows’ is concerned, Tian Rucheng (田汝成, 1503–1557) in *Xing bian ji wen* 行邊紀聞 gives: ‘Some from among the aborigines dug into the earth and obtained a drum, and perpetuated the myth that it had originally been buried by Zhu Wu Hou (Zhuge Liang), and wealthy families competed to buy it and did not regret a price of a hundred cattle as being too much;’ 土人或掘地得鼓，即講張言諸葛武侯所藏者，富家爭購，即百牛不惜也;<sup>188</sup> this can be regarded as corroborating evidence. On the Xikang-Tibetan plateau, this price for a bronze drum is particularly high. In the Qing dynasty, the fifty-sixth year of the reign of the emperor Qianlong, during the upsurge in Gurkha military activity at the time, Zhou Ailian (周藹聯, fl. eighteenth century), then stationed in Dartsedo 打節爐,<sup>189</sup> wrote a book *Zhuguo jiyou* 竺國紀遊 that includes: ‘In the environs of Dartsedo, the local people accord great importance to the “Zhuge (Liang) drum”. The surfaces of the bodies of drums are variously eroded, and if their sound is resonantly “guan-guan”, they have a barter value of a thousand head of cattle.’ 打箭爐一帶番人重諸葛鼓，凡鼓體剝蝕，其聲啾啾者，可易牛千頭。<sup>190</sup> Compared with the price in Guizhou, this is much higher and even more astonishing. Zhang Zhidong’s poem gives: ‘Strike once, strike again, rotating to perform the composition “Jichu” 激楚; on the battlefield, searching for ghosts of fallen warriors, “ti-hao” they howl.’ Here, the bronze drum is moved to the battlefield. Viewing the cliff-face murals incised by the Tong ethnicity in seven locations

187 Torii Ryūzō, *Miaozu diaocha baogao*, 300–42.

188 Tian Rucheng, *Xing bian ji wen*, 91b (23: 592).

189 Dartsedo 打節爐 is the Chinese transliteration of the Tibetan placename; the more common Chinese name is Kangding 康定.

190 Zhou Ailian, *Xizang jiyou*, 2.50.

in the Liang'an 兩岸 district of the Ming tributary 明江 of the Zuo river 左江 in Guangxi, they show fighting with bare hands and riding horses, and weaponry includes bronze drums, knives, swords, and arrows and arrowheads. These are instances of bronze drums represented on cliff walls as tools of war<sup>191</sup> and harmonises precisely with the meaning narrated by this poem.

The descriptions of bronze drums in the above poems and songs can serve a precise function as historical evidence. Such items as are listed in Xie Qikun's *Yuexi jinshi zhi* 粵西金石志, 'Investigation of Bronze Drums' ('Tonggu kao' 銅鼓考) are extremely few and poorly represented.<sup>192</sup> The material touched on above is put forward tentatively for consideration in the hope that others will undertake broader investigation and redress the inadequacy of these regional accounts as well as providing reliable written sources for those who come after to write the history of bronze drums.

## 5 Preliminary Conclusion

Recent advancements in study of the physical attributes of ancient artifacts have superseded those of previous times and are particularly adept at analysing research materials concerning them and their various forms. As far as mentions of artifacts in the historical record are concerned, the most common category is those that seem plausible and are not and await investigation to argue their veracity.<sup>193</sup> The former is the narrative study of artifacts; the latter the historical study of artifacts, and the two are entirely suited to assist one another, like the mutual dependence of horses in a chariot team. The present author is not someone who researches simply into ancient artifacts, and as far as material pertinent to the *chunyu* and bronze drum is concerned is only knowledgeable to a limited extent; because of new theories proposed by Xu Zhongshu and ideas reached by connecting with them, some understanding and order has nonetheless been attained, and thus the superficial notion of 'export drums' is suggested here, which can be borrowed to furnish scholars of historical aesthetics with material for discussion.

191 Huang Zengqing, 'Guangxi Mingjiang Zuojiang liang'an de gudai yabihua', 59. Chen Hanliu, 'Guangxi Ningming Hua shan yabi shang de tongzu shiji', 3.

192 Xie Qikun, 'Tonggu kao', 15.1a–7b (22: 239–42).

193 The writings of those of the Qing dynasty, for example, investigations by Wu Qian, Chen Zhan, and Lu Zengxiang of the bronze *chun*, and the discussions of Zhu Yizun, Xie Qikun, and Zeng Zhao of the bronze drum are all fragmentary expositions.

As bronze drums are treasured items, although they are heavy and cumbersome, they are still moved to different places from time to time and taken from one location to another. *Wuchuan xian zhi* 吳川縣志 in Guangdong, *juan* 4, 'Jinshi' 金石 includes the following record: 'The bronze drum in the Kang Wang temple (named after Kang Baoyi 康保裔, d. 1000) was brought back there from Guizhou in the Guangxu era by the native of Wuchuan, the *zongbing* Commander of the town of Weining, Zeng Minxing (d. 1892). 康王廟銅鼓乃光緒間邑人威寧鎮總兵曾敏行自貴州攜歸.'<sup>194</sup> Regarding Sichuan, *Jiangjin xian zhi* 江津縣志, *juan* 15, 'Jinshi' has records of two bronze drums moved there from Guizhou.<sup>195</sup> Bronze drums from Guizhou could be brought into Sichuan and into Guangdong. Of the bronze drums currently held in Taiwan, examples have been bought from nearby Guangdong (a drum in the collection of the Provincial Museum) as well as moved from distant Bao mountain in Yunnan (the huge drum in the Historical Museum). Drum B of Master Lin of Singapore was brought from Guangxi. Bronze drums are seen as antiques, and from time to time, ownership passes through dealers to customers. As far as excavated drums are concerned, they too should be viewed in this light and not peremptorily regarded as originally cast in the place where they were found.

Of the drums of Heger's fourth type, those excavated in Guangxi and Guizhou exhibit the most widespread use of patterns of flags and banners. Huang Zengqing states: 'Taking as evidence the bronze drum excavated from the tomb of the Southern Song dynasty in Zunyi county in Guizhou that is decorated mostly by patterns of flags and banners, the Song dynasty was when manufacture of this type of drum was at its zenith.' 根據貴州遵義縣南宋墓出土以旗紋爲主之銅鼓，宋代是它的盛行時期。<sup>196</sup> Therefore, the earliest limit for production of this type of drum can be pushed back to the Song dynasty. Type four drums of this sort that bear patterns of flags and banners, given that they are small and easily transported, are found in the greatest quantity, so I regard them as the template for the export drum. As far as drum B of Master Lin of Singapore is concerned, were it not for the confirmatory records of the family, if it had been discovered several years later buried underground, it would naturally and easily have been mistaken for a surviving relic of Dong mountain culture. Therefore, bronze drums excavated in South-East Asia, owing to the abundance of bronze artifacts that have appeared recently in China, should be accorded detailed comparison with specimens from Guizhou, Guangxi,

194 *Guangdong sheng Wuchuan xianzhi*, 9, 38a–38b (66: 362).

195 *Minguo Jiangjin xianzhi*, 15, 11b–12a.

196 Huang Zengqing, 'Guangxi chutu tonggu chutan', 588.





FIGURE 7.F A rubbing of a bronze mirror decorated with flag and banner patterns (Gui Fu regards it as having a provenance of the state of Nan Zhao)  
 PHOTO AUTHORIZED BY SHIN WEN FENG PRINT COMPANY

Yunnan, and Guangdong to establish whether they are export drums, and this small matter should not be overlooked. Master Matsumoto's monograph that discusses bronze drums places special emphasis on identifying and discussing the first type of drums in Heger's classification system, so the present author has paid particular attention to Master Heger's fourth type and hopes that those who share a similar interest will take this research further.

Written in the eighth month of the *guichou* 癸丑 year (1973) in Singapore.  
 Revised in 1979.

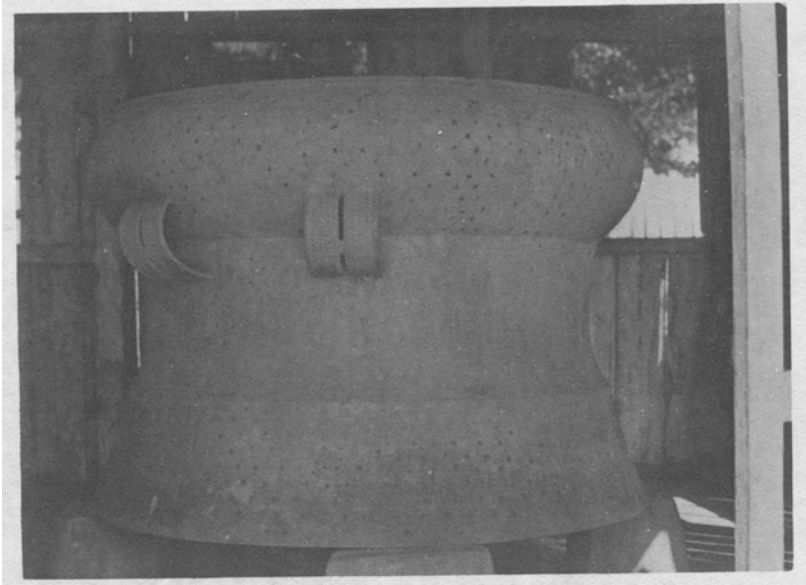


FIGURE 7.G A bronze drum from Indonesia  
PHOTO AUTHORIZED BY SHIN WEN FENG PRINT COMPANY

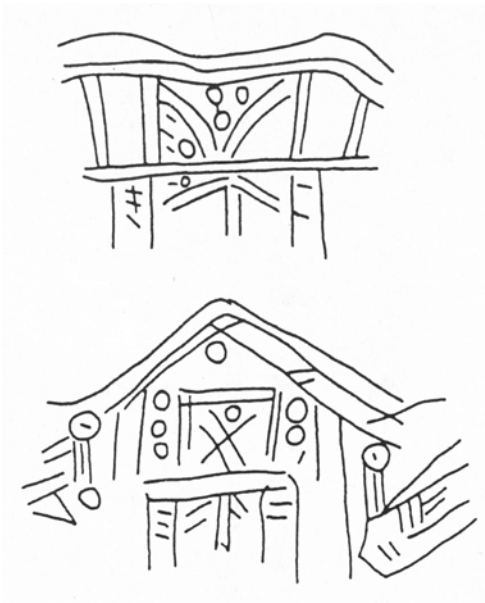


FIGURE 7.H Railing designs in patterns on a  
bronze drum from Thailand  
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### Appendix: Recently Published Articles on Bronze Drums (up until 1978)

1. Feng Hanji: 'Research into Bronze drums excavated at Jinning in Yunnan.' ('Yunnan Jinning chutu tonggu yanjiu' 雲南晉寧出土銅鼓研究, *Wenwu*, 1974, issue 1 [see the citations in the bibliography]). This text analyses the wellspring of pattern types on Yunnan bronze drums that comprise dancers, soaring egrets, and boat races, and makes a logical deduction that bronze drums had their origin in cooking pots.
2. Hong Sheng: 'Research into the Ancient Bronze Drums of Guangxi.' ('Guangxi gudai tonggu yanjiu' 廣西古代銅鼓研究) *Kaogu xuebao*, 1974, issue 1 (see the bibliography). This text outlines bronze drum types found across the whole of Guangxi, their decorative patterns, and research into chronology, as well as retaining analysis according to Heger's fourth category. It comes with two additional tables: the first is: 'Table of Bronze Drums discovered in Guangxi since the Founding of the Country' (that is, China, 1949; 'Jianguo yilai Guangxi faxian tonggu biao' 建國以來廣西發現銅鼓表), which lists a total of 270 items; the second is: 'Historical Records of Drums discovered in Guangxi' ('Guangxi lishi shang faxian tonggu jilu' 廣西歷史上發現銅鼓記錄), which lists a total of 136 items.
3. (Wang Ningsheng) 'Speculatory Discussion on ancient Chinese Bronze Drums.' ('Shilun Zhongguo gudai tonggu' 試論中國古代銅鼓) *Kaogu xuebao*, 1978, issue 2 (see the citations in the bibliography). This paper divides up bronze drums into six types A–F and draws attention to typical examples excavated from each region. It discusses the origin of bronze drums and hypothesizes that they emerged from 'elephant's foot' drums manufactured from wood.
4. Michèle Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens: 'Les Tambours de Bronze' (See: *La Civilisation du Royaume de Dian à l'Époque Han*: 53–64). In this text, the author discusses Dian civilisation and undertakes a selective garnering of material from Han texts concerning bronze drums. Its most interesting facet is listing of burial customs involving bronze drums among the Assam, Kachin, Karen, and Naga ethnicities of regions bordering Yunnan. According to *Manshu* 蠻書 (*juan* 10) that quotes *Kuicheng tujing* 夔城圖經 (now lost): 'The non-Han Yi ethnicities serve the Way; the barbarians serve their ghosts; in funerary services, at first, the small *pi* drum is played to express mourning; 夷事道，蠻事鬼，初喪鼙鼓，以為道哀，<sup>197</sup> which can serve as cut-and-dried proof. In the same book, pages 109–117, Dong mountain and Shizhai mountain cultures are compared to one another.
5. H. H. E. Loofs: 'Dongson Drums and Heavenly Bodies,' *The Proceedings of a Symposium on Scientific Methods of Research in the Study of (South-East) Asian*

197 Fan Chuo, *Manshu jiaozhu*, 10.260.

*Metal and other Archaeological Artifacts*, 1975: 441–467; Australia. Its importance lies in explanation of the radiant star emitting rays at the centre of patterns of this type. As far as historic books in Chinese are concerned, it only cites the text by Hong Sheng. Its author is extremely confused regarding material in Chinese, so does not dare to determine bronze drums with auspicious clouds as pre-Qin dynasty artifacts.



**PART 3**

*Dunhuang* 敦煌





## Critical Analysis of the Crisscrossing Cultural Currents of Historical Events Surrounding the Dunhuang Pipa Scores 琵琶譜史事來龍去脈之檢討

(Bibliothèque Nationale) Pelliot manuscript accession no. 3808 of the fourth year (933–934) of the Changxing 長興 era is a written text of lectures on Buddhist scriptures, but on its other face is copied a *pipa* piece notated as a musical score, whose date and background no one has yet been able to explore thoroughly. Recently, Mr He Changlin 何昌林 has written several essays on the subject, and from journeys of the Dunhuang monk Liang Xingde (梁幸德, *fl.* tenth century) sought to ascertain the year when the score was copied, which he regards as during the intercalary month to the first month of the lunar year in 934, with Luoyang as the location where the copying took place; the copyists were Liang Xingde's three assistants. In addition, taking the mention of the 'Lady of the Wang Family' (Wang shi nü 王氏女) in Sun Guangxian's (孫光憲, 896–968) *Beimeng suoyan* 北夢瑣言 (*juan* 20) as a clue, he traces a trail that reaches the relationship between Gao Conghui, ruler of the state of Southern Ping (Nan Ping Guo 南平國; Gao Conghui 高從誨, 891–948, r. 934–948), and the Later Tang dynasty. He considers that in the fourth year of the Changxing era at the emperor's birthday celebrations, there are written records of monks from the Jade Spring Temple (Yuquan si 玉泉寺) in Southern Ping attending lectures on Buddhist scriptures, and thus he has investigated and verified that this *pipa* score is in fact a transmission copy of a *pipa* score 'Lady of the Wang Family', whose earliest original came from scores belonging to the Wang family. The crisscrossing cultural currents surrounding the Dunhuang *pipa* scores as he understands them, in simplified outline, are these, and papers that he has published on these theories are not few.<sup>1</sup>

According to the investigation that I have made, in the epoch of the Later Tang dynasty emperor Mingzong (後唐明宗, 867–933, r. 926–933), the two provinces Gua 瓜 and Sha 沙 were directly under the rule of Cao Yijin (曹議金, d. 935), Military Commissioner of the Return to Righteousness Army (Guiyi jun

1 All by He Changlin, 'Sanjian Dunhuang qupu ziliao de zonghe yanjiu', 17–34; 'Dunhuang pipapu de lailong qumai', 51–57; 'Sannian lai (1981 nian qiu–1984 nian dong) de Dunhuang qupu yanjiu', 34–41; 'Guanyu Dunhuang pipapu de chaoxie ren', 47–60.



歸義軍), and his policies were on the one hand on New Year's Day to dispatch envoys in supplication with annual tribute to the dynastic rulers of the central Chinese heartland plains and on the other to form marital alliances with the state of Yutian 于闐. The manuscript P.2706 titled *Zhuanjing daochang sishu* 轉經道場四疏 contains the following record:

Let the greater monastic congregation circle the holy place for seventeen days reciting scriptures, with 1500 people fasting, arranged for the initiation of seventeen individuals into the monastic community.... our most sagely emperor's imperial mission is long-lasting and magnificent; internecine warfare between the Three Capitals is quelled, and military campaigns have achieved their objectives; with all Five Bodily Organs, we present ourselves in sincere supplication and humble obedience. Let our Great Ruler receive the favour of Heaven, the Three Ranks (of stars or officialdom) shine eternally illustrious.... an envoy has been sent to the imperial capital in the east bearing respectful tribute to pay early obeisance to the Son of Heaven's royal visage, and Yutian has also dispatched emissaries, and there were no halts on their journeys going and coming back.... on the ninth day of the tenth month of the fourth year of the Changxing era (933), your faithful disciple the Military Commissioner of the Return to Righteousness Army in Hexi, Inspector-General, Lord Chief Secretary, and Great Ruler Cao Yijin cautiously and respectfully pens this memorandum.

請大眾轉經一七日，設齋一千五百人，供度僧尼一七人。.....當今聖主帝業長隆，三京息戰而役臻，五府輸誠而向化。大王受寵，台星永曜。.....東朝奉使，早拜天顏，于闐使人，往來無滯。.....長興四年（九三三）十月九日弟子河西歸義等軍節度使檢校令公大王曹議金謹疏。<sup>2</sup>

Another memorandum, this one written on the twenty-third day of the first month of the fifth year (934) of the Changxing era, gives: 'The special tribute-bearing envoy to the imperial court has gone forth and come back with no halts when crossing the mountain passes; the Yutian emissary rode back without undue anxiety and has arrived early.' 朝貢專使，來往不滯於關

<sup>2</sup> The manuscript number is in fact P.2704. Its title in the publication where it appears (given below) is *Cao Yijin daochang sishu* 曹議金道場四疏. See: Jao Tsung-i, 'Pelliot 2704 Cao Yijin daochang sishu', *juan* 15, 'official documents', *Die zhuang* 牒狀, vol. 2: 42-44.

山；于闐使人，迴騎無虞而早達。<sup>3</sup> On the ninth day of the second month of the fifth year of the Changxing era is a memorandum that outlines: ‘An envoy sent bearing respectful tribute to the imperial court, a dispatch rider on an errand of communication for the imperial family, and a messenger on a special assignment from Yutian all crossed the mountain pass without halting.’ 朝廷奉使，驛騎親宣，于闐專人，關山不滯。<sup>4</sup> Evidently, at this time, close contact between Sha province and the Tang dynasty palace in Luoyang was an established fact.

*Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 (completed in 1013), *juan* 976, ‘Waichen bu’ 外臣部 (*juan* 956–1000), ‘Baoyi men’ 褒異門 (a short subsection including *juan* 976): ‘In the intercalary month to the first month of the first lunar year of the Yingshun era (934) of the reign of the Later Tang dynasty emperor Mindi (914–934, r. 933–934), the Gua province annual tribute was presented by the *ya* general Tang Jin (untraceable), the Sha province annual tribute by Liang Xingtong (untraceable), and the Uighur state tribute by Anmohe (*fl.* late ninth–early tenth centuries) ...’ 閔帝應順元年（九三四）閏正月，瓜州入貢牙將唐進，沙州入貢梁行通、回鶻朝貢安摩訶……<sup>5</sup>

The distinguished He (Changlin) draws attention to Paris manuscript P.3564 ‘Mogao ku gongde ji’ 莫高窟功德記 that mentions that the monk Liang Xingde was on the point of engaging an artisan craftsman to paint the murals in cave 36 when he was ordered by Cao Yijin to take the tribute and present it in Luoyang, where the Later Tang dynasty conferred on him the title: ‘Of the Monasticism Department in proximity to the Sacred Terrace, an officiator of supplicatory offerings to greater virtuous morality, expositor of the Three Teachings (Daoism, Buddhism, Confucianism), Senior Buddhist Master, a monk especially bestowed the purple robe of office by imperial decree.’ 僧政臨壇供奉大德，闡揚三教大法師賜紫沙門。<sup>6</sup> Thus, taking this into account, when the ninth stanza of the song lyrics in the lecture on the scriptures gives: ‘Master Seer, Purple Cloak, favours gracefully bestowed,’ 師號紫衣恩賜與，<sup>7</sup> it is describing him. In addition, therefore, in P.3718 ‘Miaozhen zan’ 邈真讚, Liang Xingde’s adulatory text offers: ‘The road to Zhangye (a placename, modern Ganzhou 甘州 in Gansu) is narrow and treacherous; the Xianyun barbarians invade and cause annoyance, their trapping nets a mesh of *luan* phoenix down so firm

3 See Jao Tsung-i, ‘Pelliot 2704 Cao Yijin dao-chang sishu’, *juan* 15, ‘official documents’, ‘Die zhuang’, vol. 2: 46–47.

4 See Jao Tsung-i, ‘Pelliot 2704 Cao Yijin dao-chang sishu’, *juan* 15, ‘official documents’, ‘Die zhuang’, vol. 2: 49.

5 *Cefu yuangui*, 976.11469.

6 He Changlin, ‘Dunhuang pipapu zhi kao, jie, shi’, 340.

7 He Changlin, ‘Dunhuang pipapu zhi kao, jie, shi’, 340.

and fine that it proved impossible to avoid rising to the sun (dying or being killed).’ 路隘張掖，獫狁侵纏，戎鸞值網，難免昇乾。<sup>8</sup> He Changlin’s conclusion on this basis is: ‘This indicates clearly that when Liang Xingde and his entourage passed Zhangye on their journey from Luoyang back to Dunhuang, they were attacked by dacoits, and he was unfortunately killed. Loss and damage to the baggage and valuables he carried with him could not be avoided, and no less so the scriptures, books, documents, and letters. The surviving manuscript *Dunhuang Pipa Scores* is just a small fraction that remains of the copies made in that year.’ 這就是說梁幸德一行由洛陽返回敦煌途經張掖時，梁因遇盜而不幸身亡。所帶行李資財難免損失，經籍文書之類亦然。現在留存下來《敦煌琵琶譜》只是當年全部轉抄件中一小部份。<sup>9</sup>

On carrying out a thorough examination of these two documents, it appears that He Changlin did not make a sufficiently careful reading of the original items. Here, let the opening sentences of the original text of both passages be extracted and reproduced:

(*Mogao ku*) *gongde ji*: ‘In the narrative, regarding Long Sha (untraceable), he has a disciple, a Buddhist monk of the Monasticism Department in proximity to the Sacred Terrace, an officiator of supplicatory offerings to greater virtuous morality, expositor of the Three Teachings, Senior Buddhist Master, a monk especially bestowed the purple robe of office by imperial decree; his Buddhist soubriquet is Yuan Qing (“Yearning for Clarity”). His late father had held the offices of *Inspector General of the Army* and Minister without Portfolio, and jointly Inspector-General of Schools and Imperial Historian and Censor, and was a Pillar-of-the-State: the highly respected late Liang Xingde of Anding ...’

《功德記》：「敘中龍沙，厥有弟子釋門僧政臨壇供奉大德闡揚三教大法師賜紫沙門香號願清故父左馬步都虞候銀青光祿大夫、檢校國子祭酒、兼御史中承（丞）、上柱國、安定梁諱幸德……」(See Figure 8.a)<sup>10</sup>

‘Miaozhen zan’: ‘The Tang dynasty former Inspector General of the Return to Righteousness Army of Hexi, Minister without Portfolio, Inspector-General, Imperial Counsellor, Pillar-of-the-State, Gentleman of the Liang prefectural capital; “Miaozhen zan” and introduction. A Buddhist monk

8 *Dunhuang baozang*, 130: 186, P.3718.

9 He Changlin, “Dunhuang pipapu zhi kao, jie, shi” zhi buchong’, 441.

10 *Dunhuang baozang*, 129: 94, P.3564.

of the Monasticism Department as well as an expositor of the Three Teachings, Senior Buddhist Master, a monk especially bestowed the purple robe of office by imperial decree, written by Ling Jun (“handsome soul”; untraceable; Ling Jun is his Buddhist name, his original name is not known); he was a gentleman of the prefectural capital, the late (Liang) Xingde, soubriquet Renchong, by upbringing, a native of Anding.’

〈邈真讚〉：唐故河西歸義軍左馬步都虞候銀青光祿大夫檢校左散騎常侍上柱國梁府君邈真讚并序。釋門僧政兼闡揚三教大法師賜紫沙門靈俊撰。府君諱幸德，字仁寵，先苗則安定人也。（See Figure 8.b)<sup>11</sup>

Given the above quotations, there are several areas where He Changlin’s exposition is open to discussion:

1. Liang Xiangde should not be called a monk. He had once held the position of Inspector-General of Schools, and as such had been a senior educational official of Sha province (Zhang Yichao’s [張議潮, 799–872] son-in-law Li Mingzhen [李明振, 839–890] had once, as the *simā* 司馬 Commander of Liangzhou 涼州, held the post of Inspector-General of Schools jointly with the office of Imperial Historian and Censor; see: ‘Longxi Li shi zai xiu gongde ji’ 隴西李氏再修功德記 [inscribed on a Dunhuang stele erected in 776]; his official title was identical to that of Liang Xingde).
2. The individual accorded the appellations ‘a Buddhist monk of the Monasticism Department in proximity to the Sacred Terrace, an officiator of supplicatory offerings to greater virtuous morality, expositor of the Three Teachings, Senior (Buddhist) Master, a monk especially bestowed the purple robe of office by imperial decree’ was Liang Xingde’s son Yuan Qing, who Master He has mistaken for Liang Xingde himself.
3. Another monk bearing the same titles is Ling Jun who wrote the text ‘Miaozhen zan’ for Liang Xingde but has no direct connection to him.

According to ‘Miaozhen zan’: ‘To present tribute in humble obeisance in the imperial court to the east, undeterred by the hardships of the road ... from the Western extremity of the Empire in answer to gracious imperial summons, permission has been granted for us to submit an official memorandum to the Emperor; the current Imperial Counsellor is to undertake this mission, and with him will be an escort of envoys consisting of more than seventy officials,’

11 *Dunhuang baozang*, 130: 186, P.3718.

奉貢東朝，不辭路間之苦…… 恩詔西陲而准奏，面遷左散騎常侍。兼使臣七十餘人，<sup>12</sup> which is sufficient to impart understanding as to the large numbers involved in the enterprise. Liang Xingde's soubriquet was 'Renchong', and although he shares the same surname as Liang Xingtong who was recorded in the *Cefu yuangui* as delivering tribute, the two are not necessarily the same person. As for the bestowal of purple robes, this was an extremely common occurrence, and both Liang Xingde's son Qing Yuan and Ling Jun who penned 'Miaozhen zan' received the same accolade. The sentence in the scriptural lecture that refers to 'Master Seer, Purple Cloak, favours gracefully bestowed' gives no information as to the surname of the individual in question, but it is inappropriate to add to his attributes 'the current Imperial Counsellor is to undertake this mission' and call him Liang Xingde whose official position was Inspector-General of Schools and was not a monk, especially when it can be ascertained that Liang Xingde was simply one among seventy or more officials that made up the mission. On his return journey, he 'reached the place Guifang' 屆此鬼方 and was killed. Given these facts, how is it that the surviving musical scores among the Dunhuang musical manuscripts have come to be regarded as relics of Liang Xingde; such assumptions are pure speculation.

Taking into consideration that the Changxing era of the Later Tang dynasty emperor Ming(zong) lasted for only four years and that Sha province was relatively remote with news from the central Chinese heartland plains arriving late, thus although it was indeed already the first month of the first year of the Yingshun era, the year itself would still have been written as the fifth year of the Changxing era. The emperor's birthday celebrations took place on the ninth day of the ninth month. By convention, on this day, the monastic community assembled in the Hall of Central Prosperity (Zhongxing dian 中興殿) for lectures and discussions, and this lecture on the scriptures was a basis for discourse at this time. Later words and phrases in it include: 'After journeying a hundred thousand *li* across the flowing sands, to the court of the (Later) Tang dynasty emperor came acolytes of the three schools; Master Seer, Purple Cloak, favours gracefully bestowed; the cohort of teachers take them and to their own locality magnify them.' 程過十萬里流沙，唐國來朝帝三家。師號紫衣恩賜與，總交（教）將向本鄉誇。<sup>13</sup> He Changlin considers that 'Master Seer, Purple Cloak' indicates Liang Xingde, but since it is now known that Xingde was not a monk, He Changlin's logical chain that the song lyrics of these scriptural lectures were written by Liang Xingde is by definition simply an impossibility;

12 *Dunhuang baozang*, 130: 186, P.3718.

13 *Dunhuang bianwen ji xinshu*, 50.

and besides, the people and historical events that the lyrics recount are also incongruent with the sequence of times recorded in the *Cefu yuangui*, so here I attempt to lay out in detail my own theory step by step.

In the stanza at the end of the essay, its lyrical seven-character lines touch on the following three historical personages:

The ruler of Qin (Qinwang 秦王). The lyrics give: 'The congregation of monks fervently pray and wish that all will depend on Heavenly predestination; and yearn to see the Yellow River waters a hundred degrees translucent.' 臣僧禱祝資天算，願見黃河百度清。'For three years the ruler of Qin has dispatched missions of officials; the present imperial dynasty is as splendid as the days of the ancient Emperor Shun, close to the dancing clouds.' 三載秦王差遣臣，今朝舜日近舜雲。<sup>14</sup>

The ruler of Song (Songwang 宋王). The lyrics give: 'The ruler of Song, loyal and filial, offers tribute to an emperor who is the like of ancient Yao; to the measuring of burning incense is entrusted sagely virtuous morality; without issuance of a proclamation, gaining entry to the imperial bastions is difficult; the dreaming soul resides long next to the sage (emperor).' 宋王忠孝奉堯天，籌（算）得焚香託聖賢，未得詔宣難入關，夢魂長在聖人邊。<sup>15</sup>

The ruler of Lu (Luwang 潞王). The lyrics give: 'The ruler of Lu, brave and exceptional, enthroned in Qizhou (Yangzhou); he pacifies and nourishes the living souls, raising up the ranked nobility; with someone so courageous and righteous rectifying the body politic, opening up the western regions is no longer a worry for the sage.'<sup>16</sup> 潞王英特坐岐（陽）州，安撫生靈稱烈（列）侯。既有英雄匡社稷，開西不在聖人憂。<sup>17</sup>

The ruler of Qin was Li Congrong (李從榮, d. 933); the ruler of Song was Li Conghou (李從厚, the Later Tang dynasty emperor Mindi himself); and the ruler of Lu was Li Congke (李從珂, 885–937, who reigned as the last emperor of the dynasty 934–937 and was called in retrospect Tang Modi 唐末帝). In this regard, Mr He's theory is entirely correct. Formerly, Mr Zhou Shaoliang (周紹良, 1917–2005) in his 'Jiangjingwen jiaozheng' 講經文校證 had already

14 *Dunhuang bianwen ji xinshu*, 49.

15 *Dunhuang bianwen ji xinshu*, 49.

16 My suspicion is that the character intended for 'opening' 開 ('*kaī*') should in fact be 關 ('*guan*', meaning 'close', but here means 'mountain pass'; both characters are classified under the 'door' radical 門 and appear similar, especially when handwritten. If the character 關 is used instead, the line translates as: 'The region west of the Pass is no longer a worry for the sage.')

17 *Dunhuang bianwen ji xinshu*, 49.

advanced an equally detailed examination of the evidence.<sup>18</sup> On investigation of the Tang dynasty emperor Mingzong's son Li Congrong's investiture as the ruler of Qin, it is found to have happened in the first year of the Changxing era (930), the *renyin* (壬寅 twenty-seventh) day in the eighth month; in the same month, the *bingchen* (丙辰 forty-first) day, Li Conghou was invested as the ruler of Song.<sup>19</sup> The lyrics indicate that for three years, missions of monk-officials were dispatched by the ruler of Qin, but it is not known who these people were, though from the first year of the Changxing era and for the whole of this period, they must have been the ruler's trusted intimates; of course, it is known however that they did not include Liang Xingtong coming from Sha province to present tribute in the intercalary month to the first month of the fifth year of the Changxing era. This is the first fact.

The lyrics do not mention that the ruler of Qin was killed. From the wording of the monk lecturing on the scripture's description of the ruler of Qin's successive provision for dispatching missions three years in a row, it is evident that at this juncture, the ruler of Qin was so powerful that he appeared to emanate heat; in this respect, let the following passages (from *The Old Official History of the Five Dynasties* [*Jiu wudai shi* 舊五代史]; *juan* 44) be examined:

In the fourth year of the Changxing era, the first month of spring, the *wuzi* (twenty-fifth) day; bestow on Congrong, the ruler of Qin, joint additional titles of Minister of Proclamations and Counsellor.

長興四年春正月戊子，加秦王從榮守尚書令兼侍中。<sup>20</sup>

On the *xinwei* (eighth) day in the eighth month; by imperial command, let Congrong be appointed infantry and cavalry Field Marshal for the whole Empire.

八月八月辛未，制以從榮為天下兵馬大元帥。<sup>21</sup>

18 *Scholarly Manuscripts of Shaoliang*. Zhou Shaoliang, 'Changxing si nian zhongxing dian ying sheng jie jiangjing wen jiaozheng', 66.

19 Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, vol. 28, 277.9287.

20 *Jiu Wudai shi*, 44.601.

21 *Jiu Wudai shi*, 44. 606.

On the *xinchou* (thirty-eighth) day in the ninth month, issue a proclamation for the Field Marshal Congrong to be set above the Chief Minister.

九月辛丑，詔大元帥從榮位在宰相上。<sup>22</sup>

The birthday of the emperor was on the ninth day of the ninth month, the time when lecturing on the scriptures took place, which coincided precisely with the days when the ruler of Qin's power was most tangible. For the monk lecturing on the scriptures to be toadying to him is entirely predictable. Thus, it can be ascertained that the lyrics written for lecturing on the scriptures must have been composed before the ruler of Qin was defeated. This is the second fact.

The lyrics also contain records of the rulers of Song and Lu, and indicate that for the ruler of Song, without issuance of a proclamation, gaining entry to the imperial bastions is difficult. Investigation indicates that on the *renchen* (壬辰 twenty-ninth) day in the eleventh month of the fourth year of the Changxing era, the ruler of Qin was killed by An Congyi (安從益, fl. tenth century), an Officer of the Imperial Guard. At this time, the ruler of Song, Li Conghou, held the position of Tianxiong (天雄, a placename) Military Commissioner; on the *wuchen* (戊辰 fifth) day in the same month, the emperor Ming(zong) died; on the *xinchou* (辛丑 thirty-eighth) day, the ruler of Song came from Weizhou 魏州 to Luoyang; on the *guimao* (癸卯 fortieth) day which was also the first day of the month, the ruler of Song acceded to the Imperial Throne.<sup>23</sup> If these lyrics are to be regarded as a composition of the intercalary month to the first month of the fifth year of the Changxing era, then at that time the ruler of Song had already ascended to the imperial throne and it could not be said of him that 'without issuance of a proclamation, gaining entry to the imperial bastions is difficult.' From this sentence, it is evident that the period of its writing was when the ruler of Qin was still in the heyday of his power. This is the third fact.

The lyrics also record the matter of the ruler of Lu enthroned at Qizhou. Zhou Shaoliang considers that this indicates Li Congke's tenure as the Military Commissioner of Fengxiang 鳳翔, and this is entirely correct. The emperor Mingzong suffered a severe stroke in the fifth month, and on the *wuzi* (戊子 twenty-fifth) day in the eleventh month, the illness recurred; the ruler of Lu sent only retainers to court to serve as they could. The emperor Mingzong died and still the ruler of Lu repeatedly sent excuses that he too was ill and could

<sup>22</sup> *Jiu Wudai shi*, 44, 607.

<sup>23</sup> For details, see *Zizhi tongjian*, vol. 28, 278.9340.



not come himself, so from beginning to end he evidently remained at his seat of power in Fengxiang. Mr He gives: 'According to *The New Official History of the Five Dynasties* (*Xin wudai shi* 新五代史; by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修, 1007–1072, et al.), in the second month of the reign of the emperor Mindi, the Fengxiang Military Commissioner and ruler of Lu, Li Congke, rebelled. Given that Li Congke's rebellion took place in the second month of 934, this proves that the suite of sung lyrics was written in the intercalary month to the first month of 934.' 《新五代史》，閏帝二月，鳳翔節度使潞王從珂反，既然李從珂在九三四年二月就反了，則證明這套唱詞寫於九三四閏正月。<sup>24</sup> He considers that these lyrics were composed a month before the ruler of Lu rebelled, that is, the intercalary month to the first month of the first year of the Yingshun era.

On the *wuyin* (戊寅 fifteenth) day in the first month of this year, the emperor Mindi changed the era to Yingshun. By happy coincidence, in the intercalary month to the first month of the year, Liang Xingtong came to court with his offering of tribute, so Mr He regards these times as precisely matching one another. Unfortunately, on examining the entire lyrics and the relevant personages as they appear in succession, it appears that at that time, the ruler of Song still represented an external fiefdom and was unable to gain entry to the bastions of imperial power; he is 'loyal and filial, (and) offers tribute to an emperor who is the like of ancient Yao.' 'Ancient Yao' clearly indicates Mingzong, who also 'entrusted sagely virtuous morality'; 'sagely virtuous morality' must then surely indicate the ruler of Qin, Li Congrong, whose younger brother by blood was the ruler of Song. As for poetic lines that tell of the ruler of Lu: 'with someone so courageous and righteous rectifying the body politic, the region west of the Pass<sup>25</sup> is no longer a worry for the sage;' on many occasions, the ruler of Lu had not come to the imperial court but had remained in his seat of power west of the Pass, and so tangibly was a concealed anxiety for the imperial court; however, at this juncture, the ruler of Qin held the post of infantry and cavalry Field Marshal in his grasp; so, when the lyrics give: 'with someone so courageous and righteous rectifying the body politic', the suspicion is that the 'courageous and righteous' individual refers to the ruler of Qin, and the 'sage' indicates Mingzong. After an understanding of the poetic lines is acquired, the most reasonable assumption is still that the song lyrics appended to the lecture on the scriptures were composed during the ninth month and the period when the ruler of Qin held sway. This also corresponds to the celebrations on the emperor's birthday and is an explanation of the historical sequence of

24 He Changlin, 'Sanjian Dunhuang qupu ziliao de zonghe yanjiu', 23.

25 (See above footnote 16) The character for 'Pass' was originally written as 開 ('*ka*', meaning 'open'), but this is an error.

successive events that contains no conflicting or contrived elements. This is the fourth fact.

Viewing the hypothetical period when the song lyrics were composed as the intercalary month to the first month is incongruent to the historical facts as they stand, and all related conjectures, including those that give the writer of them as Liang Xingde and the transmission copy of the *pipa* piece as emanating from his three assistants, have by inference lost their foundation.

This essay was published in the journal *Music Research* (*Yinyue yanjiu* 音樂研究) (1987, issue 3), and soon afterwards, Zhang Guangda 張廣達 and Rong Xinjiang 榮新江 initiated discussion on the Yutian missions of officials and related documents. Their material cites, firstly, the expense account calendar for the third month of the *xinyou* 辛酉 year (901) found in manuscript P.4640. In it are mentioned Luo Tongda (羅通達, fl. late ninth–early tenth centuries), who was the *duyaya* 都押衙 Commander of the Return to Righteousness army, the Yutian envoy Liang Mingming (梁明明, untraceable), and others. In tandem (secondly), according to a Yutian poetic composition found in (British Library) S.4359 at the opening to the text ‘Visiting the Gold Gate’ (‘Ye jinmen’ 謁金門) that I had transcribed, they have come to regard this year as currently the earliest known written record of envoys from Yutian coming to Sha province. Thirdly, their research material quotes P.2704, which contains memorandums of the fourth and fifth years of the Changxing era pertaining to Cao Yijin’s *Verses of Transference* 迴向疏; phrases like: ‘The state of Yutian dispatched emissaries, and there was no halting on their journeys going and coming back,’ which indicates that at this time embassies from Yutian frequently stayed for short periods in Dunhuang on their way.<sup>26</sup> This essay has already discussed this matter and cited writings in *Cefu yuangui*, ‘Waichen bu’ from which it has been learnt that at that time the individuals who delivered the annual tribute on behalf of Gua province were Tang Jin and Liang Xingtong, and the Uighur emissaries who came to the court to offer tribute were Anmohe and others. This means that when Sha province dispatched envoys to the Tang dynasty court, they must have travelled with their Yutian and Uighur counterparts, and from this the knowledge is gained that they depended on foreign regimes to carry out diplomacy.

26 Peking University: *Collection of Scholarly Essays in Commemoration of the Hundredth Anniversary of Chen Yinke* (*Jinian Chen Yinke xiansheng danchen bainian xueshu lunwenji*). Zhang Guangda, Rong Xinjiang, ‘Guanyu Dunhuang chutu yutian wenxian de niandai ji qi xianguan wenti’, 292.

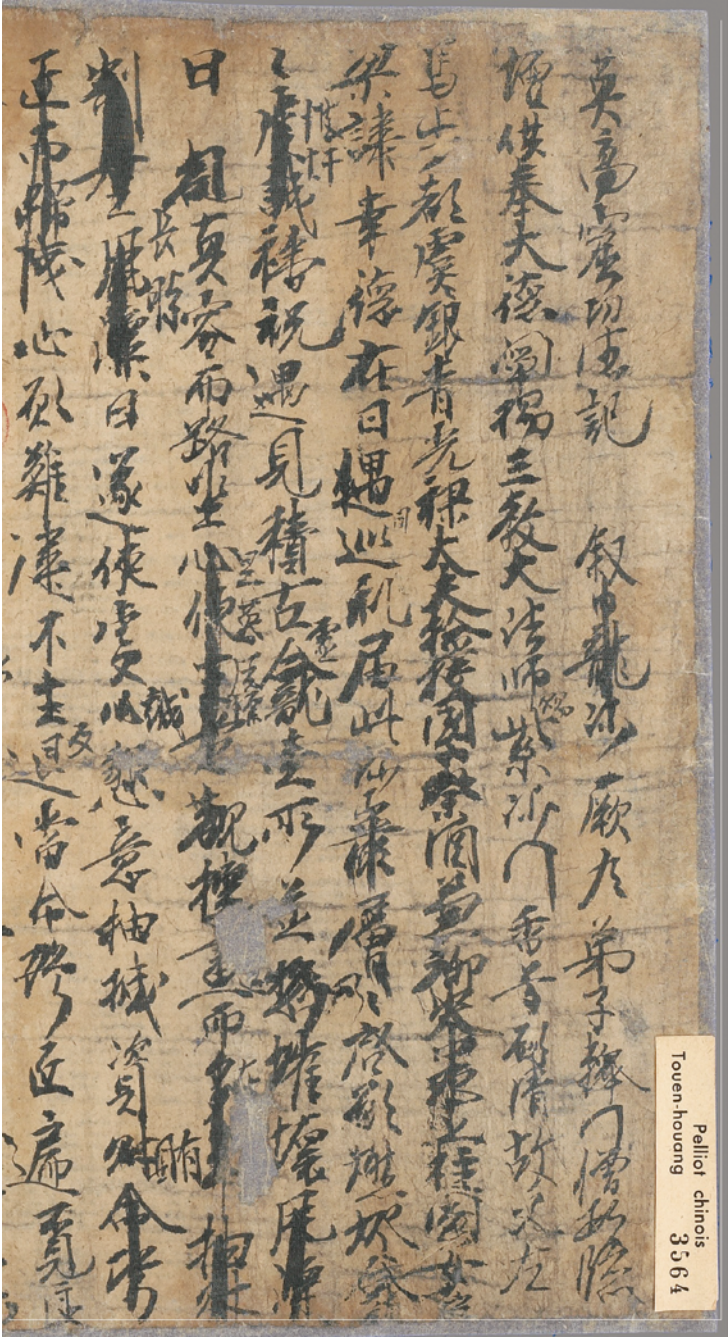


FIGURE 8.A P.3564 'Mogao ku gongde ji'  
 PHOTO PROVIDED BY THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE

視地昔黃 颯往雲  
 以後他日 情錄法玉  
 後集時友 卯陳教門  
 唐故河西歸義軍左馬步都虞候銀青光祿大夫檢校左散騎常侍  
 上柱國梁府君趙真誦 并序  
 府君諱幸德字仁寵先苗別女貞人也  
 公乃吳越雄傑必膺月物而生姿異骨奇模挺半千而誕世處齡別  
 侯業謫七步之音茲冠之騰勇侶田韓之宗恭親輔  
 玉芳聲曰播於人倫奉戎輪芳遐迹麻非歸於艱切效得  
 謙主稱美委委為親從之由每念切勲寵附軍糧之務一從任位  
 實異庭鶻之寫賦祝無年不避四知之美三餘之暇儼守  
 公猗赫乎崑峯怖万里之危望西關悒于重之檢 君親奉念  
 直欲選權才能當乃順道從依奉教捐私庭發效得

FIGURE 8.B P.3718 'Miaozen zan'  
 PHOTO PROVIDED BY THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE

## Introduction to *Collected Essays on Dunhuang Pipa Scores* 《敦煌琵琶譜論集》序言

In the Dunhuang manuscripts are found three musical scores and of these the most important is a damaged *juan* folio now held in Paris under the catalogue number Pelliot 3808. On one of its faces is written: 'In the fourth year of the Changxing era (933), in response to an invitation to lecture on scriptural writings on the official royal birthday.' 長興四年應聖節講經文. Since 1938, when our Japanese friend Hayashi Kenzō (林謙三, 1899–1976) made an investigative comparison of this manuscript with a Japanese *pipa* (*bīwa*) piece of the Tenpyō era (天平, 729–749) and confirmed that it was indeed a *pipa* score, fifty years have now passed. In *Monthly Publication of Musical Scores* (*Gekkan gakufu* 月刊樂譜), *juan* 27, issue 1, he published a long essay on the subject,<sup>1</sup> and last year, Li Ruiqing 李銳清 and I finally made a joint translation of it into Chinese, which was published in *Music and Art* (*Yinyue yishu* 音樂藝術) in Shanghai (1987, issue 2),<sup>2</sup> and at last Chinese people have an opportunity to read the essay in its entirety.

In 1982, when Ye Dong 葉棟 first penned his thesis, it was hailed as a transcription that had finally cracked the code, and after the circulation of his *Research into Dunhuang Musical Scores* (*Dunhuang qupu yanjiu* 敦煌曲譜研究), those who discussed it increased day by day, and other transcriptions appeared, including versions by He Changlin 何昌林 and Jin Jianmin 金建民. In June 1987 at the Hong Kong-hosted International Dunhuang Turpan Academic Conference (Guoji Dunhuang Tulufan xueshu huiyi 國際敦煌吐魯番學術會議), I presented a paper 'Dunhuang yuepu wupu youguan zhu wenti' 敦煌樂譜舞譜有關諸問題 that stressed the indivisible relationship between musical and dance scores and the impossibility of jettisoning dance and simply discussing music, given that the pieces in the Dunhuang musical scores were mostly composed to accompany the imbibing of alcoholic beverages; their role was the same as that of vernacular drinking songs, and the rhythms of the *pipa* pieces were in fact matched to dance steps. In the past, when experts researched into music and dance, it was a case of 'ne'er the twain shall meet', a taking of separate pathways that never come to the proverbial meeting point, which is a most unwise stance to adopt and a tendency that requires urgent correction.

1 Hayashi Kenzō, Hiraide Hisao 平出久雄, 'Pipa ko fu no kenkyū', 23–58.

2 'Pipa gupu zhi yanjiu: Tianping Dunhuang erpu shijie' 1, 1–15.

As far as the rhythmic aspect of these musical scores is concerned, previous interpretations have plagiarised one other and merely adopted a metrical explanation comprising strong and weak beats. When these various scholars have transcribed the scores, they have simply stopped work once the pitches are recorded, even though the musical results are most unpleasing to the ear. Because earlier transcribers had been insufficiently faithful and often added or removed items at whim, there was no choice but to make a fresh transcription or no worthwhile results would have been achieved, so I invited Prof. Chen Yingshi 陳應時 of the Shanghai Music Conservatoire to have another attempt. At that time, Zhao Xiaosheng 趙曉生 had come up with a novel suggestion regarding the punctuation of musical phrases that corrected the omissions and errors of earlier authorities, and which viewed the symbol · as a short break in the musical line and the symbol □ as a longer one. Prof. Chen, working according to Zhang Yan's (張炎, 1248–1320) *The Origin of Words* (*Ciyuan* 詞源) combined with *Mengxi bitan* 夢溪筆談 (by Shen Kuo 沈括, 1031–1095) formulated a new theory of 'pulled beats' (*chepai* 掣拍). His freshly transcribed musical score, only recently finished, was sent to me for early perusal; on looking at the new transcription, three important points are worthy of note:

1. Through close examination and checking of the characters employed in the notation, in many places authoritative correction has been implemented.
2. The mysterious secret of multiple occurrences of the symbols □ and · has been unravelled and solved.
3. Analysis of six characters to a beat and three characters to a beat in *sha* (煞 'broken') phrases and comparisons between recurrences of the same musical mode have led to the discovery of melody produced by notational characters within a musical mode, which could be regarded as a breakthrough in terms of research into Dunhuang musical scores in recent years.

Regarding the original meaning of the two symbols □ and · and their evolution in subsequent usage, they have in fact a relationship to the music of lyric song (*ci* 詞) as intimate and mutually dependent as water has to milk. I therefore took Jiang Baishi's (姜白石; also called Jiang Kui 姜夔, 1154–1221) 'side-by-side notation' (*pangpu* 旁譜) and Zhang Yan's 'tablature notation using characters of a pipe's timbral features in answer to fingering requirements' 管色應指字譜 as well as *Shilin guangji* 事林廣記 (by Chen Yuanjing 陳元靚, fl. thirteenth century) and the symbols that they use to notate rhythm: 丁 ('*ding*'), 住 ('*zhu*'), 折 ('*zhe*'), 掣 ('*che*'), and so on, and compared them with those in the Dunhuang scores and realised that the two practices had in fact evolved from a common source, and the symbol · was fundamentally an abbreviated graph

of 主 (住); · had originally been 住 and later when used became 掣, just as 丿 in (Jiang) Baishi's 'side-by-side notation' is also a symbol for 住; the character that Zhang Yan employs is 掣, and its usage is so alike that it is as if they had emerged from the same mould; this evidence is furnished here for thoughtful minds as sufficient for the sake of providing an argument.

Here, I propose to take Prof. Chen's transcriptions and my own inevitably clumsy remarks and combine them in a single string-bound volume accompanied by excellent illustrations that should be sufficient for the time being to provide interested parties with food for thought, nonetheless still seeking instruction and correction from the elegant circle of experts in the hope that together we can later make a deeper investigation.

February 1988, written at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, Institute of Chinese Studies (Zhongguo wenhua yanjiusuo 中國文化研究所), the *ding-mao* 丁卯 year of the old calendar, the night before New Year and the Spring Festival.

Although a metrical explanation comprising strong and weak beats came into being in a later epoch, from the late Tang dynasty onwards, instrumental scores such as *Dunhuang Pipa Scores* (*Dunhuang pipa pu* 敦煌琵琶譜) all had the two symbols  $\square$  and · as their backbone, and if the origin of this system is tracked to its source, it is in fact the Han dynasty system of sentence breaks.  $\square$  is the symbol for the end of a passage and can be traced back as distantly as the Warring States period. After the Song dynasty,  $\square$  evolved and became  $\circ$  and from an oblong turned into a circle, and the symbols  $\circ$  and · used respectively to represent a break and a pause thereupon became the means to mark out the fundamental metrical arrangement of sung genres. Still more when it came to melismatic styles, which are even more plentifully furnished with helpful punctuating symbols, for example, 折 ('zhe'), 拽 ('zhuai'), 丁 ('ding'), and 住 ('zhu'), but the cart-tracks from which they had sprung had already revealed their traces in the Dunhuang *pipa* scores, and the practice was passed down into scores of the 'drum-(blow) music' (*Gu [chui] yue* 鼓〔吹〕樂) genre of Xi'an such that they appear to be inherited from the same bloodline.

Most of the old rules and practice of musical notation can be used as corroborating evidence to demonstrate mutual veracity. In the winter of 1988, I went to Xi'an and with the assistance of Mr Li Shigen 李石根 had the privilege to view old scores of the 'drum-(blow) music' genre in their original state. The characters used for the notation are in fact vernacular versions of *gongche* 工尺 characters, and indication of the metrical arrangement is given primarily using the symbols  $\circ$  and · (x), which also have the additional functions of serving as marks of stress and coda, and this practice and that of *Dunhuang Pipa*

*Scores* are actually not of two different kinds. Immersed in the continuance of writing essays and in order to clear up ignorance and misunderstanding, for the time being I can only record the process of discovery I have taken. The rationale of any scholarly research is that if it does not proceed by painstaking accumulation drop by drop, how then can comprehension of a wider flow of understanding be acquired? I dare not yet lay claim even to a brittle belief that I am right, but still hope that those of broad knowledge and sound scholarship will seek to organize and improve my work.

1988, the night before New Year, another note.

As an addition in the second chapter, this book includes investigation of the original manuscript of the *pipa* score, and in this respect I have availed myself of the assistance of my student in Paris Dr Kuang Qinghuan 鄺慶歡, who made a tracing of the whole manuscript and sent it to me; through this, issues regarding the dating of the manuscript have been solved, and it has become clear that the musical notation was written first, so the fourth year of the Changxing era (933) is the latest possible date for its composition. The manuscript as copied by Dr Kuang looks as if the ink is still fresh on it, and I have brought it out many times to show others as a way of rewarding her labours on its behalf. Recently, however, the terrible news of her death has come; because of a long-standing illness suddenly she could no longer rise from her sickbed and in middle age has passed away, an orchid fragrance now damaged; in memory of her, I could not help but gaze vacantly for many days, barely holding back my sobs.

A memorial service was held for her in Paris, and my eulogy poem on her death reads: 'I remember I once asked of her the meaning of the characters "mysterious pavilion"; and now all that is left behind is a remnant manuscript on which to shed my tears; awaiting the summoning of her soul at the high green tomb of Wang Zhaojun (54 BCE–19 CE); yet fearing I will hear emanating from it the dark distant plaint of a *pipa*.' 記問字玄亭，剩有遺箋供涕淚，待招魂青塚，怕聞幽怨出琵琶。 She was highly regarded for her research into vernacular 'transformational texts' (*bianwen* 變文; also translated as 'changed literature') pertaining to Wang Zhaojun and once went with me to pay a visit to Zhaojun's tomb in Inner Mongolia. Unexpectedly, boundless Heaven has exterminated my fine and beautiful friend, so I will use this book *Dunhuang Pipa Scores* to commemorate her for evermore.

7 July 1990, after editing, once more, another note.



## The Relationship between Dunhuang Pipa Scores and Dance Scores 敦煌琵琶譜與舞譜之關係

As new material appears so do new scholarly questions. In the last half century, an unending stream of musical scores of the indigenous musical genres of many places in China has been discovered; in the field of music research, comparative studies investigating ancient notations have arisen in response, and among these, those that have emerged from the Mogao caves 莫高窟 have proved the most nutritious and appetizing and leave us feeling most replete. Scholars both in China and outside can surely harbour no regrets for making the utmost effort to penetrate the perilous and descend into the mysterious to carry out their research work, and the refinement of their discussion and richness of their explanation leaves one gasping in amazement.

After 1938 and Hayashi Kenzō et al. had published their thesis, having first caught sight of the original manuscript in 1956 in Paris, I had the temerity to attempt an exposition on my own account. In December 1981, when Mr Ye Dong was first starting to make his transcription, it attracted enthusiastic interest from colleagues, and for three years, discussion of the written characters continued like a forest of trees, rich and varied, verdant vistas stretching as far as the eye could see. The essay that Hayashi Kenzō had written was not readily accessible in China, so I made my own rough and ready translation of it that at that time had not yet been refined and a final wording established; thus, I urged my distinguished student Li Ruiqing to make a fresh translation. Mr Li, working with fellow aficionados from Kyoto, went over it again in fine detail, agreeing definitions, not twice, but thrice, until an established text was finally chiselled out.<sup>1</sup>


At present, the Dunhuang musical scores that can be viewed are limited to three in number, and they are all incomplete in some way. Here, through these assembled fragmentary passages, I will seek to revive a faithful incarnation of Tang dynasty music. In pursuing an explanation too profound or by using wording of descriptive intricacy, it can be difficult to avoid a patch-and-mend result that does not deal with the matter properly. In September 1986, I revisited

<sup>1</sup> This version has already been published in the Shanghai Conservatory of Music scholarly journal *Music and Art*. Hayashi Kenzō, Hirade Hisao, 'Pipa gupu zhi yanjiu: Tianping, Dunhuang erpu shijie', 1-15.







Paris to attend a conference on ancient Confucian rites and went once again to the Department of East Asia at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France where I obtained a commitment from the Librarian Mrs Monique Cohen to bring out all original manuscripts relevant to music and dance for me to make a rigorous examination of them, and as a result of my investigations, the ice-block of my accumulated doubts has melted away.

My desire was to make a broad-brush summary of the new theories of the distinguished company of scholarly brethren so I could get to the truth of the matter. Owing to the incompleteness and insufficiency of the material itself, a great many of the constructs of these different schools of thought have arisen from working by extension from the original core, and thus measured according to the rules of hermeneutics, there is still much room for discussion.<sup>2</sup> Probably, only the following points can be argued with confidence: Firstly: The notations themselves must be *pipa* scores and not *gongche* notation for a wind instrument; on this question, opinions discussed by the various authorities have already gradually reached unanimity, especially owing to the discovery of twenty notational symbols, which is sufficient in itself to furnish definitive proof. Secondly: The notated pieces cannot peremptorily be regarded as parts of a larger composition, and on this the authorities are also in agreement. Thirdly:  and · are symbols of metrical organisation and of these,

2 Regarding Dunhuang manuscripts in general, their recto and verso faces do not necessarily have a tangible relationship to one another, and scribes have mostly not left their names, so seeking confirmation of who a particular scribe was, given a situation of such unreliable evidence, is to make inappropriately wilful and unsubstantiated deductions; for example, P.3539: in it, a document is interpolated into the text in a rather random manner after which two lines of a *pipa* score are noted as if they were an afterthought. From examining the handwriting, the only safe conclusion that can be drawn is that both items come from a pen in the hand of the same person. When, however, it comes to the question of finding out by whom they were written, the enterprise is entirely unworthwhile and unnecessary. The scribe who transmitted these passages has mistaken the character 𠄎 (*'fan'*) for 𠄎 (*'yue'*), and the error is just after the two characters 更兼 (*'gengjian'*), so the meaning is evidently incomplete. Modern scholars who have gone so far as to ascribe the text to a copyist named E Yue 軛軛 should ask themselves how the flow of meaning of the text is carried above and below these characters, and if they were to do this, they would realize that their assumption cannot be sustained. Regarding *juan* P.3808 in its entirety, driven by a desire grounded in the actions of the personage lecturing on the scriptures and then by means of an obscure and circuitous route to make deductions concerning the other face of the manuscript that has the piece of music on it and that its scribe came from among three assistants to a particular monk is entirely supposition, and it is difficult to be convinced. The distinguished Xi Zhenguan 席臻貫 who examined the original manuscript itself has only said: 'Judging by the *pipa* fingering, it must have been written between 911 and 934.' 琵琶指法，必然寫於九一一至九三五年間。As far as who wrote it and which year it was written in, Xi Zhenguan discusses these matters no further, which is the most objective of all possible viewpoints.

marks out the beats (and functions as a bar-line denoting the time signature); the notation of Xi'an drum music contains many occurrences of the symbol x to mark out beats, but is not present in the Dunhuang scores; however, that  and · indicate metrical organisation is beyond doubt.<sup>3</sup>

Distinguished scholar He Changlin has argued that the *pipa* score 'Lady of the Wang Family' (*Wang shi nü* 王氏女) is the ancestral precursor from which the Dunhuang *Pipa* scores have descended. Investigation has found that the 'Lady of the Wang Family' is Wang Baoyi's 王保義 daughter (both *fl.* tenth century). *Tongjian jishi benmo* 通鑑紀事本末 (by Yuan Shu 袁樞, 1131–1205) gives (in a section in *juan* 39 titled 'Master Gao Occupies Jingnan' ['Gao shi ju Jingnan' 高氏據荆南]): 'Wang Baoyi, the *xingjun sima* commander of Jingnan, urged Gao Conghui (*fl.* tenth century) to report a plot (by An Chongjin [*fl.* tenth century]) to start a rebellion, and the events unfolded in the sixth year of the Tianfu era of the Jin dynasty (941): 荆南行軍司馬王保義勸高從誨具 (安重進) 反狀, 事在晉天福六年 (九四一)'.<sup>4</sup> The date of Wang Baoyi's daughter's wedding could probably not have been before this. The act of notating a composition as a means for carving the event in stone would have taken place even later. How can it be said that the date of a musical score said to have been obtained in a dream had been penned before a musical score copied on to the verso of a discourse on scriptures of the fourth year of the Changxing era (933)? It is extremely difficult to ascertain how old the 'Lady of the Wang

3 For more details, see: Wu Zhao, 'Preliminary Investigation of the Historic Score of the Song and Yuan Dynasties *Willing to become a Pair*, *Music and Art*. 'Song Yuan gupu yuancheng-shuang chutan', 1–10. Master Wu cites a Tang dynasty text by Xu Jing'an (徐景安, dates uncertain) 'Musical Passages: Notation using Characters' ('Yuezhang wenpu' 樂章文譜) in *Xinzuan yue shu* 新纂樂書 that gives: 'Notation using characters represents musical phrases, and the characters signify the melodic line, while phrases are used to structure this language,' 文譜, 樂句也, 文以形聲, 而句以局言, that is to say: 'phrases are also a representation of metre.' 句也是一種節拍的標誌. (See: Xu Jing'an, 'Xinzuan yue shu' quoted in Wang Yinglin, *Yuhai*, 105.24a [1922]) (Modern scholar) Zhang Shibing 張世彬 regards  as a simplification written with fewer strokes of the character meaning 'sentence' 句 ('ju'). (Modern scholar) Tu Jianqiang 屠建強 thinks: 'This notion offers proof that for the first time it can be established that  indicates metre.' 如此說能證明, 始能定  是拍. Note: According to *Tang zhiyan* 唐摭言 (by Wang Dingbao 王定保, 870–954; *juan* 6): 'Niu Sengru (779–848) once told Han Yu (768–824) that the beat indicates musical phrases.' 牛僧孺曾語韓愈拍板是樂句. I maintain that employing the symbol  to denote a sentence break can in fact be seen as early as the Warring States period and books written on silk of the state of Chu, where  is used as a punctuation symbol to demarcate sentences and paragraphs, as can also be found on Han dynasty bamboo slips. Thus, it is ascertained that the form of the symbol  had already a distant genesis in earlier times from which it had flowed down the years. Wang Dingbao, *Tang zhiyan*, 6.81.

4 Yuan Shu: *Tongjian jishi benmo*, 39.3694.

Family' was in the fourth year of the Changxing era, but she would probably still have been sporting the pigtails and ponytails of early childhood, so how can it be said that a *pipa* score with a *xu* 序 introduction written by Wang Zhenfan (王貞範; Wang Baoyi's son, dates uncertain) is earlier than the Dunhuang score and the ancestral precursor from which it is descended? Regarding the story of the *pipa*, narrators of the tale customarily embroider it with the trappings of the spirit-world and in an exaggerated manner tell of how the musical score emerged from a celestial being and was bestowed in a dream. *Youyang zazu* 西陽雜俎 (by Duan Chengshi 段成式, 803–863; 'Youyang' is a placename) in *juan* 6 (section: 'Music' ['Yue' 樂]) records a legend of Wang Yi 王沂 that is broadly the same as the story of the 'Lady of the Wang Family' of Jingnan, and thus neither would seem to be worth citing as reliable.

During the epoch of the Five Dynasties, there was wide dissemination of *pipa* scores, and they are found in many places. Lu You (陸游, 1125–1210) in his *Book of the Southern Tang Dynasty* (*Nan Tang shu* 南唐書), *juan* 16, 'Zhouhou zhuan' 周后傳 (Empress Zhou: 936–965, name: Zhou Ehuang 周娥皇, also called: Zhaohui 昭惠) gives: 'Therefore, when the Tang dynasty was at the zenith of its splendour, *Rainbow Skirt, Feathered Tunic* was the largest musical composition, and the Empress obtained a damaged copy of it and had it performed on the *pipa*.' 故唐盛時，〈霓裳羽衣〉最爲大曲，后得殘譜，以琵琶奏之。<sup>5</sup> Ma Ling's (馬令, fl. late eleventh–twelfth centuries) *Book of the Southern Tang Dynasty* (*Nan Tang shu* 南唐書): 'The last emperor of the dynasty (Li Yu 李煜, 937–978, r. 961–975) had once obtained an old *pipa* score; a respected professional court musician surnamed Cao was good at playing the *pipa*; Empress Zhou was thereby able to edit a new notated arrangement of *Rainbow Skirt (Feathered Tunic)*.' 後主嘗得琵琶舊譜，樂工曹生善琵琶，周后得以重訂《霓裳》曲譜。<sup>6</sup> This is a *pipa* score of the Southern Tang dynasty. Emperor of the Later Shu dynasty, Wang Yan (王衍, 899–925, r. 919–925), had once held a banquet at the Harmoniously Happy Spirit Pavilion (Yishen ting 怡神亭), where he himself played the clappers and sang *Rainbow Skirt, Feathered Tunic*.<sup>7</sup> In the Shu dynasty, Shi Cong (石濂, dates uncertain) was an individual skilled at playing the *pipa* who had originally been a professional court musician at

5 Lu You, *Lushi Nan Tang shu*, 13.3a.

6 *Juan* 6, 'Nü xian zhuan' 女憲傳. See: Ma Ling, *Nan Tang shu*, 6. 4a–4b (464: 276).

Although recognisable as of a common origin, the prevailing version of Ma Ling's text is substantially different from the one that Jao Tsung-i cites. There are also fragments of this quote in Lu You's equivalent passage, so there may be considerable intertextuality between the two.

7 *Shiguo chunqiu* 十國春秋, 'Shu houzhuzhu Benji' 蜀後主本紀 (*juan* 37). See: Wu Renchen 吳任臣 (1628–1689), *Shiguo chunqiu*, 37.9a (465: 342).

the Tang dynasty court.<sup>8</sup> Given our knowledge that at that time the *pipa* was furnished with musical scores and they were widely disseminated, why should the score 'Lady of the Wang Family' of Jingnan be the only one? He Changlin seems to regard all *pipa* scores as having emerged from the same source, which does not sit comfortably with a reasonable assessment of the situation.

He Changlin employs the names of note pitches according to modal practice of the Southern Sounds (*nanyin* 南音) musical genre and compares these to the three different handwritten character sets used respectively for the Dunhuang scores. When discussing the origins of the Southern Sounds genre, he cites as proof the example of the eldest son of the last emperor of the dynasty Li Zhongyu (李仲寓, 958–996) who was ennobled as the *jun Gong* 郡公 Governor of the prefecture of Qingyuan 清源 (Quanzhou 泉州) and who brought his family with him into Fujian when he took up the role. On investigation, *Comprehensive Mirror in Aid of Governance* (*Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑; by Sima Guang 司馬光, 1019–1086), *juan* 288, 'Hou Han ji' 後漢紀 states: 'The Tang dynasty emperor established the Qingyuan military jurisdiction in Quanzhou with Liu Congxiao (906–962) as the Military Commissioner.' 唐主置清源軍於泉州，以留從效爲節度使。<sup>9</sup> The events unfolded during the second year of the Qianyou 乾祐 era (949) of the reign of the emperor Han Yindi (漢隱帝, 891–948, r. 947–948), and it was during this period that the Qingyuan military jurisdiction was established, much later than the manuscript of the *pipa* score was copied in Dunhuang. The two characters 仲寓 ('*zhong yu*') are regarded here as an error, and the correct form should be 仲寓 ('*zhong yu*'); the second character of these two is represented in the *zhouwen* 籀文 greater seal script by 宇 ('*yu*').

In *Shiguo chunqiu* 十國春秋, 寓 ('*yu*') is also rendered as 仲寓 ('*zhong yu*'). Zheng Wenbao (鄭文寶, 953–1013) was once the *zhangshuji* 掌書記 Collator of Records of the *jun Gong* Governor of Qingyuan, Li Zhongyu (see *Shiguo chunqiu*, 'Biography of Zheng Yanhua' ['Zheng Yanhua zhuan' 鄭彥華傳; *juan* 30; Zheng Yanhua: *fl.* tenth century, father of Zheng Wenbao]). Li Zhongyu died in Yingzhou 郢州, see *The Official History of the Song Dynasty* (*Song shi* 宋史), *juan* 267, 'Zhang Ji Zhuan' 張洎傳 (Zhang Ji: 934–997).<sup>10</sup> In addition, the emperor's younger brother (Li) Liangzuo (〔李〕良佐, *fl.* tenth century) in the eighth year of the Baoda 保大 era (950), came to Wuyi 武夷 mountain as the abbot of the Daoist Temple of Assembled Celestial Beings (Huixian guan

8 See: 'Biography of (Shi) Cong' ('[Shi] Cong zhuan' 〔石〕澗傳). Wu Renchen, *Shiguo chunqiu*, 45.5b–6a (465: 408–409).

9 *Zizhi tongjian*, 288.9417.

10 *Song shi*, 267.9215.

會仙觀) and stayed there for thirty-seven years. *Shiguo chunqiu*, *juan* 19, gives: 'I once read an account of Fujian and in it is recorded: "The last emperor of the dynasty had a younger brother called Liangzuo who undertook spiritual exercises in pursuit of the Way at Wuyi mountain. The last emperor of the dynasty issued a decree to the relevant *yousi* official to build a Daoist Temple of Assembled Celestial Beings (Huixian guan) and bestowed on (Li) Liangzuo the title Expositor of the Way, Modest and Harmonious, Respected Teacher." 余嘗讀閩志，中載「後主弟良佐修道武夷，後主敕有司建會仙觀，封良佐爲演道沖和先生」。<sup>11</sup>

*Wuyi Shan zhi* 武夷山志 (by Dong Tiangong 董天工, 1703–1771; *juan* 18): 'Li Liangzuo of the Southern Tang dynasty, soubriquet Yuanfu, was the younger brother of (Li) Jing, temple soubriquet Yuanzong. In the eighth year of the Baoda (943–957) era, he bade his farewells to Li Jing and, seeking teachings on implementing good governance from the monks, entered the Wuyi mountain temple and thereupon took up living there. The old temple was situated on an islet, and (Li) Jing issued a decree to the *yousi* official to move it to a new location and establish there the Temple of Assembled Celestial Beings (Huixian guan) and bestowed a horizontal board inscribed with the name of the temple "Assembled Celestial Beings". In addition, bells were cast a thousand or more *jin* in weight. Li Liangzuo lived on Wuyi mountain for thirty-seven years and died, dissolving in a sitting meditation posture, in the Hall of the Clear Void.' 南唐李良佐，字元輔，元宗〔李〕璟之弟也。保大八年，辭璟訪道入武夷，遂居焉。舊觀在洲渚間，璟敕有司移創會址，賜額會仙。又鑄鐘重千餘觔。良佐居武夷三十七載。坐化於觀之清虛堂。<sup>12</sup> A Daoist Temple of the Empty Void (Chongxu guan 沖虛觀) still exists even today, and tourists to Wuyi mountain all visit it. Zhang Shao 張紹 of the Southern Tang dynasty once wrote 'The Inscription of Chongyou Temple' ('Chongyou guan ming' 沖佑觀銘), whose existence proves that cultural contact between the Southern Tang dynasty and Fujian was an extremely early phenomenon. In the Baoda era of the second emperor of the dynasty (Li Jing), Li Liangzuo had already entered Wuyi and was living there, and so there is no need to pursue the source back to the last emperor of the dynasty's son Li Zhongyu. The origins of the *pipa* styles of south China remain to be thoroughly investigated, but if this pursuit is driven by a desire to generate spurious linkage with matters of the Qingyuan prefecture, then the motivation is entirely unnecessary.

According to the written record, the Dunhuang *pipa* employed a plectrum as its principal method of playing. *Youyang zazu* (*juan* 6, section: 'Yue') gives: 'In

11 *Shiguo chunqiu*, 19.15b (465: 195).

12 Dong Tiangong, *Wuyi shan zhi*, 18.4b (262:288).

the Kaiyuan era (713–741), when Master Duan Chengshi played the *pipa*, it was strung with leather (gut?) strings. When He Huaizhi tried to play it using the *pobo* technique (presumably with fingers unaided by a plectrum), although he was playing on it, it did not produce sound.’ 開元中，段師彈琵琶用皮絃，賀懷智破撥，彈之不成聲。<sup>13</sup> This indicates the use of a plectrum. The Dunhuang *pipa* must have been played using a plectrum, and below are texts that can be cited as evidence in this regard.

S(tein).2146 ‘Nei xing cheng wen’ 內行城文: ‘In Buddhist musical compositions, strive for (accuracy of) fingering patterns and pluck with a plectrum from the direction of the cavity of the sound-box.’ 法曲爭陳而槽撥。<sup>14</sup>

S(tein).6171 ‘Lyrics to a Piece in the *Gong* Mode’ (‘Gongci’ 宮詞): ‘The *pipa* is plucked with a plectrum and has a sound cavity fashioned of purple padauk wood; let the strings and pipes make first their exposition of the musical mode and the drums be held aloft; perform the music with full voice, yet with both flanks soft; and teach a touch on the strings like using chopsticks to feed cherries to someone.’ 琵琶掄撥紫檀槽，弦管初張調鼓高。理曲遍口雙腋弱，教人把箸餵櫻桃。<sup>15</sup>

A *pipa* plucked with a plectrum is first seen in Northern Qi dynasty figurines, as can be viewed in ‘Pictorial Explanation of the Evolution of the *Pipa*’ (‘Pipa yan’ge tujie’ 琵琶沿革圖解).<sup>16</sup>

In the Buddhist stone caves of Kumtura 庫木吐拉, Xinjiang, the twenty-fourth cave of the Tang and Song dynasties, a (mural depicting a) four-stringed *pipa* with a curved neck can be seen, and the player’s right hand still uses a wooden plectrum for playing it.<sup>17</sup> This instrument is similar to a surviving Tang dynasty specimen now in Japan that too employs a plectrum to pluck the strings. As far as the Southern Tang dynasty is concerned, the *pipa* in performance can be seen in ‘Painting of Han Xizai’s Evening Banquet’ (‘Han Xizai yeyan tu’ 韓熙載夜宴圖; Han Xizai, 902–970; artist: Gu Hongzhong 顧闳中, fl. tenth century), and here a plectrum is also used. Tang Bohu (唐伯虎, 1470–1524) who made a copy of this painting also depicts manipulation of a plectrum.<sup>18</sup> Li Yu, the last emperor of the Southern Tang dynasty, in his *lei* 詠

13 Duan Chengshi, *Youyang zazhu*, 6.65.

14 *Dunhuang geci zongbian*, 723.

15 *Dunhuang geci zongbian*, 722.

16 E Dai, ‘Pipa yan’ge tujie’, 93, 95–96.

17 Zhou Jingbao, ‘Xinjiang shiku bihua zhong de yueqi’, 51–54.

18 See *Yiyuan duoying* 藝苑掇英, issue 7. In a Southern Tang dynasty picture by Zhou Wenju (周文矩, c.907–975) of ensemble music, the *pipa* in the ensemble already have frets and are plucked by the fingers. (Wu Zhao, *Zhongguo yinyue shilüe*, 124.) What is the reliability of this picture? This awaits detailed research. The painting is currently in the collection

eulogy for his empress Zhaohui comments: ‘The pieces she performed to invite me to dance included “Invitation for a Drunken Dance” (‘Yao zui wu po’ 邀醉舞破) and “Regretting I came Late” (‘Hen lai chi po’ 恨來遲破); with a sharp plectrum in her swift hands, singing her plaint in the *jiao* (or *shang* 商; see footnote) mode, extemporising in the *yu* mode; 曲演來遲，破傳邀舞、利撥迅手，吟角呈羽,<sup>19</sup> which is sufficient to serve as proof.

In the tomb of the emperor of the Former Shu dynasty Wang Jian (王建, 847–918, r. 907–918) are figurines of musicians carved from stone, and the *pipa* players all use plectrums of large dimensions.<sup>20</sup> Although at that time in China itself, there were also those who plucked the *pipa* with their hands, the *hu pipa* 胡琵琶 of the Central Asian people of Qiuci 龜茲 was however played with a plectrum. Hayashi Kenzō’s reconstructed specimens all use the plectrum as their principal methods of playing, as has been largely neglected by other authorities. The twenty Dunhuang symbols of musical notation record four different timbres each for the index finger, middle finger, ring finger, and little finger, so at that time, varied interludes using the fingers to pluck the strings certainly also occurred. In the village of Shuanma 拴馬 in Weibei 渭北, Shaanxi, carved stone figurines include the *pipa* plucked with a plectrum when held horizontally and when held vertically with the fingers as methods of performance, though employing a plectrum was the principal method.

Of the twenty notational symbols of *pipa* performance, four represent open strings, while the other sixteen indicate the four *zhu* 柱 bridge-like frets on the

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of the Cleveland Museum of Art and has been assessed by (modern scholar) He Hui 何惠 as of a Northern Song dynasty provenance. The artist is not known, and the picture is titled ‘Ladies of the Court’ (‘Kung-chung-tu’ 宮中圖). Surviving material from the plastic arts that illustrates the transition from plucking with a plectrum to using the fingers includes a representation of professional court musicians carved in stone relief in the tomb of Wang Jian (王建, 847–918, r. 907–918) and a scroll painting by Wu Zongyuan (武宗元, c.990–1050) *chaoyuan xianzhang* 朝元仙仗 in which the *pipa* players all employ plectrums to pluck their instruments. The period of abandonment of the use of plectrums and their replacement by fingered plucking has commonly been ascribed to the Yuan dynasty; see Han Shude and Zhang Zhinian, *Sketch of the History of the Chinese Pipa (Zhongguo pipa shigao)*, 143; also Qiu Qionsun, *Investigation of the Intricacies of Banquet Music (Yanyue tanwei)*, 111, ‘The initial epoch of playing the curved-neck *pipa* with the fingers’ (‘Qu xiang pipa shou tan de kaishi shiqi’ 曲項琵琶手彈的開始時期).

19 Wu Renchen, *Shiguo chunqiu*, 18.6b (465: 184).

Jao Tsung-i’s text punctuates this quote as split into two halves, drawn from different sections of the original text, but it is found there in the redactions consulted as one continuous quotation and thus reproduced and translated here as such. Regarding the musical mode, the prevailing version is: 曲演來遲，破傳邀舞，利撥迅手，吟商遲羽, which clearly indicates the *shang* mode (third character from the end 商).

20 See: Feng Hanji, ‘Qianshu Wang Jian mu nei shike jiyue kao’, 108.



neck or four *xiang* 相 V-shaped fret-ridges there, and none refers to additional *pin* 品 fret-rods attached to the body of the instrument. Fujiwara Sadatoshi (藤原貞敏, d. 867) in 838 brought a Tang dynasty *pipa* back to Japan that too has four *xiang*-frets and no *pin*-frets; Chen Yang (陳暘, 1064–1128) in *Yue shu* 樂書 also does not describe a curved-neck *pipa* with any additional innovative *zhu*-frets. The *pipa* of the Tang dynasty and the Five Dynasties had four strings and four *zhu*-frets and no locations where *pin*-frets were situated, as has been universally acknowledged. By comparison, the *pipa* of south China (of later epochs) sported a curved neck, four *xiang*-frets, and ten *pin*-frets, next to which were two sound-holes shaped like the crescent moon curve of a lady's eyebrow; it was an instrument hugged horizontally by the arms when played and self-evidently had not been manufactured from a luthier's relic template of the Tang dynasty and the Five Dynasties. The traditional *pipa* with its four *xiang*-frets and twelve *pin*-frets is designed in such a way that in a musical mode with D as its tonal centre (a major scale), the notes produced on the seventh and eleventh *pin*-frets are a microtonally sharpened fourth in relation to the usual fourth degree of the scale, and in this way together with the fourth degree in its customary position their importance is to cause the mode with D as its tonal centre to acquire a commonly employed microtonal inflection.

In more recent times, Liu Tianhua (劉天華, 1895–1932) took the old-style *pipa* with its twelve *pin*-frets and altered it to become a model with thirteen *pin*-frets, and Cheng Wujia (程午嘉, 1902–1985) reformed it still further to have six *xiang*-frets and eighteen *pin*-frets.<sup>21</sup> Thus, it can be seen that during the history of music, the number and positioning of *pipa pin*-frets has been subject to repeated increase and alteration. When the number has increased it has always been a natural and subsequent development of musical processes, and their special location according to pitch by which they can be pressed once more against the soundboard or pushed into different positions raises or lowers pitches to express the notes of different and changed modes.

Regarding the practice of tuning the strings, Hayashi Kenzō initially distinguished three different patterns according to three handwriting formats; yet this begs the question as to why different styles of penmanship should equate to different modes? With no firm and forthright argument or evidence established at the outset, Master Hayashi however leaps forward and is already paying especial attention to the metre of the final phrases. I once advanced the notion that tuning practices must be grounded in the pitches of final cadence notes; the metrical arrangements of final cadences have in fact three formulas:

21 Wu Ben, 'The Special Positioning of *Pin*-Frets on the Traditional *Pipa* and its Influence on Musical Compositions', ('Chuantong pipa de teshu pinwei dui yuequ de yingxiang'), 54–56.

一スマハ, 一凡レヒ/, and 一ナ之レ上, which match respectively the three different styles of penmanship, therefore, it cannot be regarded that all twenty-five pieces use just one method of tuning the strings. Rather than arguing that these three different tuning patterns are the result of one player re-tuning the strings by adjusting the pegs in performance and plucking the strings accordingly, surely it would be better to argue that three different players in succession are using respectively three different tuning patterns, which does seem a more reasonable interpretation. When discussing tuning methods, modern scholars all choose between two routes as their direction of travel: the first is to use the modes of Southern Sounds as reliable evidence that mirrors the tuning of the strings, a line advocated by Ye (Dong) and He (Changlin);<sup>22</sup> the second is to take the *gong* mode that the pieces are in, look again at the cadence notes and then simply make logical deductions on that basis; for example, in the piece 'Music for Pouring out the Cup' ('Qingbei yue' 傾盃樂), in the first group, the cadence notes are all 八, precisely as if 八 were the tonal centre of the *shang* mode. In the second tuning pattern in a different style of penmanship, the cadence notes of 'Music for Pouring out the Cup' are all indicated by the symbol |, and the mode is 'semitonal *qingshang*' 小二度清商.<sup>23</sup> This approach

22 As transcribed by Ye (Dong), the second of the three tuning patterns is: d—f—a—d'. Note: The Southern Sounds open strings tuning pattern d—f<sup>♯</sup>—a—d' is only used for the genre 'Four that do not answer' (Si buying' 四不應), whose scores require that the stringed instruments in the ensemble re-tune their strings a whole tone lower, with only the *pipa zi* 子 string retaining its original pitch of d' unchanged. (See: article by Zhao Songguang 趙宋光 in issue 18 of *National Folk Music [Minzu minjian yinyue]*; 'Dui nanyin guanmen yu yizhufan'gong de wudulian fenxi', 13–18.) Master Ye does not give a reason why the (Dunhuang) strings should be tuned in like manner; he also does not sketch the twists and turns of an argument and simply baldly states that tuning should be accomplished according to the pitches employed by the Southern Sounds *pipa*, so owing to insufficient evidence, his case is regarded here with due suspicion.

23 For 'Music for pouring out the Cup: Long Melody' ('Qingbei yue changdiao' 傾盃樂長調), see (the Dunhuang) *Yunyao ji* 雲謠集. In the '(Music for) Pouring the Cup' found in Liu Yong's (柳永, 984–1053) *Anthology of Musical Compositions (Yuezhang ji 樂章集)*, the following different *gong* 宮 modes are indicated:

'Music for Pouring the Cup' ('Qingbei yue' 傾盃樂)

*xianlü gong* 仙呂宮 mode (upper register) *dashi* 大石 melody (ㄨ taicou 太簇 mode)

*huangzhong* 黃鐘 mode, *shang* 商 as the tonal centre; note, that is, *yue* 越 mode.

'Ancient Pouring out the Cup' ('Gu qingbei' 古傾盃)

*linzhong* 林鐘 mode, *shang* as the tonal centre (*xiezhi* 歇指 melody, *nangong* 南宮 [nanlü? 南呂]) *xiaoshi* 小食 mode.

'Pouring out the Cup' ('Qingbei' 傾盃)

*huangzhong* mode, *yu* 羽 as the tonal centre (*banshe* 般涉 melody, *nangong* [nanlü?]) *sanshui* 散水 melody (nanlü mode, *shang* as the tonal centre)

is advocated by Master Xi Zhenguan 席臻貫. Of the two routes, my view is that the second has the greater reasonableness and is supported by more evidence.

Among the manuscripts found in the Mogao caves are several that relate to dance notation, and the originals of these are divided between Paris and London. The notation on the verso of manuscript Pelliot accession number 3501 was first copied out by Liu Fu (劉復, 1891–1934) who had it printed in *Dunhuang duosuo* 敦煌掇瑣, of which a facsimile is available in Kanda Toyoda's (神田喜一, 1897–1984) *Dunhuang miji liuzhen xinbian* 敦煌秘籍留真新編. Liu Fu's copy was traced out in a hurry and his deciphering and identification have many inaccuracies. In Paris in 1956 after I had first seen the original manuscript, I wrote an editorial commentary on it in which I mooted a number of corrections, for example, for the three characters that translate as 'mutually-meet-offer a salutation' 相逢揖, the third character of these 揖 (offer a salutation) can be proved to be a graphic alternative current in the Six Dynasties, and the intended character is 揖 and not 拑 (the characters are similar in appearance and core meaning), to cite just one example.<sup>24</sup> Continuing the research process in London, I learnt that British Museum (now British Library) accession number Stein.5643 was also a fragmentary specimen of dance notation, and a facsimile of it is appended to my book *Notes on Reading Dunhuang Pipa Scores (Dunhuang pipapu duji* 敦煌琵琶譜讀記); thus from this point onwards, the scholarly world was aware of a second Dunhuang manuscript of dance notation, which meant that the discussion initiated by Hayashi Kenzō could now be continued and expanded. Representation of movements by characters such as 單 ('dan'), 巡 ('xun'), and 輪 ('lun') had not been seen before. In addition, there is Pelliot manuscript accession number 3719 'Washing Stream

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Given that, in the Song dynasty, 'Pouring out the Cup' occurred in different versions of the *gong* mode in this fashion, it is not at all surprising that in the Dunhuang manuscripts, the metre and mode of 'Pouring out the Cup' manifest themselves in two variants, and besides fast and slow pieces and other differences, the overall picture is of a multiplicity of variation; for more details, see Xi Zhenguan's paper 'Regarding the Scores of the first Tranche of Dunhuang Pieces, my Views on tuning *Pipa* Strings' ('Dunhuang qupu diyiqun dingxian zhi wojian', 1–11).

Prior to this, Xia Jingguan (夏敬觀, 1875–1953) in *Cidiao suyuan* 詞調溯源 had already outlined fine differentiations between various types of *gong* mode. The formats for 'Music for Pouring out the Cup' that Wan Shu (萬樹, c.1630–1688) includes in *Cili* 詞律, *juan* 6, number ten in total and comprise 94, 95, 104, 105, 107, 108, or 116 characters. See: Xia Jingguan, *Cidiao suyuan*. Wan Shu, *Cili*.

24 The Zhang Menglong (張猛龍, fl. fifth–sixth centuries) stele (dated 522) that is familiar to all includes the lines: 'Poets adulate his filial piety and brotherly loyalty; his radiance gathers on his lovely concubines ... and as a central focus his prosperity is trustworthy and reliable.' 詩人詠其孝友，光緡姬□，中興是賴。The character for 'gathers' used here is 緡, a variant of the more familiar 緡.

Gravel' ('Huan xi sha' 浣溪沙) and its fragmentary notation of which only three lines remain that includes: 'Slow two, fast three, slow three, fast three;' 慢二急三慢三急三;<sup>25</sup> and the rhythm that they notate has an implicit relationship to dance, which means here is evidently a combined score of dance and music, and although it comprises only a very few characters, their significance should not be underplayed.

Both solo and team dances are found. Solo dances include the 'Pictorial Representation of the Vimalakīrti Scripture' ('Weimojie jingbian' 維摩詰經變) in Mogao cave 61 that is well-known and familiar worldwide. Team dances can be seen in Dunhuang scriptural manuscripts. In my youth when I wrote *Dunhuang qu* 敦煌曲, I first indicated that on the verso of Stein.2440 'one team turquoise, one team yellow, bear treads' 青一隊，黃一隊，熊踏 is just such an example,<sup>26</sup> and this material is often cited by others as evidence worthy of discussion. Zheng Qi's (鄭棨, 839–910) *Kaitian chuanxin ji* 開天傳信記 (Tianbao era: 742–756) includes the phrase: 'At the beginning of the Tianbao era was a person by the name of Liu Zhaoxia (see footnote 28), who presented a *fu* poem "Celebrating the Happiness of Warm Springs"; 天寶初有劉朝霞者，獻《賀幸溫泉》賦。<sup>27</sup> The text of this poem is preserved in the Dunhuang manuscripts, twice in total, and it contains the lines: 'The turquoise team, the yellow team; the bear treads the chest, the leopard lifts the back.'<sup>28</sup> 青一隊兮黃一隊，熊踏胸兮豹擎背。<sup>29</sup> Such opinions as have been expressed regard these phrases as a description of the emperor's guard-of-honour.

Investigation of Duan Anjie's (段安節, fl. ninth century) *Yuefu zalu* 樂府雜錄 reveals that it contains records of the Yayue bu 雅樂部 (passage 1), the Qingyue bu 清樂部 (passage 3), the Qiuci yue bu 龜茲樂部 (passage 8), and so on, and in their midst (passage 6) is a record of the Xiongpi bu 熊羆部 where were found 'twelve effigies of black bears and brown bears all carved of wood and each about ten feet tall.' 有熊羆十二皆以木雕之，高丈餘。<sup>30</sup> The movement 'tread' ('ta' 踏) has perhaps a direct connection to the Xiongpi bu 熊羆部 of the Music Department. When the emperor went out on a journey, the court orchestra accompanied him in his entourage, and the orchestra naturally included a dance troupe. Wang Zhuo (王灼, 1105–1160) gives an account of a dance troupe formed by Li Keji (李可及, fl. eighth–ninth centuries): 'This

25 *Dunhuang baozang*, 130: 194, P.3719.

26 Zheng Qi, *Kaitian chuanxin ji*, 15b–16a (1042: 847–48).

27 Zheng Qi, *Kaitian chuanxin ji*, 15b (1042: 847).

28 The two manuscripts: Pelliot.5037 and 2976; the poem itself is narrated by holder of the *Jinshi* 進士 degree Liu Xia (劉瑕, also called Liu Zhaoxia 劉朝霞, fl. Tang dynasty).

29 Zheng Qi, *Kaitian chuanxin ji*, 15b–16a (1042: 847–48).

30 Duan Anjie, *Yuefu zalu*, 4b (839: 991).

merely resembles the transmission of “treading” dancing steps in recent times.’ 不過如近世傳踏之舞耳。<sup>31</sup> At that time, separate groups inside a dance troupe were differentiated according to colours, and they wore masks to mimic the form and hue of various animals, which accounts for transmission of the ‘treading’ dancing pose. Pelliot Manuscript 3272 includes a record: ‘On a particular day, at the sacrificial obeisance of the annual harvest ... the youths officiating at the ceremonies came in dancing with “treading” steps,’ 一日，歲祭拜，..... 定興郎君踏舞來，<sup>32</sup> and this was the custom of performing the ‘treading’ dance on the first day of the New Year.

All Dunhuang dance notations of this type are like fine scatterings of jade shards, and even if one tastes a mere morsel, they are insufficient alone to allow an overall picture of contemporary dance practices to be viewed; the movements themselves were already known and there was no need to explain them (and thus the vocabulary functioned simply as a series of prompts). The dance gestures and poses employed, however, were many and varied as have been preserved in murals; describing and explaining these in detail is extremely helpful to understanding the fragmentary scores that do survive.

Records of Dunhuang dances are found in official histories, for example, *The Official History of the Liao Dynasty* (*Liao shi* 遼史), ‘Taizong ji xia’ 太宗紀下 (*juan* 4):

In the second year of the Huitong era (939), the eleventh month, the *dinghai* year, Tieli and Dunhuang both sent envoys to the imperial court to offer tribute.

會同二年十一月丁亥，鐵驪、燉煌並遣使來貢。<sup>33</sup>

In the third year, the fifth month, the *gengwu* year, on the Duanwu festival, a banquet was held for the assembled ministers and envoys of the feudal fiefdoms, and a command issued for the two Uighur and Dunhuang envoys to perform their native dances, and the assembled feudal rulers were called on to watch them.

三年五月庚午，以端午宴群臣及諸國使，命回鶻、燉煌二使作本俗舞，俾諸侯觀之。<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Wang Zhuo. *Biji manzhi*, 5:39.

<sup>32</sup> *Dunhuang baozang*, 127: 242, P.3272.

<sup>33</sup> *Liao shi*, 4.46.

<sup>34</sup> *Liao shi*, 4.47.

*The Official History of the Liao Dynasty*, ‘Treatise on Music’ (‘Yue zhi’ 樂志; *juan* 54), ‘Zhuguo yue’ 諸國樂 also has a record of the Duanwu festival of the third year of the Huitong era when the two Uighur and Dunhuang envoys were ordered to perform their native dances. Twice over the same event is recounted, which demonstrates the importance that the people of the Liao dynasty ascribed to the vernacular dances of Dunhuang. With the establishment of the Song dynasty, the Cao 曹 family rulership of Dunhuang had already become a viceroyalty of the Liao dynasty (for details, see: *The Official History of the Liao Dynasty*, ‘Shuguo biao’ 屬國表, *juan* 70).<sup>35</sup> Writings that pertain to Uighur dances include (*juan* 142, the seventeenth *juan* of ‘Yue zhi’ 樂志 of *The Official History of the Song Dynasty* [*Song shi*] that mentions) the Shediao huihu dui 射鵬回鶻隊.<sup>36</sup> What were the defining characteristics of Dunhuang’s native vernacular dances? An answer to that question awaits the carrying out of detailed study in the future of the cave murals as research material and then for arguments to be arranged in due order.

Recently, Li Zhengyu 李正宇 has drawn attention to a letter template (*shuyi* 書儀) on S.5613; situated directly underneath the title of the letter, which is written by a lady to her husband, are four lines of small characters that are a dance notation of the composition ‘Southern Songlet’ (‘Nan gezi’ 南歌子), and his transcription of these characters is printed in *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究, issue 9.<sup>37</sup> After making further careful investigation of a magnified facsimile copy, I discovered that the text as Master Li had transcribed it still contains many incorrect characters, so I made a fresh editorial correction of them; from left to right, the text reads:

A composition for the serving of wine; ‘Southern Songlet’; two sections; slow two, fast three, slow two. *Ling*-movement comes to the *ju*-movement, each for three beats. *Dan*-movement, *pu*-movement (six); *shuang*-movement, *bu*-movement. Nearby *ling*-movement, comes forward, *yi*-movement. *Yin*-role: *dan*-movement, *bu*-movement. Dance: *ju*-movement, *cu*-movement. *Shuang*-movement, *bu*-movement. *Ling*-movement, *sui*-movement; quick three; three beats, *zhe*-movement, one beat. Meet, *sui*-movement: three beats, *zhe*-movement, one beat. *Shuang*-movement, *bu*-movement. Dance: *ju*-movement, at the back; at the back, *song*-movement. In the *jisi* year of the Kaiping era, on the

35 *Liao shi*, 54.882.

36 *Song shi*, 142.3350.

37 Li Zhengyu, ‘Dunhuang yishu zhong faxian tinian nan gezi wupu’, 75.

seventh day of the seventh month, written in melancholy. De Shen records it. (see Figure 10.a)

上酒曲子，《南哥子》，兩段，慢二、急三、慢二。令至据，各三拍。單鋪（六），雙補。近令前搨（揖）。引單〔鋸〕（鋪）。舞据諫。鬘（雙）補。令授，急三，三拍折一拍。遇授：三拍折一拍。雙補。舞据後，後送。開平己巳歲，七月七日悶題。德深記之。（參圖10.a）<sup>38</sup>

This score comes with a date for when it was written and as such is extremely precious. It was penned in the third year of the Kaiping era of the Later Liang dynasty (909). At the opening is clearly recorded ‘a composition for serving wine’, 上酒曲子, that is, a genre of miscellaneous vernacular music and dance composition for use at banquets, of which ‘Southern Songlet’ was evidently one such example; that it was originally a drinking song can be ascertained with confidence, and as new material, it deserves detailed research.<sup>39</sup>

Below, all relevant matters (1–13[14]) are listed in turn and appropriate discussion appended.

## 1 Quick (*ji* 急) and Slow (*man* 慢)

Formerly, the received wisdom regarding the lyrics of small-scale compositions was that they simply awaited the application of sung melody and there was no specific danced element to the artistic design, and the same applied to drinking songs. Looking at this score with modern eyes, self-evidently this was not the case, and drinking songs could also come with dancing. An example of a solo dancer is a stone carving in relief of a dance composition found in a tomb of the Southern Song dynasty in Guangyuan 廣元, Sichuan. The figure in question is a female musician sporting a winged *futou* 幘頭 silken cap wound on to her head and wearing a round-collared or double-breasted narrow-sleeved robe, her hands twisting her sleeves together and her waist tied with a belt, either gyrating her waist and raising her hands aloft or bending her knees and wafting her sleeves, such are the dancing postures she assumes. Discussion of her has suggested that she is the ‘singing girl who dances large-scale compositions

38 *Dunhuang baozang*, 44: 2, S.5613.

39 The character 鋪 (*pu*) of ‘*dan*-movement, *pu*-movement’ 單鋪 is, according to its shape, undoubtedly this character, but Master Li interprets it as a character similar in appearance 鋸 (*ban*), which is incorrect. Also, later in the text, for the phrase: ‘*Yin*-role: *dan*-movement, *pu*-movement. Dance;’ 引單釳舞; Li mistakenly employs the character 鈔 (*fen*) for ‘*pu*-movement’ 鋪, but judging from the linguistic context, the correct reading is ‘*dan*-movement, *pu*-movement’ 單鋪.

that only she has the facility to perform solo to the fore' 優伶舞大曲惟一工獨進 mentioned in Chen Yang's *Yue shu* (*juan* 185).<sup>40</sup> In the (Dunhuang) folios containing the *pipa* scores, those compositions that employ the tempo instructions 'fast' and 'slow' in the same piece and thus differentiate between them are listed in the table below:

TABLE 10.1 Compositions that contain the tempo instructions 'fast' and 'slow'

'Music for Pouring out the Cup', twice 傾盃樂二	'West River Moon' 西江月	'Affairs of the Heart' 心事子	'Yizhou' (a placename) 伊州
'Slow Composition', three times 慢曲子三	'Slow Composition', twice 慢曲子二	'Slow Composition', once 慢曲子一	'Slow Composition', once 慢曲子一
'Another Composition', once 又曲子一			'Fast Composition', once 急曲子一
'Fast Composition', twice 急曲子二			

Wang Zhuo's *Biji manzhi* (碧雞漫志; *juan* 5) gives: 'From the mid-Tang dynasty onwards, the modern form of slow compositions gradually appeared.' 唐中葉漸有今體慢曲子.<sup>41</sup> The character 'modern' indicates here the early Southern Song dynasty, though the musical form of slow compositions originated in the mid-Tang dynasty. *The Official History of the Song Dynasty* (*Song shi*), 'Yue zhi' (*juan* 142) states: 'Scores where music is defined as "fast" or "slow" number several thousand compositions.' 其急慢譜諸曲幾千遍.<sup>42</sup> This could certainly be regarded as abundant! In the same piece, 'fast' and 'slow' are also differentiated from one another. Zhang Yan's *Ciyuan*, 'Paiyan pian' 拍眼篇 (*juan* 2): 'Slow three, fast three, metrical patterns: the piece "Three Stages" is of this kind,' 慢三急三拍子，三台相類,<sup>43</sup> is an expression of this. In the dance notations

40 Chen Yang, *Yue shu*, 185:3a (211: 831).

41 Wang Zhuo, *Biji manzhi*, 5:37.

42 *Song shi*, 142:3356.

43 Zhang Yan, *Ciyuan*, B.4a (1733: 66).



cited above, in ‘Southern Songlet’ is found: ‘Two sections; slow two, fast three, slow two.’ 兩段、慢二急三慢二.<sup>44</sup>

This sort of piece where numbers of beats are recorded is a formula that can also be seen in many other dance compositions; thus, it is made clear that in the same piece, because of divisions between fast and slow tempi, ‘another of the same type’ 又一體 can be formed. Also, because of differences between the various *gong* modes, the musical score and the number of characters employed to notate it can occur in more elaborate forms, for example, ‘Music for Pouring out the Cup’ is found as many as seven times among the *pipa* pieces. Wan Shu (萬樹, c.1630–1688, in *Cili* 詞律, *juan* 6) because of his dictum ‘when the melody is different, the piece will therefore be different’ 調異故曲異 also sighed ‘because the epoch when the piece was created is distant, the notes themselves have died too.’ 世遠音亡.<sup>45</sup> Nowadays, there has been a gradual discovery of new material, for example, ‘Yuanchengshuang pu’ 願成雙譜 in *Shilin guangji* that is marked ‘double quick time’ 雙勝子急, which, as it carries the character for ‘fast’, ought to be a fast piece. A recent distinguished scholar has, through research, formed the opinion that ‘fast’ means triple time with one strong and two weak beats,<sup>46</sup> and from this it can be deduced that Qing dynasty usage by which density of rhyme deployment distinguishes between fast and slow pieces is an entirely incorrect concept!<sup>47</sup>

## 2 Level Beats (*Pingpai* 平拍) and Walking Beats (*Xingpai* 行拍)

Suites of lyric songs of ‘stationary music’ (*zuoyue* 坐樂) of the ‘drum-blow music’ of Xi’an, for example, compositions in repertoires of the musical instrument societies Dongcang 東倉 and Xianmi si 顯密寺 contain pieces that combine in performance level beats of slow metre and walking beats of fast metre. In this respect, (modern scholar) Lü Hongjing 呂洪靜 cites two examples:

Level beats:

平拍

Example: ‘Looking at my Native Area: Slow’

(11 70)

如《望吾鄉慢》

44 *Dunhuang baozang*, 44: 2, S.5613.

45 Wan Shu, *Ci li*, 7.26a (191).

46 According to Wu Zhao.

47 As given in Fang Chengpei’s 方成培 (*fl.* late eighteenth–early nineteenth centuries) *Xiang yan ju ci zhu*, 5.62.

This is a slow piece sixty-six bars long; its special characteristic is that one strike on the woodblock comes every two bars and represents a rhythmic unit, that is, the Tang dynasty 'one beat' metre.

是一首六十六小節之慢曲，特有的一梆子是兩小節為一個節拍單位，也就是唐詩的一拍。<sup>48</sup>

Walking beats:

行拍

Example, 'Eighteen Hammers: Quick'

(| 130)

如〈十八錘快〉

This piece would seem to have been performed twice as fast as the previous pieces, with one bar equivalent to a rhythmic unit.

此曲以比前曲幾乎快一倍的速度演奏，是以一小節作為一個節拍的單位。<sup>49</sup>

Immediately after using level beats to perform the slow composition 'Looking at my Native Area' comes a quick piece 'Eighteen Hammers' that uses walking beats. The performers themselves call walking beats by the term 'cadencing the piece', and their method of notation often furnishes a written link between slow and quick pieces such that the whole is not broken into sections. At the juncture between the two pieces, one slow and the other quick, are often the characters 'enter into walking beats' or 'walking beats' as written instructions.<sup>50</sup> Here, in order to explain the phenomenon of differentiation between slow and fast pieces (sections) in *pipa* scores and in the dance notation "Southern Songlet"; two sections; slow two, fast three, slow two,' the methodology that is considered most apposite is to take heed of compositions of Xi'an 'drum music' of this type that exhibit the musical form of walking beats linking into level beats. In 'Southern Songlet', the entirety of 'two sections; slow two, fast three, slow two (three)' could be interpreted as employing level beats to

48 Lü Hongjing, 'Sui Tang jiequ qianshuo', 15–16.

49 Lü Hongjing, 'Sui Tang jiequ qianshuo', 16.

50 Preserved in the West Grain Storehouse music society of Xi'an are scores of ancient pieces including 'Songshen zhang' 送神章 and 'Yi jiang feng' 一江風, and these are titles of compositions that employ walking beats.

perform the two sections twice,<sup>51</sup> followed immediately by using walking beats to perform them three times, then once more employing the level beats of slow compositions to perform them twice. A single piece 'Southern Songlet', although small, comprises two sections, and these are performed in succession at a slow tempo twice, then at a fast tempo three times, and finally at a slow tempo twice (three times) in a repeated fashion according to this form, so the overall duration would have been comparatively long and matched to dancing undoubtedly an impressive spectacle.

在平拍奏慢曲《望吾鄉》之後，緊接以快曲行拍之十八錘，藝師稱行拍為「收曲」，其記譜法往往慢、快兩曲連寫，不分段。在慢、快兩曲銜接處有「入行拍」或「行拍」之字樣。今取西安鼓樂此種以行拍接平拍曲體，以解釋琵琶譜上慢曲子與急曲子之分體及舞譜上「〈南歌子〉兩段慢二、急三、慢二」之現象，最為恰當，〈南歌子〉凡兩段慢二急三慢三可以說是用平拍先奏兩遍，緊接以行拍三遍，再用慢曲平拍奏二遍。一首〈南歌子〉曲子雖小，既有兩段，又繼以慢二、急三、慢三之反復演奏，時間則相當長，配以舞蹈則甚有可觀。<sup>52</sup>

The process of employing a piece in walking beats as a cadence piece has been regarded as bearing a close resemblance to the professional performance music of the western regions of the Sui and Tang dynasty empires, that is, multi-sectioned compositions and songs of Xiliang 西涼, Qiuci, Shule 疏勒, and Anguo 安國 and the situation by which these are symbiotically interconnected with dance compositional forms.

TABLE 10.2 Songs and compositional forms

songs 歌曲	multi-sectioned compositions 解曲	dance compositions 舞曲
songs 歌曲	dance compositions 舞曲	multi-sectioned compositions 解曲

51 The original Chinese text as given in the Taiwanese edition of Jao Tsung-i's collected works is given here. In it, there seems to be some muddle between the words for 'two' (*er* 二) and 'three' (*san* 三). The English translation furnishes a plausible correction of these with the Chinese original in brackets.

52 The material above is taken from Lü Hongjing's 'Preliminary Analysis of Multi-Sectioned Compositions of the Sui and Tang Dynasties' ('Sui Tang jiequ qianshuo'), 16.

*Jiegu lu* 羯鼓錄 (by Nan Zhuo 南卓, fl. ninth century) states: 'All pieces whose notes have been used up yet their melody appears unfinished must take another piece and employ it to break up the structure into sections; for example, pieces of this type include "Yeposuoji" that uses "Quzhe" as a fast and frequent structural interpolation, and "Quzhe" that uses "Huntuo" in turn in like manner.' 凡曲有音盡聲不盡者須以他曲解之，如〈耶婆娑雞〉用〈屈柘〉急遍解，〈屈柘〉用〈渾脫〉解之類。<sup>53</sup> Chen Yang in *Yue shu* (*juan* 164) indicates: 'Multi-sectioned compositions are products of the inhabitants of Qiuci and Shule, and they are not the music of (mainstream) China.' 解曲是龜茲、疏勒夷人之制，非中國之音。<sup>54</sup> The pieces performed on the Dunhuang *pipa* employed the characteristics of Qiuci music, the so-called 'Qiuci melody in *gong-shang* modes', 龜茲韻宮商，<sup>55</sup> and thus they have multi-sectioned musical forms. They are constructed from mutual interchange between fast and slow pieces (sections), for example, the abovementioned songs, dances, and multi-sectioned pieces in resultant interlinked forms, and this was the defining characteristic of music of the western regions.

### 3 Single *Dan* 單-Movement and Double *Shuang* 雙 (雙)-Movement

In the Pelliot score, the character 單 ('*dan*', denoting a single movement) appears many times, as given below:

'Xiafang yuan': '*zhun*-movement, comes forward, *ling*-movement; three beats. Dance; *sui*-movement, *ju*-movement—*dan*-movement: fast three. In the front, for four sections, *da*-movement, *ling*-movement; for two beats, *song*-movement; after, for four sections, *da*-movement, *ling*-movement; after, for two beats, *song*-movement. As originally. Meeting together, *yi*-movement.' 〈遐方遠〉:「准前令，三拍。舞，掇、据—單:急三。當前四段打令，兩拍送；後四段打令，後兩拍送。本色。相逢揖」。<sup>56</sup>

53 Nan Zhuo, *Jiegu lu*, 7a (839: 984).

This citation is found in *Jiegu lu* but when compared to prevailing modern versions, there are discrepancies in wording, and it has been assembled from two separate sections of text. See also note 81 below.

54 Chen Yang, *Yue shu*, 164.8a (211: 755).

55 *Dunhuang baozang*, 126: 202, P.3065.

56 *Dunhuang baozang*, 128: 490, P.3501.

'Southern Songlet': 'Two sections; slow two, fast three, slow two. *Ling*-movement, *sui*-movement, three beats; dance *ju*-movement—*dan*-movement: fast three; middle section, *song*-movement; middle section, slow metre; for two beats, *song*-movement.' 〈南歌子〉:「兩段。慢二急三慢二。令、掇三拍，舞据一單:急三，中心送，中心慢拍，兩拍送」。<sup>57</sup>

'Qian xiafang yuan': '*Ling*-movement comes to the *ju*-movement; three beats. *Da*-movement for five sections; *song*-movement; *song*-movement, no *dan*-movement, walking.' 〈前選方遠〉:「令至据，三拍。打五段子，送，送不單行」。<sup>58</sup> Note: in this instance is stated: '*dan*-movement, walking,' 單行。

'Washing Stream Gravel': Keep the same metre throughout. '*Ling*-movement, three beats. Dance: *sui*-movement, *ju*-movement—*dan*-movement: dance, *yin*-role, dance, *ju*-movement; *yin*-role, *ju*-movement....' 〈浣溪沙〉拍常:「令、三拍。舞掇、据一單:舞引舞、据，引据.....」<sup>59</sup>

'The Male Phoenix returns to the Clouds': '*Shuang*-movement: *song*-movement, *guo*-movement. *Ling*-movement, *sui*-movement; middle section; *dan*-movement: *song*-movement, *guo*-movement; dance: *ju*-movement, head metre.' 〈鳳歸雲〉:「雙:送，裏。令掇，中心；單:送，裏。舞据頭拍」。<sup>60</sup> Note: in this paragraph, the relative positioning of '*shuang*-movement: *song*-movement' 雙送 and '*dan*-movement: *song*-movement' 單送 exhibits linguistic parallelism. '*Zhun*-movement, in front; *ling*-movement, *sui*-movement, three beats; dance; *ju*-movement—*dan*-movement, *da*-movement; "Washing Stream Gravel"; metrical section, *song*-movement.' 准前。令，掇，三拍。舞据—單打〈浣溪沙〉，拍段送。<sup>61</sup> Note: in this passage is given: '*dan*-movement, *da*-movement.' 單打。

In the Stein manuscripts, the occurrences of the character for *dan*-movement 單 are:

57 *Dunhuang baozang*, 128: 490, P.3501.

58 *Dunhuang baozang*, 128: 491, P.3501.

59 *Dunhuang baozang*, 128: 491, P.3501.

60 *Dunhuang baozang*, 128: 492, P.3501.

61 *Dunhuang baozang*, 128: 492, P.3501.

As above. Metre: *ling*-movement comes to the *ju*-movement; *dan*-movement in slow metre; section of *song*-movement; fast three ...

同前。拍令至据，單慢拍，段送，急三.....<sup>62</sup>

As above. Metre: *ling*-movement, dance, *sui*-movement, *ju*-movement, *dan*-movement. *Ling*-movement comes to *ju*-movement, each for three beats....

同前。拍令舞掇据單。令至据，各三拍.....<sup>63</sup>

'Mo Mountain Stream' ... *ling*-movement comes to the *ju*-movement; *dan*-movement: *lun*-movement, add an additional beat...

〈驀山溪〉..... 令至据，單:輪添一拍.....<sup>64</sup>

... *ju*-movement; *dan*-movement: *xun*-movement, *lun*-movement; each adds two additional beats.

..... 据，單:巡輪，各添兩拍。<sup>65</sup>

'Southern Songlet' ... *ling*-movement comes to the *ju*-movement; *dan*-movement, *xun*-movement, *lun*-movement; each adds two additional beats....

〈南歌子〉..... 令至据 單巡輪，各添兩拍.....<sup>66</sup>

Comes to the *ju*-movement; *dan*-movement, *xun*-movement, *lun*-movement; each adds two additional beats.

至据，單巡輪，各添兩拍。<sup>67</sup>

62 *Dunhuang baozang*, 44: 112, P.5643.

63 *Dunhuang baozang*, 44: 112, P.5643.

64 *Dunhuang baozang*, 44: 112, P.5643.

65 *Dunhuang baozang*, 44: 112, P.5643.

66 *Dunhuang baozang*, 44: 113, P.5643.

67 *Dunhuang baozang*, 44: 113, P.5643.

As above. Metre: *ling*-movement, dance, *sui*-movement; *ju*-movement—*dan*-movement: *ling*-movement comes to the *ju*-movement, each for three beats.

同前。拍令舞掇据—單:令至据，各三拍。<sup>68</sup>

Also, instances of *dan*-movement 單 correlating to *pu*-movement 鋪, and *shuang*-movement 雙 correlating to *bu*-movement 補:

Pelliot manuscript notation ‘Pairs of Swallows’; slow four, fast seven; slow two, fast three. *Ling*-movement comes to the *ju*-movement, three beats. For three sections, *dan*-movement, *pu*-movement; in the middle section, invert the four positions; *ling*-movement, after that, *song*-movement.

伯譜(雙燕子)，慢四急七，慢二急三。令至据三拍。三段單鋪，中段倒四位，令後送。<sup>69</sup>

In this example, where ‘*dan*-movement, *pu*-movement’ 單鋪 is written, the sentence break should come after the character 鋪 (*pu*).<sup>70</sup> In the newly discovered Stein notation, ‘*dan*-movement, *pu*-movement’ 單鋪 also occurs twice, and the contexts are given below:

*Ling*-movement comes to the *ju*-movement, each for three beats; *dan*-movement, *pu*-movement; *shuang*-movement, *bu*-movement.

令至据各三拍。單鋪，雙補。<sup>71</sup>

68 *Dunhuang baozang*, 44: 112, P.5643.

69 *Dunhuang baozang*, 128: 491, P.3501.

70 Zhao Shuyong (趙叔雍, 1898–1965) reads the three characters ‘*pu*-movement; in the middle section’ 鋪中段 without a sentence break, arguing: ‘All places where the linguistic function of something serving as a foil for something else is to be observed, the character 鋪 (“*pu*-movement”) is used, and the meaning of “middle section” 中段 is that particular rhythms in a mode can be repeated many times.’ 凡所加之襯託即謂之鋪，其曰中段者謂可多用某調中之若干節奏。Now that it is known that the collocation ‘*dan*-movement, *pu*-movement’ 單鋪 is employed on many occasions, it has also become clear that ‘*pu*-movement’ 鋪 does not have the function of indicating a linguistic usage where something is a foil for something else.

Zhao Zunyue, ‘Dunhuang wupu canzhi tanwei’, 195.

71 *Dunhuang baozang*, 44: 2, S.5613.

Nearby, *ling*-movement, comes forward, *yi*-movement. *Yin*-role: *dan*-movement, (*pu*-movement). Dance, *ju*-movement; *cu*-movement; *shuang*-movement, *bu*-movement.

近令前揖。引、單〔鋪〕。舞据，諫，雙補。72

Meet; *sui*-movement, three beats, *zhe*-movement, one beat; *shuang*-movement, *bu*-movement. Dance: *ju*-movement, after that; after that, *song*-movement.

遇授三拍折一拍，雙補。舞据後，後送。73

From the examples cited above, the linguistic collocation ‘*dan*-movement, *da*-movement’ 單打 matches ‘*dan*-movement, walking’ 單行; ‘*dan*-movement, *song*-movement’ 單送 and ‘*shuang*-movement, *song*-movement’ 雙送 exhibit similar parallelism; ‘*dan*-movement, *pu*-movement’ 單鋪 and ‘*shuang*-movement, *bu*-movement’ 雙補 also match one another; thus, one person is evidently represented by ‘*dan*’ 單 and two by ‘*shuang*’ 雙; in other words, ‘*dan*’ 單 indicates a solo dancer and ‘*shuang*’ 雙 indicates a pair. *Shuang* 雙 followed by *bu* 補 means a dancer comes into the arena alone and is then joined by another dancer. *Dongjing menghua lu* 東京夢華錄 (by Meng Yuanlao 孟元老, fl. twelfth century; the east capital: Kaifeng), *juan* 9, ‘The Ceremony and Etiquette of celebrating the Longevity of the Emperor: The First Cup of Imperial Wine’ (‘Shangshou lijie diyi zhan yujiu’ 上壽禮節第一盞御酒) gives:74

The dancing commences: for the first rendition, a dancer come into the arena, and after that, when the music has reached an important cadence, another dancer follows into the arena. They dance together for several metrical cycles. The first dancer then exits, and now solo, the second dancer finishes his performance, and this is the end of the dance.

72 *Dunhuang baozang*, 44: 2, S.5613.

73 *Dunhuang baozang*, 44: 2, S.5613.

74 In prevailing versions, this title heading does not appear in *juan* 9, but the quotation that follows it here is still found. Elements of the title heading are however found in the text. The relevant title in *juan* 9 is: ‘Ministers, Royal Dukes, Imperial Relatives, and the Myriad Officials enter the Imperial Chambers to celebrate the Emperor’s Longevity’ (‘Zaizhi qinwang zongshi baiguan ru nei shangshou’ 宰執親王宗室百官入內上壽).



舞曲破顛，前一遍，舞者入場，至歇拍，續一人入場。對舞數拍。前舞者退，獨後舞者終其曲，謂之舞末。<sup>75</sup>

From this, the knowledge is gained that ‘*dan*-movement, *pu*-movement’ 單鋪 indicates a single dancer has entered the arena. Thus, regarding the instructions:

TABLE 10.3 *Dan*-movement

Dance; <i>sui</i> -movement; <i>ju</i> -movement 舞，掇，据	– <i>dan</i> -movement 單
Dance, <i>ju</i> -movement 舞据	– <i>dan</i> -movement 單
<i>Ling</i> -movement comes to the <i>ju</i> -movement 令至据	– <i>dan</i> -movement 單
<i>Ling</i> -movement, dance, <i>sui</i> -movement, <i>ju</i> -movement 令舞掇据	– <i>dan</i> -movement 單

... all these examples indicate that *sui*-movement 掇 and *ju*-movement 据, the movements represented here, are both performed by a solo dancer, so they are furnished with the character 單 (‘*dan*’). If there are two dancers that enter the arena one by one, the instruction 單 (‘*dan*’) is employed to indicate one dancer, and the succession ‘*dan*-movement, *pu*-movement, *shuang*-movement, *bu*-movement’ 單鋪雙補 to indicate first solo and then a pair. Chen Yang in *Yue shu*, *juan* 185, in a section entitled ‘Female Musicians, Part Two (of Two)’ (‘Nü yue xia’ 女樂下) gives: ‘As far as the singing girl who dances the large-scale compositions is concerned, only she has the facility to perform solo to the fore, simply using her hands and sleeves to adorn her graceful appearance and her treading feet as the rhythm.’ 至于優伶常舞大曲，惟一工獨進，但以手袖為容踏足為節。<sup>76</sup> One of the Song dynasty stone carvings from Guangyuan of performance of large-scale compositions furnishes a seven-piece musical ensemble as the accompaniment to one person dancing; it is a representational image of ‘she (who) has the facility to perform to the fore’ and thus a solo dance.

<sup>75</sup> Meng Yuanlao, *Dongjing menghua lu zhu*, 9.220.

<sup>76</sup> Chen Yang, *Yue shu*, 185.3a (211: 831).

In the Song dynasty, dance is described in Shi Hao's (史浩, 1106–1194) *Maofeng zhenyin man lu* 鄮峰真隱漫錄. 'Dance of Supreme Clarity' ('Taiqing wu' 太清舞) and 'Cudrang Tree Dance' ('Zhezhi wu' 柘枝舞) are for five persons, 'The Old Fisherman Dance' ('Yufu wu' 漁父舞) is for four persons, and 'Sword Dance' ('Jianwu' 劍舞) for two persons and danced in symmetry. The visual impact of the dancing can best be understood by considering 'Sword Dance', which is the most appropriate choice for comparative research between dance notations. The dance is divided into two parts: a former and a latter; the former part is 'broken' ('po' 破; 'subdivided') by singing 'qu compositions on sword weaponry' (*jian qi qu* 劍器曲) of the 'music category' (*yue bu* 樂部), and these act as a danced section, the two dancers singing together 'In the Frosty Sky, a Dawn Bugle Call' ('Shuangtian xiaojiao' 霜天曉角); the latter part is also 'broken' by a section of sung compositions of the music category acting as dances of *qu* compositions on sword weaponry.<sup>77</sup>

The Dunhuang Pelliot score 'Xiafang yuan' is divided into four sections for its former part, and four sections for its latter part; 'Southern Songlet' has two sections and 'Pairs of Swallows' three sections; and from the layout of these divisions the overall format of these compositions can be construed.

The lyrics to Han dynasty ribbon (*jin* 巾) dances were continually expanded by processes of 'singing' (*bu* 哺; the original meaning of the character is 'feeding', but the actual meaning here is 'singing' [*chang* 唱] as Jao Tsung-i goes on to explain below) and 'mutually singing' (*xiangbu* 相哺), and scholars have suggested that the character 哺 ('*bu*') is in fact a linguistic borrowing of the character 輔 ('*fu*') meaning 'assist', and have therefore researched the etymological origin of 'mutually singing' as 'mutually harmonious' (*xianghe* 相和). In the dancing scores of the Five Dynasties, in the collocation 'dan-movement, pu-movement, shuang-movement, bu-movement' 單鋪雙補, *pu* 鋪-movement and *bu* 補-movement are perhaps linguistic borrowings pronounced in the same way as *bu* 哺 (the right-side phonetic components of all these characters are the same, and only the left-side radical is different). Thus, while dancing a section, dancers also sang a composition, for example, in the opening part of 'Sword Dance' 'acting as a danced section, the two dancers sing together "In the Frosty Sky, a Dawn Bugle Call"; 作舞一段了，二舞者同唱〈霜天曉角〉;<sup>78</sup> in 'The Old Fisherman Dance', they 'sing together "Pride of the Fisherman's Household"; 齊唱〈漁家傲〉;<sup>79</sup> for this reason, singing together is in fact 'mutually singing'.

77 When the dance is over, the two dancers stand at either side; two other people in the garb of Han Chinese come into the arena and sit opposite one another.

78 Shi Hao, *Maofeng zhenyin manlu*, 46.9b (1141: 882).

79 Shi Hao, *Maofeng zhenyin manlu*, 46.11b (1141: 883).

Zhao Shuyong (趙叔雍, 1898–1965) makes comparisons with dancing in operas of martial genres (*wu xi* 武戲) and talks of a division between items that are single (solo) and double, and as dancing is differentiated into single and double, so too music. Drums and clappers can offer a lead to dancing and can also establish metre. ‘Luogu jing’ 鑼鼓經 of modern opera uses the character 搭 (*da*) as the symbol for 單 (*dan*; single) and the character 八 (*ba*) as the symbol for 雙 (*shuang*; double); 雙 (*shuang*) indicates a high density (of drum- or clapper-beats); 單 (*dan*) indicates a low density (of drum- and clapper-beats), and each has its own subtleties. 單 (*dan*) and 雙 (*shuang*) can also be joined together in succession, and in this respect modern and historic practice are birds of a feather.

#### 4 *Ju* 据-Movement and ‘Zhanxiang’ 瞻相

In the Tang dynasty for serving wine, there existed the so-called ‘Next Time *Ju*(-Movement)’ (‘Xia ci ju’ 下次据); *Tang yu lin* 唐語林 (by Wang Dang 王讜, fl. late eleventh–early twelfth centuries; *juan* 8) gives: ‘Wine was mostly served to the accompaniment of “zhanxiang” and “Next Time *Ju*(-Movement)”; those who lived in seclusion and were rarely in contact with others used in preference the composition “Next Time *Ju*(-Movement)”, which had evolved from a barracks drinking song “Kind Teacher Bin” and was well-known across the land.’ 多以瞻相，下次据上酒，絕人罕通者，下次据一曲子，出於軍中邠善師酒令聞於世。<sup>80</sup>

In Huang Fusong’s (黃甫松, fl. ninth century) *Zuixiang riyue* 醉鄉日月, the drinking song (or rhyme) ‘Next Time *Ju*(-Movement)’ is listed as the fourteenth item and the drinking song ‘Serve Wine’ (‘Shangjiu’ 上酒) as the sixteenth. The two are radically different from one another. ‘Next Time *Ju*(-Movement)’ takes a piece and splits it into three constituent pieces, which inevitably causes it to be longer in duration, that is, the so-called ‘slow three’ 慢三. *Jiegu lu*, *juan* 3: ‘All pieces whose melodic notes appear to be insufficiently stable must take another piece and employ it to break up their structure into sections; for example, pieces of this type include “Yeposuoji” that uses “Quzhe” as a (fast and) frequent structural interpolation, and “Quzhe” that uses “Huntuo” in turn in like manner.’ 凡曲有音聲不確者，須以他曲解之，如《耶婆娑雞》同《屈柘》

<sup>80</sup> Wang Dang, *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 8.742.

遍解，〈屈柘〉用〈渾脫〉解之類。<sup>81</sup> This method closely resembles the form of multi-sectioned compositions, and in this way, a piece can be broken up into three constituent pieces.

As far as 'zhanxiang' is concerned, it is also a drinking song of a kind, and can be written 占相 (the characters 瞻 and 占 are both pronounced 'zhan'). *Broad Records of the Taiping Era (Taiping guangji 太平廣記; completed in 978), juan 273* ('Women: *Juan 4*' ['Furen si' 婦人四]), (under the entry 'Luozhong juren' 洛中舉人) quotes *Lushi zashuo 盧氏雜說*: 'While sitting together, if the drinking song "zhanxiang" is performed, other than the *shangshu* official, none nods their heads in agreement.' 坐中若打占相令，除卻尚書莫點頭。<sup>82</sup> Also, a *shi* 詩 poem ('Xi zhan xiang' 戲瞻相) by Xue Neng (薛能, d. 880) gives: 'In playing zhanxiang with Miss Zhao don't toss each other's cups; don't come in front of each other and set your head deceptively.' 瞻相趙女休相拽(盃)，不及人前詐擺頭。<sup>83</sup> The epithet 'zhanxiang' also indicates movements mutually observed in synchrony, like the 'mutually singing' of Han dynasty ribbon dances, and is equivalent to 'shuang-movement, bu-movement' 雙補 in the 'Southern Songlet' dance notation. That notation gives: 'Three beats, *zhe*-movement, one beat; *shuang*-movement, *bu*-movement. Dance: *ju*-movement, after that; after that, *song*-movement.' 三拍折一拍。雙補，舞据後後送。<sup>84</sup> It would appear that 'mutually singing' and 'shuang-movement, bu-movement' 雙補 are synonyms for 'zhanxiang'. Tossing cups is part of performance of the drinking song 'zhanxiang'; *Tang yu lin* gives:

Raise the cup aloft; look far into the distance; tossing cups is the crux; sing 'Next Time *Ju*(-Movement)' to give it an accompaniment.

上行杯，望遠行，拽盞爲主，下次据副之。<sup>85</sup>

When tossing the cup, perform the 'Throwing-Striking' drinking song (rhyme or game ['Pao da ling' 拋打令]), that is, the act of laying out gambling chips. Generally, at the beginning of a banquet, dice would have been used, and when

81 Nan Zhuo, *Jiegu lu*, 7a (839: 984).

See note 53 above. This citation is virtually identical to the one earlier in the essay but given here as coming from '*juan 3*' even though the prevailing version of *Jiegu lu* is relatively short and not split into *juan*. Possibly Jao had in his hands as yet unidentified redactions, perhaps in several *juan*, from which these are accurate citations.

82 *Taiping guangji*, 273.2154.

83 Xue Neng, 'Xi zhanxiang', 17: 6516.

84 *Dunhuang baozang*, 44: 2, S.5613.

85 Wang Dang, *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 7.681.

a little tipsy, drinking songs were gradually phased in, and these constituted the musical component; *Zuixiang riyue*, entry ‘Gong lü shi’ 觥律事 gives a description of this in exquisite detail.

## 5 Coming Forward (*Qian* 前) and *Yi* 揖-Movement

The second character of the two that form this title, Li Zhengyu mis-transcribes as 括 (*'kuo'*), when it is in fact 揖 (*yi*-movement) written in semi-cursive *xing* 行 script; for example, the Pelliot manuscript ‘Xiafang yuan’ includes the phrase: ‘Meeting together, *yi*-movement’ 相逢·揖. (The distinguished Xi [Zhenguan] considers that before ‘meeting together’ in this phrase, the character 一 [*'yi'*] meaning ‘one’ has been omitted, but a close examination of the original manuscript indicates that this is not in fact the case.) Regarding the character 揖 (*'yi'*) here, additional explanation is still required. Ren Erbei (任二北, 1897–1991) provisionally classified this character under the ‘wood’ radical 木 (*'mu'*) and 胥 (*'xu'*) but could not choose between them; (Modern scholar) Suigen Giko 水源渭江 vacillates between the two alternatives 揖 and 楛 (*'xu'*) and cannot come off the fence. Wang Kefen (王克芬, 1927–2018) adopts Ren’s explanation; for the character 楛, *Leipian* 類篇 (completed in 1066; *juan* 16, section 14) gives its meaning simply as 犁 (*'li'*, meaning ‘plough’),<sup>86</sup> and thus a dance-like movement of digging earth could be proposed as a definition here.

Last year in September on making a detailed editorial investigation of the original manuscript in Paris, I ascertained that this character was clearly written with the hand radical 扌 (*'shou'*) on its left side and has no dot on the right-hand side of the radical, and thus classifies with 扌 and with 胃, and there can be absolutely no doubt on the matter. When dissecting linguistic components, a judgement of a hair’s breadth exactitude is required, and although an error may be only very slight, this is an arena where the scholar must fight down to the last minute and second. In the facsimile editions, this character is not clear, so misunderstanding can easily arise and 扌 be mistaken for 木 (because both radicals are extremely similar). Thus, when reading Dunhuang manuscripts, sometimes the original must be consulted for problems to be solved, and even the most sensitive and high-definition photographic film has insufficient potency. This is an example of critical importance. Xing Jun (行均, *fl.* late tenth–early eleventh centuries) of the Liao dynasty in his *Longkan shoujian* 龍龕手鑑 (*juan* 2; for the ‘shou’ radical) gives:

86 *Leipian*, 16.5b (225: 180).

The pronunciation of 揖 is a combination of the pronunciation of the consonant of 伊 'yi' and the vowel of 入 'ru'; it means: 'give way'.

揖，伊入反。揖，讓也。<sup>87</sup>

Also: 'A combination of the pronunciation of the consonant of 相 "xiang" and the vowel of 居 "ju"; an implement for obtaining water.'

又相居反，取水具也。<sup>88</sup>

In these places, the characters listed are 揖 ('yi') and 掬 ('xu') respectively and they are cited separately to denote different pronunciations of the character 揖 ('yi'). In fact, on tracing the origin of the character 掬 that means an implement for obtaining water, it is found that it can also be written as 掬 which is a different character from 揖, and both are to be found in *Discussing Writing and Explaining Characters* (*Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字; by Xu Shen 許慎, 58–147 CE), 'The Entry for the "Hand" Radical' ('Shou bu' 手部; in *juan* 12).<sup>89</sup> Both are also to be distinguished from the character 揖; on the journey from the Song to the Liao dynasty they combined into one graphic form. 揖 written as 揖 is a vernacular form that evolved in the Six Dynasties, and the side of the character other than the radical (the right side) 聿 is often written as 冑. Pan Chong-gui (潘重規, 1908–2003) in his *Longkan shoujian xinbian* 龍龕手鑑新編 has as an appendix 'Shoujian dunhuang xieben ziti xiangtongbiao' 手鑑敦煌寫本字體相同表, and on page 4 it lists the character 揖 and establishes it as 揖 'a combination of the pronunciation of the consonant of 伊 "yi" and vowel of 入 "ru"; 伊入反,<sup>90</sup> which is correct. Thus, 揖 must be the character 揖, and this ascription can be made with certainty. 'Meeting together, yi (揖 or 揖)-movement' 相逢揖 (揖) and 'coming forward, yi-movement' 前揖 are both movements of the dancers: the former is two dancers simultaneously performing at one another the customary salutation of a bow with hands inserted into opposite sleeves; the latter is a movement when a dancer comes forward and makes the same salutation to urge those present to drink their wine.<sup>91</sup>

87 *Longkan shoujian xinbian*, 124.

88 *Longkan shoujian xinbian*, 124.

89 Xu Shen, *Shuowen jiezi*, 12A.10a (251), 12A.20b (256).

90 *Longkan shoujian xinbian*, 124.

91 In the Beijing Gugong Palace Museum is a Southern Song dynasty painting on silk of vernacular opera, and the Southern Song dynasty tombs at Guangyuan also have stone carvings of vernacular opera, and both examples include pairs of individuals facing each other performing the prescribed stylised yi-movement in salutation.

## 6 Yin 引-Role

In ‘Southern Songlet’: ‘Nearby *ling*-movement, comes forward, *yi*-movement; *yin*-role.’ 近令前揖，引。<sup>92</sup> ‘Washing Stream Gravel’: ‘Dance, *yin*-role, dance.’ 舞、引舞。<sup>93</sup> Regarding the *yin*-role, *Wulin jiushi* 武林舊事 (by Zhou Mi, 1232–1298), *juan* 4, includes a chapter: ‘Section on the Imperial Music Academy of the Qiandao and Chunxi Eras’ (‘Qian Chun jiaofang bu’ 乾淳教坊部; Qiandao 乾道 era: 1165–1174, Chunxi 淳熙 era: 1174–1189), and for vernacular opera, in the list of actors in the company and their roles, under the names of two people Li Quanxian 李泉現 and Wu Xingyou 吳興祐 are notes that state: ‘Acting the *yin* role; as well as dancing “Three Stages.” 引，兼舞三台。<sup>94</sup> In other words, the *yin*-role is the *yinxi* 引戲 role in vernacular opera, and if there is a *yin*-role in opera, then there must also be a *yin*-role in dance. In the representations in Song and Jin 金 dynasty tombs of vernacular opera captured in carved bricks, the *yinxi*-role often takes on dance postures, and from these their most typical attitudes can be ascertained.<sup>95</sup>

## 7 Cu 諫-Movement and Sui 掇-Movement

The *cu*-movement only appears once in these manuscripts. Its meaning is an urging dancing gesture. *Leipian* (*juan* 7, section 14) gives: ‘諫 “*cu*”: a combination of the pronunciation of the consonant of 蘇 “*su*” and the vowel of 谷 “*gu*”; (it means) at mealtimes, “urge others to eat”; another sense is “decorate or play the part of” 諫，蘇谷切。舖旋促也，一曰飾也。<sup>96</sup> Note: *Shuowen jiezi* (*juan* 4) explains ‘*cu*’ 諫 as: ‘at mealtimes, urge others to eat.’ 舖旋促也。<sup>97</sup> *Leipian* has taken its definition from here. Duan Yucai (段玉裁, 1735–1815; in *Shuowen jiezi zhu* 說文解字注) does not make (further) explanation of its meaning. I humbly suspect that (the character whose original meaning is) ‘eat’ 舖 (‘*bu*’) can also be read as ‘singing’ (or ‘feeding’) 哺 (also ‘*bu*’) (because both characters are extremely similar in meaning and sound, and in terms of their form, only their left-side radicals are different, though are similar in meaning, and their right-side phonetic components are identical); the singer ‘feeds’ 哺 (‘*bu*’), that is, ‘sings’ 唱 (‘*chang*’), and performs a spinning movement. Extrapolating

92 *Dunhuang baozang*, 44: 2, S.5613.

93 *Dunhuang baozang*, 128: 491, P.3501.

94 Zhou Mi, *Wulin jiushi*, 4.12b–13a (590: 212–13).

95 Liao Ben, ‘Zhongzhou chutu Bei Song xiqu wenwu lunkao’, 163.

96 *Leipian*, 7.21a (225: 82).

97 Xu Shen, *Shuowen jiezi*, 3A.7b (52).

from this, a recognition that ‘*cu*’ 諫 is in fact a dance movement is an explanation that could supplement Duan’s *Notes*. ‘Han jinwu ge’ 漢巾舞歌 (in *Yuefu shiji* 樂府詩集; *juan* 54; compiled by Guo Maoqian 郭茂倩, 1041–1099) comes with notes that explain: ‘Coming once again, forming in lines; scattering apart once more; “mutually singing.” 復來推排，意何零，相哺。<sup>98</sup>

The pertinent Dunhuang dance notation gives: ‘*Yin*-role: *dan*-movement, *pu*-movement. Dance: *ju*-movement, *cu*-movement; *shuang*-movement, *bu*-movement.’ 引，單鋪。舞据諫，雙補。Comparing the two of them: ‘forming in lines’ 推排 is equivalent to ‘dance *ju*-movement’ 舞据; ‘mutually singing’ 相哺 is equivalent to ‘*shuang*-movement, *bu*-movement’ 雙補; here are direct comparisons. ‘*Cu* 諫-movement’ in this context means a movement ‘to set spinning’ 旋 (*xuan*), which indicates that the choreography of the dancing was precisely synchronised. *Guang ya* 廣雅 (by Zhang Yi 張揖, fl. third century), *juan* 5, ‘Shiyan shang’ 釋言上 gives: ‘諫 “*cu*”: “direct”, “urge”: 諫、督、促也。<sup>99</sup> If an explanation of the original meaning of ‘*cu*’ 諫 comes up with ‘urge’, thus, in terms of dance gesture and appearance and also with regard to encapsulating this meaning, Liang dynasty dance notations are demonstrably the most trustworthy.

Regarding *sui* 掇-movement, people of the Song dynasty used the term ‘*sui*-movement composition’ 掇曲子. *Dongjing menghua lu*, *juan* 9, gives: ‘Every time dancers enter the arena, they stand in rows and link hands, lifting their left and right shoulders alternately, tapping their feet in response to the metre, and dancing together as a choreographed team, and this is called “*sui*-movement composition.” 每遇舞者入場，則排立者叉手，舉左右肩，動足應拍，一齊群舞，謂之。<sup>100</sup> This notion is widely familiar to all. Moving the feet in time with the metre was known as ‘*sui*-movement’. *Broad Rhymes* (*Guangyun* 廣韻; by Chen Pengnian 陳彭年, 961–1017, et al.), *juan* 15, (a *juan* that starts with) the entry for the character 灰 (*hui*) gives as the entry for the character 掇 (*su*): ‘*Sui*-movement: means “strike”; it is pronounced with a combination of the consonant of 素 “*su*” and the vowel of 回 “*hui*”: 掇，擊也，素回切。<sup>101</sup> *Leipian* (*juan* 34, section 14) gives the origin of the character 掇 (*su*) as 推 (*tui*); modern meaning: ‘push’.<sup>102</sup> In the Song dynasty when banquets for members of the household took place and the pouring of wine had finished, the Music Master (*yueshi* 樂師) would raise his voice to solicit

98 *Yuefu shiji*, 54.787.

99 *Guangya shuzheng*, 5A.355.

100 Meng Yuanlao, *Dongjing menghua lu zhu*, 9.220.

101 Chen Pengnian, *Ju Song Guangyun*, 1.28b (56).

102 *Leipian*, 34.13b (225: 393).



songs; no specific composition was indicated, and his sole purpose was simply 'to encourage the drinking of wine' (*cuijiu* 釀酒). The aim of encouraging the drinking of wine was to promote merriment (see Cheng Dachang 程大昌, 1123–1195, *Yan fan lu* 演繁露, *juan* 11);<sup>103</sup> the character 釀 ('*cui*'), used here to mean 'encourage', can also be written as 授 ('*sui*'); *Dongjing menghua lu*, (the section in *juan* 9) 'The Ceremony and Etiquette of celebrating the Longevity of the Emperor: The First Cup of Imperial Wine' gives: 'Singing thus, the *yin*-role speaks, urging all to drink the imperial wine.' 唱引曰綏御酒.<sup>104</sup> This is correct. The verb here 綏 '*sui*' is pronounced in the same way as 釀,<sup>105</sup> and its meaning is to urge someone to do something; 授 '*sui*' is pronounced with a combination of the consonant of 素 '*su*' and the vowel of 回 '*hui*' and is also pronounced in the same way as 綏.

## 8 *Zhe* 折-Movement and Metre

The Stein manuscript gives: 'Meet, *sui*-movement: three beats, *zhe*-movement, one beat' 遇授三拍折一拍.<sup>106</sup> *Sui*-movement is to move the feet to match the metre. This means that when *sui* compositions are encountered, they are in a fast metre, and three beats can be reduced to one beat. Regarding the character 折 ('*zhe*'), *Ciyuan* gives: 'The character 折 is to throw far away.' 折拽悠悠.<sup>107</sup> Jiang Kui uses the symbol 𠃉 in his side-by-side notation, and this is 折 ('*zhe*'), an instruction that 'reduces' a musical sound or sounds down a semitone much as the flat symbol in Western staff notation. The character 折 ('*zhe*') can already be seen in these scores from the Liang dynasty, and this fact had not been noticed earlier (the character 遇 ['*yu*'] meaning 'meet' is written in an extremely clear fashion, but Master Li transcribes it as 遇 ['*guo*']; this is an error).

In stone carvings at Guangyuan of the performance of large-scale compositions are two specimens that are images of dancers: a single (female) dancer and an ensemble of seven musicians. In terms of instruments that are played, from left to right, in the midst are two that hold clappers, so when dancing took place, clappers provided the rhythmic component of the ensemble, and therefore dance notation must record metricity. In a Song dynasty tomb in

103 Cheng Dachang, *Yan fanlu*, 11a–12b (852: 163–64).

104 Meng Yuanlao, *Dongjing menghua lu zhu*, 9.219.

105 The official modern pinyin for 釀 is in fact '*cui*' and not '*sui*'. Both pronunciations are nonetheless related, so Jao's overall point is still valid, and in any case, 釀 was and is an extremely rare character.

106 *Dunhuang baozang*, 44: 112, P.5643; 44: 2, S.5613.

107 Zhang Yan, *Ciyuan*, A.13b (1733: 64).

Baisha 白沙 in Yu 禹 county is a mural that depicts a lady dancer sporting a high hair bun who is holding clappers and singing. *Ducheng jisheng* 都城紀勝 (by Nai Deweng 耐得翁, surnamed Zhao 趙, fl. thirteenth century) gives (in a passage titled ‘Washe zhongji’ 瓦舍眾伎): ‘The two genres “street-crying” and “little ditties” mean holding clappers and singing the “divisional songs” of “slow compositions” that mostly start with a bang and end with a whimper.’ 唱叫、小唱謂執板唱慢曲曲破，大率重起輕殺。<sup>108</sup> Thus, knowledge is gained that at that time there were instances of holding clappers while singing, as well as examples of ‘slow compositions’ and ‘divisional songs’.

## 9 *Lun* 輪-Movement and *Xun* 巡-Movement

The Stein manuscript ‘Mo Mountain Stream’ (‘Moshan xi’) gives: ‘*Lun*-movement for an additional beat.’ 輪·添一拍。In addition, ‘Mo Mountain Stream’ and ‘Southern Songlet’ both give: ‘*xun*-movement, *lun*-movement; each adds two additional beats.’ 巡輪各添兩拍。<sup>109</sup> ‘Han Dynasty Ribbon Dance Lyrics’ (‘Han dai jinwu ci’ 漢代巾舞辭; ‘Han Dynasty Ribbon Dance and Song’) contains the phrases: ‘Once more, the wheels of the carriage turn’ 復車(轉)輪 and ‘mutually sing turning the wheels’ 相哺轉輪。<sup>110</sup> Commentators have indicated that these descriptions match the dancing postures and movements in modern opera when the actors parade in a circle at the start of the action, and this is quite true. According to Han dynasty custom, dancing at banquets should rotate in a circular fashion. (*Records of the Three Kingdoms* [*Sanguo zhi* 三國志]; by Chen Shou 陳壽, 233–297), ‘The Official Book of the State of Wei’ (‘Weishu’ 魏書; *juan* 8, part 2: ‘Biography of Tao Qian’ [‘Tao Qian zhuan’ 陶謙傳]) gives: ‘Tao Qian (132–194) danced and yet did not rotate, so the *junshou* prefectural governor Zhang Pan (fl. second century) said: “There is to be no rotation!” 陶謙舞又不轉，郡守張磐曰，不當轉耶!<sup>111</sup> From this it is known that dancing included choreographed rotation, and this was normal practice.

Zhao Shuyong states: “*Lun*-movement” is a technical term in professional dancing that describes dancers patrolling back and forth at the start of a dance, for example, the format by which ordinary members of an opera company before acting *Chain of Rings* patrol back and forth and rotate round and round. When danced for a banquet when guests are invited, the participants

108 Nai Deweng, *Ducheng jisheng*, 11b (590: 8).

109 *Dunhuang baozang*, 44: 113, P.5643.

110 *Yuefu shiji*, 54.787.

111 *Sanguo zhi*, 8.247.

would not be many and cannot be compared in this respect to a whole *corps de ballet*, thus the musical scores that are used for this are also few.' 輪爲舞伎巡迴起舞之專辭。如班底打連環套子爲往復巡迴輪轉之勢。惟賓筵之舞，人數無多，非隊舞可比，故樂譜所用亦少。<sup>112</sup> According to this assessment, since 'Southern Songlet' is lyrics written for a drinking song, its *xun* 巡-movement and *lun* 輪-movement are connected to the ritual pouring out of wine to all members of the party in succession; *lun* 輪-movement should be understood in terms of rotation, and *xun* 巡-movement is the actual pouring out of wine to them one by one.

In the Tang dynasty, when drinking rhymes (*yu ling* 語令) were performed, movements such as *paoxun* 拋巡 and *gouying* 勾迎 were made. When the wine was doing the rounds, the passing of the cups was called 'paoxun'. Bai Juyi (白居易, 772–846, in 'Zuihou zengren' 醉後贈人) once penned the poetic lines: 'Fragrant orbs rotate with the musical metre in circles; richly-decorated cups are passed around, flitting to and fro.' 香毬趁拍回環匝，花盞拋巡取次飛。<sup>113</sup> When wine is passed around, one journey around the company is one *xun* 巡-movement. 'Next Time *Ju*(-Movement)' ('Xia ci ju' 下次据) is also written as 'Xia ci ju' 下次句 (the first two characters are the same, the pronunciation of the third is identical), and if during the *xun* 巡-movement there is 'a single *ju*-movement' 一次据, then it is called a 'sentence *xun*-movement' 句巡; for example, (the poem in a Dunhuang manuscript) 'The Original Stimulus for Nanda becoming a Monk' ('Nantuo chujia yuanqi' 難陀出家緣起; Nanda: Gautama Buddha's half-brother) gives:

Drinking wine, let one or two cups go leisurely around the company; gently, gently, a slow metre, fearing the urging of pipes and strings.

飲（仗）酒勾〔句〕巡一兩盃，徐徐慢怕管絃催。<sup>114</sup>

Each 'pavilion'-cup waits for the Gentleman to sing 'Next Time *Ju*(-Movement)'; having seem him, I take my leave, and then dance, spinning, rotating.

各「閣」盞待君下次句（据），見了抽身便卻迴。<sup>115</sup>

a poem in Dunhuang manuscript P.2324

112 Zhao Zunyue, 'Dunhuang wupu canzhi tanwei', 203.

113 Bai Juyi, *Bai Juyi ji jianjiao*, 18.1202.

114 *Dunhuang bianwen ji*, 4.396.

115 *Dunhuang bianwen ji*, 4.396.

'Next Time *Ju*(-Movement)' can be split from being one composition into three compositions. During this time, having put down the wine cup, waiting then for the composition to extend into a slow metre, one piece is thus rendered slowly as three pieces, which is simply a ruse to decelerate the quaffing of wine; its tempo is 'gently, gently, a slow metre,' and the wine is described as 'going leisurely around the company' 句巡. Looking at 'Mo Mountain Stream' and 'Southern Songlet', when they both state: 'Xun-movement, lun-movement; each adds two additional beats,' 巡輪各添兩拍,<sup>116</sup> this is proof. Su E (蘇鶚, fl. ninth century) in his *Yanyi* 演義 talks of wine being passed around the company once until it reaches the last recipient in the chain 擘〔婪〕尾, an expression also commonly found in Song dynasty lyric song, where the equivalent phrase employs a different first character 藍尾.<sup>117</sup> In the Dunhuang manuscripts, a *shi* poem by Wang Fanzhi (王梵志, fl. early seventh century) gives:

Let the wine be passed around to the sound of the drinking rhyme 'suo-suo'; the Master of the Goblet exhorts all to be at peace 'pingping'; no one should be rebuked for coming late; simply place a lid on the cup and its essence remains.

本巡連索索，樽主告平平。當不怪來晚，覆蓋可連精。<sup>118</sup>

The characters 索 *suo* ('seek'), 平 *ping* ('level'), 看 *kan* ('look'), and 精 *jing* ('essence') are four that form the basis of rhymes performed when wine is passed around, see *Tang yu lin*, *juan* 8, the entry 'Bizhou cishi' 壁州刺史.<sup>119</sup> Wine that is part of drinking games by which participants compete with all members of the company in turn is called 'a flowing round of drink' 巡流:

The goblet drained, poems can be created; and drained, they can be performed, saying: "This goblet is a great door, most definitely "a flowing round of drink". Every round of wine can add thirty, nay, fifty encounters, and when these are all over, it is hard not to be drunk.

116 *Dunhuang baozang*, 44: 113, P.5643.

117 Su E, *Sushi yanyi*, B.13b (850: 204).

118 Wang Fanzhi, *Wang Fanzhi shi jiaozhu*, 3.377.

119 Wang Dang, *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 8.742.

尊淨能詩：淨能奏曰：此尊大戶，直是「巡流」。每巡可加三十五分，卒難不醉。<sup>120</sup>

Dunhuang manuscript S.6836

If a round of wine drinking has passed around the whole circle and come to the last participant in the game, the journey of the alcohol will have reached its final recipient, and he must drink three cups in succession as a consolation. The dance movements must match the circulating of the wine, and therefore each 'add a beat'.

### 10 *Song* 送-Movement

The character 送 ('song') does not simply carry a single meaning. In the context of 'ling-ling-dance-dance-dance, song-song-song' 令令舞舞舞，送送送，<sup>121</sup> 'song' indicates a choreographed dance gesture. *Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類, 'Yue gujin' 樂古今 (*juan* 92; compiled by Li Jingde 黎靖德, fl. twelfth–thirteenth centuries; Master Zhu: Zhu Xi 朱熹, 1130–1200) gives: "The vernacular dance of the Tang dynasty was known as "performing *ling* compositions". It had four choreographic gestures that were called *zhao*-movement, *yao*-movement, and *song*-movement (and I can't remember what the other was [*sic.*]). "*Zhao*-movement" has the meaning "invitation"; "*yao*-movement" is "wave one's hands as if calling to someone"; and "*song*-movement" is "serve wine." 唐人俗舞謂之打令，其狀有四，曰招、曰搖、曰送。〔其一記不得。蓋〕招者邀之意，搖則搖手呼喚之意，送者送酒之意。<sup>122</sup> Liu Ban (劉放, 1022–1088) in *Zhongshan shihua* 中山詩話: "When the people of the Tang dynasty drank wine, they used *ling* rhymes as competitive drinking games by which the loser was punished by the requirement to drink wine ... the aim of these was to ply participants with wine, so from their inception they received the appellation "*song*"; those who had inherited victim status in the game did their best to reject the offered drinks. "*Yao*" or "rocking" the head belongs to the category of *sui* dance movements, and all gestures such as these were geared to refusing to imbibe, but after eight rejections had been used up, the drink was finally accepted.' 唐人飲酒，以令爲罰。.....大都欲以酒勸，故始言「送」，而繼承者辭之。搖首，接舞之屬，皆卻之也。至八遍而窮，斯可受矣。<sup>123</sup> Here,

120 *Dunhuang bianwen ji*, 2.221.

121 *Dunhuang baozang*, 128: 490, P.3501.

122 Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yulei huijiao*, 92.2350.

123 Liu Ban, *Zhongshan shihua*, 21a (1478: 276).

*song* 送-movement and *sui* 掇-movement also function as gestures matching the circulation of wine.

Dancing employed the *song*-movement and so did *qu* 曲 compositions. *Gujin yuelu* 古今樂錄 (compiled by Shi Zhijiang 釋智匠, dates uncertain, fl. sixth century; a text now lost in its entirety but quoted here as cited in *juan* 44 of *Yuefu shiji*): 'For all songs, at the end, there is a *song* cadence pattern: "Midnight" has "hold son" 持子 as its *song* cadence pattern; "The Male Phoenix takes the Chick" has "pond pheasant" 澤雉 as its *song* cadence pattern. For these compositions, the cadence pattern is also called "*song*": 凡歌曲終皆有送聲。〈子夜〉以「持子」送曲，〈鳳將雛〉以「澤雉」送曲。是曲之送聲亦曰送。<sup>124</sup> 'The Male Phoenix returns to the Clouds' gives: '*Zhun*-movement, in front; *ling*-movement, *sui*-movement, three beats, dance; *ju*-movement, *dan*-movement, *da*-movement; "Washing Stream Gravel"; metrical section, *song*-movement.' 准前，令，掇，三拍舞。据、單打。〈浣溪沙〉拍段送。<sup>125</sup>

Xi Zhenguan considers that the character '*song*' 送 of '*song*-movement' can be explained here as 'lost' or 'forfeit' (*duansong* 斷送), thus the second stanza's use of 'Washing Stream Gravel' should be understood as something 'forfeited'. Whenever a composition was performed, whether its former or latter part, performing a different composition as a cadence marker was known as 'forfeiting'; for example, as is recorded in fine detail in *Wulin jiushi*. In the second stanza of the dance notation 'Xiafang yuan', 'Fu tuzi' 浮圖子 is employed to have the *song* function and belongs to this category. This type of 'forfeiting' a composition is in fact another format of the abovementioned multi-sectioned compositions.<sup>126</sup> Master Xi takes the phrase here in the dance notations 'section, *song*-movement' 段送 and interprets it as 'forfeiting' 斷送 (the characters 段 and 斷 are pronounced in the same way '*duan*' in modern Mandarin Chinese; the fundamental meaning of 段 is 'section', that of 斷 is 'break' or 'snap'). The logical conclusion of this is to take all occurrences of the character 段 ('section') and read them as the character 斷 of 'forfeiting' 斷送. In this score, however, the opening section to 'Southern Songlet' reads: 'Two sections; slow two, fast three, slow two: 兩段:慢二，急三，慢二。<sup>127</sup> In this instance, it is inappropriate to read 'two sections' 兩段 as 'two breaks' 兩斷. Thus, it can be ascertained that in the dance notations, the character 段 should still be correctly read only according to its erstwhile definition 'section'.

124 *Yuefu shiji*, 44.641.

125 Wang Kunwu, 'Dunhuang wupu jiaoshi', 255.

126 See the paper by Lü Hongjing.

127 *Dunhuang baozang*, 44: 2, S.5613.

11 *Da* 打-Movement

The *da*-movement is to strike something to signal the metre of the composition. More specifically, it means to use a single-headed drum and clappers to indicate metre, and description of their role can be found in *Jiegu lu*. In music for dancing, marking out metre is of crucial importance and has the function of keeping everyone in time. In the lower stanza of '(Qian) Xiafang yuan' is written: '*Da*-movement for five sections; *song*-movement,' 打五段子送,<sup>128</sup> as well as: '*Da*-movement, "Futu zi", *song*-movement.' 打浮圖子送.<sup>129</sup> In the lower stanza of 'The Male Phoenix returns to the Clouds' is written: '*Dan*-movement, *da*-movement; "Washing Stream Gravel"; metrical section, *song*-movement.' 單打浣溪沙拍段送.<sup>130</sup> For the linguistic collocation '*dan*-movement, *da*-movement' 單打 see *Wulin jiushi* which lists a piece called: 'Dan da dasheng yue' 單打大聖樂. (The 'five sections' would appear to be the Five Dynasties *cipai* 詞牌 fixed melody and rhyme scheme 'Jin futu' 金浮圖, see *Jiaofang ji jian ding* 教坊記箋訂, [that is, Ren Erbei's notes and corrections to *Jiaofang ji* by Cui Lingqin 崔令欽, fl. eighth century], p. 287, supplementary table.) So too, *da*-movement followed by *ling*-movement, which also means to supply a percussive metre on drum or clappers to a poem, rhyme, or song. *Yunxi youyi* 雲溪友議 (by Fan Shu 范攄, fl. ninth century) when talking about the poem 'Willow Branch' ('Yangliu zhi' 楊柳枝; in the story in *juan* 3 [of 3] 'Wen Pei chu' 溫裴黜 tells how the two protagonists) 'when drinking at a banquet compete in their singing of this lyric song and furnish it with an accompaniment on the drum or clappers,' 飲筵競唱其詞而打令;<sup>131</sup> and this is a correct description of the performance formula.

The ritual and order of Tang dynasty drinking parties was precisely prescribed.<sup>132</sup> The Dunhuang dance notations contain *zhuai* 拽-movement, *tou* 頭-movement, *sui* 掇-movement, *qing* 請-movement ... all named movements, arranged extremely neatly; regarding drinking songs, it cannot (however) be forcibly distinguished which is 'Serve Wine', which is 'Next time *Ju*(-Movement)', and which is 'zhanxiang'. Seemingly from the Five Dynasties onwards, drinking songs were matched to music and dance, but no longer so finely distinguished from one another as formerly; the application was much more haphazard, and compositions not necessarily specifically dedicated to

128 *Dunhuang baozang*, 128: 491, P.3501.

129 *Dunhuang baozang*, 128: 491, P.3501.

130 *Dunhuang baozang*, 128: 492, P.3501.

131 Fan Shu, *Yunxi youyi*, C.16a (1035: 609).

132 As is recorded in *Zuixiang riyue*, for example, the fourteenth drinking song 'Next Time *Ju*(-Movement)' and the sixteenth 'Serve Wine' and their like.

particular drinking songs as had been the requirement of earlier rules and practice.

## 12 'As Originally' (*ben se* 本色) and *Guo* 裹-Movement

The Pelliot notation, 'Xiafang yuan' gives: 'As originally. Meeting together, *yi*-movement.' 本色，相逢揖。According to this, in danced performances, employment of the term 'as originally' is already seen in dance notations of the Five Dynasties. *Dongjing menghua lu* (*juan* 9, 'The Ceremony and Etiquette of celebrating the Longevity of the Emperor: The First Cup of Imperial Wine'): 'All vernacular opera performers sport different headscarves according to their role, and their clothes are worn to the pattern as originally these roles required.' 諸雜劇色皆譚裹，各服本色。<sup>133</sup> In this instance, the expression 'as originally' refers to the clothes worn by the dancers. *Jiaofang ji*: 'At music and dancing birthday celebrations for the longevity of the emperor, all wear their clothes according to the pattern as originally required by their role in opera performance;' 聖壽樂舞，皆隨其衣本色，<sup>134</sup> this expresses the same meaning.

The latter part of 'The Male Phoenix returns to the Clouds' gives: '*Shuang*-movement, *song*-movement; *guo*-movement. *Ling*-movement, *sui*-movement; middle section; *dan*-movement: *song*-movement, *guo*-movement.' 雙送，裹，令接中心；單送，裹。<sup>135</sup> Note: *Dongjing menghua lu* includes an account (*juan* 9): 'The first cup of imperial wine ... the remaining musicians and dancers sport wound headscarves and loose shirts.' 第一盞御酒.....其餘樂人舞者譚裹，寬衫。<sup>136</sup> Also: 'At longevity celebrations for the emperor's birthday, the two managing officials of the Imperial Music Academy both wear wound headscarves and loose purple robes gathered by a gold belt.... Also, members of the music section of the Imperial Music Academy are arrayed in ranks under the mountain towers and in between the coloured railings, and all wear *futou* headdresses bound with long ribbons.' 上壽教坊色長二人皆譚裹，寬紫袍金帶。.....又教坊樂部列於山樓下採柵中，皆裹長腳幘頭。<sup>137</sup> This 'bound' (*guo* 裹) indicates clothing, such as is worn to present a particular and different appearance. Whenever there is the succession '*shuang*-movement, *song*-movement' 雙送 or '*dan*-movement, *song*-movement' 單送, they come

133 Meng Yuanlao, *Dongjing menghua lu zhu*, 9.220.

134 Cui Lingqin, *Jiaofang ji jianing*, 23.

135 Wang Kunwu, 'Dunhuang wupu jiaoshi', 254.

136 Meng Yuanlao, *Dongjing menghua lu zhu*, 9.219.

137 Meng Yuanlao, *Dongjing menghua lu zhu*, 9.219.



with an appended ‘*guo*-movement’ 裹. The stone carvings at Guangyuan of the performance of large-scale compositions include whirling female dancers wearing *futou* headdresses bound with long ribbons.

*Zhuzi yulei, juan 92*, gives: “The vernacular dance of the Tang dynasty was known as “performing *ling* compositions”. It had four choreographed gestures that were called *zhao*-movement, *yao*-movement, and *song*-movement, and I can’t remember what the other was. “*Zhao*-movement” has the meaning “invitation”; “*yao*-movement” is “wave one’s hands as if calling to someone”; and “*song*-movement” is “serve wine”. A long time ago in a deep and distant village, I once saw a village elder who told me that his grandfather had once received and kept for him a notated composition. It is said that it was lost during the fires of war. When dancing took place, everyone’s heads were bound with *futou* headdresses; those watching sat in rows drinking wine and a moment later dancing began. A four-sentence doggerel rhyme was performed that went: “*Song*-(movement) *yao*-(movement) *zhao*-(movement) *yao*-(movement); three squares, one circle; divide them into four areas; obtain it before the *yao*-(movement).” Most people did not understand its meaning and reckoned that it was simply a riddle.’ 唐人俗舞謂之打令，其狀有四：曰招，曰搖，曰送，其一記不得。蓋招則邀之之意，搖則搖手呼喚之意，送者送酒之意。舊嘗見深村父老者余言，其祖父嘗爲之收得譜子。曰兵火失去。舞時皆裹幪頭，列坐飲酒，少側起舞。有四句號云：送搖招搖，三方一圓，分成四片，得在搖前。人多不知，皆以爲啞謎。<sup>138</sup> This passage by Master Zhu is extremely important because the usage of the character 裹 (*guo*) to indicate that the dancers’ heads were wrapped in *futou* headdresses can be understood from it. Even if the contemporary meaning of these four lines of doggerel is not easy to interpret, the role of the collocation ‘*song*-movement, *yao*-movement’ 送搖 matches exactly its occurrence in the Dunhuang scores, and thus they are noted here as additional material that furnishes supplementary proof.

### 13 Breaking up Compositions (*Po quzi* 破曲子)

The latter part of the Pelliot score ‘The Male Phoenix returns to the Clouds’ includes the lines: ‘*Zhun*-movement, in front; the beat is steady; *ling*-movement comes to the *ju*-movement, each for three beats. *Da*-movement section, in front, one beat, *song*-movement; break up the composition.’ 准前拍常令至据各三拍。打段前一拍送，破曲子。<sup>139</sup> Note: ‘break up the composition’

<sup>138</sup> Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yulei huijiao*, 92.2350.

<sup>139</sup> Wang Kunwu, ‘Dunhuang wupu jiaoshi’, 255.

functions like the interpolated interludes that break up large-scale compositions. In *Dongjing menghua lu*, when the eighth toast is drunk to the emperor: “Three Stages” the combined composition is broken.’ 三台舞合曲破。<sup>140</sup> Shi Hao (in the literary passage ‘Sword Dance’ [‘Jian wu’ 劍舞]) records two people dancing a sword dance, and the description of a passage in the first half of the dance gives: ‘The musicians sing of swords, which breaks the composition (acts as interpolated interludes); a dance takes place for a section; the two dancers sing together “In the Frosty Sky, a Dawn Bugle Call”. 樂部唱劍器曲破，作舞一段了，二舞者同唱《霜天曉角》。<sup>141</sup> The second half of the dance is also similar, and in all cases the musicians act in concert to sing interpolated interludes, and thus it can be seen that an interpolated interlude is not the name of a composition. Zhao Tai (趙泰, also called Zhao Zunyue 趙尊岳, 1898–1965) gives: ‘Nowadays, those who are training to become theatrical entertainers are instructed thus: “In this place, high notes should be plucked and the tempo increased; the person who transmitted the notation followed this and cautiously recognised the usage of the character ‘break’, employing it as a means to differentiate between sections.” 如今劇訓子弟曰：「此處當撥高加緊，傳譜者隨而謹識破字，以為識別」。<sup>142</sup>

#### 14 Written to Relieve an Oppressed State (*Menti* 悶題)

The first of the two characters that form this title is classified by the ‘door’ radical 門 (*men*) and its radical written 冂 in exactly the same fashion as that of the character (that is classified under the same radical) 閨 (*gu*) in the Dunhuang manuscript *Yunyao ji* 雲謠集. Inside the ‘door’, the character component resembles (the common character) 小 (*xiao*), but in fact is (another common character) 心 (*xin*) written in the semi-cursive *xing* script; Master Li mistakenly transcribes the whole as the character 簡 (*jian*). The two characters 悶題 (*menti*) indicate that the writer was feeling stifled or oppressed (because this is the usual definition of the character 悶 *men*) and that is why he wrote a dance notation on the spur of the moment as a diversion to relieve his oppressed state and act as a cathartic release. (The second character 題 *ti* means here ‘write’.)

140 Meng Yuanlao, *Dongjing menghua lu zhu*, 9.222.

141 Shi Hao, *Maofeng zhenyin manlu*, 46.9b (1141: 882).

142 Zhao Tai, ‘Investigating the Intricacies of Fragmentary Manuscripts of Dunhuang Dance Scores’ (*Dunhuang wupu canzhi tanwei*), 202.

## 15 Epilogue

Exploration of Dunhuang *pipa* and dance notations has become a topic enthusiastically discussed in musical circles in recent years, and many authorities have set up their own special theories, with multiple new definitions promulgated; this essay both overthrows some and sets up others, criticising those that are deemed uncomfortable and retaining those that can be trusted, working only towards compromising in appropriateness. The dance notation of the Kaiping era is extremely new scholarly material, and that which has been discovered is both unique and plentiful. Regarding recent publications of modern scholars, as is commonly accepted, given the limitations of space, their provenances cannot be listed one by one, and their value individually sifted and assessed, and it is hoped readers will readily forgive this. Research into dance and music in the field of Dunhuang studies is very much the preserve of experts, and those who take part in it must needs be scholars of preeminent distinction in the field, so it is essential that they assist me to overcome my inadequacies, discarding the cruder bricks and attracting in the finer jade, and I look forward very much to being corrected by them.<sup>143</sup>

This paper was given at the Dunhuang Turpan Scholarly Association International Conference in Hong Kong, June 1987 (revised version)

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143 Regarding material relevant to music and dance employed in this essay, the following can be consulted:

Yang Gongji, 'Ribbon Gongmo Dances in Song-and-Dance Drama of the Western Han Dynasty: Textual Punctuation and Research' ('Xihan gewuju jinwu gongmowu de judou he yanjiu'), 37–51.

Xi Zhenguan, 'Interdisciplinary Research into Dunhuang Dance Notations' also titled 'Resolution of Issues of doubtful Textual Punctuation and Lexical Meaning in the Preface to "Unique Book" pertaining to Tang Dynasty Music and Dance' ('Tang yuewu jueshu pianqian wen judou ziyi xiyi: Dunhuang wupu jiaocha yankao zhi yi', 21–39) (draft) Packed with an abundance of excellent argument, in view of the author's kindness in personally sending me a copy, I offer my most effusive thanks in written form here.

Lü Hongjing, 'A Preliminary Analysis of Multi-Sectioned Compositions of the Sui and Tang Dynasties: Third Investigation into the Origins of Xi'an Drum-Blow Music' ('Sui Tang jie qu qianshuo: Xi'an guchui yue yuanliu kao zhi san'), 14–19.

Liao Ben, 'Investigation of Vernacular Opera and Large-Scale Compositions as shown in Stone Carvings of Song Dynasty Tombs at Guangyuan' ('Guangyuan Nan Song mu zaju daqu shike kao', 25–35).

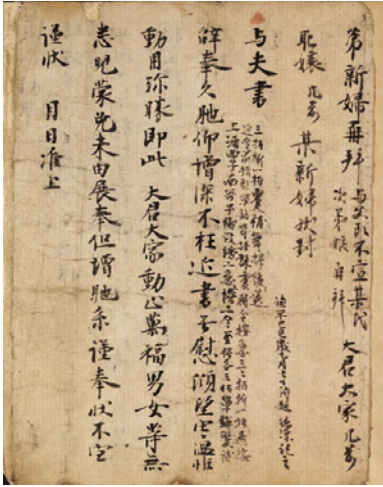


FIGURE 10.A  
 Dance notation of 'Southern Songlet'  
 PHOTO PROVIDED BY THE BRITISH LIBRARY  
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 (OR.8210/S.5613)

## Rearrangement and Reorganisation of Musical Repertories in the Later Zhou Dynasty and Issues relating to the Study of Lyric Song at the Beginning of the Song Dynasty

*Using Dunhuang Dance Scores to Discuss the Later Zhou Dynasty's Rearrangement and Reorganisation of Musical Repertories Together with the Origins of Liu Yong's Anthology of Musical Repertories* 後周整理樂章與宋初詞學有關諸問題—由敦煌舞譜談後周之整理樂章兼論柳永《樂章集》之來歷

Of the Dunhuang scores of dance notations that have come down to the present day, the most important are two scores in British and French collections that are relatively complete and undamaged. I introduced the specimen in London (the British Library) to the scholarly world first in the 1950s.<sup>1</sup> Other scattered (Dunhuang) sources that touch on dance dispositions and choreography, for example, 'Bidding Farewell to the Celestial Being' ('Bie xianzi' 別仙子), only make note of overall sectionalisation and metrical organisation. 'Southern Songlet' ('Nan gezi' 南歌子) includes a clear reference to the *jisi* 己巳 year of the Kaiping era (開平, 907–911) and that the piece was for the serving of wine (*shangjiu* 上酒) (the third year of the reign of the Liang dynasty emperor Zu [梁祖, 852–912, r. 907–912], that is, 909), so an approximate idea of its period of composition and social context can be obtained. The Paris score has on its verso a memorandum submitted by the *yaya anyuan* 押衙安員 official dated to the fourth month of the *wuwu* 戊午 fifth year of the Xiande 顯德 era (958) of the Later Zhou dynasty emperor Shizong (周世宗, 921–959, r. 954–959). It can thus be accorded a preliminary designation as a manuscript of the Later Zhou dynasty. These dance notations can be roughly ascribed to the Five Dynasties, and this epoch was precisely when compositions that combined sung *ci* poetry (lyric song) and dance as a musical form evinced themselves at drinking banquets while guests were plied with wine and was when these customs were at their zenith.

1 See my humble contribution: *Notes on Reading Dunhuang Pipa Scores*. Jao Tsung-i, *Dunhuang pipa pu duji*, 8.1333–68.

In the court of the Later Zhou dynasty, work was carried out pertaining to the reorganisation and rearrangement of musical repertoires. *A Comprehensive Mirror in Aid of Governance* (*Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒; by Sima Guang 司馬光, 1019–1086), *juan* 294, ‘Hou Zhou ji’ 後周紀 (*juan* 290–294), under the entry for ‘the sixth year of the Xiande era’ (959), Hu Sanxing (胡三省, 1230–1302) in his *Zizhi tongjian yinzhū* 資治通鑒音注 gives:

In the Guangshun era (951–953), *taichang qing* senior official Bian Wei (*fl.* tenth century) submitted a memorandum to the emperor that said: ‘In order to reorganise and establish the aforementioned sacrificial ceremonies, gatherings of officials at court, dance titles, musical compositions, and song lyrics, government departments have combined to keep detailed written records of them. The following is offered herewith bowing in obedient terror: Should the reorganisation result in any melodies or modal concords that are composed being inharmonious with the new principles, instructions are to be passed down to the Taichang Department to investigate the matter in detail and apply strict editorial criteria accordingly. If there are errors, let the Department be instructed to compose additional and more appropriate musical repertoires and dance compositions according to the new principles of mode and melody, and the singers commanded to practise their recitation.’ This memorandum was acted upon.

廣順中，太常卿邊蔚奏：「敕定前件祠祭、朝會、舞名、樂典、歌詞，寺司合有簿籍，伏恐所定與新法曲調聲韻不叶，請下太常寺檢詳校試，若或乖舛，請本寺依新法聲調，別撰樂章舞曲，令歌者誦習。」從之。<sup>2</sup>

This document has never received any scholarly attention, yet it records reorganisation and rearrangement of musical repertoires that is an important historical fact. From the quotation of Hu Sanxing’s *Notes* given above, several important points are worth indicating:

- 1) Musical compositions (*yuequ* 樂曲) and song lyrics (*geci* 歌詞) are separated into two separate entities. Regarding song lyrics, they only indicate the textual element of that which is sung.

2 Punctuation according to following edition: Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, 294.9594.

- 2) In respect of the three items: dance titles, musical compositions, and song lyrics, the Taichang Department had comprehensive and detailed written records of all these that were managed and stored by the Department.
- 3) Contemporary musical repertoires and dance compositions could be re-written by the officials of the Taichang Department as the need arose.

*The Old Official History of the Five Dynasties* (*Jiu Wudai shi* 舊五代史), *juan* 145, ('The Official Book of the Zhou Dynasty' ['Zhou shu' 周書]; *juan* 114–150) 'Yue zhi xia' 樂志下:

In the first year of the Guangshun era of the (Later) Zhou dynasty, soon after the emperor Taizu (904–954, r. 951–954) had ascended to the imperial throne, his sole desire was to refresh the entire machinery of government. Thus, at that time, the *taichang qing* senior official Bian Wei submitted a formal policy proposal requesting reform to dance titles.

周廣順元年，太祖初即大位，惟新庶政。時太常卿邊蔚上疏請改舞名。<sup>3</sup>

*Wudai huiyao* 五代會要 (by Wang Pu 王溥, 922–982) gives:

Bian Wei made a request to increase the recruitment of master musicians and ordered them to practise their music in the Department. By imperial ordinance, in the Taichang Department supervising elegant music in the two capitals (Kaifeng and Luoyang), court musicians of the *jieji* rank who had been forty in number were now increased by sixty individuals. Of these, thirty-eight were suitable to be put forward for joint posts as musician officials in the supplementary unit of the Imperial Music Academy and the remaining twenty-two were suitable to be commanded to fill available vacancies in the Department according to their area of expertise.

邊蔚請添召樂師，令在寺習樂。勅太常寺見管兩京雅樂節級樂工共四十人外，更添六十人，內三十八人宜抽教坊貼部樂官兼充，餘二十二人宜令本寺照名充填。<sup>4</sup>

This furnishes clear information on the number of master musicians added to the staff in the first year of the Guangshun era during Bian Wei's tenure at the

<sup>3</sup> *Jiu Wudai shi*, 145.1935.

<sup>4</sup> Wang Pu, *Wudai huiyao*, 7.124.

Taichang Department, and aside from personnel working (solely) in the field of elegant music, concurrent posts as music officials of the Imperial Music Academy were also awarded.

A biography of Bian Wei ('Bian Wei zhuan') can be found in *The Old Official History of the Five Dynasties* (*Jiu wudai shi*), *juan* 128, 'The Official Book of the Zhou Dynasty' ('Zhou shu'):

His soubriquet was Desheng and he was a native of Chang'an. At the beginning of the (Later) Han dynasty, he held the senior post of Imperial Historian and Censor and was then rotated into the Military Department as a *shilang* official. Receiving orders directly from the Zhou dynasty emperor Taizu, he became the chief official of the Kaifeng prefectural government and was then moved to the position of *taichang qing* senior official. He died in the second year of the Xiande era (955) at the age of seventy-one.

字得昇，長安人。漢初拜御史中丞，轉兵部侍郎。周太祖受命，知開封府事，遷太常卿。顯德二年卒，年七十一。<sup>5</sup>

The whole text of the memorandum of the first year of the Guangshun era that he submitted to the emperor requesting instructions to reform dance titles is recorded in *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 (completed in 1013), *juan* 570, 'Zhangli bu' 掌禮部 (*juan* 563–596), 'Zuoyue liu 6' 作樂六.<sup>6</sup> Its overall gist is: Zu Xiaosun (祖孝孫, 562–631) of the Tang dynasty established the names of two dance genres, either 'of letters' (or 'civilian'; *wen* 文) or 'military' (*wu* 武), as well as the twelve types of elegant music of the Liang dynasty; the Tang dynasty took the character 'elegant' (*ya* 雅) and replaced it with 'harmonious' (or 'ensemble'; *he* 和); the previous dynasty took 'harmonious' and replaced it with 'cadence' (or 'resolution'; *cheng* 成); now, 'cadence' is replaced with 'smoothly' (*shun* 順). *The Old History of the Five Dynasties*, 'Yue zhi' (*juan* 144–145) also extracted and adopted this overall meaning. Initially, in the ninth month of the first year of the reign of the Later Han dynasty emperor Gaozu (漢高祖, 895–948, r. 947–948), the de facto *taichang qing* senior official Zhang Zhao (張昭, 894–972) submitted a 'Formal Policy Proposal' (*shu* 疏), a memorandum that advocated reforming the nomenclature of all music of the entire dynasty and that requested for instructions to be issued to change the twelve types of harmonious ensemble music. Zhang Zhao was also an expert on ancient music

<sup>5</sup> *Jiu Wudai shi*, 128.1692–93.

<sup>6</sup> *Cefu yuangui*, 567.6808.



and in these respects acted as a guiding pioneer for Bian Wei. *The Old History of the Five Dynasties*, 'Yue zhi (Part One [of Two]); *juan* 144) states:

Already, items including four dances, twelve ensemble pieces, and elegant music have been passed upwards for imperial approval, and for all, their function inside society and constituent number of repertory items have (now) been noted individually and meticulously (below). In all cases, song lyrics are not recorded.

已上四舞、十二成、雅樂等曲，〔今〕具錄合用處所及樂章首數，一一條列〔在下〕。其歌詞文多不錄。<sup>7</sup>

Unfortunately, the song lyrics that Zhang Zhao set down are not recorded in *The Old History of the Five Dynasties*. As far as division into the two dance genres 'of letters' and 'military' is concerned, it was reinvigorated and achieved a renaissance in the fifth year of the Tianfu 天福 era (940) of the Later Jin dynasty, and at that time the *taichang qing* senior official Cui Zhuo (崔柎, fl. tenth century) outlined in great detail a system of rites comprising two dance genres and 'drum-blow (a wind instrument)' (*guchui* 鼓吹) music in twelve genres (or 'platforms' or 'stages'); the overall meaning of his 'Formal Policy Proposal', quoted in pristine clarity, is:

Oftentimes, let a low dais ('stage') of felt be erected, that is, felt laid out embedded on a platform. Let it be supported by effigies of black bears, brown bears, *chu* tigers, and leopards in attitudes both leaping and leaning, as if the myriad creatures were leading the dance. Regarding the twelve genres ('stages'): the court musicians comprise a hundred and eight individuals and the male dancers one hundred and thirty-two. The names and ordering of their song compositions and the words and sentences of their musical repertoires have all been reported to the emperor item by item as detailed catalogue records by the *zhongshu* official, and other officials dispatched to engage in reconstructive compositional work.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Jiu Wudai shi*, 14.1932.

<sup>8</sup> *The Old Official History of the Five Dynasties*, *juan* 144. *Jiu Wudai shi*, 144.1930.

常設禮柝，以禮爲牀也。爲熊羆貔豹騰倚之狀以承之，象百獸率舞之意。十二柝：樂工百有八人，舞郎一百三十二人。其歌曲名號，樂章詞句，中書條奏，差官修撰。<sup>9</sup>

*The New Official History of the Five Dynasties (Xin Wudai shi 新五代史)* by Ouyang Xiu (歐陽修, 1007–1072), 'Biography of Cui Zhuo' ('Cui Zhuo zhuan' 崔稅傳; in *juan* 55) gives:

In the imperial courtyard, let racks of suspended instruments of the palace—bell, chime, and drum—be erected, and the two dances ('of letters' and 'military') take place there; and on the stage, let songs be sung and wine proffered; with the addition of drum-blow music of the twelve genres, let the performers be arrayed in the guise and garb of black bears and leopards; however, the rites and music have fallen into disuse for so long, and such as have been created to replace them are in format simplistic and contrived. In addition, influence from the Qiuci Department of Central Asian music or Daoist music and Buddhist compositions have all conspired to undermine and disorder the sounds of elegant music, and the court musicians and male dancers who perform it are mostly musician-officials of the Imperial Music Academy.

廷設宮懸，二舞在此，登歌右止。加鼓吹十二柝，負以熊豹。然禮樂廢久，而制作簡繆。又繼以龜茲部霓裳法曲，參亂雅音，其樂工舞郎，多教坊伶人。<sup>10</sup>

This passage can be regarded as a summary of the contemporary situation of elegant music intermingling with that of the Imperial Music Academy.

Later, in the time of the Zhou dynasty emperor Shizong, Dou Yan (竇儼, 918–960) was commanded to create *Da Zhou zhengyue* 大周正樂. At first, Shizong had gone to make inspection of music, but when he graciously asked the court musicians questions regarding music, they were unable to answer him. From this, he became concerned about the deteriorating state of elegant music and thought to obtain the services of an expert knowledgeable in musical sound to investigate the problem and rectify it. So, he summoned the renowned scholar of the Hanlin 翰林 Academy Dou Yan to appraise the work of the Taichang Department, and *shumishi* 樞密使 official Wang Pu (王朴, 906–959; not the Wang Pu 王溥 mentioned earlier) to work closely with him

9 *Jiu Wudai shi*, 14.1930.

10 *Xin Wudai shi*, 55.636–37.

on the detailed process of establishing repertoires. Wang Pu (王朴; all subsequent mentions of 'Wang Pu' in this essay refer to this individual) had written *Modal Temperament (Lüzhun 律準)*.<sup>11</sup> *The Old History of the Five Dynasties*, 'Yue zhi (Part Two [of Two]'; *juan* 145) gives:

In the sixth month of the fifth year (of the Xiande era [958]), an order was issued for the *zhongshu sheren* senior official Dou Yan to take part in detailed appraisal of the elegant music of the Taichang Department. Himself a distinguished scholar of the Hanlin Academy, in the eleventh month, Dou Yan sent a 'Formal Policy Proposal' upwards to the emperor that discussed the origins of the rites, music, and the role of punishments in good governance, ... the second of these stated: 'Bowing in loyal obedience, I have issued instructions commanding knowledgeable and perceptive scholars to research back as far as the Five Emperors and up until the present sage-like dynasty, and for all matters pertaining to the reform of musical repertoires to be accorded a complete and detailed record. After taking account of research into the records of music of the historical succession of dynasties, the manner and pattern of repertoires will be permanently fixed and given the name *Da Zhou Zhengyue*; an administrative duty that will fall to the Music Department is to enforce good practice according to the letter of their remit, and they are to work diligently, comprehensively, and solemnly.' A decree was issued awarding Dou Yan the leadership role in implementing the process.

(顯德)五年六月，命中書舍人竇儼參詳太常雅樂。十一月，翰林學士竇儼上〈疏〉論禮樂刑政之源，.....其二曰：「伏請命博通之士，上自五帝，迄於聖朝，凡樂章沿革，總次編錄，繫於歷代樂錄之後，永為定式，名之曰《大周正樂》，俾樂寺掌之，依文教習，務在齊肅。」詔委儼總領其事。<sup>12</sup>

In *The Official History of the Song Dynasty (Song shi 宋史)*, *juan* 263, to the story of Dou Yan's lifetime achievements is attached his elder brother's 'Dou Yi zhuan' 竇儀傳 (Dou Yi: 914–966); in outline, it gives:

(When Zhou Shizong had) returned from his military expedition to the South, he issued a decree to Dou Yan to investigate and rectify elegant

<sup>11</sup> See: *Song shi*, 126.2939.

<sup>12</sup> *Jiu Wudai shi*, 145.1936–37.

music; not long after, Dou Yan was appointed as a scholar of the Hanlin Academy and tasked with managing the Taichang Department. He modified the numbers of bells, chimes, *guan* pipes, and *yue* flutes, and differentiated between the relative merits of clear and turgid metre, raising once more the principle of mutually circular relationships of the *gong* pitch inside the *lüliú* modal system as the fundamental method for creating music, whose tenets are still respected even to this day.... His book *Da Zhou Zhengyue* in 120 *juan* has been collected by the emperor's command for inclusion in the Imperial Historical Repository.

(周世宗)南征還，詔儼考正雅樂，未幾，拜翰林學士，判太常寺。儼校鐘磬筚篥之數，辨清濁上下之節。復舉律呂旋相爲宮之法，迄今遵用。.....所撰《大周正樂》成一百二十卷，詔藏於史閣。<sup>13</sup>

(*Juan* 105 of) *The Jade Sea Encyclopedia* (*Yu hai* 玉海; by Wang Yinglin 王應麟, 1223–1296) quotes *Zhongxing shumu* 中興書目 (completed in 1177):

Dou Yan shouldered the responsibilities of the decree and established and discussed relevant to successive dynasties the names of musical genres, ceremonies involving music, musical dissertations, musical sounds and mediums for producing sound, depictions of musical performance, repertoires, instruments, compositions, and music of regions neighbouring China, all extremely rigorously and comprehensively. The book was originally divided into eighty-four *juan* so as to resemble an ordering into eighty-four musical modes; in addition, there were newly written 'Musical Scores' comprising thirty-six *juan*. After the Song dynasty had transferred to south China, of the 'Musical Scores' only four *juan* titled 'Huangzhong' and 'Dalü' and pertaining to modes of the same names survived, and the others were all lost.

寶儼承詔訂論歷代樂名、樂儀、樂議、樂音、樂圖、樂章、樂器、樂曲及夷樂之名甚備。是書原分八十四卷，象八十四調，益以新《曲譜》三十六卷。南渡後《曲譜》惟《黃鐘》、《大呂》四卷，餘皆佚去。<sup>14</sup>

*Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era* (*Taiping yulan* 太平御覽; an encyclopedia compiled in 977–783) cites many entries from (*Da Zhou Zhengyue*) that can

13 *Song shi*, 263.9096–97.

14 *Yuhai*, 105.24b (1922).

be assembled, recorded, and stored for the purpose of facilitating a glance at a lost book. *Da Zhou Zhengyue* takes ‘repertories’ (*yuezhang* 樂章) and ‘compositions’ (*yuequ* 樂曲) and separates them, regarding repertories as ‘*ci* 辭 repertories’, and compositions as written scores. In the Northern Song dynasty, the whole book was still in existence, and it also included newly composed scores, which would have been those created additionally in the Later Zhou dynasty according to the new criteria established at the time, but unfortunately it has since been lost.

## 1

*The Old Official History of the Five Dynasties*, ‘Yue zhi, Part Two (of Two)’ gives:

In springtime of the sixth year (of the Xiande era [959]), the first month of the year, the *shumishi* official Wang Pu in obedience to imperial decree took part in a detailed process of establishing the twelve elegant modes and mutually circular relationships of their *gong* pitch as the fundamental method for composing music, and he also formulated a notion of modal temperament that he passed upwards to the emperor himself. The gist of his ‘Formal Policy Proposal’ was: Since the Qin dynasty, the circular relationship of the *gong* pitches of the different modes has fallen into disuse. Reaching into the Eastern Han dynasty there came ‘Music of Greater Giving’ that was brought into blossoming maturity by Bao Ye (*fl.* first century), but when he died, his music was extinguished with him. From the Han to the Sui through a succession of ten dynasties, in total several hundred years, only the mode with *huangzhong* as the *gong* note survived. Of the twelve modes, only seven were left, and the remaining five modes were called ‘mute bells’ because none remained in use. When the Tang dynasty emperor Taizong (598 or 599–649, r. 626–649) re-established ancient practice, he employed Zu Xiaosun and Zhang Wenshou (*fl.* late sixth–early seventh centuries) to investigate and rectify elegant music, and the circular rotating *gong* note of eighty-four modes was thus seen for an epoch once more. Regarding instruments suspended from racks—bells, chimes, and drums—none was now mute.

(顯德)六年春正月，樞密使王朴奉詔詳定雅十二律旋相爲宮之法，并造律準，上之。其(疏)略曰：自秦而下，旋宮聲廢。洎東漢雖有大予(樂)丞鮑鄴興之，人亡而音息。漢至隋垂十代，凡數百年，所存者黃鐘之宮一調而已。十二律中，唯用七聲，其餘五律，謂之啞鐘，蓋

不用故也。唐太宗復古道，乃用祖孝孫、張文收考正雅樂，而旋宮八十四調復見於時，在懸之器，方無啞者。<sup>15</sup>

... After Huang Chao's (820–884) rebellion, musical instruments used by court musicians were all dispersed.... at that time, *taichang* (*qing*) senior official and *boshi* Doctor of Letters Yin Yingsun (*fl.* tenth century), according to an essay in *The Zhou Rites*, 'Dongguan kaogong ji' (chapter 6), had twelve large *bozhong* bells cast and 240 *bianzhong* bells of more ordinary size for hanging on racks. The hermit Xiao Chengxun (*fl.* tenth century) arranged and tuned the stone chimes, which were now also suspended in the correct manner. Although knowledge as to the required shape of musical instruments was available, they themselves were found to be entirely lacking in appropriate harmoniousness.

..... 逮乎黃巢之餘，工器都盡。..... 時有太常博士殷盈孫按《周官·考工記》之文。鑄鍾十二，編鐘二百四十。處士蕭承訓校定石磬，今之在懸者是也。雖有樂器之狀，殊無相應之和。<sup>16</sup>

... but because your humble minister had once studied melodies, modes, and calendrical matters, and had promulgated records of music both ancient and modern, the emperor commanded me to initiate a discussion. Thereupon, according to the Zhou dynasty system of measurements and with *jushu* black millet used to fix dimensions, the bamboo pitchpipe for the *huangzhong* note was deemed to be nine *cun* inches in length with an internal diameter of three *fen* deci-inches and was taken to generate the relative note reservoir of the *huangzhong* mode; and then using mutually produced pitch relationships above and below this, the pitchpipes of the twelve modes were themselves generated. It was felt that if the multiplicity of pitchpipes were played in relation to one other, their use inside the various modes was inconvenient, so modal temperament was created. If thirteen strings produced by this method are sounded, the longest is nine *chi* feet, and if strung on an instrument then each could function as the *huangzhong* note of a mode of the same name. With the eighth string of six *chi* and a bridge placed at this point, it would be equivalent to the *linzhong* note and the mode derived from it; and if a third string were eight *chi* long and a bridge placed at this point, it would be equivalent to the *taicou* note and a mode derived from it.... the sixth

15 *Jiu Wudai shi*, 145, 1937.

16 *Jiu Wudai shi*, 145, 1937–38.

string is six *chi*, six *cun*, and eight *fen*, and a bridge placed at this point would make it equivalent to the *zhonglü* note and the mode derived from it; the thirteenth string is four *chi* and five *cun* long, and a bridge placed at this point would be the *huangzhong* note but an octave higher. Of the twelve notes or modes, seven can be generated in a cycle and are 'consonant'. These seven are the most important and the basis of consonance and can be taken as *gong* notes.... and by virtue of the rotating *gong* note (through twelve semitones), a total of eighty-four modes ( $12 \times 7$ ) can be generated as a means for supplementing elegant music; in this way, exact measurements in terms of *chi* feet are established as well as pitchpipes to define the *huangzhong* notes and the modal temperament thereby produced. This memorandum is cautiously and respectfully presented for the consideration of the emperor.

.....以臣嘗學律曆，宣示古今樂錄，令臣討論。遂依周法，以秬黍校定尺度，長九寸，虛徑三分，爲黃鐘之管，與見在黃鐘之聲相應，以上下相生之法推之，得十二律管。以爲眾律管互吹，用聲不便，乃作律準。十三絃宣聲，長九尺，張弦各如黃鐘之聲。以第八絃六尺，設柱爲林鐘，第三絃八尺，設柱爲太簇。.....第六絃六尺六寸八分，設柱爲中呂，第十三絃四尺五寸，設柱爲黃鐘之清聲。十二律中旋用七聲爲均。爲均之主者，宮也。.....所補雅樂旋宮八十四調，并所定尺，所吹黃鐘管，所作律準，謹同上進。<sup>17</sup>

Emperor Shizong was pleased with this and issued a decree for the *shangshu* ministry (*shangshu sheng* 尚書省) to summon the entire official bureaucracy to discuss the matter in detail. *Shangshu* official of the Military Department Zhang Zhao and his colleagues debated it thus (also in *juan* 145):

In ancient times, the emperor of the Hong tribe (another name for the semi-mythical ancestor the Yellow Emperor) established the system of music and used it to define the compass of Heaven and Earth and to bring mankind and the spirits into harmoniousness, observing the winds and melodies of the Eight Solar Terms and measuring the righteous *qi*-energy of the Four Seasons. The relative clarity or turgidity of *qi*-energy cannot be transmitted in writing, just as the efficacy or otherwise of modes and melodies cannot be passed on verbally; thus, officials of the Fu clan were charged with casting bells, and *linglun* court musicians with cutting

<sup>17</sup> *Jiu Wudai shi*, 145.1938–39.

bamboo into pitchpipes to facilitate and calculate mutual generation of *lülü* modes as well as the absolute harmoniousness of notes of the modes: *gong*, *shang*, and so on. Thus is all broadcast by pipe and string and declared through bell and chime; and after this the tempers of Heaven and Earth tell of coming together, and the *qi*-energy of the *yinyang* duality is harmonious and unified. The Eight Winds are in accordance with the *lü* modes and are not traitorous, and the Five Colours (or Timbres) become civilised, patterned, and are not disorderly. The consonance of wood produced by Kongsang mountain (that was celebrated for its use in the manufacture of *qin* and *se*) and 'solitary bamboo' are sufficient to perform the rites for the enjoyment of the spirits, as are the dances 'Cloud Gates' and 'Greater Xia', which are flawless in appearance and a means for observing virtuous morality; however, the twelve *lülü* modes that correspond to the twelve months of the year operate by the principles of a rotating *gong* note, and the entire matter came under the jurisdiction of the *taishi* senior counsellor.

昔帝鴻氏之制樂也，將以範圍天地，協和人神。候八節之風聲，測四時之正氣。氣之清濁不可以筆授，聲之善否不可以口傳，故臯氏鑄金，伶倫截竹，爲律呂相生之算，宮商正和之音。乃播之于管絃，宣之于鐘石，然後覆載之情訢合，陰陽之氣和同，八風從律而不奸，五色成文而不亂。空桑、孤竹之韻足以禮神，〈雲門〉、〈大夏〉之容無虧觀德。然月律有旋宮之法，備于太師之職。<sup>18</sup>

As a result of the obliteration of scholarship by the Qin dynasty, music of the elegant pathway deteriorated substantially. At the beginning of the Han dynasty, the modes and melodies of the Zhi clan existed only in terms of dances to the sounds of drums, and the practice of the twelve *gong* notes in concordant rotating replacement was something no longer heard in the world. In the time of the Han dynasty emperor Yuandi (77–33 BCE, r. 48–33 BCE), Jing Fang (77–37 BCE) praised the 'alternative (additional) sounds' of *The Book of Changes* and sought to elucidate their ancient meaning. According to the rules of consonance of *The Zhou Rites*, every month used a different set of Five Notes, and this established the notion of tempered modes with a mutually rotating *gong* note that came to a total of sixty modes ( $12 \times 5$ ). In addition to this method, the calendar could be used to split up the modal system into a total of 360

18 *Jiu Wudai shi*, 145.1939.



items, a practice that was transmitted by the College of Music, and by tuning hanging instruments—bells, chimes, and drums—according to ancient techniques, the *lǜlǜ* modes were found to be pitched without any discrepancy (that is, any accumulated tuning comma resulting from superimposed Pythagorean frequency ratios). Having suffered decline in the mid-Han dynasty, elegant sounds subsequently faded completely into non-existence.

經秦滅學，雅道陵夷。漢初制氏所調，惟存鼓舞，旋宮十二均更用之法，世莫得聞。漢元帝時，京房善《易》別音，探求古義。以《周官》均法，每月更用五音。乃立準調，旋相爲宮，成六十調。又以日法析爲三百六十，傳于樂府，而編懸復舊，律呂無差。遭漢中微，雅音淪缺。<sup>19</sup>

Jing Fang's methods of tuning were echoed by many voices on all sides, but their realisation in practice did not happen. Qian Lezhi (424–453) goes no further than simply making a record of their name; Shen Zhong (*fl.* sixth century) devotes only a short entry to the theory. The system of sixty *lǜ*, forlorn and desolate, was not passed on. Liang dynasty emperor Wudi (464–549, r. 502–549) had consistently been knowledgeable of music and *lǜ* modes, and himself created four *tong* apparatuses on each of which three strings were stretched that played the twelve *lǜ* notes individually as a dodecachord mechanism for tuning actual instruments constructed from the Eight Sound-Producing Materials. In addition, he employed the ancient system of a framework of five seminal and two 'changed' notes, and a mutually rotating *gong* note so that a total of eighty-four modes was generated, but the melodies produced by this system of modal temperament included instances of the same note sounded at different pitches. During Hou Jing's insurrection (548–552; Hou Jing: 503–552), this music was also rendered extinct. At the start of the Sui dynasty, elegant music was yet again established in a set form but owing to trouble and strife between conflicting political factions, for many years the framework was not implemented.

京房準法，屢有言者，事終不成。錢樂〔之〕空記其名，沈重但條其說。六十律法，寂寥不傳。梁武帝素精音律，自造四通十二律以敘八音。又引古五正二變之音，旋相爲宮，得八十四調，與律準所調，

19 *Jiu Wudai shi*, 145, 1940.

音同數異。侯景之亂，其音又絕。隋朝初定雅樂，羣黨沮議，歷載不成。<sup>20</sup>

The Duke of Pei, Zheng Yi (540–591), making use of the seven-note scale of the Qiuci *pipa* and taking into account the twelve modes that correspond to the twelve months, and also the five seminal and two changing notes, from the principle of seven modes in unified concord and also mutual circulation of the *gong* note, once more came to a formulation of eighty-four modes. Court musician Wan Baochang (556–595) reduced further the number of silk strings and by this to some extent mimicked the subtle flavour of ancient music. The Sui dynasty emperor Gaozu (541–604, r. 581–604) did not himself attribute much importance to elegant music and simply commanded a body of Confucian officials to assemble and discuss the issue. *Boshi* Doctor of Letters He Tuo (*fl.* late sixth century) submitted a rebuttal memorandum that advocated abolition of the system of eight-four modes proposed by Zheng Yi and Wan Baochang. At performances that took place at the sacrificial temple of the imperial Sui dynasty clan, only *huangzhong* was regarded as sufficiently consonant, and yet for the five annual sacrificial ceremonies at the four compass points and the centre, enacted to welcome *qi*-energy, intermittent interpolation of the *ruibin* mode also occurred, but the overall modal deployment did not exceed the basic set of seven; the remaining five bells were suspended on their racks but never played or used as a basis for composition. For banquet music of the Three Courts, a much less rigorous fusion music from across the Nine Continents (the world) was performed and even when the dynasty was overthrown (and became the Tang dynasty) nothing changed. The Tang dynasty emperor Taizong thereupon ordered the court musicians of the preceding dynasty, Zu Xiaosun and Zhang Wenshou, to make a detailed comparative appraisal of Zheng Yi and Wan Baochang's consonantly arranged seven notes and eighty-four modes prior to (initiating) realisation of the result through silk strings and bamboo pipes sounded together and bell and chime communally performed, which allowed for reinvigoration and renaissance of the seven primal modes, and renewal and re-tuning of the consonances of the Four Arenas.

而沛公鄭譯因龜茲琵琶七音，以應月律，五正二變，七調克諧，旋相爲宮，復爲八十四調。工人萬寶常又減其絲數，稍令古淡。隋高祖不

<sup>20</sup> *Jiu Wudai shi*, 145, 1940.

重雅樂，令儒官集議。博士何妥駁奏，其鄭、萬所奏八十四調並廢。隋氏郊廟所奏，惟黃鐘一均，與五郊迎氣，雜用蕤賓，但七調而已；其餘五鐘，懸而不作。三朝宴樂，用縵樂九部，迄于革命，未能改更。唐太宗爰命舊工祖孝孫、張文收整比鄭譯、萬寶常所均七音八十四調，方得絲管並施，鐘石俱奏，七始之音復振，四廟之韻皆調。<sup>21</sup>

After the insurrection and turmoil of An Lushan and Shi Siming's rebellion (755–763; An Lushan: 703–757; Shi Siming: 703–761) and the complete destruction of Xianyang, capital of the state of Qin (that is, Chang'an, the Tang dynasty capital), the bells, chimes, and drums that had hung from battlemented horizontal beams of instrument racks decorated with feathers were all strewn on the ground, swept away, and none remains, and the court musicians who had tapped, struck, pounded, and beat them have not passed on their skills to succeeding generations. Why is music performed at sacrificial temples any different in permanence to the constellation the Southern Winnowing Fan? Just as waves that have flooded over do not return, so too, those knowledgeable of music are now almost non-existent. Your humble ministers earnestly beseech that for music to arise again, it should emerge from people's hearts. The ancient musicians Kui (*fl.* the epoch of the ancient semi-mythical emperor Shun 舜) and Kuang (usually called Shi Kuang 師曠, *fl.* late Spring and Autumn period) have long since passed away and cannot now be eternally present, and when people die, their sounds are extinguished with them; when the world is disordered, music disintegrates. With no profound knowledge of the situation pertaining to the rites and music, how then can fundamentals of the practice of composition be illuminated?

自安、史亂離，咸秦蕩覆，崇牙樹羽之器，掃地無餘，憂擊搏拊之工，窮年不嗣。郊廟所奏，何異南箕？波蕩不還，知音殆絕。臣等竊以音之所起，出自人心，夔、曠不能常泰，人亡則音息，世亂則樂崩。若不深知禮樂之情，安能明制作之本？<sup>22</sup>

Your Majesty holds in Your heart the myriad changes, and Your learning is rich enough to fill the Three Palaces. Observation of soldiers displaying the successful fruits of military prowess already sheds a glow that illumines Your Majesty's glorious career. Enthusiasm for showing respect to Your ancestors by performing rites for the enjoyment of their spirits

<sup>21</sup> *Jiu Wudai shi*, 145, 1940.

<sup>22</sup> *Jiu Wudai shi*, 145, 1940.

in like manner abundantly expresses imperial prestige. Cherishing the responsibility of the *fengchang* official and in anguish at the demise of the musical vocation, I took the trouble to inspect personally instruments hung up on the four racks and conceived the thought of once more reviving the sound of the Nine Performances of ancient times. Thereupon, I ordered court officials to reorganise again the mode and melody of the bells. *Shumishi* official Wang Pu adopted Jing Fang's tuning methods, practised the sound current during the reign of the Liang dynasty emperor Wudi, investigated the Seven Consonances of Zheng Yi and Wan Baochang, and corrected the Nine Variations of Zu Xiaosun and Zhang Wenshou. *Jushu* black millet was piled up to measure the instruments' dimensions, and *shi* poems sung to musical modes were heard to appraise their affect.

陛下心苞萬化，學富三雍。觀兵耀武之功，已光鴻業；尊祖禮神之致，尤軫皇情。乃睠奉常，痛淪樂職。親閱四懸之器，思復九奏之音。爰命廷臣，重調鐘律。樞密使王朴採京房之準法，練梁武之通音，考鄭譯、竇常之七均，校孝孫、文收之九變。積累黍以審其度，聽聲詩以測其情。<sup>23</sup>

Through assessing efficacious prototypes detailed in earlier writings, copious precise figures were obtained for realising the greater formulation of harmonious voicing, which was implemented with regard to the racks of bells, and sufficient to secure a mellow blend of *xiao* flute consonances. The relevant officials assembled on the nineteenth day of the first month of the year at the Taichang Department and ordered the *dayueling* senior hereditary court musician Jia Jun (*fl.* tenth century) to perform Wang Pu's *huangzhong* modes in seven consonances composed according to the new methods; the sound-blend and melody were harmonious, neither mutually oppressive nor excessive, and did not exceed the bounds of propriety. The hope is that the modes of the remaining eleven pitchpipes will be taught and practised according to the new methods in preparation for use at the Temple of the Rites. The five annual sacrificial ceremonies to Heaven and Earth at the four compass points and the centre, and at the ancestral temple, propitiating the gods of fertility and agriculture, and great rituals in the Three Courts use in combination all the modes of the twelve pitchpipes, and as is written in *The Official History of the Tang Dynasty* and *The Rites of the Kaiyuan*

23 *Jiu Wudai shi*, 145, 1941.

*Era* (completed in 732; by Xiao Song 蕭嵩 [660–749] et al.; Kaiyuan era: 713–741), were practised throughout recent dynasties. In the Guangshun era, the *taichang qing* senior official Bian Wei, in obedience to a command of the emperor, reorganised and established the aforementioned sacrificial ceremonies, gatherings of officials at court, dance titles, musical compositions, and song lyrics, and government departments combined to keep detailed written records of them. The following is offered herewith bowing in obedient terror: If the reorganisation results in any melodies or modal concords composed being inharmonious with the new principles, instructions are to be passed down to the Taichang Department to investigate the matter in detail and apply strict editorial criteria accordingly. If there are errors, let the Department be instructed to compose additional and more appropriate musical repertoires and dance compositions according to the new principles of mode and melody, and the singers commanded to practise their recitation. These should be permanent principles under which this dynasty will operate, the better to render radiant the Six Books on Music.

依權衡嘉量之前文，得備數和聲之大旨，施於鐘虞，足洽簫韶。臣等今月十九日于太常寺集，命大樂令賈峻奏王朴新法黃鐘調七均，音律和諧，不相凌越。其餘十一管諸調，望依新法教習，以備禮寺施用。其五郊天地、宗廟、社稷、三朝大禮，合用十二管諸調，並載《唐史》、《開元禮》，近代常行。廣順中，太常卿邊蔚奉敕定前件祠祭、朝會、舞名、樂曲、歌詞，寺司合有簿籍。伏恐所定與新法曲調聲韻不協，請下太常寺檢詳校試，如或乖舛，請本寺依新法聲調，別撰樂章、舞曲，令歌者誦習，永為一代之法，以光六樂之書。<sup>24</sup>

The emperor perused this memorandum and approved it, thereupon issuing the following decree that said:

Regarding the memorandum submitted by Wang Pu on the method of modal organisation grounded in the principle of a circulating *gong* note, it is deemed appropriate to proceed according to the shape of the discussion as initiated by Zhang Zhao and his colleagues. Thus, let a command be forwarded to the relevant officials requiring that music be composed according to modal practice, and if any concerned have lingering doubts or queries related to the matter, Wang Pu is once more appointed and

24 *Jiu Wudai shi*, 145, 1941.

enjoined to accord them due consideration where necessary and implement the policy.

其王朴所奏旋宮之法，宜依張昭等議狀行。仍令有司，依調制曲，其間或有疑滯，更委王朴裁酌施行。<sup>25</sup>

The above passages, all cited from *Jiu Wudai shi jiben* 舊五代史輯本 and put together according to records culled from *The Great Encyclopedia of the Yongle Era* (*Yongle dadian* 永樂大典), *juan* 21,678, are the most complete and comprehensive account of the process. Zhang Zhao's 'Formal Policy Proposal' can also be seen in *Cefu yuangui*, *juan* 570, 'Zuoyue 6'; and was also received into *Quan Tang wen* 全唐文, *juan* 864, and *Quan Song wen* 全宋文, *juan* 8, and is certainly worthy of careful research as an extremely important passage discussing music.

The main events of Zhang Zhao's life are given in detail in *juan* 263 of *The Official History of the Song Dynasty* (*Song shi*). Master Zhang's original name was Zhaoyuan 昭遠 and he was a native of Puzhou Fan 濮州范 county. Widely knowledgeable on a multitude of matters both ancient and modern, he had mature familiarity with the merits and demerits of governmental systems of previous dynasties and had worked in the service of the Later Tang, Jin, and Han regimes. He had first held the post of *taichang qing* senior official and in the period before Bian Wei came to the office, paid especial attention to ancient music, and therefore his discourse is uniquely refined. In the reign of the Later Zhou dynasty emperor Shizong, he responded several times to imperial summons requiring him to carry out detailed editorial processes to establish received texts of *Jingdian shiwen* 經典釋文 (by Lu Deming, c.550–630) and *Jiujing wenzi* 九經文字 (usually called *Jiujing ziyang* 九經字樣; completed in 837). During the early years of the Song dynasty, he was made a *shangshu* official of the *libu* 吏部 Civil Service Department, and in the first year of the Qiande 乾德 era (963) at one of the sacrificial ceremonies that took place on land outside the city, was a *lubu boshi* 鹵簿簿使 official of the royal entourage. He died in the fifth year of the Kaibao era (972) at the age of seventy-nine. Moving from the ranks of Zhou dynasty officialdom into Song dynasty imperial service, the period of his discourse on music was the Zhou regime. A careful reading of the entire essay reveals that the passage in *A Comprehensive Mirror in Aid of Governance* (*Zizhi tongjian*) as given in Hu Sanxing's *Notes* that narrates Bian Wei submitting a memorandum on music has been lifted in its entirety from this text by Zhang Zhao. In the 'Formal Policy Proposal' is given:

25 *Jiu Wudai shi*, 145,1942.

The relevant officials assembled on the nineteenth day of the first month of the year at the Taichang Department and ordered the *dayueling* senior hereditary court musician Jia Jun to perform Wang Pu's *huangzhong* modes in seven consonances composed according to the new methods; the sound-blend and melody were harmonious, neither mutually oppressive nor excessive, and did not exceed the bounds of propriety. The hope is that the modes of the remaining eleven pitchpipes will be taught and practised according to the new methods.

臣等今（正）月十九日于太常寺集，命太樂令賈峻奏王朴新法黃鐘調七均，音律和諧，不相凌越。其餘十一管諸調，望依新法教習。<sup>26</sup>

This passage is sufficient to prove that the so-called 'new principles of mode and melody' indicate in fact the new compositional methods of the *huangzhong* mode that Wang Pu had established.

Wang Zhi's (王銍; fl. twelfth century) *Moji* 默記 also note that Wang Pu investigated and established modal practice in the Later Zhou dynasty. Wang Pu died in the third month of the sixth year of the Xiande era (959); owing to recurrence of a malarial infection, he collapsed, a mere forty-five years old, in the manorial residence of the former *sikong* 司空 counsellor Li Gu (李穀, 903–960) only two months after he had presented his writings on modal temperament upwards to the emperor. An approximation of how his system of modal temperament was formulated can be imagined from his memorandums and formal policy proposals. In recent years, five- and ten-stringed *qin* have been unearthed from the tomb of the Marquis Yi of Zeng (曾侯乙, c.475–c.433), the original specimens of which are currently on display at the Chinese University of Hong Kong Art Museum. The *qin* themselves are each constructed from a single slab of wood, and both have sound-holes, but they are not suitable for playing, so my suspicion is that their contemporary use was as apparatuses for adjusting and establishing temperament.<sup>27</sup> (Modern scholar) Huang Xiangpeng's 黃翔鵬 'Yun zhong kao' 均鐘考 has also postulated a similar hypothesis.<sup>28</sup> Wang Pu had perhaps seen devices for adjusting temperament used prior to the Tang dynasty, so he designed a thirteen-stringed instrument with strings of different lengths and positioned adjustable bridges on it that could be rotated

26 *Zizhi tongjian bu*, 294.13a (341: 673).

27 For more details, see my *Research into the Inscriptions on the Bells and Chimes of the Tomb of the Marquis Yi of Zeng in Sui County*. Jao Tsung-i, Zeng Xiantong, Suixian Zenghou Yi mu zhong qing mingci yanjiu, 46.

28 See Huang Xiangpeng, 'Yun zhong kao: Zenghou yimu wuxian qi yanjiu', 38.

(moved) to tune the strings; these thirteen strings, other than the twelve that represented the twelve modes, also included an additional string that was the *huangzhong* note an octave higher ('bright voice'), all of which encapsulates his ingenious train of thought. He established a pitchpipe length (nine *cun*) fixed at 212.1615mm.<sup>29</sup> Regarding the new principles of *huangzhong* mode and melody that he formulated, according to experiments done subsequently, all authorities have indicated that the pitches are too high. *Song huiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿, *juan* 30,916, vol. 7, 'Music: 1' ('Yue yi' 樂一) gives:

In the second month of the second year of the Jingyou era (1034–1038) of the reign of the Song dynasty emperor Renzong (1010–1063, r. 1022–1063), Yan Su (燕肅, 961–1040) and others of the Taichang Department were charged with appraising court musicians and instruments and defining working practices and instrument prototypes. According to missives passed upwards to the emperor by Li Zhao (*fl.* eleventh century): 'When I first came to the Taichang Department, the bells and chimes had already been moulded and sanded into shape and I was able to listen to music composed for instruments formed of the Eight Sound-Producing Materials. Although Wang Pu had already fashioned their modal temperament and their fret layout was in accordance with this, on listening experimentally to their modes and melody, they were found to be pitched too high, by comparison with ancient practice, about five semitones higher, by comparison with music of the Western *hu* barbarians, still two semitones higher. If a bell tuned to *huangzhong* was struck, it sounded at the pitch previously called *zhonglü*; if a bell tuned to the *jiazhong* pitch was struck, it sounded at the pitch previously called *yize*, which is equivalent to implementing a summer decree in winter and summoning the autumn wind in spring; all told, this is the modal temperament created by Wang Pu. Having passed through the insurrection and turmoil of the Five Dynasties when elegant music was discarded and ruined, these pathways, furrows, formulas, and creative impulses are not in accordance with ancient principles.'

仁宗景祐二年二月，判太常寺燕肅等考定樂工樂器，據李照上言：臣始到太常寺時，已磨琢鐘磬成就，竊聽八音之作，雖與王朴所造律準，品格符合。其於聲調則太高，比之古樂約高五律，比之胡部，亦高二律。若擊黃鐘則必齊於仲呂，若擊夾鐘則必齊於夷則，是冬行夏令，

29 According to: Qiu Qionsun, *An Investigation of the Detail of Banquet Music (Yanyue tanwei)*.



春召秋風，此皆王朴所造律準，經五代亂離之後，雅樂廢壞，鑿空創意，不合古法。<sup>30</sup>

*The Official History of the Song Dynasty (Song shi)*, ‘Yue zhi’ 樂志 (*juan* 126–142), *juan* 1 (*juan* 126), gives:

Song dynasty emperor Taizu (927–976, r. 960–976) often passed comment that the pitch of elegant music was too high, which lent it an air that was overly plaintive and pensive, and one not commensurate with centrally located harmoniousness. In addition, bearing in mind that Wang Pu and Dou Yan, who had been well-known for their knowledge of music, were no longer alive and whose wisdom had died with them, therefore, he summoned He Xian (933–988) to discuss the rationale of the issue. He Xian said: ‘With regard to the fundamental measurement that Wang Pu employed for establishing the *lüliu* modes, by comparison with the bronze template standard ancient measures of volume and length of Luoyang, his was shorter by four *fen*, and the reason why the music is higher in pitch is simply a result of this.’

太祖每謂雅樂聲高，近於哀思，不合中和。又念王朴、竇儼，素名知樂，皆已淪沒。因詔（和）峴討論其理。峴言：「以朴所定律呂之尺，較西京銅望臬古制石尺短四分，樂聲之高，良由於此。」<sup>31</sup>

He Xian’s pitchpipe length of (nine *cun*) 220.648mm produces pitch approximately half a semitone lower than Wang Pu’s.<sup>32</sup> These matters belonged to the period after the tenth month of the fourth year of the Qiande era (966). According to the results of contemporary experiments, the pitch of Wang Pu’s modal temperament was too high and that is why ‘Taizu often passed the comment that the pitch of elegant music was too high, which lent it an air that was overly plaintive and pensive.’ I consider that the clutch of compositions and song lyrics that Zhang Zhao performed at that time were as far as possible altered to conform to the new modes that Wang Pu had prescribed, and there must have been many places where they simply did not fit. Wang Pu made his proposals in spring of the sixth year of the Xiande era (959), and in the sixth month of the same year, the emperor Shizong passed away. A year later in the first month of the year, the Chen Qiao 陳橋 mutiny took place and the Zhou

30 Xu Song, *Song huiyao jigao*, 30916.3b (7:281).

31 *Song shi*, 126.2941.

32 See also Master Qiu’s book cited above.

dynasty met its demise. With the establishment of the Song dynasty, the proposals were not necessarily genuinely implemented.

## 2

From examining Zhang Zhao's echoing of Wang Pu's memorandums and formal policy proposals, the Later Zhou dynasty's reorganisation and rearrangement of repertories can be understood as well as its influence on early Song dynasty compositions; there are (also) the following issues, and new light can be shed on them.

### 2.1 *The Issue of Employing Musical Modes and Melody according to the Months*

The notion of employing modes and melody according to the months has always been regarded as an important aspect of the melodies of lyric song. Xia Chengtao (夏承燾, 1900–1986) discusses this in detail in an essay devoted to the subject titled 'Song Dynasty Lyric Song does not employ Melodies and Modes according to the Months' ('Songci bu yi yue yong lü' 宋詞不依月用律).<sup>33</sup> He cites as evidence *Biji manzhi* 碧雞漫誌 (*juan* 2; by Wang Zhuo 王灼, 1105–1160):

In the early years of the Zhenghe era (1111–1118), Moqi Yong (*fl.* early twelfth century) was appointed to the post of creative writer of the Greater Prosperity College of Music and caused the repertory to be newly expanded to encompass eighty-four modes. His intention was to use melodies and modes according to the months and to put forward a composition for each month, and from this henceforth the new modal system was able to gain a degree of dissemination.

萬俟詠政和初，真大晟樂府製撰之職，新廣八十四調。有旨依月用律，月進一曲，自此新聲稍傳。<sup>34</sup>

Here he opines that employing modes and melodies according to the months was a system that had its inception in the Greater Prosperity College of Music; he also quotes *The Origin of Words* (*Ciyuan* 詞源; by Zhang Yan 張炎, 1248–1320), saying:

<sup>33</sup> See: Xia Chengtao, 'Cilü san yi', 2: 6–9.

<sup>34</sup> Wang Zhuo, *Biji manzhi*, 2.13.

Meicheng (soubriquet of Zhou Bangyan 周邦彥, 1056–1121) created his compositions according to the twelve *lü* modes that correspond to the months of the year, and as a result they became richer and more plentiful.

美成按月律爲之，其曲遂繁。<sup>35</sup>

Thus, he indicates that Meicheng was the first to create this system, but he was unaware that Zhang Zhao in his ‘Formal Policy Proposal’ had already said:

Zheng Yi’s eighty-four modes and the *pipa*’s seven notes are in answer to the twelve modes that correspond to the twelve months.

鄭譯八十四調，琵琶七音，以應月律。<sup>36</sup>

He Xian also argues (in *The Official History of the Song Dynasty* [*Song shi*], ‘Yue zhi’, *juan* 126):

When writing additional pieces like ‘Cai ci qu’, the aim should be to use modes and melodies that correspond to the months of the year.

別撰采茨曲，望依月用律。<sup>37</sup>

Ever since the Later Zhou dynasty and the establishment of the Song dynasty, all musicians aspired to create musical compositions that were constructed in response to melodies and modes corresponding to the months of the year, but they were in fact unable to do so. *Song huiyao jigao* gives:

In the second month of the fourth year of the Xianping era (998–1003), the *jiazi* year (999) of the reign of the emperor Song Zhenzong (968–1022, r. 997–1022), the official of elegant music Wang Weichang (*fl.* late tenth–eleventh centuries) passed a missive upwards to the emperor that said: ‘When sacrificial ceremonies are enacted at the ancestral temple, only music of the *huangzhong gong* mode is performed, and melodies and modes have never been rotated in order to correspond to the months of the year.’

35 Zhang Yan, *Ciyuan* 詞源, B.1a (1733: 65).

36 *Quan Tang wen*, 864.11a (9060).

37 *Song shi*, 126.2942.

真宗咸平四年二月甲子，雅樂正王維昌上言：祭享郊廟，止奏黃鐘宮一調，未嘗隨月轉律。<sup>38</sup>

It can thus be seen that the notion of matching modes to months was no more than wasteful reliance on empty words; nonetheless, constructing melodies and modes corresponding to the months of the year remained a common ideal and not as Old Master Xia has indicated ‘simply stemmed from the Greater Prosperity College of Music’s universal desire to pass everything off as mimicry of ancient music.’ 出於大晟府諸人之附會古樂。<sup>39</sup> As is given in Zhang Zhao’s ‘Formal Policy Proposal’ and Zhang Yan’s *Origin of Words (Ciyuan)*, the eighty-four melodies and modes and the theory of using *lü* modes to correspond to the months had in fact been imbibed even in more distant places. Yang Shouzhai (楊守齋, fl. thirteenth century; his original name was Yang Zuan 楊纘, Yang Shouzhai is his soubriquet) was knowledgeable regarding music; (he discusses the matter of modes and months in) the second of his *Lun ci wu yao* 論詞五要, ‘Discourse on the Lü Modes: If they are not in response to the Months, then the Result is unbeautiful’ (‘Lun lü bu ying yue ze bu mei’ 論律不應月則不美),<sup>40</sup> which means that theory of this kind had been in existence since the early Song dynasty. Old Master Xia’s opinion that it had arisen from a desire to ‘use this to show off’ 以此自炫 is entirely without foundation.

## 2.2 *The Issue of Additional Composing according to Repertory*

Zhang Zhao’s ‘Formal Policy Proposal’ gives:

Compose additional items for musical repertoires and dance compositions, and singers are commanded to practise their recitation.

別撰樂章、舞曲，令歌者誦習。<sup>41</sup>

Regarding the matter of ‘composing additional items for musical repertoires and dance compositions’, by the early Song dynasty, many actual examples can be consulted for the purposes of investigation. In the tenth month of the sixth year of the Qiande era of the reign of the emperor Song Taizu (968), He Xian passed a ‘Formal Policy Proposal’ upwards to the emperor that said:

38 Xu Song, *Song huiyao jigao*, 30916.2b (7:280).

39 Xia Chengtao, ‘Cilü san yi’, 210.

40 Zhang Yan, *Ciyuan*, B.15b (1733: 72).

41 *Quan Tang wen*, 864.12b (9060).

When sacrificial ceremonies take place on land outside the city, two components of the ritual are performances of compositions for ‘evening vigilance’ and ‘dawn rigour’. The compositions ‘Six Prefectures’, ‘The Twelve Watches’, and the drum-blow ensemble returning in parade formation at the front of the imperial procession performing ‘Showing the Way’ (‘daoyin’ 導引) are all areas of repertory short of items, so it is hoped that officials will be allocated the task of composing the requisite pieces and submitting them for imperial approval so that they can be passed downwards to the relevant Department to be taught and practised in readiness to respond to the most gracious imperial command.

郊祀有夜警、晨嚴，六州、十二時及鼓吹迴仗時駕前導引之曲，見關樂章，望差官撰進，下寺教習應奉。<sup>42</sup>

He Xian was the second son of He Ning (和凝, 898–955), also called ‘the poetical Chief Minister’ (quzi xianggong 曲子相公) (*The Old Official History of the Five Dynasties*, ‘The Official Book of the Zhou Dynasty’ [‘Zhou shu’], ‘Biography of He Ning’ [‘He Ning zhuan’ 和凝傳; in *juan* 127] gives: ‘His oldest son was called Jun [no further records exist of this individual], his second son was called Xian, and he served the [Zhou] dynasty as an official of the category *sixun yuanwailang*. 長子峻。次子峴，仕〔周〕爲司勳員外郎);<sup>43</sup> these three items of musical repertory are mentioned in *The Official History of the Song Dynasty* (*Song shi*), *juan* 140, ‘Yue zhi’, *juan* 15, which lists them under the first year of the Kaibao era (968) and as performed at the sacrificial ceremony on the southern side of the capital city, but their composer is not indicated. He Xian’s memorandum gives: ‘officials will be allocated the task of composing the requisite pieces and submitting them for imperial approval,’<sup>44</sup> so the official allocated the task must have been a composer, but his surname is not known; that it was not He Xian himself who composed them can however be ascertained. The last poem in Du Wenlan’s (杜文瀾, 1815–1881) *Cilü buyi* 詞律補遺 is a specimen of ‘Six Prefectures’ and is 129 characters long. The ‘Notes’ to it give: ‘This melody has only this one example of a lyric song affixed to it, and there are no others to which it can be compared. See *Wenxian tongkao* (compiled by Ma Duanlin 馬端臨, 1254–1323).’ 此調只有此詞，無別首可校，見《文獻通考》。<sup>45</sup> Note: this poem is also cited in the ‘Yue zhi’ of *The Official History of*

42 Xu Song, *Song huiyao jigao*, 18216.3a–3b (44:1790).

43 *Jiu Wudai shi*, 127.1673.

44 *Song shi*, 140.3305.

45 Du Wenlan, *Cilü buyi*, 21b, in Wan Shu, *Cilü*, 636.

*the Song Dynasty (Song shi)*. Comparison between the redactions reveals that there are slight discrepancies between them. *Quan Song ci* 全宋詞 regards this work as by He Xian, which is not as correct as Master Du's labelling of it as 'anonymous'.<sup>46</sup>

He Xian also submitted a memorandum in the sixth year of the Qiande era (968) that said:

According to *The Rites of the Kaiyuan Era*, after sacrificial ceremonies have taken place on land outside the city, when leading the imperial procession back to return to the palace and on entering the Gate of Excellence of Virtuous Morality, the music *Cai ci* is performed. Nowadays ... as far as palace music on bells, chimes, and drums suspended from racks is concerned, only the work 'Long'an' is played, and *Cai ci* is not used. The repertory item 'Long'an' was originally a *ci* 辭 poem of the imperial palace. Bowing in obedience and diligently reporting in detail the meaning of the rites, 'Long'an' is music that comes from inside the palace whose sound penetrates outside; *Cai ci* is music that comes from outside and enters inside, so they should not be used interchangeably as this causes the significance of the old ceremonies to be lost. Nowadays, in the Office of Greater Music, Deputy Head Wang Guangyu (*fl.* tenth century) still recites the Tang dynasty piece 'Cai ci qu', and my hope is that fresh additional *ci* compositions will be written according to the twelve modes that correspond to the months. Every time sacrificial ceremonies that have taken place on land outside the city are over and the cavalcade has just re-entered the palace, they should be performed.

按《開元禮》，郊祀率駕還宮入嘉德門，奏〈采芡〉之樂。今……宮懸但用〈隆安〉，不用〈采芡〉。其〈隆安〉樂章本是御殿之辭，伏詳禮意，〈隆安〉之樂自內而出，〈采芡〉之樂自外而入，若不並用，有失舊典。今大樂署丞王光裕誦得唐日〈采芡曲〉，望依月律別撰其辭，每郊祀畢，車駕初入，奏之。<sup>47</sup>

This is another example of composing additional items according to repertory, and He Xian was the linchpin individual who required that writers of this material create 'according to the twelve (monthly) modes'. 依樂律。

Owing to numerous examples of additional composition of repertory items, the exuberant prosperity of Song dynasty lyric song transferred it from being

<sup>46</sup> *Quan Song ci*, 1: 1.

<sup>47</sup> *Song shi*, 126.1942–43.

an activity of the state to one of the private individual, and from the outset it was not the creative product of officialdom but personal generic written output. ‘The Twelve Watches’, for example, was originally a composition performed at the sacrificial ceremony of the southern side of the capital city, but later, Liu Yong (柳永, 987–1053) penned his own ‘The Twelve Watches’<sup>48</sup> of 130 characters in length, which was an act of additional creative writing on the part of a private individual.

In the Zhenguan era (貞觀, 627–649) of the Tang dynasty, two dances were created that were called ‘Music for the Ruler of Qin breaking through the Ramparts’ (‘Qinwang pozhen yue’ 秦王破陣樂) and ‘Music for Completed Achievements and Celebration of Goodness’ (‘Gongcheng Qingshan yue’ 功成慶善樂). Later, their names were changed (respectively) to ‘Dance of the Seven Moralities’ (‘Qi de wu’ 七德舞) and ‘Dance of Discoursing on Achievements’ (‘Jiangong zhi wu’ 講功之舞); ‘With dances of the lettered, let the spirits descend; with military dances, welcome the spirits.’ 以文舞降神，武舞迎神. (See Zhang Zhao’s ‘Formal Policy Proposal’, *Quan Tang wen*, *juan* 864)<sup>49</sup> Liu Yong himself composed a poem ‘Music for breaking through the Ramparts’ (‘Pozhen yue’ 破陣樂) in 132 characters in the *gong* mode belonging to the *linzhong shang* 林鐘商 mode; regarding the *linzhong shang* mode, Dunhuang manuscript P.3251 contains a piece titled ‘Yuzhi linzhong qiao nei jia jiao’ 御制臨鐘高內家嬌,<sup>50</sup> and (modern scholar) Hu Ji 胡忌 has categorized it as in *linzhong shang* 林鐘商.<sup>51</sup> Liu Yong’s ‘Breaking through the Ramparts’ clearly takes from elegant music’s *Music for the Ruler of Qin breaking through the Ramparts*, and this is also a manifestation of additional composing inside a particular repertory.

### 2.3 Issues Pertaining to Drum-Blow Song Compositions

*Quan Song ci* gets quickly to the heart of the matter as the first poems of the entire compilation are He Xian’s three *Nanjiao guchui gequ* 南郊鼓吹歌曲 of the first year of the Kaibao era (968), namely, ‘Showing the Way’ (‘Daoyin’), ‘Six Prefectures’ (‘Liuzhou’), and ‘The Twelve Watches’ (‘Shi’er shi’). On investigation of *The Official History of the Song Dynasty (Song shi)*, *juan* 140, ‘Yue zhi’, *juan* 15, ‘Guchui bu’ 鼓吹部, it says:

48 Its title is ‘Autumn Night’ (‘Qiu ye’ 秋夜), see *Leibian caotang shiyu*. Wuling Yishi, 4.33b–34a.

49 *Quan Tang wen*, 864.9a (9059).

50 *Dunhuang baozang*, 127:189, P.3251.

51 *Dunhuang geci zongbian*, 241.

The Greater Rites: The cavalcade halts for the evening at Suqi mountain, and during the night the site is prepared, with musical instruments arrayed, and guards keeping vigil, in total employing 1,275 people. To furnish the musical performance with sufficient gravitas, gold *zheng* tubular bells, large horns, and large drums are used.... 'Six Prefectures' and 'The Twelve Watches' are sung, performed thrice every time the watch bell is rung.<sup>52</sup>

大禮：車駕宿齊所止，夜設警場，用一千二百七十五人。奏嚴用金鈺、大角、大鼓。..... 歌〈六州〉、〈十二時〉，每更三奏之。<sup>53</sup>

Regarding the format for performing pieces on wind instruments including 'Six Prefectures', 'The Twelve Watches', and 'Showing the Way', in the Northern Song dynasty, reforms were instituted on many occasions; for detailed information on these see *The Official History of the Song Dynasty (Song shi)*, 'Yue zhi'. 'Yue zhi', 'Guchui bu' contains comprehensive and detailed records for successive emperors of the lyrics to compositions for drums and wind instruments from the first year of the Kaibao era and the three compositions that comprise *Songs of Drum-Blow Music of the Land South of the Capital* onwards in all their multifarious multiplicity. *Quan Song ci* not only includes these three compositions of the first year of the Kaibao era, but also Fan Zuyu's (范祖禹, 1041–1098) 'Yu zhu huijing shuangdiao siqu' 虞主回京雙調四曲, though others are not listed, which begs the question, why are some chosen and others rejected?

The lyrics of these pieces are clearly those of drum-blow compositions. Although 'Six Prefectures' later evolved into the *cipai* melody and rhyme pattern 'Song of Six Prefectures' ('Liuzhou getou' 六州歌頭) and 'The Twelve Watches' also became a *cipai* pattern, drum-blow and *cipai* compositions ought correctly to be distinguished from one another, and simply including them willy-nilly in lists cannot avoid appearing overwhelming.

#### 2.4 *The Issue of Intermingling between Elegant Music and Compositions of the Imperial Music Academy*

Ever since the onset of the military turmoil of the Five Dynasties, the rites and music degenerated and had fallen into disuse for a long period of time, and their formulation became ever more simplified and erroneous. 'Biography of

52 The sixth year (1013) of the Dazhong xiangfu era (大中祥符, 1008–1016); owing to the trouble taken to put on this display, after the decree was issued, further enlistment (into the ranks of those involved) followed.

53 *Song shi*, 140.3302.



Cui Zhuo' records a ritual ceremony of the Later Han dynasty emperor Gaozu holding an audience for officialdom at court that comprised the erection of suspended instruments—bells, drums, and chimes—on racks and then continued with a performance of 'Nishang faqu' 霓裳法曲 by the Qiuci Department of Central Asian music, followed by songs and dances of the hereditary court musicians of the Imperial Music Academy, which completely disordered the elegant sounds (of the suspended instruments). Bian Wei submitted a memorandum requesting the appointment of specialist personnel to reorganise and rearrange the repertoires of elegant music, and even the transfer of music officials from the Imperial Music Academy to hold joint posts at both institutions. At the start of the Song dynasty, when courtly celebrations were held at the principal imperial palaces, suspended instruments were employed; when imperial functions were held at secondary palaces and officialdom wished the emperor longevity, the music of the Imperial Music Academy was performed, and the two inevitably intermingled.

The territory covered by lyric songs of the College of Music became ever richer and wider, and the origin of their melodies was no longer limited to the repertoires of the Imperial Academy of Music. Compositions in response to the system as it emerged were ever more abundant, for example, Su Yijian's (蘇易簡, 958–997) 'Yuejiang ling' 越江令 ('ling' poems tend to be shorter and more colloquial), that is, those written at the command of the Song dynasty emperor Taizong. Additional composition of repertory items and dance compositions caused works that relied on modal structures for their creation to increase in variety day by day. At wine banquets, the custom and practice of drinking songs was the most important factor in the immense popularity of these new compositions, while older compositions included examples that had emerged from the Pear Garden musical training school (Liyuan 梨園) of the Tang dynasty. A *Comprehensive Mirror in Aid of Governance* (*Zizhi tongjian*), *juan* 264, records the Tang dynasty emperor Zhaozong (唐昭宗, 867–904, r. 888–904) bestowing on (*ci* 賜; the original character is '進' ['jin'; which means to present to a superior], which is an error) Zhu Quanzhong (朱全忠, 852–912) a set of five poems titled *Yangliu zhi ci* 楊柳枝辭 (here, '*ci*' 辭 represents an older genre of poetry than the '*ci*' 詞 lyric song popular in the Song dynasty); Hu Sanxing's *Notes* give:

'Yangliu zhi' is a modern *ling* composition. Modern compositions include 'Qingping yue', 'Shuidiao ge', 'Zhezhi', 'Pusa man', and 'Basheng Ganzhou'; these are all resonant remnants of the latter years of the Tang dynasty. In addition, many Tang dynasty writers wrote poems titled 'Zhezhi', and all are of the four-line *jue* genre that has seven characters to a line; tradition has it that they originated in the Pear Garden musical training

school repertoires of the Kaiyuan era. Therefore, Zhang Hu's (785–849) 'New Willow Lyric Song' gives: 'Do not snap the willow branch before the palace; the emperor (Tang) Xuanzong once blew of it into his flute.' (Tang Xuanzong: 唐玄宗, 685–762, r. 712–756)<sup>54</sup>

〈楊柳枝〉，即今之令曲也。今之曲如〈清平樂〉、〈水調歌〉、〈柘枝〉、〈菩薩蠻〉、〈八聲甘州〉、皆唐季之餘聲。又唐人多賦〈楊柳枝〉，皆是七言四絕，相傳以為出於開元梨園樂章。故張祐有〈新楊柳詞〉云：「莫折宮前楊柳枝，玄宗曾向笛中吹。」<sup>55</sup>

Master Hu lived at the end of the Song dynasty, and the *ling* and *qu* 曲 genres of the time were lyric compositions of the Tang and Song dynasties. His 'Yangliu zhi' had emerged from repertoires of the Pear Garden musical training school, and at the end of the Five Dynasties, Pear Garden repertory items and dance compositions were managed by the Taichang Department.

In passing, let the two characters '樂章' (*yuezhang*) be discussed (usually translated here as 'musical repertoires' or something similar). In the Tang dynasty, Xu Jing'an (徐景安, fl. Tang dynasty), the *xielülang* 協律郎 official responsible for the harmonisation of *lü* modes, penned *Musical Ceremonial of Past Dynasties* (*Lidai yueyi* 歷代樂儀) in thirty *juan*. Wang Yinglin's *Jade Sea Encyclopedia* (*Yu hai*), *juan* 105, states:

The tenth *juan* of this book has a title: 'Texts and Scores of Items of Musical Repertoires.' Master Xu gives: 'Items of musical repertoires are *shi* poems set to musical modes.'

其書第十卷題目：〈樂章文譜〉。徐氏說：「樂章者，聲詩也。」<sup>56</sup>

Ren Bantang (任半塘, 1897–1991; also called Ren Zhongmin 任中敏) once wrote a book titled *Tang shengshi* 唐聲詩 that sought to discover the origin of the term '*shi* poems set to musical modes' (*shengshi* 聲詩) and found that its wellspring was these words by Master Xu. Zhang Zhao of the Later Zhou dynasty in his 'Xiande Era Formal Policy Proposal' ('Xiande shi shu' 顯德時疏; a fuller name for his 'Formal Policy Proposal'; the quote below is culled from the larger section cited above) includes the sentences:

54 Punctuated edition: Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, 264.8605.

55 *Zizhi tongjian bu*, 341: 332.

56 *Yuhai*, 105.24a (1922).

(...) investigated the Seven Consonances of Zheng Yi and Wan Baochang and corrected the Nine Variations of Zu Xiaosun and Zhang Wenshou. *Jushu* black millet was piled up to measure the instruments' dimensions, and *shi* poems sung to musical modes were heard to appraise their affect.

(.....) 考鄭譯、寶常之七均，校孝孫、文收之九變。積累黍以審其度，聽聲詩以測其情。<sup>57</sup>

This passage also mentions the phrase '*shi* poems set to musical modes', and the term as a matter of course also carries the meaning 'musical repertory'. From the lengthy discussion above, a reasonably clear and correct understanding can be gained of the implicit meanings of the two collocations '*shi* poems set to musical modes' and 'song lyrics'.

'*Shi* poems set to musical modes' are equivalent to 'musical repertories', in other words, lyrics must be harmoniously united with music. Some of these repertory items stemmed from elegant music, whereas other had their well-spring in the Tang dynasty Pear Garden musical training school and acquired the name 'musical repertories of the Pear Garden musical training school' (Liyuan yuezhang 梨園樂章), and therefore forming a relationship with repertories of the Imperial Academy of Music could not be avoided. In the epoch of the Later Zhou dynasty, additional items of musical repertories and dance compositions were also written according to the new principles of constructing modes, with Wang Pu's newly established *huangzhong* pitch and mode as their basis, and of these, most important were probably repertories of elegant music.

As far as the appellation 'song lyrics' is concerned, its implicit meaning is slightly different, and it indicates the literary aspect and does not necessarily refer to harmoniousness with the purely musical component; therefore, Zhang Zhao's 'Formal Policy Proposal' separates musical repertories from song lyrics. Thus, if we were to take the harmonious music of repertory items and regard it as meaning song lyrics in a more normal broader sense, this would not be in accordance with the actual state of affairs of the Five Dynasties.

### 3

In the Five Dynasties from the Han to the Later Zhou, musical repertories all came under the jurisdiction of the Taichang Department. Thinking laterally

<sup>57</sup> *Quan Tang wen*, 864.12a (9060).

into the lyric song oeuvre of Liu Yong, how then can it be accorded the title 'items of musical repertory?' This dilemma is well worth pondering.

In Liu Yong's lyric song anthology, 'long melodies' (*changdiao* 長調) are particularly common, and different lyric song formats especially abundant; its detailed record of *gong* modes is not emulated by any other authority. For just 'Pouring out the Cup' ('Qingbei yue' 傾杯樂), many different *gong* modes and formats are listed, so I deduce that when writing his text, Liu Yong must have had in his hands a great deal of valuable material from old repertoires on which to rely. Liu Yong died and was buried in Zhenjiang 鎮江; according to a later discovery of the Southern Song dynasty Qiandao era (乾道, 1165–1173), the *Master Liu Tomb Inscription* (*Liushi muzhi* 柳氏墓志) obtained by the *shuijun tongzhi* 水軍統制 naval commander Yang Zi (羊滋, fl. twelfth century) gives:

My late uncle, called 'Yong', was widely learned and adept at composing essays, and especially skilled in matters of musical modes and melody. Acting as the *panguan* official of Sizhou, he was then transferred to a role as a *zhuzuolang* historiographer. Arriving at the imperial palace to take up his position, he was summoned by the emperor to become a member of the benevolent courtly entourage, and as a favoured vassal attained access to the palace chambers. Awarded the office of Warden of the Terrace of Virtue in the Western Capital (Luoyang), he later became a *boshi* Doctor of Letters of the Taichang Department.

叔父諱永，博學善屬文，尤精於音律。爲泗川判官，改著作郎。既至闕下，召見仁朝，寵進於庭。授西京靈臺令，後爲太常博士。<sup>58</sup>

In the fifth year of the Qiandao era (1169), Yang Zi was appointed to the post of *bingma qianxia* 兵馬鈐轄 infantry and cavalry commander; see *Song huiyao jigao*, *juan* 473.<sup>59</sup> The *Tomb Inscription* can be found in a text of the Wanli era (萬曆, 1573–1620): *Zhenjiang fu zhi* 鎮江府志 (*juan* 32, 'Tombs' ['Mu' 墓]). All that remain are a hundred or more characters that constitute the inscription, and they are of high scholarly value, most importantly because they mention that Liu Yong had once served in the post 'boshi Doctor of Letters of the Taichang Department', which is not recorded elsewhere in any other source.<sup>60</sup>

Liu Yong had the audacity to call his collection *Anthology of Musical Repertories* (*Yuezhang ji* 樂章集), and he must have had a strong rationale

58 Liu Yong, *Yuezhangji jiaozhu*, 'Qianyan' 前言, 11.

59 The correct *juan* number is 4920; see: Xu Song, *Song huiyao jigao*, 4920.22a–22b (145:5667).

60 *Quan Song ci*, 'Xiao zhuan' 小傳 does not mention this. See *Quan Song ci*, 1.13.

behind this choice of words, which would have had a close relationship to his tenure at the Taichang Department. In the Later Zhou dynasty, Zhang Zhao and Bian Wei had both served as *taichang qing* senior officials, and in the early years of the Song dynasty, He Xian was also appointed to the Taichang Department, and all these individuals made their contribution to reorganising and rearranging repertories. This, together with further copious material, for example, other written versions of ‘musical repertories and dance compositions’ and so on that were preserved in the Taichang Department of contemporary practice according to Wang Pu’s new methods of applying *huangzhong* modes were probably examined by Liu Yong during his time at the Taichang Department.

In the Huangyou era (皇祐, 1049–1054) as part of the requirements of office, Liu Yong was commanded by the Song dynasty emperor Renzong to write a poem, which he did to the *cipai* melody and rhyme scheme ‘Zui Penglai man’ 醉蓬萊慢 and submitted for imperial perusal, but he was punished for his pains. Records indicate that its inspiration stemmed from a new composition presented to the emperor by the Imperial Academy of Music;<sup>61</sup> in Liu Yong’s anthology, many of the melodies of lyric songs are in new modes of the time, and this is precisely one such example.

Huang Chang (黃裳, 1044–1130), who came from the same locality as Liu Yong, also penned a text: ‘Written after the *Anthology of Musical Repertories*’ (‘Shu yuezhang ji hou’ 書樂章集後), and it gives:

The atmosphere of a world at peace is something that Liu Yong could write at once into his (*Anthology of*) *Musical Repertories*, which could be called a richly embroidered tapestry of the work of a lyric song poet at the zenith of his art.

太平氣象，柳能一寫於《樂章》，所謂詞人盛世之黼藻。<sup>62</sup>

The material that has attracted the appellation ‘musical repertories’ comprises of course the lyric song melody and rhyme schemes to which Liu Yong has added words. In that epoch, wherever there was a well of clear water and people assembled, they would have sung and passed on these pieces, just as in the Later Zhou dynasty when repertories were reorganised and rearranged, it was ‘singers who practised their recitation’.

61 *A Record of Banquet Chatter on the Sheng River*. Poetry collection of Wang Pizhi 王闢之 (b. 1031), *Shengshui yantan lu*, 8.106.

62 Huang Chang, *Yan shan ji*, 35.11b–12a (1120: 239–40).

In the Song dynasty of the Zhao-surnamed emperors, scholarly practice was for the most part an inherited continuation of the Later Zhou dynasty. Although the latter regime was short-lived, its key players still evinced antiquarian tendencies when constructing the rites and making music, and this initiated the Song dynasty School of Thought; practices of written text were of a similar complexion, and Guo Zhongshu's (郭忠恕, d. 977) *Hanjian* 汗簡 instigated Northern Song dynasty palaeographic studies. The Later Zhou dynasty's reorganisation and rearrangement of musical repertoires greatly facilitated its new discipline of additional writing of 'musical repertoires and dance compositions'. In the early years of the Song dynasty, personnel of the Taichang Department of the likes of Dou Yan and He Xian had all been active in the previous dynasty. By the time Liu Yong wrote *Anthology of Musical Repertoires* (*Yuezhang ji*), a new state of affairs had asserted itself. Singers of the Later Zhou dynasty may have practised the recitation of dance compositions, but until recently no material had survived to indicate what precisely it was they practised. Since then, manuscript copies of 'dance compositions' of the Xiande era that have emerged from the Dunhuang caves have furnished important tangible evidence in this regard, and oh how precious they are!

The performance context of song and dance revealed by the Dunhuang notations as can be garnered from looking at 'lyric compositions' (*quzi ci* 曲子詞) must have been while wine was being served at banquets with sung entertainment. One of Sun Guangxian's (孫光憲; 896–968) poetical lines gives: '(Of a lady) and the other half of her is as if she were wine amid the flowers.' 半爲花間酒.<sup>63</sup> (To the *cipai* melody and rhyme scheme 'Sheng zhazi' 生查子) Ouyang Jiong (歐陽炯, 896–971) gives: 'The metre accords to clappers made of fragrant padauk,' 拍按香檀; and '(Poetry) is used to aid a complexion of winsome loveliness.' 用助嬌嬈之態.<sup>64</sup> (*Huajian ji* 花間集, *xu* 序 introduction) These are probably citations that belong to this category. In the Yongxi era (雍熙, 984–987) of the Song dynasty, an anthology of all the principal lyric song poets was compiled and called 'Jiayan' 家宴; *Xiangshan yelu* 湘山野錄 (by Wenying 文瑩, fl. eleventh century) includes: 'In the early spring Kou Zhun (961–1023) was giving a banquet for his guests, so he composed a lyric song of the College of Music type and had professional musicians sing it, and it was to the *cipai* melody and rhyme scheme "Gan cao zi": "In early spring, the willow branches are so bereft of energy that they lower to caress the path that leads to the green gate." 寇準因早春宴客，自撰樂府詞，俾工歌之，即《甘艸子》:

63 *Quan Tangshi*, 25: 10139.

64 *Quan Tang wen*, 891.7a (9306).

「春早、柳絲無力。低拂青門道」.<sup>65</sup> This is an example of the poetical format employed when throwing a banquet for invited guests.

There is also *Zunqian ji* 尊前集 that is given by *Gujin cihua* 古今詞話 (by Shen Xiong 沈雄, fl. early Qing dynasty) as the work of Lü Peng (呂鵬, fl. late Tang dynasty–Five Dynasties) (cited in *Lidai shiyu cihua* 歷代詩餘詞話 [compiled on imperial command in 1707; ‘*cihua*’ is *juan* 111–120 of *Lidai shiyu*, and Lü Peng is mentioned in *juan* 112]).<sup>66</sup> Shen Yifu’s (沈義父, fl. thirteenth century) *Yuefu zhimi* 樂府指迷 gives:

Somewhere between the notions of musical mode and poetry is situated the performance practice of poetic lines of varying lengths both long and short that is lyric song, and even going as far back as the Tang dynasty, the anthologies *Zunqian* and *Huajian* were already in existence.

聲詩間爲長短句，至唐人則有《尊前》、《花間》集。<sup>67</sup>

These anthologies are clearly regarded here as compiled in the Tang dynasty. Zhu Yizun (朱彝尊, 1629–1709) in his ‘*Ba* 跋 Postscript’ to the *Huajian ji* using a manuscript copy by Wu Kuan (吳寬, 1435–1504) firmly regarded it as edited and compiled by someone of the early Song dynasty. This book’s survival in circulation to the present day has relied entirely on transmission by Ming dynasty (Wanli era) copies by Gu Wufang (顧梧芳, fl. late sixteenth–early seventeenth centuries). Items recorded in the anthology include, for example, Huangfu Song’s (皇甫松, fl. ninth century) ‘Music for Throwing a Ball’ (‘*Paoqiu yue*’ 拋球樂) and Ouyang Jiong’s ‘The Spring Light is Lovely’ (‘*Chunguang hao*’ 春光好). Poetic lines (of ‘The Spring Light is Lovely’) such as ‘bosom of spread snow’ 胸鋪雪, ‘face like a divided lotus’ 臉分蓮, and ‘thinking of her husband so pitifully’ 想夫憐 ... all these are linguistic collocations commonly seen in (the Dunhuang manuscript) *Yunyao ji* 雲謠集. I have thus deemed that *Yunyao ji* as well as *Huajian ji* and *Zunqian ji* are in essence all transmitted by kinetic energy of the same pulse and cannot be forcibly divided into separate fields. The miscellaneous and vernacular pieces in *Yunyao ji* remain members of the musical repertory and dance composition genre. In earlier years, when the venerable Mao Heting (冒鶴亭翁, 1873–1959; also called Mao Guangsheng 冒廣生) collated *Yunyao ji*, it was through editorial comparison with Liu Yong’s

65 Wenying, *Xiangshan yelu*, C.2b (1037: 255).

66 *Yuxuan lidai shiyu*, 112.13b (1493: 305).

67 Zhang Yan, *Yuefu zhimi*, 1a (1488: 537). This citation is taken from Zhang Yan’s *Yuefu zhimi* instead of Shen Yifu’s.

lyric songs; the latter belong to the genre of musical repertory items and dance compositions and are not a separate species in terms of original style and format from the musical repertory and dance compositions of *Yunyao ji*. From this perspective, Mao's theory can still be adopted and accorded recognition. Owing to the reorganisation and rearrangement of musical repertories and dance compositions in the Later Zhou dynasty and its opening out of new vistas for Song dynasty lyric song, Liu Yong, in the role of both an inheritor of the mantle of the past and an initiator of a route into the future, was able to achieve notable success; in fact, this was because he had once held a post in the Taichang Department, and his creativity had been fertilized and nurtured by older musical repertories from which he had absorbed nutrition. Numerous distinguished modern scholars have researched into Liu's lyric songs, but none seemingly has perceived this connection. My humble paper will mayhap redress this imbalance and offer an enlightening contribution, so I make so bold as to lay it out for perusal, awaiting the correction of experts.



## The Dunhuang Manuscript ‘Siddham Chapter’ and the Qin Composition ‘Siddham Chapter’ 敦煌〈悉曇章〉與琴曲〈悉曇章〉

The *qin* compositions ‘Siddham Chapter’ (‘Xitan zhang’ 悉曇章) and ‘Pu’an Mantra’ (‘Pu’an zhou’ 普安咒) are one and the same, an identical piece given two different names, the same piece developed along two different directions, and this is common knowledge among musicologists, so there is no need to belabour the point here. Recently, these two pieces have become the topic for dissertations by graduate students of music faculties, and in Hong Kong and Taiwan, essays of this type have been written. Owing to supervisors emphasising the analysis of musical structure, these essays have neglected the situation prior to the birth of the Chan Buddhist master Pu’an 普安 [庵] (1115–1169) regarding the dissemination in Chinese territory of the manuscript ‘Siddham Chapter’, the process by which it combined with literature and music, as well as the period before and after the appearance in 1592 (the twentieth year of the Wanli 萬曆 era [1573–1620]) of the earliest *qin* score in *Sanjiao tongsheng* 三教同聲; and thus the facts concerning how ‘Shitan zhenyan’ 釋談真言 emanated from Pu’an and became current have not received clear and correct exposition; the dissertations cite instead a large corpus of material that has no direct bearing on the subject,<sup>1</sup> a case no less of scratching but not curing the itch, so here from the depths of my ignorance, I will attempt to make amends.

The Sanskrit origin of the words of the title ‘Siddham Chapter’ is ‘passages of literature’ (*zhang* 章) belonging to ‘Siddham’ (*xitan* 悉曇). Yi Jing’s (義淨, 635–713) *Nanhai ji gui neifa zhuan* 南海寄歸內法傳 contains a detailed account that could rank as introductory teaching material for the study of Sanskrit in India.<sup>2</sup> ‘Siddham’ means Sanskrit script written with its own special graphic shapes that are called ‘Siddham script’. Regarding the period when Siddham script entered China, recently, by applying the fruits of my own humble research in *Zhong Yin wenhua guanxishi lunji yuwenpian*, ‘Xitanxue xulun’ 中印文化關係史論集語文篇—悉曇學緒論, I have corrected the erroneous assumption of

1 The Chinese University of Hong Kong: Yang Chunwei, ‘Research into the “Pu’an Mantra” (“Pu’an zhou” yanjiu)’, 83–95; Taiwan: Fan Libin, *Musical Research into the “Pu’an Mantra”* (‘Pu’an zhou’ yinyue yanjiu).

2 See Wang Bangwei, *Nanhai ji gui neifa zhuan Jiaozhu*, 189.

many years that the process began in the late Tang dynasty. In fact, in the Liu-Song Dynasty (420–479) 'Siddham Chapter' was already in circulation.<sup>3</sup>

Near Dongting 洞庭 lake in Hunan on a cliff face on the southern slope of Jun 君 mountain to the east of the Dragon's Mouth (Longkou 龍口) are two carved letters of incised Siddham script, namely, 'an' 唵 and 'hong' 吽, which are auspicious characters frequently used in Tantric incantations.<sup>4</sup> Investigation of the epoch when they were carved has suggested that this was the fifth century, earlier than the Sanskrit stone inscriptions of the Longmen 龍門 caves (see attached figure), which is proof of the early date that the Siddham script entered China and can serve as a supplement to the deficiencies of my own published work.

The Japanese monk Annen (安然, 841–c.901) in his *Repository of Siddham Script* (*Shittanzō* 悉曇藏) frequently quotes (Liu) Song dynasty Xie Lingyun's (謝靈運, 385–433) spoken words; and to discuss books in Sanskrit and the Kharoṣṭī (Qulou 佉樓) language, Master Xie availed himself of the period when Hui Rui (慧叡, 355–439) was sojourning at Wuyixiang (烏衣巷 'Black Clothes Lane') to learn Sanskrit from him.<sup>5</sup> Across the breadth of Indian history, scripts used include Gupta (Jiduo 笈多), Siddham, and Ranjana (Lancha 蘭查), as well as the commonly employed Devanagari (Tianchengti 天城體). The scribal form of 'Siddham Chapter' is somewhat different from Devanagari and thus another mode of writing.

Siddham script evolved to become 'Siddham literature', and the lexical unit 'Siddham Chapter' was used in a title to indicate an essay in praise of someone, that is, works of literature called 'Siddham Chapter' and formed from a series of interconnected passages. Many types are preserved in the Dunhuang manuscripts, but in fact they belong mostly to two genres. My humble offering *Fanxue ji* 梵學集 discusses this almost to excess and cites the examples 1 and 2 given below.

3 *Anthology of Ji Xianlin's Scholarly Essays on Buddhism* (*Ji Xianlin fojiao xueshu lunwenji*; Ji Xianlin: 1911–2009), 370, gives: 'Regarding the period when Siddham script entered China, Jao Tsung-i has already made a detailed and authoritative exploration of the issue.' 悉曇傳入中國的時間，饒宗頤有詳細考證。

4 See my 'Theories regarding the Character "Hong" 吽' ('Hong zi shuo' 吽字說) in *Fanxue ji*, 277–88.

5 See my *Cultural Journey* (*Wenhua zhi lü* 文化之旅) in which is 'Xie, the Sojourner, and Kharoṣṭī Writing'. 'Xieke yu Lüchunshu', 39–42.

## 1 'Chanmen xitan zhang' 禪門悉曇章

Paris manuscript Pelliot.3099 (Paul Pelliot; 1878–1945) is in format a small booklet whose title reads: 'Chanmen xitan zhang bing xu' 禪門悉談章並序 and was at an early date included in *Dazheng zang* (大正藏; Taishō era: 1912–1926). P.3082 that carries the title 'Zhuza zhenyan' 諸雜真言 is in fact this text and is also called simply 'True Words'. Both Britain and France have this item in their collections, and the British version is numbered S.4585; Paris has in total four redactions: other than the manuscripts mentioned above, the others are P.2204 and P.2212. In the Tang dynasty, transmission through copying was extremely widespread. On the London manuscript on which is written "Siddhaṃ Chapter", eight poems' 《悉曇章》八首 are also the dates 'twenty-eighth year of the Kaiyuan era' (741) 開元二十八載 and 'the fourth and fifth years of the Tianbao era' 天寶四載、五載 (745 and 746) written above official documents. Presumably, the latter two were written during the Tianbao era (742–756) of the Tang dynasty emperor Xuanzong (唐玄宗, 685–762, r. 712–756).

The booklet P.3099 comes with a *xu* 序 introduction the gist of which is:

Let all buddhas bring their hands together and listen with pious supplication. Today, I desire to lecture on 'The Laṅkāvatāra Sutra of Great Vehicle Buddhism: "Siddhaṃ Chapter"'. Regarding 'Siddhaṃ Chapter', at one time, the *Great Vehicle* scripture resided on Laṅkā mountain (in Sri Lanka), and the teachings were thus obtained by the monk Bodhidharma (here: Putidamo, d. 536). In the first year of the Song dynasty (420), he came from southern India and brought them to the Eastern Capital (Luoyang). After discussion, Guṇabhadra (here: Batuo, 394–468), Master of the Buddhist Canon, took it upon himself respectfully to make a translation. The Sutra consists of five *juan* in total, which are combined into one book.... in addition, at the Temple of Assembled Goodness on Song mountain, the monk Dinghui (*fl.* early Tang dynasty) also made a translation of 'Siddhaṃ Chapter' that opened wide the door to dissemination of Chan Buddhist learning, which did not impede the study of wisdom and was not constrained by the requirements of providing written text. (Subsequent text omitted)

諸佛子等合掌至心聽。我今欲說〈大乘楞伽悉（談）〔曇〕章〉。「悉（談）〔曇〕章」者，昔大乘在楞伽山，因得菩提達摩和尚。宋家元年，從南天竺來至東都，跋陀三藏法師奉詔翻譯，其經總有五卷，合

成一部。.....又嵩山會善（寺）沙門定惠翻出「悉談〔曇〕章」，廣開禪門，不妨慧學，不著文字。（下略）<sup>6</sup>

This introduction mentions the monk Guṇabhadra (in Chinese in full: Qiunabatuoluo 求那跋陀羅) of the Liu Song dynasty epoch, who had in fact moved from the ancient state of Sri Lanka (Shizi Guo 師子國) to Guangzhou in the twelfth year of the Yuanjia 元嘉 era (435) and arrived in Song dynasty territory. It also touches on the Tang dynasty and the monk Dinghui of the Temple of Assembled Goodness. From these examples the flourishing condition of Siddham Sanskrit studies can be gauged. Shi Yancong (釋彥琮, 557–611) of the Sui dynasty had a deep understanding of Sanskrit and (as given in *juan 2* of *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 by Dao Xuan 道宣, 596–667) sought 'from phonetic specimens of Siddham script to discover its most elegant linguistic theory,' 悉曇聲例，尋其雅論, which is just one example of this scholarly tide. The Dunhuang edition of the *Tongyun* 通韻 gives:

Taking 'Siddham Chapter' once more, the first two characters of the title 悉 ('xi') 曇 ('tan') form the basis of the entire wealth of sounding voices (phonetics). They can cause all (enunciated) sounds to be born and can also receive the entire wealth of sounding voices (phonetics) from elsewhere. The Six Destinies achieved a sublime victory, and language assists all from the midst.

又復《悉曇章》，初二字與一切音聲作本，復能生聲，亦能收他一切音聲，六道殊勝，語言悉攝在中。<sup>7</sup>

These remarks in a specific way draw attention to the sacred function that 'Siddham Chapter' had in assembling all voiced sounds (phonetically enunciated sounds).

## 2 'Suliu xitan zhang' 俗流悉曇章

See the Beijing collection item 'Bird' (Beijing 'Niaozi' 北京鳥字), no. 64, which has an introduction that gives:

<sup>6</sup> *Taishō*, No. 2779, 'Foshuo Lingjia jing chanmen xitan zhang bing xu', 85: 536.

<sup>7</sup> Liu Mingshu, 'Sitanyin jiejinglu', 86.

That which is the ‘Siddhaṃ Chapter’, for the Three Lives and the Six Destinies, achieves the sublime victory of language. At the time of the Tang dynasty, the monk Dinghui of Song mountain produced a translation and exegetical notes that rendered them congruent with the language of the state of Qin (Chinese); Kumārajīva (343–413), *Tongyun*, and the harmonious vocalisation *lu-liu-lu-lou* are the highest authorities.

夫《悉曇章》者，三生六道，殊勝語言。唐國中岳沙門定惠翻注，並合秦音，鳩摩羅什《通韻》魯流盧樓爲首。<sup>8</sup>

Regarding the Dinghui who translated and made exegesis of ‘Siddhaṃ Chapter’, Dunhuang manuscript S.5809 has a fragmentary text whose title is: ‘Daxing shansi chanshi shamen Dinghui zan’ 大興善寺禪師沙門定惠讚 ([Shi] Yancong of the Sui dynasty had taken up residence there), and it is possible that this person was the same as the Dinghui of Song mountain.<sup>9</sup> The Greater Prosperity Goodness Temple is in Xi’an<sup>10</sup> and all through this period was a stronghold of Sanskrit studies.

From records that have newly emerged from Dunhuang, it can be discovered that in the epoch before the Southern Song dynasty, ‘Siddhaṃ Chapter’ had many functions. The Chan Buddhist Master Pu’an added his own usages to these and during the editorial process when he finalised his ‘Shitan zhenyan’ also represented the new *dhāraṇī* (*tuoluoni* 陀羅尼) incantations with Sanskrit symbols, as using these for mantras of Buddhist practice was both a natural formulation of linguistic resources and a simple and straightforward proposition.

Chan Master Pu’an was originally from Yichun 宜春 in Jiangxi. In the fourth year of the Shaoxing 紹興 era (1134) in the following of the monk Shou Longxian (壽隆賢, fl. twelfth century), he left home and took orders for thirteen years. He entered Hunan, visiting the Chan Master Mu Anzhong (牧庵忠, fl. twelfth century) at Wei 瀉 mountain, later living at the Temple of Moulding into Kindness (Cihua si 慈化寺). Both in Hakka areas of Fujian and in Taiwan are temples where offerings are still made to the ancestral master Pu’an. How Chan Master Pu’an acquired his knowledge of Sanskrit and the situation thereof remains unknown, but in the Ming dynasty, the widespread

8 *Dunhuang geci zongbian*, 932.

9 See my *Fanxue ji*, 205. ‘Chanmen Xitan zhang zuozhe bian’ 禪門悉曇章作者辨.

10 The temple still exists and neighbours the Xi’an Music Conservatoire where this translator studied for several years in the 1990s.

popularity and dissemination of 'Shitan zhenyan' 'promoted by the ancestral master Pu'an' 普庵祖師流通 was an incontrovertible fact.<sup>11</sup>

Previously, I had instigated printing and publication of Zhao Yiguang (趙宦光, 1559–1625) of Han 寒 mountain's *Xitan jingzhuan* 悉曇經傳.<sup>12</sup> In this book, pages 83–6, the 'true words' are printed using the Sanskrit Ranjana script in Siddham letters. Here, at the opening next to the first line are ten small characters that record 'Shitan zhenyan' 釋談真言 and 'promoted by the ancestral master Pu'an'. 普庵祖師流通. These prove that Pu'an was merely the person who 'promoted' the dissemination of the incantations and not the individual who created them. In front of this passage, Zhao Yiguang includes 'Ke Fanshu xitan zhenyan xiaoyin' 刻梵書悉曇真言小引; it gives:

Regarding 'Shitan zhenyan', across the land its glorious words are recited, but none has sought to research their origins. The received wisdom of the scholarly community retains the mistaken belief that research back through the generations indicates that the ancestral master of the practice was Pu'an. Yet what purpose is there in using the Sanskrit incantations of a foreign land and then confusing their meanings in a most muddled way; this cannot but serve as an obstacle to understanding.... I, Fanfu (Zhao Yiguang's soubriquet), therefore collated *Shuowen changjian*. From a wide range of sources, I collected phonetic lettering of the type found in *Xitan jingzhuan*, storing specimens not yet received into Buddhist teachings or alternatively took them out to be used.... by thinking laterally in an open-hearted manner, I was able to assemble a substantial Sanskrit lexicon. 'Shitan zhenyan' is in fact the text that is known in common parlance as 'Pu'an Mantra'. Pu'an was of the Tang dynasty and practised in reciting the language of the Tang dynasty.

〈釋談真言〉，世誦華文，未究厥始。學地知識，誤以世法揣摩，謂普庵此方祖師，何事作彼土梵咒，妄解意義，不能無礙。.....凡夫因緝《說文長箋》。博采音聲字母，類同《悉曇經傳》，即藏教未收者，亦或取之。.....將廣心目，遂得大梵品目。〈釋談真言〉即世俗所稱〈普庵咒〉者是也。菴係唐人，習誦唐語。<sup>13</sup>

11 Pu'an's works include: *Chan Master Pu'an Yinsu's Record of Language (Pu'an Yinsu chanshi yulu* 普菴印肅禪師語錄) in three *juan*. Wang Zhishi et al. eds. *The Complete Works of Chan Master Pu'an (Pu'an Chanshi quanji)*.

12 Jao Tsung-i, *Xitan jingzhuan*.

13 Jao Tsung-I comp., *Xitan jingzhuan: Zhao Yiguang ji qi Xitan jingzhuan*, 81.

The language of the Tang dynasty and Sanskrit can easily be muddled, so I followed the example of Western Eyes (a monk's soubriquet; untraceable) and invited Ren Naogong (*fl.* late sixteenth–early seventeenth centuries), a monk of Yan mountain, to edit, read, supplement, and finalise the text. Following this, I immediately ordered Qiao Er (*fl.* late sixteenth–early seventeenth centuries) to trace and copy the large Sanskrit letters and cut the accompanying mantras so as to afford them a circulation equivalent to the alphabet found in the *Avatamsaka Sutra*: the mantras found in the two scriptures have thus been fashioned with little difference between them. The alphabet of these mantras is the precursor to all forms of writing and the mother of the letters used for the twenty scriptures, and if these mantras can be recited, then the whole Buddhist canon can be recited, and meritworthy virtuousness as deep as the vastness of the seas accumulated, such as can only be imagined.... Mañjuśrī (a bodhisattva, ancient) lectures on alphabets, Pu'an disseminates the Buddha's words; but there cannot be two dharmas (Buddhist truths); virtuous morality is not accorded to Pu'an, and with only the ears and eyes of a country on the periphery, he has merely heard and seen, always desiring to devalue and damage the sound of Buddha preaching on the Qieleng mountain (in Sri Lanka), so that the science of phonetics is returned to the Dark Ages, and who can take responsibility for this travesty! Here, by marking them out, these errors are all exposed and expunged.

唐、梵不無亥豕，特從西目，邀請燕山沙門仁〔淖〕公，校閱補訂，隨命孿兒摹大梵字，刻坵總持，與華嚴字母相為流通，二經皆出總持，作法小異。總持為萬國文字之先，文字為十二經文之母，能誦總持，如誦全藏，功德海量，可想見矣。.....曼殊說字母，普庵宣釋談，無有二法，德不及菴而以邊國耳目聞見，輒欲裁損伽稜僂音；音聲之教幾乎復晦，孰任其咎。是以表而出之。<sup>14</sup>

... Ming dynasty, Wanli era, *xinhai* 辛亥 year (1611)

.....明萬曆辛亥<sup>15</sup>

Wu prefecture, Han mountain, retold by the Buddhist believer (*kulapati*), Master Zhao Yiguang, soubriquet Fanfu.

14 Jao Tsung-I comp., *Xitan jingzhuan: Zhao Yiguang ji qi Xitan jingzhuan*, 81–82.

15 Jao Tsung-I comp., *Xitan jingzhuan: Zhao Yiguang ji qi Xitan jingzhuan*, 82.

吳郡寒山迦羅越趙宦光凡夫氏述。<sup>16</sup>

Zhao tells of Pu'an disseminating the Buddha's words (that is, Siddham script) and indicates that this is of equivalent value to Mañjuśrī's 'Wen zimu pin' 問字母品 and that both 'have phonetics as their teaching'. 以音聲爲教. His book's section on the 'alphabet mantra' 字母總持 records the orthodox form of greater Sanskrit script and its transformed form. Pu'an's 'Shitan zhenyan', written out once more in Ranjana script by Ren Naogong of Zhending 真定, takes 'Pu'an zhenyan' 普庵真言 already in vernacular transmission and furnishes them with a new editorial gloss and written format; regarding Ranjana script itself, *Tongwen yuntong* 同文韻統 (published in 1751), *juan* 1, can be consulted, which contains a 'Table of Indian Alphabets' ('Tianzhu zimu pu' 天竺字母譜). After the Yuan dynasty, this alphabetic form flourished widely, and in Tibetan areas is still the standard written medium and has not yet been replaced. For biographical details on Naogong, see Liu Xianting's (劉獻廷, 1648–1695) *Guangyang zaji* 廣陽雜記 as well as the forward to my own *Xitan jingzhuan*.

This 'Short Introduction' ('Xiaoyin' 小引) by Zhao Yiguang gives Pu'an as someone of the Tang dynasty and indicates that he was of Chinese ethnicity and had at one time practised the recitation of Tang dynasty Chinese, which clearly states that Pu'an did not understand Sanskrit. It also draws attention to 'a text that is known in common parlance as "Pu'an Mantra," which gives the impression that Zhao already knew of a text in circulation in Buddhist temples called *Pu'an (Spiritual) Incantations (Pu'an [Shen] Zhou* 普庵(神)咒). As part of the monastic rule of Buddhist temples, the daily recitation of *Pu'an Incantations* was noted at an early date by Master Cloud Perching (Yunqi 雲棲), also called Zhu Hong (祿宏, 1535–1615), in the twenty-eighth year of the Wanli era (1600) in his *Daily Recitations from all the Scriptures (Zhujing risong* 諸經日誦). Later, they were received into *Chanmen risong* 禪門日誦 (author not known, published 1834) as items for the recitation practice of ordinary members of monastic fraternities.

Zhao Yiguang's introduction was written in the *xinhai* year of the Wanli era, that is, the thirty-ninth year of the era (1611), after Zhu Hong's *Daily Recitations from all the Scriptures*. In the latter text, the title is 'Pu'an dade chanshi shitan zhang shenzhou' 普安大德禪師釋談章神咒, which is very different from Zhao's version 'Shitan zhenyan' 釋談真言. When Zhao writes 'promoted by Pu'an', this is closest to the truth.

As for the *qin* piece *Shitan zhang* 釋談章, at the start of the Ming dynasty, it is not yet seen in *Shenqi mipu* 神奇秘譜 by Zhu Quan (朱權, 1378–1448) and

16 Jao Tsung-I comp., *Xitan jingzhuan: Zhao Yiguang ji qi Xitan jingzhuan*, 82.



first appears in Zhang Dexin's (張德新, *fl.* sixteenth century) *Sanjiao tongsheng*. Zhang finished the compilation of his anthology in the twentieth year of the Wanli era (1592), and it carries an introduction by 'the Daoist who ploughs the furrow with iron' 鐵耕道者 Zheng Bangfu (鄭邦福, *fl.* sixteenth century), which gives: 'Zhang Bintong (*fl.* Ming dynasty) was cognizant of the lore of the *qin*, ... looking at his notation of the *qin* piece *Shitan zhang*, if played according to the score, it is as if listening to the assembled monks in a Buddhist monastery where Sanskrit is employed all incanting together, and its expressive plane is thus completely unique.' 張賓桐精琴理，..... 見其《釋談章譜》按而習之，如梵宮聞眾僧咒，心異之。<sup>17</sup> This is the first notated specimen of *Shitan zhang*, though whether it is a composition of Zhang's is not indicated. In addition, Chen Dabin (陳大斌, *fl.* late sixteenth–early seventeenth centuries) compiled *Taiyin xisheng* 太音希聲 (the title is a pun on Chen Dabin's soubriquet Taixi 太希 and could be translated as *Taixi's Notes and Sounds*), and among the *qin* pieces in it is *Shitan zhang* (here 釋譚章; the second character is different, though the meaning and pronunciation are the same) in the *shang* 商 mode, and in explanation of its title is given:

Taixi says: 'This piece is by Li Shuinan (*fl.* late sixteenth–early seventeenth centuries; Chen Dabin's *qin* teacher). At first, there was no melody of this type, and it did not conform to the principles of *lü* modal theory. Then, because Lü Xizhou (*fl.* sixteenth century), soubriquet Xuanju from Chongde county, had a predilection for Buddhism and Daoism, Li Shuinan reconstructed the notes of the piece according to the principles of *lü* modal theory, but it was not circulated. I kept it safe with me privately for a long time. Ever since the *wuyin* year of the Wanli era when it was printed, it has achieved wide distribution.'

太希曰：此曲乃李水南所作。始無此律，繼緣崇德希周呂選居好佛老，今水南按律構音，未傳於世。不佞受之久矣。自萬曆戊寅災梨，以廣其傳。<sup>18</sup>

This entry is worthy of close attention. The *wuyin* year is the sixth year of the Wanli era (1578), and this was when Li Shuinan of Deqing 德清 took Pu'an's 'Shitan zhenyan' and reconstructed it according to the principles of *lü* modal theory, notating it to become a *qin* composition; in the sixth year of the Wanli era, it had already been taken to be cut into plates for printing and had achieved circulation, and this was prior to Zhang Dexin. Here, let the important events

17 *Tianyi ge shumu Tianyi ge beimu*, comp. Fan Bangdian et al., 3A.257.

18 *Lidai guqin wenxian huibian Qinqu shiyi juan*, comp. Ai guqin tuandui, B.1233.

concerning the *qin* composition *Shitan zhang* during the Wanli era be laid out in chronological order:

Wanli era, sixth year, *wuyin* 萬曆六年戊寅 (1578)

Li Shuinan 李水南

The *qin* notation of *Shitan zhang* comes into circulation, however, sadly, I have not seen a copy of this edition. 《譜釋譚章》琴曲行世，可惜未見傳本。

Wanli era, the twentieth year, *renchen* 萬曆二〇年壬辰 (1592)

Zhang Dexin 張德新

Practises *Shitan zhang* according to the score. 按習釋談章譜。

Wanli era, the twenty-eighth year, *gengzi* 萬曆二十八年庚子 (1600)

Zhu Hong edits and prints 祿宏編印

*Daily Recitations from all the Scriptures* in which is 'Pu'an Mantra'. 諸經日誦，內有〈普庵咒〉。

Wanli era, the thirty-seventh year, *jiyou* 萬曆三十七年己酉 (1609)

Yang Lun edits 楊掄編 (Yang Lun, d. 1634)

(the *qin* anthology) *Bo Ya xinfa* 伯牙心法 (Bo Ya: 387–299 BCE) which is included in *Shitan zhang*. 〈伯牙心法〉，收入《釋談章》。

Wanli era, the thirty-ninth year, *xinhai* 萬曆三十九年辛亥 (1611)

Zhao Yiguang 趙宦光

'*Shitan zhenyan*', which had been thoroughly edited by Ren Nao(gong), is incised into printing plates and issued at the instigation of Zhao Yiguang. 趙宦光刻仁淖整理的〈釋談真言〉。

Li Shuinan was a native of Deqing in Zhejiang and together with Yang Lun belonged to the Zhejiang School of *qin* playing. No obstacle prevents us from concluding that transforming *Shitan zhang* into a notated *qin* composition emerged from a seminal creative act of the Zhejiang School.

At the head of Zhao Yiguang's '*Shitan zhenyan*' is written: '*Nangmo*, (that is, "*Namah*" or "greetings") *ka ka ka*; 曩謨 (即南無) 迦迦迦 (*ka ka ka*); up until the last "*shahe*" (*svāhā*) (equivalent to the "amen" of Christian prayer), which is where the piece concludes.' 莎訶 (*svāhā*) 終.<sup>19</sup> This formula does not resemble that in *Sanjiao tongsheng* and other *qin* scores, where the first section is a 'Buddhist opening' (*fotou* 佛頭) by which the pantheon of Buddhas is invited to descend to earth and approach; at the end, salutations are offered

19 Jao Tsung-I comp., *Xitan jingzhuan: Zhao Yiguang ji qi Xitan jingzhuan*, 83, 86.

to the luminaries: ‘*Namah*, greetings to the ancestral master Pu’an Buddha,’ 南無普庵祖師菩薩, and ‘*Namah*, greetings to Vajra-rāja, the million-fiery-headed Buddha.’ 南無百萬火首金剛王菩薩. If this score had come directly from Pu’an himself, calling himself ‘*Namah* Buddha’ 南無菩薩 would not have been a reasonable act. After the ‘*shahe*’, in *Sanjiao tongsheng*, the end of each *qin* score is always furnished with a closing phrase that acts as a ‘Buddhist closing’ (*fowei* 佛尾), for example: ‘With the admixture of innumerable Demi-Gods and Semi-Devils and the million-fiery-headed Vajra-rāja, whether yesterday at the borderlands or today at the abode of Buddha, Pu’an has come there, a hundredfold with no taboos,’ 增入無數天龍八部，百萬火首金剛，昨日方隅，今日佛地，普庵到此，百無禁忌，<sup>20</sup> or something similar. *Pu’an Spiritual Incantations* (*Pu’an shenzhou*) in *Chanmen risong* also has ‘Buddhist opening’ and ‘Buddhist closing’ sentences, the same as are found in the *qin* scores. Thus, this is evidently not a feature whose prototype is found in ‘Shitan zhenyan’.

Before or after the periods covered by the four books cited above, it can be deduced that prior to the *qin* scores being composed, Zhu Hong took these features and inserted them into his *Daily Recitations*. The ‘Shitan zhenyan’ that Zhao Yiguang received did not mention *qin* scores at all and thus ought to have been close to the *True Words* in their original state as promulgated and circulated by Pu’an Yang Lun’s *Bo Ya xinfu* is another comparatively early *qin* score, whose imprint dates to the thirty-seventh year of the Wanli era (1609); an explanation of its title is given:

Note: This composition consists of the Chan Master Pu’an’s incantatory words subsequently re-moulded by others according to the *lü* modes. Owing to the composite syllables comprising two, three, or four components that Sanskrit possesses and the script that supports them, in Chinese books, only *qin* scores retain them; therefore, (the pre-Southern Song dynasty text) *Qiyin yunjian* emanates from the Western regions and is in parallel to the seven *qin* strings, and this indicates their provenance.

按斯曲即普庵禪師之咒語，後人以律調擬之也。蓋緣梵有二合三合、四合之音，亦有其字，華書惟琴譜有之，故《七音韻鑑》出自西域，應琴七絃，斯之所由出也。<sup>21</sup>

The notion that Sanskrit phonetics reflect the *qin* is a little contrived, though regarding the wellspring of this composition as originally consisting of incanted words is precisely in accordance with fact. Master Zhao’s book is clear

20 *Lidai guqin wenxian huibian Qinqu shiyi juan*, comp. Ai guqin tuandui, B. 1429.

21 Yang Lun, *Boya xinfu*, 23a.

proof of this. When later *qin* scores that included 'Siddham Chapter' and 'Pu'an Mantra' ('Pu'an zhou') were issued by different schools of *qin* playing, their melodies had evolved and become more elaborate. The distinguished (modern) scholar Fan Libin's 范李彬 thesis already discusses these in detail,<sup>22</sup> so they are not dwelt on here.



FIGURE 12.A 'Shitan zhenyan' (Sanskrit in the Ranjani script)  
PHOTO AUTHORIZED BY SHIN WEN FENG PRINT COMPANY

22 See Fan Libin's thesis, tables 2–6, summary charts of *guqin* pieces, which lists thirty-one types.





迦 研 界 遮 遮 支 支 朱 朱 耶 喻 喻 喻 喻 喻 喻 喻 喻 惹 神 遮 遮 遮 遮 遮 遮 神  
 惹 吒 吒 諦 諦 都 都 耶 奴 奴 奴 奴 奴 奴 奴 奴 但 吒 吒 吒 吒 但 那 多 多 諦 諦 多 多  
 耶 奴 奴 奴 奴 奴 奴 奴 奴 檀 多 多 多 多 多 多 多 檀 那 波 波 悲 悲 波 波 耶 母 母 母 母 母 母 母 母  
 摩 梵 波 波 波 波 波 波 梵 摩 摩 梵 波 波 波 波 那 檀 多 多 多 那 但 吒 吒 吒 惹 神 遮 遮 遮  
 界 研 迦 迦 迦 波 多 吒 遮 迦 耶 夜 闌 訶 阿 瑟 吒 薩 海 吒 漏 蘆 漏 蘆 吒 遮 迦 耶 莎 訶 終

FIGURE 12.D 'Shitan zhenyan' (Sanskrit in the Ranjami script)  
 PHOTO AUTHORIZED BY SHIN WEN FENG PRINT COMPANY

**PART 4**

*Lyrics, Operas* 歌詞、戲曲







## The Mystery of the Southern Opera God of Theatrical Entertainment's Operatic Incantation 'Luo-Li-Lian' 南戲戲神咒“囉哩嚩”之謎

During the first ten days of August 1985 in Urumqi, at the Second Meeting of the Dunhuang Turpan Scholarly Association, Research Group on the Arts (Dunhuang Tulufan xuehui de yishu xiaozu 敦煌吐魯番學會的藝術小組), the music historian Mr He Changlin 何昌林 of Beijing raised the issue that the Southern Opera's lexicon of 'operatic incantations' (*xishen zhou* 戲神咒) included the custom of singing the 'help-syllable' (*bangqiang* 幫腔) refrain '*luo-li-lian*', and did I have any views on the matter. On returning to Hong Kong, I drafted this essay as a reply to his most elegant of questions.

As is common knowledge, Puxian 莆仙 Opera of Fujian employs the sung phrase '*luo-li-lian*' as a habitual formula. According to (the modern book) *Puxi tanxie* 莆戲談屑 (author unknown):

Before a performance of Puxian Opera starts, three strikes are made backstage on cymbals and drums. After that comes an operatic ceremony known as 'colouring the theatrical awning' and ritual recitation of four stock sentences. When the recitation is over, a second and final poetic coda is sung. It consists of only the three characters (syllables) '*luo-li-lian*', sung with their order inverted. These three characters are an incantation, offered in fear that the action on stage might besmirch and offend the luminescence of the gods. Once the incantation has been sung, with it comes the guarantee that those on stage will not meet with misfortune.

'Songju yixiang' in *Song Jin zaju kao* by (modern scholar) HU JI that cites this passage<sup>1</sup>

莆劇在未演出時，後台先打三鑼鼓，過後有彩棚，唸四句大白。唸完，唱下詞尾。下詞尾祇用「囉哩嚩」三字，顛倒唱出。這三字是咒文，為得怕舞台上穢瀆了神明。唱完這咒文，便可保台上大家平安。（見胡忌《宋金雜劇考》中《宋劇遺響》一節引錄。）<sup>2</sup>

1 In this essay, the Jin dynasty is the one named 金, 115–1234, and not the earlier ones named 晉, 265–420.

2 Hu Ji, *Song Jin zaju kao*, 307.

Taking these three characters as the final poetic coda's 'harmonious vocalising' (*hesheng* 和聲), they are sung by the entire company together and are said to be 'added onomatopoeia' (*da'e* 打訛) in pieces of the 'seven-cadence' (*qisha* 七煞) form, that is, 'added harmoniousness' (*dahe* 打和). In wedding ceremonies in Putian 莆田 when puppet theatre is performed, a performance titled 'The Plough Opera' ('Beidou xi' 北斗戲) often takes place. At the very end when (the patron god of opera) Marshal Tian (Tian Yuanshuai 田元帥) 'purifies the awning' (*jingpeng* 淨棚), the incantation *luo-li-lian* is sung; after which is sung: 'In prosperous times in the region south of the Yangtze River, when the spring wind calls on landscaped halls, then a stem of the red peony blossoms forth and all the land is red;' 盛世江南境，春風叫景堂。一根紅芍藥，開出滿地紅; or lines of that ilk. (Tanaka Issei 田仲一成: *Chinese Clans and Theatrical Performance* [*Zhongguo zhi zongzu he yanju*]).<sup>3</sup>

Chen Xiaogao 陳嘯高 et al. in (the modern book) *Puxian Opera of Fujian* (*Fujian de Puxianxi* 福建的莆仙戲) record: 'In the past, when a performance of Puxian opera began, first, three strikes were made on the cymbals and drums ... then a god-general came out on stage, followed by performance of "colouring the theatrical awning"; and backstage, the whole company sang together the four lines: "In prosperous times, in the region south of the Yangtze River, the landscape ..." Then is sung the final poetic coda (that is, Marshal Duke Tian's incantation): "*luo-li-lian, li-luo-lian, li-lian, luo-lian, li-luo-lian, li-luo-lian, luo-luo-li, luo-lian.*" Following this, an actor wearing a red robe, sporting a roof-tile-style cloth headdress and hung with a thrice-whiskered beard and moustache, playing the part of an elderly character took centre stage and intoned a four-sentence opening recitative (for example: "An essay by the Hanlin imperial scholarly academician Huang Juan [*fl.* twelfth century, a native of Putian]" in the four-line, six-characters-to-a-line verse-form); having finished his recitation, he moved to the middle of the stage and offered three respectful salutations to the left and right. Slowly, he strode into the scene, and afterwards the performance of the opera commenced.' 過去，莆仙戲開台，首先是打三通鑼鼓。.....出一神將上場，「彩棚」，後台全體齊唱：「盛世江南景.....」四句。接著唱下調尾（即田公元帥咒）「囉哩噠，哩囉噠，哩噠，囉噠，哩囉噠，哩囉噠，囉囉噠，囉噠」。繼即由穿紅袍戴瓦楞巾掛三絡鬚的，頭出生走到台中唸四句開場白，（即「一篇翰林黃卷」等六言四句），唸畢，向台中及左右三揖，徐步入場，然後開始演戲。<sup>4</sup> According to this prescribed sequence of events, before the opera itself is performed, *luo-li-lian* should be recited, and it is also called 'The Incantation of Marshal Tian' ('Tian Yuanshuai

3 Tanaka Issei, *Chūgoku no sōzoku to engeki* 中国の宗族と演劇, 999.

4 Chen Xiaogao, Gu Manzhuang, 'Fujian de puxianxi', 94.

zhou' 田元帥咒). Several Fujian opera houses as well as Quanzhou 泉州 puppet theatres abide by the custom of singing *luo-li-lian*.

I remember in the winter of 1978, I was in Paris, appointed to teach at the Department of Religious Studies in the Institute of Advanced Studies (Gaodeng yanjiuyuan zongjiaobu 高等研究院宗教部), and my colleague Mr Shi Bo'er 施博爾 (Kristofer Schipper) showed me manuscript copies of Daoist books he had collected in southern Taiwan, among which were Chen Rongsheng's (陳榮盛, fl. nineteenth century) hand copies of Daoist hymns still current today, and a section of their lyrics is as follows:

Emerging from the Palace of the Celestial Beings, *luo-li-lian*, departing from Penglai (island), soaring into the multi-coloured clouds, *luo-li-lian*. (You come) emerging from and leaving the Heavenly palaces, *luo-li-lian!* *luo-li-lian!*

出仙宮，囉哩噠！離了蓬萊，騰采雲，囉哩噠。（你來）出離了天堂，囉哩噠！囉哩噠！

This genre of harmoniously vocalised lyrics had unexpectedly also become additional 'help-syllables' (*bangsheng* 幫聲) to Daoist pieces and was evidently absorbed from the vernacular music of Fujian.

### 1 Chan Buddhist Monks of the Late Tang to Northern Song Dynasties and the Jin Dynasty Founder of Complete Perfection Daoism singing *Luo-Li*

Nowadays, Daoist songbooks of southern Taiwan still employ *luo-li-lian* as their harmonious vocalising, but on researching the origin of the practice, in the latter part of the Tang dynasty, Daoist monks of south Fujian are found to have been already engaged in the custom. Many Daoist ceremonies were born out of Buddhist ones and singing *luo-li* also appears to some degree to have as its source the Chan school of Buddhism.

The Chan Master Wensui (文邃, fl. ninth century) at Qin 欽 mountain in Lizhou 澧州 is a comparatively early example of the singing of *luo-li* by the Chan school of Buddhism. In the Song dynasty in *Wudeng huiyuan* 五燈會元 (*juan* 13), (Shi) Puji (釋) 普濟, fl. thirteenth century) writes:

Wensui was a Chan Master and native of Fuzhou. When he was young, as an acolyte, he received initiatory instruction under the tutelage of the

Chan Master Huanzhong (780–862) of the Great Kindness Mountain in Hangzhou. At that time, Yantou ('Precipice Edge', d. 887) and Xuefeng ('Snow Peak', 822–908) were brethren in the community, and observing Wensui's excellent use of words, realised that he was a worthy instrument of Chan tenets, and so they often led one other on journeys of spiritual discovery. These two Masters had both already received the imprint of the teaching of Chan Master De Shan (*fl.* ninth century).... later, under the words of guidance of Dong Shan (807–869), Wensui achieved release from spiritual bondage and inherited his Chan mantle from him. When he was twenty-seven, he took Qin mountain as his abode.... (on one occasion) at the pulpit giving a sermon, he surveyed the assembled acolytes and said: 'Do you have burdens? Do you have burdens? If you have none, go and sing "Pusa man" on Qin mountain! *Luo-luo-li-li!*' Then he went to sit among the acolytes.

文邃禪師，福州人也。少依杭州大慈山寰中禪師受業，時巖頭、雪峰在眾，覩師吐論，知是法器，相率遊方。二大士各承德山印記。.....後於洞山言下發解，乃爲之嗣。年二十七，止於欽山。.....上堂，顧視大眾曰：「有麼？有麼？如無；欽山唱菩薩蠻去也！囉囉哩哩！」便下坐。<sup>5</sup>

Of a later generation than him at Qin mountain in Lizhou, Chan Master Qianming Puchu (乾明普初,<sup>6</sup> *fl.* ninth century or slightly later) also sang *luo-li*. *Wudeng huiyuan* (*juan* 18) gives:

(The Master) took the pulpit and gave a sermon for a long while: '... The ordinary people are ill-disciplined and skittish like deer in the wilderness; the emperor is like a distant branch far above and does not care.<sup>7</sup> Eighteen characters: do you know them or not? *Li-li-luo, luo-luo-li.*' He clapped his hands in rhythm and went down to sit among the acolytes.

5 Puji, *Wudeng huiyuan*, 13.813–15.

6 Qianming Puchu 乾明普初 is mentioned in *juan* 18 of *Wudeng huiyuan*. The first two characters 乾明 mean 'Qian-Trigram Bright' and are likely to be his Chan Buddhist soubriquet and Puchu 普初 his secular given name; his original surname cannot be traced.

7 'The ordinary people are ill-disciplined and skittish like deer in the wilderness; the emperor is like a distant branch far above and does not care' 民如野鹿，上如標枝 is a citation from *Zhuangzi* (莊子; eponymous text by Zhuangzi, c.369–286 BCE), 'Tian di' 天地 (essay 12); in *Zhuangzi*, however, the two halves of the phrase are inverted: 'When the emperor is like a distant branch far above and does not care, the ordinary people will be ill-disciplined and skittish like deer in the wilderness.' 上如標枝，民如野鹿. Evolved from this is the *chengyu* 成語 four-character set phrase 標枝野鹿 that summarises its essential meaning.

(師)上堂良久曰:「.....民如野鹿，上如標枝，上八子，知不知?哩哩囉，囉囉哩。」拍一拍，下座。<sup>8</sup>

(Qianming) Puchu was an inheritor of the Buddhist mantle of Chan Master Xiaochun (曉純, 'Morning Pure', his secular name is not known, *fl.* ninth century) of Tanzhou 潭州, Jia 夾 mountain, and the fourteenth generation after Nanyue (南岳, 677–744). He too lived at the same time in Lizhou, and when he came to the pulpit to deliver sermons also sang *lou-li*, which he had clearly inherited from Wensui's teachings.<sup>9</sup> Wensui was most friendly with Yantou and Xuefeng. Yantou was also called Ke Shizi<sup>10</sup> (柯氏子, 'scion of the Ke family') of Quanzhou; Xuefeng was also called Cao Shizi<sup>11</sup> (曹氏子, 'scion of the Cao family') of Nan'an 南安 county, Quanzhou, and both were disciples of De Shan. Wensui was originally from Fuzhou and so also a native of Fujian. In the Xiantong era (咸通, 860–874) of the Tang dynasty, Xuefeng returned to Fujian to establish a monastery and was bestowed the title Chan Master of Perfected Intuition (Zhenjue chanshi 真覺禪師) by the emperor Yizong (漢懿宗, 833–873, r. 359–873). In the third month of the *wuchen* 戊辰 year of the Kaiping 開平 era of the Later Liang dynasty (908), he showed himself to the supreme solitude that is death.

The ruler of Fujian (Wang Shen zhi 王審知, 862–925) once asked Xuefeng: 'The Three Spiritual Vehicles and the Twelve Divisions of the Buddhist Scriptures. Would you be able to deliver instruction on them to an ordinary being such as myself? Or would you not be able to deliver instruction on them to an ordinary being such as myself?' 三乘十二分教，爲凡夫開演？不爲凡夫開演？<sup>12</sup> He replied: 'It would not take as long as one rendition of the composition "Yangliu zhi". 不消一曲(楊柳枝).<sup>13</sup> Wensui and Xuefeng were contemporaries. (On one occasion) Wensui sang 'Pusa man' and departed; Xuefeng mentioned 'Yangliu zhi'. Chan Masters were fond of using songs as parables to explain moral and philosophical concepts. From the Mogao caves 莫高窟 in Dunhuang have come words to songs, for example, 'Pusa man' in S(tein).4332 (British Library) includes the line: 'In front of the pillow, let a thousand desires

8 Puji, *Wudeng huiyuan*, 18.1191.

9 Jao appears to have obtained much of his information on Xiaochun from *juan* 17 of *Wudeng huiyuan*; the sources are however complex and confused, and *juan* numbering and the texts themselves vary significantly in different editions.

10 His secular name is Ke Quanhao 柯全穢.

11 Prevailing sources give his secular name as Zeng Yicun 曾義存, surname Zeng 曾 rather than Cao 曹.

12 Puji, *Wudeng huiyuan*, 7.385.

13 Puji, *Wudeng huiyuan*, 7.385.

be expended; 枕前發盡千般願;<sup>14</sup> and in the ‘Yangliu zhi’ genre, P(elliot).2809 (Bibliothèque Nationale de France) and a Hashikawa 橋川 collection item, for example, have: ‘I have not seen anyone who can deliver sermons from the pulpit at a hundred years of age; they have all crumbled into dust particles.’ 不見堂上百年人，盡總化微塵。<sup>15</sup> These are sighs in lament at the vagaries of death and clearly related to Buddhism. On Qin mountain was an individual from Fujian who sang: ‘The Bodhisattva has beautiful hair, *luo-luo-li-li*.’ 菩薩蠻了，囉囉哩哩。<sup>16</sup> His fellow countryman Xuefeng also quoted these song lyrics and as a matter of course could sing *luo-li*. The establishment and formulation of Southern Opera in Fujian is inseparably connected to Wang Shenzhi. In later times when the formula *luo-li* was sung in Fujian opera, I believe that it must have had its source in the Chan monks of Qin mountain. From Wensui’s singing of *luo-luo-li-li*, a few clues can be obtained that enable the watercourse that is singing *luo-li* to be pursued to its wellspring.

In the Northern Song dynasty, the Yangqi lineage of Chan Masters was also fond of singing *luo-li*. *Wudeng huiyuan* (*juan* 19) records that Chan Master Yangqi Fanghui (992–1049) of Yuanzhou once said in a sermon at the pulpit: ‘I myself, of scant joy, live at Yangqi mountain; and as the years pass, my strength ebbs; the cold wind swallows the withered leaves;<sup>17</sup> as if pleased at the return of an old friend. *Luo-luo-li!*’

在北宋楊岐一系的禪師亦喜歡唱囉哩。《會元》記袁州楊岐方會禪師云：上堂：薄福住楊岐，年來氣力衰，寒風咽敗葉，猶喜故人歸。囉囉哩！<sup>18</sup>

Picking out the dead twigs and putting them on a smokeless fire.

拈上死柴頭，且向無煙火。<sup>19</sup>

14 *Dunhuang baozang*, 35: 356, S.4332.

15 *Dunhuang geci zongbian*, 515.

16 Puji, *Wudeng huiyuan*, 13.815.

17 An alternative version that is commonly found has a different verb: ‘the cold wind withers the dead leaves.’ 寒風凋敗葉.

18 Puji, *Wudeng huiyuan*, 19.1230–31.

19 Puji, *Wudeng huiyuan*, 19.1231.

Fanghui was a disciple of Shi Shuangyuan (石霜圓,<sup>20</sup> fl. tenth–eleventh centuries) and an eleventh descendent in the lineage from Nanyue. In the first year of the Huangyou 皇祐 era of the Song dynasty (1049) he showed himself to the supreme solitude that is death. The inheritor of his Buddhist mantle Chan Master Baiyun Shouduan<sup>21</sup> (白雲守端, 1025–1072) of Shuzhou 舒州 wrote a prose piece in the generic ‘praise’ style (*zanwen* 讚文) that also uses the characters *luo-li*. *Wudeng huiyuan*, *juan* 6, gives:

The abbot of Yu mountain monastery in Chaling had as his Master the monk Baiyun (Shou)duan, a Master who had already crossed the Sea of Life and Death and achieved Nirvana. (Bai)yun wrote a generic praising prose passage that said: ‘Improvement as long as a hundred-*chi*-feet rod has been achieved; from first steps on the bridge across the stream, extending to all mountains and rivers; from this time forth, never departing from the Chaling rivulets; incanting and intoning, nothing is not *luo-li-luo*.’

茶陵郁山主，師乃白雲端和尚得度師。雲有贊曰：「百尺竿頭曾進步，溪橋一踏沒山河。從茲不出茶川上，吟嘯無非囉哩囉。」<sup>22</sup>

Ten generations on from Qingyuan<sup>23</sup> (青原, 671–740) comes (abbot) Lingtao Shouzuo (令滔首座, fl. eleventh century),<sup>24</sup> a long-time disciple of Letan (泐潭,<sup>25</sup> 1012–1070), and under whose words of guidance he achieved the greater realisation; thus, he composed a praise-song that gives:

Having laid down and abandoned the ox’s halter and become a monk, shaved my whiskers and hair, and donned the *jiasha* robe, there are those who ask why I am taking this ‘journey from the West’; leaning on my stick, my forceful riposte is to issue a challenge with a rendition of *luo-li-luo*.

20 A Chan Buddhist monk. Little is known of him, and it is likely that the second and third characters of his name or all three are his Chan Buddhist soubriquet, respectively: ‘Stone Frost Round’.

21 A Chan Buddhist monk. Baiyun 白雲 ‘White Cloud’ is his Chan Buddhist soubriquet, Zhou Shouduan 周守端 his secular name.

22 Puji, *Wudeng huiyuan*, 6.355.

23 This is his Chan Buddhist soubriquet and means ‘Turquoise Origin’; his secular name is Liu Xingsi 劉行思.

24 ‘Shouzuo’ 首座 is an honorific title.

25 This is his Chan Buddhist soubriquet: ‘Le’ 泐 is a place-name, ‘tan’ 潭 means ‘pool’; the overall meaning is a pool on Dong 洞 mountain of this name; his secular name is Liu Hongying 劉洪英.



放卻牛繩便出家，剃除鬚髮著袈裟。有人問我西來意，拄杖橫挑囉哩囉。<sup>26</sup>

In the Zhaoti 招提 (temple) west of the capital (in Nara, Japan), Chan Master Weizhan Guangdeng (惟湛廣燈, d. 1073), a native of Jiahe 嘉禾 and inheritor of the Buddhist mantle of (abbot) Jingzhong Shouzuo (淨眾首座, fl. Northern Song dynasty), on one occasion took to the pulpit and delivered a sermon that was a sung scriptural discourse:

‘Unpolluted by the Six Sense Objects, yet empathic to True Awareness.... how many people have knowledge of this heart; with yellow head and green eyes, they know not one another. *Luo-lo-li*.’ He clapped his hands once and took his place seated among the acolytes below.

「六塵不染，還同正覺。..... 此心能有幾人知，黃頭碧眼非相識。囉囉哩！」拍手一下，下座。<sup>27</sup>

The anecdotes cited above show that from the Northern Song dynasty onwards Chan Masters employed *luo-li*, and whenever they went to the pulpit to deliver a sermon that was a sung scriptural discourse or devised a praise-song, it was used as a ‘help-syllable’ (*zhusheng* 助聲) refrain, and this had already become an extremely popular custom.

In the Jin dynasty, Daoist Masters of the Complete Perfection Sect (Quanzhen jiao 全真教) in their works that relied on the sung voice to transmit the Way were particularly fond of using the three characters *li-luo-ling* as ‘help-syllables’, and examples of this are extremely numerous, for instance, Wang Zhe’s (王喆, 1112–1170) lyric song to the *cipai* 詞牌 set melody and rhyme scheme ‘Beating White Silk’ (‘Dao lianzi’ 搗練子).

An ape riding a horse: seems absurdly silly; hard to catch, hard to trap, yet how can it be abandoned? *Li-luo-ling! Li-luo-ling!*

猿騎馬，呈顛傻。難擒難捉怎生捨？哩囉唛！哩囉唛！<sup>28</sup>

26 Puji, *Wudeng huiyuan*, 15.1011.

27 Puji, *Wudeng huiyuan*, 16.1075.

28 Wang Zhe, ‘Daolianzi’, 25: 730.

Altogether there are twelve poems, and their last lines are all identical. (*The Daoist Canon* [*Daozang* 道藏],<sup>29</sup> ‘Taiping bu’ 太平部, ‘Wang Chongyang Quanzhen ji’ 王重陽全真集 [vols. 793–795], *juan* 7 [Wang Chongyang is another name for Wang Zhe].)

Tan Chuduan (譚處端, 1123–1185) also composed a poem to the *cipai* set melody and rhyme scheme ‘Beating White Silk’ that talks of the Way, and the relevant passages are:

Beating white silk; how can all be like this. In the darkness, slowly wearing away the sins of yesteryear. *Luo-li-ling, li-ling-luo.*

搗練子，具如何。從前罪孽暗消磨。囉哩唛，哩唛囉。<sup>30</sup>

From the initial obtaining and recognition of Perfection (a borrowing of the Buddhist term *boluomi*). Beauty and wealth seen through, like a moth dashing at a lamp. *Luo-li-ling! Li-ling-luo! Luo-li-ling! Li-ling-luo!*

*The Daoist Canon*, ‘Taiping bu’, ‘Shuiyun ji’ (vol. 798); see also: *Quan Jin Yuan ci* (compiler: TANG GUIZHANG 唐圭璋, 1901–1990)

從初得，認波羅。（借用佛語的「波羅密」）色財勘破撲燈蛾。囉哩唛！哩唛囉！囉哩唛！哩唛囉！（《道藏·太平部·水雲集》中，亦見《全金元詞》）<sup>31</sup>

Wang Chongyang was born in second year of the Zhenghe 政和 (1112) era of the reign of the Song dynasty emperor Huizong (宋徽宗, 1082–1135, r. 1100–1126) and died in tenth year of the Dading 大定 era of the Jin dynasty emperor Shizong (金世宗, 1123–1189, r. 1161–1189) (1170, that is, the sixth year of the Qiandao 乾道 era of the Southern Song dynasty emperor Xiaozong [宋孝宗, 1127–1194, r. 1127–1189]). Tan Chuduan was born in the first year of the Tianhui 天會 era of the Jin dynasty emperor Taizong (金太宗, 1075–1135, r. 1123–1135) (1123, that is, the fifth year of the Xuanhe 宣和 era of the Song dynasty emperor Huizong) and died in the twenty-fifth year of the Dading era (1185, that is, the twelfth year of the Chunxi 淳熙 era of the Southern Song dynasty emperor Xiaozong). The period when these individuals were active reached into the early years of the Southern Song dynasty. They had evidently continued and

29 Sometimes called *The Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Era* (*Zhengtong daozaog* 正統道藏); Zhengtong era: 1436–1450.

30 Tan Chuduan, ‘Daolianzi’, 25: 861.

31 *Quan Jin Yuan ci*, 416.

absorbed the older format of the Chan Buddhist monks who had employed *luo-li* as harmonious vocalisation. Those of Qin mountain and elsewhere who had sung ‘Pusa man’ had also used *luo-luo-li-li* and were their direct precursors.

## 2 Singing *Li-Luo* in Southern Song Dynasty Song Genres (*Ouge* 謳歌) Employing Melismatic Vocalisations (*Chansheng* 纏聲) and the Singing of *Li-Luo-Lian* Indicated in Opera Libretti

Zhang Yan (張炎, 1248–1320), at the back of his book *The Origin of Words* (*Ciyuan* 詞源), attaches an appendix that includes eight poems that furnish templates for song genres,<sup>32</sup> and the seventh gives:

The character ‘*li*’ 哩 is husky, the character ‘*luo*’ 囉 pure; when a sentence break is required, use *luo-li* 哩囉, when just a pause, use *ling-lun* 唛唛.

哩子引濁囉字清，住乃囉哩頓唛唛。<sup>33</sup>

The venerable Mao Heting’s (冒鶴亭, 1873–1959) notes to this passage are: ‘Nowadays in lyric songs to the set pattern “Tan po chou nu er” as well as the southern-style *qu* composition “Prince’s-Feather”,<sup>34</sup> both include the two-character pattern “*ye-luo*” vocalisation as part of their template.’ 今詞中〈攤破醜奴兒〉，南曲中〈冰〔水〕紅花〉，並存「也囉」二字之腔。<sup>35</sup> Master Mao uses ‘*ye-luo*’ 也囉 to express ‘*li-luo*’ 哩囉, but this is incorrect.<sup>36</sup> In fact, Shi Hao (史浩, 1106–1194) of the Southern Song dynasty in his poetry anthology *Maofeng zhenyin manlu* 鄮峰真隱漫錄 includes a poem to the *cipai* set melody

32 In prevailing versions of *Ciyuan*, the term translated as ‘templates for song genres’ is not 謳歌旨要 but 謳曲旨要; with the second character 歌 (*ge*) replaced by 曲 (*qu*), an English rendition becomes ‘templates for *qu* compositions’; *qu* compositions are a specific type of song written to pre-established melody and rhyme schemes.

33 Zhang Yan, *Ciyuan*, B.14a (1733: 64).

34 The southern-style *qu* set melody and rhyme scheme intended here is probably 水紅花 and not the 冰紅花 given in the Jao Tsung-i original. The English translation reflects this, but both alternatives of the characters are given; 水紅花 is a flower whose vernacular English name is ‘prince’s feather’.

35 Mao Guangsheng, *Mao Heting ciqu lunwenji*, 261.

36 Several poems in these set patterns indicate that Master Mao does indeed mean ‘*li-luo*’ 哩囉 by ‘*ye-luo*’ 也囉, for example, a specimen of ‘Tan po chou nu er’ by Zhao Changqing (趙長青, fl. late twelfth–early thirteenth centuries). ‘Tan po’ 攤破 and ‘Chou nu er’ 醜奴兒 seem more commonly to be independent *cipai* set melodies in their own right.

and rhyme scheme 'Speckled Butterfly' ('Fen die'er' 粉蝶兒) that proffers an invitation to imbibe wine and whose upper stanza gives:

A jade cup of warm spring sunshine, of crystalline brightness so precious it is without price; a person who understands the teachings, *luo-li-li-uo*, can take the stones piled in his chest and in one instance have them melt away.

一瓊陽和，分明至珍無價。解教人，囉哩哩囉。把胸中、些磊塊，一時鎔化。<sup>37</sup>

Shi Hao died in the fifth year of the Shaoxi 紹熙 era (1194) at the age of eighty-nine. Prior to Zhang Yutian (張玉田, Zhang Yan's soubriquet), he employed *luo-li* in a lyric song in the same manner as the founder of Complete Perfection Daoism's (Wang Zhe's) 'Beating White Silk'. In the written sources of the Song and Jin dynasties, many other examples of singing *luo-li* appear; Hong Mai's (洪邁, 1123–1202) *Yijian zhi* 夷堅志, *juan* 13 (113),<sup>38</sup> the entry under 'Nine Flowers Heavenly Immortal' ('Jiuhua tianxian' 九華天仙) gives:

In the ninth year of the Shaoxing era (1139), Zhang Yuandao was a *shilang* official whose home was situated at the Southern Chan Temple in the city of Wuxi; his daughter sought for an earthly manifestation of a celestial immortal. Suddenly were written words that said: 'Nine Flowers Heavenly Immortal is descending to earth.' When she asked who this was, the answer came: 'You have sought for an earthly manifestation of the spirit-woman of Wu mountain, that is who it is. I have composed a poem to the *cipai* set melody and rhyme scheme "Xi nu jiao", a large-scale composition in nine stanzas ... of which the ninth dwells on the word "return" and the whole lyric song says: "I will return." I have been away from the palace of the celestial beings for a long time. My cave-like cell has no one looking after it. It simply awaits my return. I desire to take out my metal and flint and undertake thousands upon thousands of spiritual exercises. When my words are over, do not forget them. *Li-luo-li*.' (Subsequent text is omitted.)

37 *Quan Song ci*, 1279.

38 Prevailing redactions give the *juan* number where this quotation occurs as 113. *Yijian* is an ancient figure, dates uncertain, said to be adept at writing.

紹興九年，張淵道侍郎家居無錫南禪寺，其女請大仙。忽書曰：「九華天仙降」。問爲誰？曰：世人所請巫山神女者是也。賦《惜奴嬌》大曲一篇凡九闕。……其第九曰「歸」詞云：吾歸矣，仙宮久離。洞戶無人管之。專俟吾歸。欲要開金燧，千萬頻修已。言訖無忘之。哩囉哩。（下略）<sup>39</sup>

This is (an extract from) a substantial composition representing the tale 'arm-in-arm supporting the Ji Celestial Immortal of the (Chinese) Ouija Board' 乩仙扶出的大曲 of the Shaoxing era; in it, the spirit-woman of Wu mountain sings *li-luo*. In later epochs, when people made supplication to the god Guankou 灌口 (alias) Qingyuan 清源,<sup>40</sup> the ancestral master of theatrical entertainment, they also sang *luo-li*. It seems that in the Song dynasty, the custom of singing *luo-li* was particularly prevalent in Xichuan 西川. Compiled and written by the Nine Mountains Book Society (Jiushan shuhui 九山書會), Zhang Xie, the Zhuangyuan Scholar: Libretto (*Zhang Xie zhuangyuan xiwen* 張協狀元戲文; 'zhuangyuan': the Palace Examination 'Senior Wrangler'; Zhang Xie, d. c.307) gives:

Carrying my wares on a shoulder pole, I had just arrived in front of the temple when I saw a ne'er-do-well vagrant and got into a scuffle with him. Singing *li-lian-luo-luo-lian*, he made a complete fool of me ...

*Great Encyclopedia of the Yongle Era (Yongle da dian* 永樂大典; Yongle era: 1403–1424), *Xiwen san zhong jiaozhu* 戲文三種校注

我適來擔到廟前，見一個苦胎與它廝纏。口裡唱個噯囉囉噯，把小二便來薄賤。……（《永樂大典戲文三種校注》本）<sup>41</sup>

In the fifth scene, Zhang Xie says: 'Alone, away from Xichuan, with no companion.' 獨離西川無伴侶. Zhang Xie was himself a native of Xichuan. In this phrase, the usual character 'li' 哩 (in *li-luo-lian*) has been replaced through the common process in Chinese of 'sound-borrowing' (*jieyin* 借音) by another one with a similar sound 'li' 噯; the character for 'lian' 噯 (in *li-luo-lian*) appears just as is the case in Fujian music and is thus more worthy of attention.

39 Hong Mai, *Yijian zhi*, 13.291–292.

40 Qingyuan 清源 'Pure Spring': The ancestral master and god of theatrical entertainment. Perhaps associated with Qingshui 清水 'Pure Water', a Buddhist saint revered for his almsgiving whose secular name is Chen Zhaoying 陳昭應 (1047–1101).

41 *Yongle dadian xiwen sanzong*, 13991.25b.

Written by Dong Jieyuan (董解元, late twelfth–early thirteenth centuries) of the Jin dynasty, *Tale of the West Chamber* (*Xixiangji* 西廂記), *juan* 5, to the *qipai* set melody and rhyme scheme ‘Qiao hesheng’ 喬合笙 contains the following lower stanza:

Don't let trivia and gossip circulate bitterly in your breast. Be harmonious—*li-li-luo!* *Li-li-luo!* *Li-li-lai!*

休將閑事苦縈懷。和—哩哩囉！哩哩囉！哩哩來也！<sup>42</sup>

As Zhang Yan indicated, ‘*li*’ 哩 is husky, and ‘*luo*’ 囉 is pure; when a sentence break is required, use *luo-li*; when just a pause, use *ling-lun*. Wang Jide (王驥德, 1540–1623), *Tale of the West Chamber* (version three), scene two, includes: ‘*li-ye-bo, li-ye-luo*.’ 哩也波，哩也囉。<sup>43</sup> The notes give: ‘In the dialect of the north, this is like saying: “Just like this, just like this.” 北人方言猶言如此、如此。<sup>44</sup> Qian Nanyang (錢南揚, 1899–1987) dismisses this and states: ‘*Li-luo* is simply harmonious vocalisation and not a manner of speech exclusive to northerners.’ 囉囉是和聲，非北人所獨有。<sup>45</sup> Regarding (Zhang) Yutian’s *ling-lun* 唛唛, in the whole oeuvre of Complete Perfection Daoist adepts, only the formula *li-luo-ling* 哩囉唛 is followed, that is, *ling* 唛 and not *lun* 唛. In fact, *lun* 唛 is simply a lengthened version of the sound of *ling* 唛; harmonious vocalisations have the potential for extension in this way.

In the libretti of the Ming dynasty, sentences where singing *li-lian* 哩嚙 occurs as a ‘help-syllable’ (*bangqiang* 幫腔) linguistic device are frequently encountered. In 1975 in the city of Chaozhou 潮州 in Guangdong, a manuscript copy was unearthed of *The Official Corrected Version of ‘The Tale of Liu Xibi’s Gold Hairpin’* (*Zhengzi Liu Xibi jinchai ji* 正字劉希必金釵記;<sup>46</sup> Liu Xibi is a fictional character) dated to the sixth year of the Xuande 宣德 era (1431) in which the harmonious vocalisation *luo-li-lian* 囉哩嚙 is used in several places:

The fourth scene: ‘Dazhai lang’: ... as sung previously: ‘*Luo-li-lai, li-luo-lai. Luo-li-luo-li-li-luo-lai!* *Li-luo-li-lai-luo-li-lai. Li-lai-luo-li-lai!*’

42 Zhonghua shuju Shanghai bianji suo, *Ming Jiajing ben Dong Jieyuan Xixiang ji*, 5.8b.

43 Wang Shifu, *Xin jiaozhu guben xixiangji*, comm. Wang Jide, 3.13b.

44 Wang Shifu, *Xin jiaozhu guben xixiangji*, comm. Wang Jide, 3.21a.

45 Qian Nanyang, *Yongle dadian xiwen sanzong jiaozhu*, 76.

46 *Liu Xibi jinchai ji*, 1–163.

第四齣：〔大齋郎〕……前腔：羅哩唻，哩羅唻，羅哩羅哩哩羅唻。哩羅哩唻羅哩唻。哩唻羅哩唻！<sup>47</sup>

The thirty-second scene: 'Goose Dance': 'Kulugan, your servant's name is Dalasu.' ... (together): '*Li-lian! Luo-lian-li-lian! Lian-lian! Luo-li-luo-luo! Li-lian-luo-li-lian-luo! Lian-li-lian! Lian-li-lian! Luo-luo-li-lian-luo-li-lian!*'

第三十二齣：〔雁兒舞〕：嘩嚕干，阿如奴名答刺速。……（合）哩噠！囉噠哩噠！噠噠！囉哩囉囉！哩噠囉哩噠囉！噠哩噠！囉哩噠！囉囉哩噠囉哩噠。<sup>48</sup>

The fortieth scene: 'Goose Dance': ... altogether now: '*Li-lian-luo-lian! Li-lian-lai-luo-li! Luo-luo-li-lian! Luo-lian-li-lian! Luo-li-lian-luo-luo-li-lian-luo-li-lian!*' (recitative by the *mo* [middle-aged male] role)

第四十齣：〔雁兒舞〕……齊聲：哩噠囉噠！哩噠唻囉哩！囉囉哩噠！囉噠哩噠！羅哩噠羅羅哩！噠囉哩噠！（末白）<sup>49</sup>

The sixty-fourth scene: ... waiting for them, husband-and-wife, the two sing '*luo-lian-li*.... the *sheng* (male) role sings: '*Luo-li-lian! Luo-li-lian!*'

第六十四齣：……等他夫婦，兩人囉噠哩。……生唱〔囉哩噠！囉哩噠〕。<sup>50</sup>

The *Liu Xibi* libretto is in fact Liu Wenlong's 劉文龍 'Water-Calthrop Flower Mirror' ('Linghua jing' 菱花鏡).<sup>51</sup> Written in the Xuande era, at the end of the each *juan*, the following title is offered: 'Newly edited and fully illustrated throughout, studded with numerous amusing anecdotes and action from the south and north, both loyal and filial, *The Official Corrected Version of "The Tale of Liu Xibi's Gold Hairpin"*': 新編全相南北插科忠孝正字劉希必金釵記.<sup>52</sup> Newly edited and recently re-copied, in it is preserved the harmonic vocalisation *li-luo-lian*, and it has also imbibed linguistic items from Mongolian, so

47 *Mingben Chaozhou xiwen wuzhong*, 9–11.

48 *Mingben Chaozhou xiwen wuzhong*, 67.

49 *Mingben Chaozhou xiwen wuzhong*, 75.

50 *Mingben Chaozhou xiwen wuzhong*, 129.

51 Jao Tsung-i gives Liu Wenlong as the writer of 'Water-Calthrop Flower Mirror', but prevailing sources suggest it is the title of another opera.

52 *Mingben Chaozhou xiwen wuzhong*, 148.

clearly it must have originally been replicated from Liu Wenlong's Yuan dynasty urtext. It contains a passage that recounts: 'Calling "Mongolian Servant" and singing Mongolian pieces,' 叫番奴，唱番曲，<sup>53</sup> in which these traits are still more self-evident. The sections quoted above are newly unearthed material and as such extremely valuable. (The opera is now listed as one of the *Ming Dynasty Chaozhou Libretti: Five Types* [*Mingdai Chaozhou xiwen wu zhong* 明代潮州戲文五種].) In the thirty-second and fortieth scenes, the *li-luo-lian* that are found are sung by actors together and seem identical to Marshal Tian's incantations recited in modern Puxian opera and can thus be regarded as of insuperable value when researching into the incantations of the god of theatrical entertainment.

Regarding Jin and Yuan dynasty opera libretti and singing *li-luo*, there is demonstrable evidence of it in *Tale of the West Chamber* (*Xixiang ji*) and 'Water-Calthrop Flower Mirror' ('Linghua jing'). In a Ming dynasty Chenghua era (成化, 1465–1487) volume, in the opening to the opera *Tale of the White Rabbit* (*Baitu ji* 白兔記), a composition to the *qu* set melody 'Red Peony' ('Hong shaoyao' 紅芍藥) records:

The *mo* (male) character sings: 'Li-luo-lian! Luo-luo-li! Lian-lian-lian! Li-luo-li! Lian-li-lian! Luo-lian-li-lian! Luo-li-lian! Li-lian-luo-lian! Li-lian-luo-lian! ... Li-lian-luo! Li-luo-li!' (A manuscript of the Chenghua era excavated in Shanghai that contains examples of the 'talking and singing' genre and dialogue of lyric songs.)

末唱：哩囉嚙！囉囉哩！連連連！哩囉哩！連哩連！囉連哩連！囉哩連！哩連囉連！哩連囉連……哩連囉！哩囉哩！（上海出土成化本說唱詞話）<sup>54</sup>

The *li-luo-lian* sung by the *mo* character has exactly the same origin as that in *The Tale of Liu Xibi's Gold Hairpin*.

In the Ming dynasty, *qu* compositions such as one to the *cipai* set melody 'Yellow Oriole' ('Huang ying'er' 黃鶯兒) by Wang Yue (王越, 1426–1499) also use the phrase '*li-luo-luo, luo-li*' in them (see *Wang Xiangmin gongji* 王襄敏公集 [Wang Xiangmin is a soubriquet used by Wang Yue], final *juan* [see towards the end of the fourth and final *juan*]). Yang Shen (楊慎, 1488–1559) in *Cipin* 詞品 discusses harmonious vocalisations and observes: 'like the *li-luo-lian* that is found nowadays,' 若今之哩囉嚙, and from this the wide application in

53 *Mingben Chaozhou xiwen wuzhong*, 75. Chen Liming, *Jinchai ji qi yanjiu*, 176.

54 *Ming Chenghua shuochang cihua congkan*, 12: 1b.



the Ming dynasty of singing *luo-li* can be understood. At the start of the Qing dynasty, Cao Yin's (曹寅, 1658–1712) works include a *shi* 詩 poem 'Listening to the Music of Fujian' ('Ting Min yue' 聽閩樂) that gives:<sup>55</sup>

Striking the instrument strings in precise harmonious accord with the melody,  
In spaces between the dancing, not even re-wiping its decorative inlays.  
The theatre lad's comic capers have the whole hall rocking with laughter,  
Cupping the ear as if listening to *luo-li-lian*.

一拍么絃一和纏，舞餘無復掃花鈿。囷郎漫縱哄堂笑，摘耳猶聞囉哩噠。<sup>56</sup>

There is also an introduction that includes:

I (Cao Yin) remember that I once had a copy of Dong Jieyuan's *Tale of the West Chamber*. Not only do I understand the speech of fowls, but I am also fluent in snake language. (*Lianting shichao*)

記董解元西廂嘗有之。老子不獨解禽言，竝通蛇語矣。（《棟亭詩鈔》）<sup>57</sup>

This passage mocks the singing of *luo-li-lian*. Regarding those who speak the language of snakes, *The History of the Liao Dynasty* (*Liao shi* 遼史), 'Guoyu jie' 國語解 (*juan* 116) gives: "Shensugu" is the name of an individual who was a member of the royal household who understood the language of snakes.' 神速姑，宗室人名，能知蛇語。<sup>58</sup> Cao Yin has here taken the singing of *luo-li* in the music of Fujian and compared it to 'snake language'. It can therefore be seen that by the early Qing dynasty, the custom (of singing *li-luo*) was only preserved in Fujian, as is evident. In other regions, it had probably already disappeared, thus singing *li-luo* was probably misunderstood as Fujian music's only defining characteristic, and this was in fact incorrect!

55 This poem is in *juan* 7 of *Lianting shichao* 棟亭詩鈔 in a section titled 'Zai guo Zheng shi jiang cun' 再過鄭氏江村; the individual indicated by 'Master Zheng' cannot be traced. The introduction cited here comes slightly earlier than the *shi* poem and is worded somewhat differently in prevailing sources.

56 Cao Yin, *Lianting shichao*, 7.18a (201: 426).

57 Cao Yin, *Lianting shichao*, 7.18a (201: 426).

58 *Liao shi*, 116.1537.

### 3 In the Ming Dynasty, Singing *Luo-li-lian* when Making Offerings to the God of Theatrical Entertainment the Ancestral Master Qingyuan

In a collection of the celebrated Ming dynasty master of *qu* poetry (Tang Xianzu 湯顯祖, 1550–1616) *Anthology of Tang Xianzu's (Poetry and Prose; Tang Xianzu [shiwén]ji* 湯顯祖〔詩文〕集), 'Yuming tang wen' 玉茗堂文 (*juan* 34), volume 7, is an essay that discusses the history of the god of theatrical entertainment: 'Yihuang xian xishen Qingyuan shi miao ji' 宜黃縣戲神清源師廟記), which is an extremely well-known passage pertaining to the history of theatrical *qu* composition, and in it is a passage that reads:

I have heard of Qingyuan, the Guankou god of Xichuan, who obtained the Way through play-acting and entertaining and left the teachings of his skills flowing through the world. At present no temple is dedicated to his memory. Members of theatrical companies customarily offer a libation of wine to him as part of the prologue to a theatrical performance and simply sing '*luo-li-lian*', something I generally heartily dislike ... The *da sima* Commander-in-Chief (Tan Lun, 1520–1577), when he returned from Zhejiang, taught this to his company of theatrical entertainers, and it was called 'sea-salt voice'. After the *da sima* Commander-in-Chief had been dead for twenty or more years, those who earned their livelihood from these skills numbered almost a thousand or more people ... I asked whether there were those who still made offerings in like manner after the example of the *da sima* Commander-in-Chief and received the answer that there were none who dared do this. The practice is now limited to food offerings made to the general (Marshal) Tian Dou.

*Tang Xianzu shiwén ji, juan 34*

余聞清源，西川灌口神也。以遊戲得道，流此教於人間。訖無祠者。子弟開呵時一醪之，唱「囉哩噠」而已，予每為恨。……大司馬（譚綸）以浙人歸教其子弟，能為海鹽腔。大司馬死二十餘年矣，食其技者殆千餘人。……予問倘以大司馬從祀乎？曰：不敢。止以田、竇二將軍配食也。……（《湯顯祖詩文集》卷三十四）<sup>59</sup>

This passage can be used to investigate the process of the formation of 'sea-salt voice' during the Wanli 萬曆 era (1573–1620), and the role of offerings made to the ancestral master Qingyuan as the god of theatrical entertainment by the

59 Tang Xianzu, 'Yihaung xian xishen Qingyuan shi miaoji', 34.1128.

opera performers of Yihuang county. In the same book in *juan* 18 is also a *shi* poem that contains lines that read: 'In secret darkness, towards the Qingyuan temple, recite an incantation; hoping that the god will teach me to receive plentifully into my voice the example of the cuckoo's singing.'<sup>60</sup> 暗向清源祠下咒，教迎啼徹杜鵑聲。<sup>61</sup> The collator of this anthology was Master Xu Shuofang (徐朔方, 1923–2007), so another set of notes is not provided here for these lines, and their origin is probably obscure. Meng Yuanlao (孟元老, fl. twelfth century) in *Dongjing menghua lu* 東京夢華錄 (east capital: Kaifeng), *juan* 8 (in a passage titled: 'The Sixth Day of the Sixth Month: Birthday of His Excellency Governor Cui; the Twenty-Fourth Day: Birthday of the God [Erlang] of the God Protects Daoist Temple' ['Liu yue liu ri Cui Fujun shengri ershi si ri shen bao guan shen shengri' 六月六日崔府君生日二十四日神保觀神生日]), includes a record of the twenty-fourth day of the sixth month, when in Zhouxi 州西 on the birthday of Guankou-alias-Erlang, operas were performed, and the spectacle was most magnificent.<sup>62</sup>

Yang Wujiu (楊無咎, 1097–1171) of the Southern Song dynasty in his *Taochan ci* 逃禪詞 includes a composition called 'The God Erlang' ('Erlang shen' 二郎神) whose titular subtext reads 'Qingyuan's Birthday'; 清源生辰; exemplar sentences of the poem are: 'Guankou seized the dragon and rendered the waterways of Lidui level; what need is there then to enquire whether the achievement exceeds that of the ancient times of yesteryear. There should be a renaissance to protect our borderlands and once again allow all in the Four Quarters to live at peace.' 灌口擒龍，離堆平水，休問功超前古。當中興、護我邊陲，重使四方安堵。<sup>63</sup> *Ciliu* (collated by Wan Shu: c.1630–1688), *juan* 15 (which contains this poem), gives: 'This appears to be a lyric song wishing the god longevity on his birthday.' 此似壽神之詞。<sup>64</sup> Yang Wujiu's composition is thus to be regarded as a poem extolling the longevity of the god Qingyuan. Feng Yingjing (馮應京, 1555–1606) in *Yueling guangyi* gives: 'The sixth month, the twenty-sixth day, is the birthday of the god Erlang and (-cum-) Qingyuan, the Perfected Immortal.' 六月二十六日爲二郎神及清源真人誕。<sup>65</sup> According to *Dongjing menghua lu*, the supposed birthday of Qingyuan ought to be the twenty-fourth day of the sixth month.<sup>66</sup>

60 The poem from which these lines are taken is called: 'Ji sheng jiao Zhang Luo'er hen Wu Ying dan kouhao' 寄生腳張羅二恨吳迎旦口號。

61 Tang Xianzu, 'Ji sheng jiao Zhang Luo'er hen Wu Ying dan kouhao', 18.740.

62 Meng Yuanlao, *Dongjing menghua lu zhu*, 8.205.

63 Wan Shu, *Ciliu*, 15.31a (350).

64 *Ciliu cidian*, 244.

65 Feng Yingjing, *Yueling guangyi*, 11.12a–12b.

66 Meng Yuanlao, *Dongjing menghua lu zhu*, 8.205–6.

Who then was Qingyuan? Ming dynasty Tan Qian's (談遷, 1594–1658) *Zaolin za zu* 棗林雜俎 gives: 'The god Erlang was the excellently skilled Perfected Gentleman Qingyuan, who as Zhao Yu (*fl.* Sui dynasty), the Governor of Jiazhou, decapitated a water dragon. During which dynasty did he live? From which aristocratic lineage did he stem? He was called Erlang.' 二郎神為清源妙道真君，即嘉州守趙昱斬蛟者也。未詳何代？何封？稱為二郎。<sup>67</sup> On examining Song dynasty vernacular oral storytelling, in 'Kan pixue dan zheng Erlang shen' 勘皮靴單證二郎神 is already mentioned a personage 'Qingyuan, the excellently skilled god Erlang,' 清源妙道二郎神 (see: *Everlasting Words that awaken the World* [*Xing shi heng yan* 醒世恒言; by Feng Menglong 馮夢龍, 1574–1646]; *juan* 13), which tells a story of the court of the Song dynasty emperor Huizong.<sup>68</sup> Zhao Yu originally lived during the Sui dynasty, and traces of his existence seem first to appear in *Records of Dragon City* (*Longcheng lu* 龍城錄) (traditionally attributed to Liu Zongyuan [柳宗元, 773–819]). Modern scholar Li Xiaocang (李嘯倉, b. 1921), writing according to Yao Fujun's (姚福均, *fl.* late Qing dynasty) *Zhu ding yu wen* 鑄鼎餘聞 that quotes Wang Jun's (王峻, 1694–1751) *Suzhou fu zhi* 蘇州府志 (*juan* 38), gives: 'In the time of the Song dynasty emperor Zhenzong (968–1022, r. 997–1022), Qingyuan was conferred the additional honour of "excellently skilled Perfected Gentleman".' 宋真宗時晉封清源妙道真君。<sup>69</sup>

Taking Zhao Yu and the god Erlang, combining them, and awarding 'them' the title Qingyuan had its inception in fact in the epoch of the Song dynasty emperor Zhenzong. (For more precise details, see Master Li's [Li Xiaocang's] work 'Pinghua zhong de Erlang Shen' 平話中的二郎神 in *Song Yuan jiyi zakao* 宋元伎藝雜考.)<sup>70</sup> Chen Huai ren (陳懷仁, *fl.* eighteenth century) of the Qing dynasty and a native of Zunyi 遵義 who wrote a biography of Zhao Yu regards him as a native of Emei 峨嵋 who studied with the Master Li Ban (李班, 288–334) and practised the Daoist method at Qingcheng 青城 mountain. He (Chen Huai ren) writes in particular detail on matters pertaining to Zhao Yu. (For the text, see Li Sichun's [李思純, 1893–1960] *Jiangcun shilun* 江村十論, that quotes from *Le Shan zhi* 樂山志 [by Huang Rong 黃鏞, *fl.* eighteenth century, et al.])<sup>71</sup> By the Ming dynasty, the stories of ancestral master Qingyuan and Li Bing's (李冰, *fl.* third century BCE) son (the god Erlang) had been amalgamated, and in the region south of the Yangtze River, temples dedicated to Qingyuan

67 Tan Qian, *Zaolin zazu*, 330.

68 Feng Menglong, *Xingshi hengyan*, 13.5b (718).

69 Li Xiaocang, 'Pinghua zhong de Erlang shen', 130.

70 Li Xiaocang, 'Pinghua zhong de Erlang shen', 127–32.

71 Li Sichun, *Jiangcun shilun*, 77.

appeared. An example of one of these is mentioned in Deng Fu's (*fl.* sixteenth century) *Changshu zhi* 常熟志, written in the eighteenth year of the Jiajing era (1539), *juan* 2:

The Qingyuan Excellently Skilled Perfected Gentleman Temple is inside Jiefu Gate. It is dedicated to a god who was the son of Li Bing, Governor of Shu prefecture in the state of Qin. He once eliminated a water dragon infestation of the river flowing through the Shu capital and enjoyed accolade for controlling floodwaters. In the Song dynasty capital Kaifeng was built a God Protects Daoist Temple. Local people regard Changshu as the lower reaches of the (Yangtze) river, and therefore after the temple had been constructed, requests were made to the imperial court for sacrificial ceremonies dedicated to him to be enacted.

清源妙道真君廟—在介福門內。神秦蜀太守李冰之子。嘗除蜀都江之蛟孽，有水功。宋汴京爲築神保觀。邑人以常熟爲江之下流，故有廟後請於朝以祀焉。<sup>72</sup>

In the Song capital, sacrificial ceremonies were performed for Zhao Yu. *Dongjing menghua lu* gives an account of celebrations marking the birthday of Guankou—alias—Erlang, and with operas by the hundred performed in a most lavish manner, he evolved to become the patron god of theatrical entertainment, a legend already current since the Song dynasty and which in the Ming dynasty obtained new depth and significance. In Yihuang, offerings were made to the ancestral master Qingyuan and *li-luo-lian* was sung; those made to Qingyuan were also for the general Tian Dou to enjoy, who, as Marshal Tian, for the people of Fujian was also a recipient of offerings. According to Yue Ke (岳珂, 1183–1243) in *Tingshi* 程史, *juan* 10, in the entry '(Lei) Wanchun lingyu' [雷] 萬春伶語 (Lei Wanchun: d. 757), this person (Marshall Tian) was called Lei Haiqing (雷海青, 716–755) and had lived in the time of the Tang dynasty emperor Minghuang (明皇, also called Tang Xuanzong 唐玄宗, 685–762, r. 712–756). The character for 'Lei' 雷 in its abbreviated form is written 田 ('Tian'), for example, Lei 雷 Wanchun is also Tian 田 Wanchun. The reason *luo-li-lian* evolved to become a Marshal Tian incantation was probably because in the Ming dynasty, the general Tian together with the ancestral master Qingyuan became joint recipients of shared offerings, and therefore, given the situation, for the guest to usurp the status of the host is a role-reversal that can be readily understood.

<sup>72</sup> *Hongzhi Changshu xianzhi*, 2.79a (1: 89).

*The God Erlang* (*Erlang shen* 二郎神) is the name of a composition in the repertory of the Tang dynasty Imperial Music Academy, while ‘Guankou-alias-Erlang Decapitates the Spirit and Body of the Water Dragon’ (‘Guankou Erlang zhan jian jiao’ 灌口二郎斬健蛟) is a title employed in vernacular opera. Zhang Tangying (張唐英, 1029–1071) of the Song dynasty in his *Shu Taowu* 蜀壽杙 records performance of a contemporary Imperial Music Academy comic sketch composition ‘Guankou shendui’ 灌口神隊 that takes the mode of two dragons engaged in combat. Chen Zhan’s (陳鱣, 1753–1817) *Xu Tang shu* 續唐書 attributes this event to the fifteenth year of the Guangzheng 廣政 era (952) as a martial opera performed at the court of the Later Shu dynasty of the Five Dynasties in the Meng Chang Palace (Meng Chang: 孟昶, 919–965) that recounted the decapitation of a water dragon as its centrepiece, and the story of the god Erlang and Zhao Yu would, as a matter of course, have constituted its background. The origin and evolution of the god Guankou and subsequent formulation into vernacular opera can thus be traced back to the epoch of the Later Shu dynasty.

The historical origin of theatrical gods has already become an area discussed by experts in the field. Numerous ensembles of the genre ‘Southern Sounds’ (Nanyin 南音) found in south-east Asian Fujian are titled using the epithet ‘Lord (Er)lang Association’, ([Er]lang jun she 〔二〕郎君社) and in both Bangzi 梆子 and Pihuang 皮簧 opera companies, the theatrical god is called ‘Old (Er)lang’ 老〔二〕郎. There are those who say that ‘Old (Er)-Lang’ is an appellation that stems from the vernacular storytelling of village schools and literary societies.<sup>73</sup> Other theories abound (see: *Tang xi nong* 唐戲弄 [by Ren Bantang 任半塘, 1897–1991], the eighth case study), but since they exceed the scope of this paper, let us not be burdened with them here.

#### 4 Epilogue

*Luo-li-lian* is in essence harmonised vocalisation, but why did it later turn into an incantation? In the Tang dynasty Dunhuang manuscript ‘Siddham Chapter’ (‘Xitan zhang’ 悉曇章), the four characters *lu-liu-lu-lou* 魯流盧樓 are customarily used to link passages of the composition together, inserted into the last line of the upper stanza of each passage as a harmonised vocalisation. This happens in ‘Suliu xitan zhang’ 俗流悉談章 and ‘Fo shuo Lengjia Chanmen xitan zhang’ 佛說楞伽禪門悉談章 as well as widely elsewhere, and all retain the same format.

73 See Chen Bingliang, ‘Fulu: Cong shuhui dao liyuan’, in ‘Zhongguo de shuishen chuanshuo yu Xiyouji’, 203–25.

*Lu-liu-lu-lou* were originally the four Sanskrit 'liquid consonants' (*liuyin* 流音) ㄹ ㄹ ㄴ ㄴ and can be translated (transliterated) in many different ways: some use *li-li-lou-lou* 離離樓樓 (the Japanese Imperial Household alternative edition of *The Mahāparinirvāna Sutra* [in Chinese: *Da ban niepan jing* 大般涅槃經]), while others prefer *li-li-lü-lu* 哩哩啞嚧 (Bu Kong's [不空, 705–774] translation); these four syllables have their own special significance: '*Lu-liu-lu-lou*, each of these four characters has its own meaning, and they indicate respectively: Buddha, the Law, monkhood, and doctrinal exegesis.' 魯流盧樓，如是四字有四義，調佛、法、僧及對法。<sup>74</sup> From Tan Wuchen (曇無讖, 385–433 or 439) of the Northern Liang dynasty in his translation of *The Mahāparinirvāna Sutra*, *juan* 8, 'Tenet of the Nature of Tathāgata' ('*Rulai xing pin*' 如來性品) (the fourth section, the fifth subsection) to Huiyan (慧嚴, 363–443) et al. of the Southern (Liu) Song dynasty and their translation of *The Mahāparinirvāna Sutra*, also in *juan* 8, 'Tenet on Written Language' ('*Wenzi pin*' 文字品; the thirteenth tenet), all offer the same doctrinal explanation of this phrase. Using it as harmonious vocalisation has a degree of functionality, especially in Tantric Buddhism, so regarding it as an incantation is easily accomplished.

I once wrote an essay: 'Four Sanskrit "Liquid Consonants" ㄹ ㄹ ㄴ ㄴ and their Influence on the Study of Chinese Philology' ('*Fanyu ㄹ ㄹ ㄴ ㄴ si liuyin ji qi dui Hanwenxue zhi yingxiang*' 梵語 ㄹ ㄹ ㄴ ㄴ 四流音及其對漢文學之影響) that has already been translated into Japanese by Kin Bunkyō 金文京 and published in the *Kyoto University Journal of Chinese Literature* (*Chūgoku bungaku hō* 中國文學報), volume 32, so there is no need to add more detail here. By the early Ming dynasty, taking the three syllables *luo-li-lian* and singing them repeatedly in any order had already been widely adopted by opera libretti, and *The Tale of Liu Xibi's Gold Hairpin* is an excellent example that demonstrates this practice; later, the formula evolved and penetrated Puxian opera of Fujian, where it became an incantation of Marshal Tian used to promote auspiciousness and prevent inauspiciousness. Travelling back in time to search for its origins, it came from the same wellspring as late Tang dynasty Chan Buddhist monks singing *li-luo*, and the process of its evolution can thus be successfully sought and made explicit.

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The following photos were taken from a handwritten copy of *Guangdong Yaozu wenshu* 廣東僑族文書 made in the *yiyou* 乙酉 of the Guangxu 光緒 era (1885).

<sup>74</sup> *Niepan jing huishu*, 8. 482a (56: 963).



FIGURE 13.A The mystery of Luo-li-lian  
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生上一百廿歲命在轉路通到老君街尾文老君庫內  
 一百廿分絲馬請出陰據相對陽據陽據請出陰據  
 燒據重呪  
 哭上里吾師放火燒文書哭里連吾師放火燒福引  
 未曾過火成文字過了紅火交據引  
 吾師把双童子踏上天門文

FIGURE 13.B The mystery of *Luo-li-lian*  
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# Index

## Citations

### *Titles given in Chinese*

Arranged in alphabetical order according to principal English words.

Some modern texts cited only in footnotes are not included here, but historic texts are.

'Affairs of the Heart' 〈心事子〉 228

Dunhuang composition.

*The Analects* 《論語》 66

Author: Confucius (551–479 BCE)

Essay 13: 'Zi Lu' 〈子路〉 66

Zi Lu: another name for Zhong You  
仲由 (542–480 BCE)

'Another Composition' 〈又曲子〉 247

Dunhuang composition.

'Autumn Bamboo' ('Qiu zhu') 〈秋竹〉 49

*Qin* composition.

Mention of it is found some redactions of  
Song Yu's 'Song Yu fu' 〈宋玉賦〉 also  
called: 'Feng fu' 〈諷賦〉 49 n. 14

'Autumn Night' 〈秋夜〉 241 n. 23

Poem by Liu Yong 柳永 (987–1053)

Found in: *Leibian caotang shiyu* 《類編草  
堂詩餘》 302 n. 48

*Avatamsaka Sutra* 《華嚴經》 281

A Buddhist scripture.

*Baqiong shi jinshi zhaji* 《八瓊室金

石札記》 159

Author: Lu Zengxiang 陸增祥 (1816–1882)

'Basheng Ganzhou' 〈八聲甘州〉 304–305

Late Tang dynasty poem or composition.

*Baihu tong* 《白虎通》 10, 58

Author: Ban Gu 班固 (32–92 CE)

*Juan 2*, the latter half: 'Li yue pian'  
〈禮樂篇〉 58

*Baizhu shikan shicun* 《拜竹詩龕詩存》

204

Author: Feng Dengfu 馮登府 (1783–1841)

*Banfangzhai biannian shi* 《半舫齋編  
年詩》 199

Poetry anthology of Xia Zhirong 夏之蓉  
(1697–1784)

*Baoya zhai tiba* 《寶鴨齋題跋》 173

Author: Xu Shujun 徐樹鈞 (1842–1910)

*Basic Questions* 《素問》 107

No author recorded.

The first of two books that comprise

*Huangdi neijing* 《黃帝內經》

107 n. 4

Chapter 26 overall, found in *juan 8*:

'Bazheng shenming lun' 〈八正

神明論〉 107

Exegetical notes by Wang Bing 王冰

(c.710–c.805) to this passage are

found in *juan 19* of his notes to this  
text 107

'Beating White Silk' 〈搗練子〉 336

*Cipai* set melody and rhyme scheme.

'Begging for Food' 〈乞食〉 37

*Shi* poem by Tao Yuanming 陶淵明

(365–427)

*Beimeng suoyan* 《北夢瑣言》 215

Author: Sun Guangxian 孫光憲

(896–968)

*Biji manzhi* 《碧雞漫志》 247, 369

Author: Wang Zhuo 王灼 (1105–1160)

*Juan 5* includes a section: 'Pusa man'

〈菩薩蠻〉 304–305

*Bie lu* 《別錄》 20, 57

Compilers: father and son Liu Xiang

劉向 (77–6 BCE), Liu Xin 劉歆

(c.50 BCE–23 CE)

Lost in the Tang dynasty.

Precursor to *Qi lue* 《七略》 10, 47–48,

57

'Bie xianzi' 〈別仙子〉 276

Composition in a Dunhuang Manuscript.

'Boluo tonggu fu' 〈波羅銅鼓賦〉 196

Poet: Li Suiqiu 黎遂球 (1602–1646)

*Bo Ya xinfa* 〈伯牙心法〉 321

*Qin* anthology compiled by Yang Lun

楊掄 (d. 1634)

*The Book of Changes* 《易經》 3 n. 1, 15, 93,

144, 287

- Traditionally ascribed ten ancient commentaries or 'wings' 十翼.  
*The Ten Wings Commentary on the Book of Changes* 《易傳》 93  
 'Xici shang' 繫辭上 3 n. 1  
 The fifth of the ten wings.  
 'Wenyan zhuan' 文言傳 15  
 The tenth of the ten wings.  
 Divided into two parts: 'qian' 乾 and 'kun' 坤 109
- The Book of Documents* 《尚書》 7, 58, 96, 98, 138 n. 43  
 Many authors.  
 Chapter numbers given according to the orthodox Old Text 古文 version.  
 Chapter 2: 'Shun dian' 舜典 138 n. 43  
 Chapter 4: 'Gao Yao mo' 皋陶謨 96  
 Chapter 5: 'Yi Ji' 益稷 96 n. 16  
 Chapter 32: 'Hong fan' 洪範 7  
 Chapter 55: 'Lü xing' 呂刑 58
- The Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial* 《儀禮》 9  
 Many authors: Warring States period  
 Chapter 7: 'Dashu' 大射 9 n. 18
- The Book of Songs* 《詩經》 4, 54, 160 n. 51  
 1–160: 'Guo feng' 國風  
 55–64: 'Wei feng' 衛風 59  
 60: 'Wanlan' 芄蘭 59  
 75–95: 'Zheng feng' 鄭風 4  
 75: 'Zi yi' 緇衣 4  
 82: 'Nüyue jiming' 女曰鷄鳴 4 n. 4  
 154–160: 'Bin feng' 邶風 23, 60  
 160: 'Langba' 狼跋 61  
 161–234: 'Xiao ya' 小雅 62, 160 n. 51  
 161: 'Luming' 鹿鳴 62  
 165: 'Famu' 伐木 62  
 221: 'Yuzao' 魚藻 160 n. 51  
 235–265: 'Da ya' 大雅 60, 168  
 242: 'Lingtai' 靈臺 168  
 253: 'Min lao' 民勞 60  
 266–296: 'Zhou song' 周頌 39, 54  
 271: 'Haotian you chengming' 昊天有成命 40  
 280: 'You gu' 有瞽 56 n. 43  
 285: 'Wu' 武 54  
 295: 'Lai' 賚 54  
 297–300: 'Lu song' 魯頌 9  
 301–305: 'Shang song' 商頌 7, 60  
 302: 'Liezhu' 烈祖 64  
 304: 'Chang fa' 長發 60
- Mao zhuan* 《毛傳》 59  
 Authors: Mao Heng 毛亨 (fl. late Warring States period – early Western Han dynasty) and Mao Chang 毛萇 (fl. early Western Han dynasty)  
*Maoshi* 《毛詩》 9 n. 20  
 Compilers: as above.  
 序 Introduction 14  
*Hanshi shuo* 《韓詩說》 13  
 Now lost in its entirety, though mentioned frequently in ancient texts.
- Book of the Southern Tang Dynasty* 《南唐書》 235  
 Author: Lu You 陸遊 (1125–1210)  
*Juan 16* includes 'Zhouhou zhuan' 周后傳 235
- Book of the Southern Tang Dynasty* 《南唐書》 235  
 Author: Ma Ling 馬令 (fl. late eleventh–twelfth centuries)  
*Juan 6*: 'Nü xian zhuan' 女憲傳 235 n. 6
- Broad Records of the Taiping Era* 《太平廣記》 179, 259  
 Many authors.  
 Completed in 978.  
*Juan 205* contains a section titled: 'Bronze Drums' 銅鼓 179  
*Juan 273*: 'Women: Juan 4' 婦人四 259  
 Contains an entry: 'Luozhong juren' 洛中舉人 259
- Broad Rhymes* 《廣韻》 263  
 Authors include Chen Pengnian 陳彭年 (961–1017)
- Cai ci* 采芡 301  
 Tang dynasty musical composition.  
 'Cai ci qu' 采芡曲 301  
 Tang dynasty recitation by Wang Guangyu 王光裕 (fl. tenth century) 301  
 Or an 'additional composition' 301, 304

- Cefu yuangui* 《冊府元龜》 217, 279  
Completed in 1013.  
*Juan* 563–596: 'Zhangli bu' 〈掌禮部〉  
279  
*Juan* 570: 'Zuoyue 6' 〈作樂六〉 279  
*Juan* 956–1000: 'Waichen bu'  
〈外臣部〉 217  
'Baoyi men' 〈褒異門〉 217  
A short subsection including *juan*  
976.
- Cenhua jushi lanjing lu* 《岑華居士  
蘭鯨錄》 199  
Poetry anthology of Wu Cihe 吳慈鶴  
(1778–1826)
- Chain of Rings* 〈連環套子〉 265  
Beijing opera.
- Chanmen risong* 《禪門日誦》 319  
Author not known, published 1834.  
'Chanmen xitan zhang' 〈禪門悉曇章〉 314  
Dunhuang manuscript.  
Also called: 'Zhuza zhenyan' 〈諸雜  
真言〉 or just 'Zhenyan' 〈真言〉  
314
- Changshu zhi* 《常熟志》 348  
Author: Deng Fu 鄧馱 (*fl.* sixteenth  
century)
- 'Chang di fu' 〈長笛賦〉 95  
Poet: Ma Rong 馬融 (79–166)  
Found in *juan* 18 of *Selections of Refined  
Literature (Wenxuan)* 《文選》 96
- Chaoyuan xianzhang* 〈朝元仙仗〉  
239 n. 18  
Painter: Wu Zongyuan 武宗元  
(c.990–1050)
- 'Chensi Wang gan Yushan fansheng zhibai  
ji diba' 〈陳思王感魚山梵聲制唄  
記第八〉 74  
The ruler Chensi: Cao Zhi 曹植 (192–232)
- Chi'an cangjin* 《癡龕藏金》 158  
Li Taifen 李泰棻 (1896–1972)  
Chi'an 癡龕 is Li Taifen's soubriquet.
- Chinese Clans and Theatrical Performance*  
《中國之宗族與演劇》 330  
Author: Tanaka Issei 田仲一成  
Title in Japanese: 中国の宗族と演劇  
Modern book.
- 'Chou Liu Chaisang shi' 〈酬劉柴桑詩〉 39  
Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (365–427)
- Chu san zang ji* 《出三藏記》 73  
Author: Seng You 僧祐 (445–518)  
*juan* 12: 'Miscellaneous Records'  
〈雜錄〉 73  
Mentions: *Anthology for a Mentor of  
Intoning the Scriptures* 《經唄導  
師集》 73  
The first type of these is 'Śakra's  
Musician Pañcavaśikhin's Qin  
Songs Intoned' 〈帝釋〔天〕  
樂人般遮琴歌唄〉 73
- Chuxue ji* 《初學記》 18 n. 51, 67  
Compiler: Xu Jian 徐堅 (660–729)  
*Juan* 15: 'Yuebu shang' 〈樂部上〉 67
- Cidiao suyuan* 《詞調溯源》 242 n. 23  
Author: Xia Jingguan 夏敬觀 (1875–1953)
- Cilü* 《詞律》 242 n. 23, 248  
Compiler: Wan Shu 萬樹 (c.1630–1688)  
*Juan* 15 contains: 'The God Erlang'  
〈二郎神〉 by Yang Wujui 楊無咎  
(1097–1171) 346, 349
- Cilü buyi* 《詞律補遺》 300  
Author: Du Wenlan 杜文瀾 (1815–1881)
- Cipin* 《詞品》 343  
Author: Yang Shen 楊慎 (1488–1559)
- Ciyuan* 《詞源》 229, 297, 298 n. 35, 338  
Author: Zhang Yan 張炎 (1248–1320)  
*Juan* 2 contains: 'Paiyan pian'  
〈拍眼篇〉 247
- 'Cloud Gates' 〈雲門〉 287  
Ancient dance.
- The Collected Works of Song Yu* 《宋玉集》  
48  
Author: Song Yu 宋玉 (*fl.* third century  
BCE)  
'Diao fu' 〈釣賦〉 48  
'Song Yu fu' 〈宋玉賦〉 also called: 'Feng  
fu' 〈諷賦〉 49 n. 14
- A Comprehensive Mirror in Aid of Governance*  
(*Zizhi tongjian*) 《資治通鑒》 236, 277,  
293, 304  
Author: Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086)  
236  
*Juan* 286–289: 'Hou Han ji' 〈後漢紀〉  
236  
*Juan* 290–294: 'Hou Zhou ji' 〈後周紀〉  
277

- Cui Xiyu's Compilation of Ancient Graphical Forms* 《崔希裕纂古》 53  
 Author: Cui Xiyu (this personage could not be traced)
- Dadai liji* 《大戴禮記》 129  
 Compiler: Dai De 戴德  
 (fl. first century BCE)  
 Essay 74, in *juan* 11: 'Xiaobian pian' 小辨篇 129
- Da Tang neidian lu* 《大唐內典錄》 74  
 Author: Dao Xuan 道宣 (596–667)
- 'Da Tao Yinju ji shu jian qi' 答陶隱居賁術煎啓 53  
 Tao Yinju: Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456–536)  
 Author: Yu Jianwu 庾肩吾 (487–551)  
 Source: *Quan Liang wen* 《全梁文》 53  
 Compiler: Yan Kejun 嚴可均 (1762–1843)  
*Juan* 66 is an anthology of the works of Yu Jianwu 庾肩吾 and Ruan Xiaoxu 阮孝緒 (479–536) and where this item is found 53
- 'Daxing shansi chanshi shamen Dinghui zan' 大興善寺禪師沙門定惠讚 316  
 Item in a Dunhuang manuscript.
- Da yue yi* 《大樂議》 9  
 Author: Jiang Kui 姜夔 (1154–1221)
- 'Dazhai lang' 大寨郎 337  
*Cipai* or *qu* set melody and rhyme scheme.
- Dazheng zang* (*Taishō*) 《大正藏》 73, 314  
 Taishō era (Japan): 1912–1926  
 Section 2: 'Benyuan bu' 《本緣部》 73
- Da Zhou Zhengyue* 《大周正樂》 50, 175, 281  
 Author: Dou Yan 竇儼 (918–960)  
 Total length: 120 *juan*  
 Includes: 'Musical Scores' 《曲譜》 283  
 This section of the book comprises 36 *juan* 283  
 These 36 include 4 *juan* on the *huangzhong* 黃鐘 and *dalü* 大呂 modes 283
- Daily Recitations from all the Scriptures* 《諸經日誦》 319  
 Author: Zhu Hong 祿宏 (1535–1615)  
 Published in 1600.  
 Contains the text: 'Pu'an dade chanshi shitan zhang shenzhou' 普安大德禪師釋談章神咒 319
- 'Dan da dasheng yue' 單打大聖樂 270  
 Song dynasty musical composition.
- 'Dance of Discouraging on Achievements' (Jianggong zhi wu) 講功之舞 302  
 Tang dynasty composition.  
 Another name for 'Music for Completed Achievements and Celebration of Goodness' 功成慶善樂 302
- 'Dance of the Seven Moralities' 七德舞 302  
 Tang dynasty composition.  
 Another name for 'Music for the Ruler of Qin breaking through the Ramparts' 秦王破陣樂 302
- 'Dance of Supreme Clarity' 太清舞 257  
 Song dynasty dance.
- The Daoist Canon (Daozang)* 《道藏》 337  
 Sometimes called *The Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Era* 《正統道藏》  
 Zhengtong era: 1436–1450  
 Many compilers.  
 'Taiping bu' 太平部 337  
 Vols. 793–795: 'Wang Chongyang Quanzhen ji' 王重陽全真集 337  
 Vol. 798: 'Shuiyun ji' 水雲集 337
- Dialects* 《方言》 59  
 Author: Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53 BCE–18 CE)  
 Notes by Guo Pu 郭璞 (276–324) 59
- Dianzhi guji* 《滇志古跡》 189  
 Author: Liu Wenzheng 劉文徵 (1555–1626)
- 'Differentiation between the Bronze Chun and the Chunyu' 金鎛錔于辨 166  
 Author: Wu Qian 吳騫 (1733–1813)
- Discourse on Nirvana* 《涅槃論》 37  
 Author: Seng Zhao 僧肇 (384–414)  
 Chapter 1: 'Kai zong' 開宗 37
- Discourses of the States (Guoyu)* 《國語》 62, 92, 120, 149  
 Sometimes attributed to: Zuo Qiuming 左丘明 (fl. late Spring and Autumn period)

*Discourses of the States (Guoyu)* (cont.)

- Juan* 1: 'Zhouyu shang, Part One (of Three)' 《周語上》 99, 120
- Juan* 3: 'Zhouyu xia, Part Three (of Three)' 《周語下》 97
- Juan* 7-15: 'Jinyu' 《晉語》 149
- Juan* 16: 'Zhengyu' 《鄭語》 62, 99
- Juan* 17-18: 'Chuyu' 《楚語》 96
- Juan* 19: 'Wuyu' 《吳語》 149
- Guoyu zhu* 《國語注》 95, 150
- Author: Wei Zhao 韋昭 (204-273)
- 'Distribution Map of Bronze Drums since the Han and Jin Dynasties' 《漢晉以來銅鼓分佈地圖》 179
- Compiler: Li Jiarui 李家瑞 (1895-1975)
- 'Zhanxiang' 《瞻相》 258
- Tang-Song dynasty drinking song.
- Also written as 《占相》 259
- 'Dongdu fu' 《東都賦》 29
- Poet: Ban Gu 班固 (32-92 CE)
- Found in *juan* 1 of *Selections of Refined Literature (Wenxuan)* 《文選》 12 n. 31, 131
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- Dongguan Hanji* 《東觀漢記》 168 n. 84
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- Author: Huang Bosi 黃伯思 (1078-1118)
- Comprises two *juan*.
- Juan* 1 contains: 'Han jinchun shuo' 《漢金鎔說》 151
- Dongjing menghua lu* 《東京夢華錄》 255, 346
- Author: Meng Yuanlao 孟元老 (*fl.* twelfth century)
- East capital: Kaifeng
- Juan* 8 contains a section: 'The Sixth Day of the Sixth Month: Birthday of His Excellency Governor Cui; the Twenty-Fourth Day: Birthday of the God [Erlang] of the God Protects Daoist Temple' 《六月六日崔府君生日二十四日神保觀神生日》 346

- Juan* 9; according to Jao Tsung-i, this *juan* contains a section titled 'The Ceremony and Etiquette of celebrating the Longevity of the Emperor: The First Cup of Imperial Wine' 《上壽禮節第一盞御酒》. In prevailing sources, it does not, and in fact contains one titled: 'Ministers, Royal Dukes, Imperial Relatives, and the Myriad Officials enter the Imperial Chambers to celebrate the Emperor's Longevity' 《宰執親王宗室百官入內上壽》 255 n. 74
- 'Dongtian chunxiao' 《洞天春曉》 19
- Qin* piece.
- Ducheng jisheng* 《都城紀勝》 265
- Author: Nai Deweng 耐得翁, surnamed Zhao 趙 (*fl.* thirteenth century); 'weng' 翁 is a respectful term for an old man.
- Contains a chapter: 'Washe zhongji' 《瓦舍眾伎》 265
- 'Dui qin you sha sheng pan' 《對琴有殺聲判》 41
- Poet: Liang She 梁涉 (*fl.* Tang dynasty)
- In *juan* 508 of *Wenyuan yinghua* 《文苑英華》 41
- Dunhuang duosuo* 《敦煌掇瑣》 242
- Published in 1925.
- Author and collator: Liu Fu 劉復 (1891-1934) also called Liu Bannong 劉半農.
- Dunhuang miji liuzhen xinbian* 《敦煌秘籍留真新編》 242
- Author and collator: Kanda Toyoda 神田喜一郎 (1897-1984)
- Published in 1947; first published in 1938 as *Dunhuang miji liuzhen* 《敦煌秘籍留真》 242
- Dunhuang Pipa Scores* 《敦煌琵琶譜》 218, 230
- Dunhuang manuscripts.
- Dunhuang qu* 《敦煌曲》 243
- Book by Jao Tsung-i.
- Dunhuang yanjiu* 《敦煌研究》 245
- Modern journal.
- Dunhuang yishu zongjiao yu liyue wenming* 《敦煌藝術宗教與禮樂文明》 83
- Modern Book.
- Author: Jiang Boqin 姜伯勤

- 'Dunhuang yuepu wupu youguan zhu wenti'  
〈敦煌樂譜舞譜有關諸問題〉 228  
Paper by Jao Tsung-i.
- 'Eighteen Hammers: Quick' 〈十八鍾快〉  
249  
Xi'an 'drum-blow' music 鼓吹樂 piece.  
*Erbai lanting zhai jinshi ji* 《二百蘭亭齋金  
石記》 160  
Author: Wu Yun 吳雲 (1811–1883)  
*Erya* 《爾雅》 8, 60, 126  
Many authors: third century BCE  
Section 1: 'Shi gu' 〈釋詁〉 60  
Section 7: 'Shi yue' 〈釋樂〉 8  
Notes by Xing Bing 邢昺 (932–1010)  
9 n. 19
- 'Exhibition of Ancient Chinese Lacquerware'  
中國古代漆器展 55  
Tokyo: 23 September 1998  
Book produced: *A Mysterious World of  
Ancient Designs: Lacquerware from the  
Tombs of Hubei, China* 《漆繪的神秘  
世界》 55
- Fahua wenju* 《法華文句》 77  
Collated by Zhi Yi 智顛 (538–597)
- Fanwen Fochuan wenxue yanjiu* 《梵文佛傳  
文學研究》 77  
Authors: Kimura Taiken 木村泰賢  
(1891–1930) et al.
- Fanxue ji* 《梵學集》 313  
Author: Jao Tsung-i
- Fanyi mingyi ji* 《翻譯名義集》 77  
Author: Fa Yun's 法雲 (1088–1158)  
Part 2 of *juan 2*: 'Alternative names for the  
Buddhas' 〈諸佛別名〉 77
- 'Fast Composition' 〈急曲子〉 247  
Dunhuang composition.
- Feijian zhai beilu* 《非見齋碑錄》 178  
Author: Wei Xizeng 魏錫曾 (1828–1881)
- Fengjiao yaojue* 風角要訣 125  
Author: Yi Feng 翼奉 (fl. Western Han  
dynasty)
- Fengsu tongyi* 《風俗通義》 4, 49, 95, 129  
Author: Ying Shao 應劭 (fl. second  
century)  
Essay 6: 'Shengyin pian' 〈聲音篇〉 4,  
129
- The sixth essay of the surviving ten.  
'Xingshi pian' 〈姓氏篇〉 49  
This essay is not normally assigned a  
number.
- Exegete: Zhang Shu 張澍 (1781–1847);  
text: *Editorial Notes* 《輯注》 49
- 'The Five Elements' ('Wuxing') 〈五行〉 52  
Essay on Guodian bamboo slips.
- 'Fo shuo Lengjia Chanmen xitan zhang'  
〈佛說楞伽禪門悉談章〉 349  
Dunhuang manuscript.
- 'Formal Policy Proposal' 〈疏〉 280  
Author: Cui Zhuo 崔棧 (fl. tenth century)
- 'Formal Policy Proposal' 〈疏〉 282  
Author: Dou Yan 竇儼 (918–960)
- 'Formal Policy Proposal' 〈疏〉 296–297  
Author: He Xian 和峴 (933–988)
- 'Formal Policy Proposal' 〈疏〉 284  
Author: Wang Pu 王朴 (906–959)
- 'Formal Policy Proposal' 〈疏〉 293  
Author: Zhang Zhao 張昭 (894–972)  
Also called the 'Xiande Era Formal Policy  
Proposal' 〈顯德時疏〉 305  
Xiande era: 954–960
- 'Four that do not Answer' (Si buying')  
〈四不應〉 241 n. 22  
Composition in the Southern Sounds  
南音 genre.
- 'Four Sanskrit "Liquid Consonants" R Ṛ Ḍ Ḍ  
Ḍ and their Influence on the Study of  
Chinese Philology' 〈梵語R Ṛ Ḍ Ḍ 四流音  
及其對漢文學的影響〉 350  
Essay by Jao Tsung-i.  
Translated into Japanese by Kin  
Bunkyō-shi 金文京氏 350  
Published in *The Journal of Chinese  
Literature* 《中國文學報》 of Kyoto  
University 350
- 'Futu zi' 〈浮圖子〉 269  
Song mentioned in Dunhuang  
manuscripts.
- 'Gan cao zi' 〈甘艸子〉 309  
*Cipai* melody and rhyme scheme.
- 'Ganquan fu' 〈甘泉賦〉 129–130  
Poet: Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53 BCE–18 CE)  
*Gaoseng zhuan* 《高僧傳》 81  
Author: by Hui Jiao 慧皎 (497–554)

- Gaosheng fanbai ji* 《高聲梵唄記》 81  
Author: Mi Li 覓歷 (*fl.* fourth century)
- Gaozhou fu zhi* 《高州府志》 177  
Author: Yang Ji 楊霽 (b. 1837)
- The God Erlang* 〈二郎神〉 346–347, 349  
Composition of the Tang dynasty  
Imperial Music Academy.
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Author: Gongsun Nizi 公孫尼子 (*fl.* early Warring States period)
- The Gongyang Commentary* 《公羊傳》 65  
Author: Gongyang Gao 公羊高 (*fl.* late Spring and Autumn period – early Warring States period)  
Chapter 6: ‘Duke Wen’ 〈文公〉 65  
*Gongyang zhuan jiegou* 《公羊傳解詁》 66  
Author: He Xiu: 何休 (129–182)
- ‘Goose Dance’ 〈雁兒舞〉 342  
*Cipai* or *qu* set melody.
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Finished in 1407.  
Includes: *Xiwen san zhong jiaozhu* 《戲文三種校注》 340  
Cited as: *Yongle dadian Xiwen san zhong jiaozhu* 《永樂大典戲文三種校注》 340
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Buddhist scripture.
- The Greater Learning* 〈大學〉 66 n. 83  
Authorship disputed: of the post-Confucian period to early Han dynasty.
- ‘Greater Xia’ 〈大夏〉 287  
Ancient dance.
- ‘Gudai tonggu fenbu diyu’ 〈古代銅鼓分布地域〉 179  
Modern article.  
Author: He Jisheng 何紀生
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Modern Book.
- Gujin cihua* 《古今詞話》 310  
Author: Shen Xiong 沈雄 (*fl.* early Qing dynasty)  
There is also a Song dynasty text by the same name which is entirely different and does not mention anyone called Lü Peng 呂鵬 310
- Gujin yuelu* 《古今樂錄》 13, 269  
Compiler: Shi Zhijiang 釋智匠 (*fl.* sixth century)  
Now lost.
- Gu tonggu tulu* 《古銅鼓圖錄》 180  
Modern book.  
Author: Wen You 聞宥
- Guwen sisheng yun* 《古文四聲韻》 53  
Author: Xia Song 夏竦 (985–1051)
- Guwenzi yanjiu* 《古文字研究》 354  
Modern journal.
- ‘Guankou shendui’ 〈灌口神隊〉 349  
Song dynasty Imperial Music Academy comic sketch composition.
- Guanyinzi* 《關尹子》 24  
Eponymous text by Guanyin 關尹 (*fl.* late Spring and Autumn period – early Warring States period)  
‘Section 3: Beams’ 〈三極〉 24
- Guanzi* 《管子》 96, 139  
Eponymous text by Guan Zhong 管仲 (723–645 BCE)  
Essay 8: ‘You guan pian’ 〈幼官篇〉 139  
Essay 11: ‘Zhou he pian’ 〈宙合篇〉 140  
Essay 41: ‘Wuxing pian’ 〈五行篇〉 139  
Essay 58: ‘Di yuan’ 〈地員〉 140  
Essay 75: ‘Shan quan shu’ 〈山權數〉 96  
Essay 84: ‘Qingzhong wu pian’ 〈輕重戊篇〉 140
- Guanzi buzhu* 《管子補注》 140  
Includes notes by Yin Zhizhang 尹知章 (660–718)
- ‘Guanzi wuxing pian yinlü sixiang yanjiu’ 〈管子五行篇音律思想研究〉 139, 140 n. 52  
Modern scholar.  
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Dong You 董道 (*fl.* late eleventh–early twelfth centuries)
- Juan* 3 contains an entry on ‘Ancient bells of Guozhou’ 〈虢州古鐘〉 163

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Contributing editors include Huang Zuo 黃左 (1490–1566) and Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764–1849).
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Author: Qu Dajun 屈大均 (1630–1696)
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Author unknown.  
Copy made in the *yiyou* 乙酉 year of the Guangxu 光緒 era (1885) 350
- Guangxi tonggu chutan* 《廣西銅鼓初探》 186  
Modern book.  
Author: Huang Zengqing 黃增慶
- Guangya* 《廣雅》 95, 263  
Author: Zhang Yi 張揖 (*fl.* third century)  
*Juan 5* includes: 'Shi yan, Part One (Of Two)' 〈釋言上〉 263  
*Juan 8* includes: 'Shi yue' 〈釋樂〉 95
- Guangya shuzheng* 《廣雅疏證》 95  
Author: Wang Niansun 王念孫 (1744–1832)  
*Juan 8* includes notes on musical instruments 95
- Guangya tang shiji* 《廣雅堂詩集》 204 n. 183  
Poetry anthology of Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 (1837–1909)
- Guangyang zaji* 《廣陽雜記》 319  
Author: Liu Xianting 劉獻廷 (1648–1695)
- 'Gui qu lai [xi] ci' 〈歸去來兮辭〉 37 n. 114  
Author: Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (365–427)
- Gui yi fang* 《鬼遺方》 53  
Author: Liu Juanzi 劉涓子 (c.370–450)  
Huangfu 黃父 is a place name.
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Poetry suite by Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (365–427)
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Modern publication.
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Author: Rong Geng 容庚 (1894–1983)
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Written in the Han dynasty or shortly after.
- Hanjian* 《汗簡》 53, 309  
Author: Guo Zhongshu 郭忠恕 (d. 977)
- Han shu* 《漢書》 9, 45, 122, 128  
Author: Ban Gu 班固 (32–92 CE)  
*Juan 6*: 'Wudi ji' 〈武帝紀〉 122  
*Juan 12*: 'Pingdi ji' 〈平帝紀〉 128  
*Juan 21*: 'Luli zhi' 〈律曆志〉 128  
*Juan 22*: 'Liyue zhi' 〈禮樂志〉 129  
*Juan 30*: 'Yiwen zhi' 〈藝文志〉 9, 45, 139, 145  
Category: 'Daojia' 道家 45  
*Juan 64* includes: 'Biography of Wang Bao' 王褒 (90–51 BCE) 65
- Han shu yinyi* 《漢書音義》 122 n. 25  
Author: Meng Kang 孟康 (*fl.* third century)
- Han shu xuli* 《漢書叙例》 122 n. 25, 138 n. 45  
Author: Yan Shigu 顏師古 (581–645)
- Hanzhi tiaoli* 《漢志條理》 144  
Author: Yao Zhenzong 姚振宗 (1842–1906)
- Heguanzi* 《鶡冠子》 71  
Eponymous text by Heguanzi (*fl.* Warring States period).
- 'He xing wenquan' 〈賀幸溫泉〉 141  
*Fu* poem by Liu Zhaoxia 劉朝霞 (*fl.* Tang dynasty)  
Liu Zhaoxia is also called Liu Xia 劉瑕.
- A History of Buddhism* 《佛教史》 78  
Author: Tang Yongtong 湯用彤 (1893–1964)
- Hua Jiaye pin* 《化迦葉品》 74  
The third item of these is: *The Zhongbenqi jing* 《中本起經》, translated by Kang Mengxiang 康孟祥 [詳] and Tan Guo 曇果 (both *fl.* late second–early third centuries) 73–76, 78–81
- Huajian ji* 《花間集》 309  
Author: Ouyang Jiong 歐陽炯 (896–971)
- Xu* 序 introduction 309  
'Ba 跋 Postscript' by Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊 (1629–1709) 310
- Huazhou zhi* 《化州志》 200  
Contains: 'Jinshi lue' 〈金石略〉 201
- Huainanzi* 《淮南子》 6, 48, 89, 133, 164  
Author: Liu An 劉安 (179–122 BCE)  
Essay 1: 'Yuandao xun' 〈原道訓〉 48



*Huainanzi* (cont.)

- Essay 3: 'Tianwen xun' 〈天文訓〉 89, 142
- Essay 4: 'Dixing xun' 〈墜形訓〉 110, 142
- Essay 8: 'benjing xun' 〈本經訓〉 29
- Essay 15: 'binglüe xun' 〈兵略訓〉 164
- Essay 19: 'Xiuwu xun' 〈修務訓〉 6
- '*Huainanzi de yuelü xue*' 〈淮南子的樂律學〉 143
- Yang Meilei 楊沒累 (1897–1928)
- Published in *Min duo zazhi* 《民鐸雜誌》, vol. 8, no. 1 143 n. 66, 372
- Huangdi sijing* 《黃帝四經》 71
- Book written on silk unearthed at Mawangdui 馬王堆.
- Author not known: Warring States period.
- Huangting neijing jing* 《黃庭內景經》 30
- Revelatory text received by Wei Huacun 魏華存 (252–334)
- Also called: *Taishang qinxin wen* 《太上琴心文》 30, 34
- The first introduction (of two) is called 'Yanggu shenwang xu' 〈暘谷神王序〉 30 n. 88
- The Yanggu Spirit-King: a mythological being.
- The second introduction (of two) is called 'Liangqiuzi xu' 〈梁丘子序〉 30
- Liangqiuzi: *fl.* eighth century.
- Stanza 1: 'Shangqing zhang' 〈上清章〉 31
- Stanza 19: 'Ruode zhang' 〈若得章〉 32
- 'Huang ying'er' 〈黃鶯兒〉 343
- Cipai* set melody and rhyme scheme.
- 'Huangzhong' 〈黃鐘〉 144
- Huangzhong lü* 《黃鐘律》 147
- Huangzhong tongyun* 《黃鐘通韻》 148
- Author: Du Tiande 都田德 (*fl.* Ming – Qing dynasties)
- Huangzhong yuantong* 《黃鐘元統》 147
- Author: Qian Xiling 錢錫陵 (*fl.* fourteenth century)
- Yuantong era: 1333–1335
- 'Huntuo' 〈渾脫〉 251
- Central Asian piece mentioned in *Jiegu lu* 《羯鼓錄》

- Immeasurable Longevity* 《無量壽》 75
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- Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era* 《太平御覽》 11, 48, 51, 135, 151, 283
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- Juan* 563–584: 'Yue bu' 《樂部》 153, 175, 257
- Juan* 577–579: 'Qin' 〈琴〉 10–11, 53
- Juan* 659–679: 'Dao bu' 《道部》 50–51
- Juan* 669–671: 'Fu er' 〈服餌〉 50 n. 18
- Juan* 821–836: 'Zichan bu' 《資產部》 48
- Juan* 834: 'Diao' 〈釣〉 48
- 'In the Frosty Sky, a Dawn Bugle Call' 〈霜天曉角〉 273
- Song dynasty song.
- 'The Incantation of Marshal Tian' 〈田元帥咒〉 331
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- Author: Wang Sun 王孫 (untraceable, pre-Qin dynasty)
- No specific records of this author or text could be found.
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- Author: Zhang Shao 張紹 (*fl.* Southern Tang dynasty)
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- Author: Wang Zhong 汪中 (1744–1794)
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- Author: Chen Qiyong (1917–2006)
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- Author: Zhang Xie 張燮 (1574–1640)
- 'Invitation for a Drunken Dance' 〈邀醉舞破〉 239
- Tenth century *pipa* piece.
- The Jade Sea Encyclopedia* (*Yu hai*) 《玉海》 283
- Author: Wang Yinglin 王應麟 (1223–1296)

- 'Jichu' 〈激楚〉 205  
Musical composition.
- 'Jinchun fu' 〈金鎔賦〉 154  
Poet: Liang dynasty emperor Jian Wendi who only reigned for a short time  
梁簡文帝 (503–551, r. 549–551)
- Jijin cun* 《吉金存》 181  
Author: Li Guangting 李光庭 (late eighteenth–early nineteenth centuries)
- Jixian lu* 《集仙錄》 50  
Author: Du Guangting 杜光庭 (850–933)
- 'Jiayan' 〈家宴〉 309  
Lyric song compilation made in the Yongxi era (雍熙, 984–987).
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Author: Chen Zhan 陳鱣 (1753–1817)  
*Juan* 4 contains: 'Investigation of the Bronze Chun' 〈金鎔考〉 153
- Jiangcun shilun* 《江村十論》 347  
Author: Li Sichun 李思純 (1893–1960)
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*Juan* 15 includes: 'Jinshi' 〈金石〉 207  
'Jiangjingwen jiaozheng' 〈講經文校證〉 221  
Author: Zhou Shaoliang 周紹良 (1917–2005)
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- Jiaochou tongyi* 《校讐通義》 143  
Author: Zhang Xuecheng 張學誠 (1738–1801)
- Jiaofang ji* 《教坊記》 270  
Author: Cui Lingqin 崔令欽 (*fl.* eighth century)
- Jiaofang ji jian ding* 《教坊記箋訂》 270  
Author: Ren Erbei 任二北 (1897–1994)  
Also named: Ren Bantang 任半塘
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Journal of the Xi'an Music Conservatoire 西安音樂學院
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Poetry anthology by Li Kai 李鐸 (1686–1746)
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Author: Nan Zhuo 南卓 (*fl.* ninth century)
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Poetry anthology published in 1923.
- Jinni shixie* 《金泥石屑》 173  
Author: Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉 (1866–1940)
- Jinshi qi* 《金石契》 159  
Author: Zhang Yanchang (1738–1814)
- Jin yixi tonggu kao* 《晉義熙銅鼓考》 174  
Author: Luo Shilin 羅士琳 (1783–1853)  
Yixi era: 405–419
- Jin yu qinkan* 《今虞琴刊》 34  
The journal survived for only one issue in 1936.  
Contains: 'Qinxin shuo' 〈琴心說〉 by Hu Zifu 胡滋甫 (*fl.* early twentieth century) 34
- Jingdian shiwen* 《經典釋文》 168, 293  
Author: Lu Deming 陸德明 (c.550–630)
- Jing guan yin* 〈靜觀吟〉 19  
*Qin* piece.
- Jing jin Dongpo wenji shilüe* 《經進東坡文集事略》 36  
Compiler: Lang Ye 郎暉 (*fl.* Southern Song dynasty)
- Jingnan cuiqu bian* 《荊南萃古編》 155  
Authors: Zhou Maoqi 周懋琦 (1836–1896) and Liu Han 劉瀚 (*fl.* nineteenth century)
- Jingyou dayue tu* 《景祐大樂圖》 157  
Author: Nie Chongyi 聶崇義 (*fl.* tenth century)  
Jingyou era: 1034–1038
- 'Jiu huan cao' 〈九還操〉 19  
*Qin* piece.
- Jiujing wenzi* 《九經文字》 293  
Usually called 《九經字樣》 293  
Completed in 837.
- Journal of Chinese Literature* 《中國文學報》 350  
Published by Kyoto University 京都大學.
- The Journal of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 《東洋學報》 194
- Kaitian chuanxin ji* 《開天傳信記》 243  
Author: Zheng Qi 鄭檠 (839–910)  
Kaiyuan era: 開元, 713–741  
Tianbao era: 天寶, 742–756
- Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 《開元釋教錄》 75  
Author: Zhi Sheng 智昇 (*fl.* eighth century)  
Kaiyuan era: 713–741

- Kaiyuan zhan jing* 《開元占經》 119  
 Kaiyuan era: 713–741  
 Author: Gautama Siddha; Chinese name  
 瞿曇悉達 (*fl.* eighth century)  
*Juan* 93 quotes *Zhengyue shuodan bafeng zhan* 〈正月朔旦八風占〉 by Wei Xian (*fl.* Han dynasty) 119
- Kaogu tu* 《考古圖》 158  
 Author: Lü Dalin 呂大臨 (1042–1090)
- Kaogu xuebao* 《考古學報》 356  
 Modern journal.
- ‘Kind Teacher Bin’ 〈邠善師〉 258  
 Tang-Song dynasty drinking song.
- ‘Kongque mingwang zhu shenzhou’ 〈孔雀明王諸神咒〉 81  
 Tantric Buddhist text translated by  
 Po-Śrīmitra 帛尸梨蜜多羅 (d. 343)
- Kuicheng tujing* 《夔城圖經》 210  
 Lost book.
- ‘Ladies of the Court’ (‘Kung-chung-tu’) 〈宮中圖〉 239 n. 18  
 Northern Song dynasty painting, artist not known.
- ‘Lady of the Wang Family’ 〈王氏女〉 215, 234  
*Pipa* piece.
- ‘Lañkāvatāra Sutra of Great Vehicle  
 Buddhism: Siddham Chapter’ 〈大乘楞伽悉(談)[曇]章〉 314  
 Text cited in a Dunhuang manuscript.
- Laozi* 《老子》 28, 43  
 Eponymous text by Laozi (571–471 BCE)  
 Also called: *Dao de jing* 《道德經》  
 Essay 2 56  
 Essay 4 33 n. 102  
 Essay 55 56  
 Essay 59 59
- Lat Pao* 《叻報》 199  
 Singapore Chinese newspaper published 1881–1932.
- ‘Bronze Drum dispels Pestilence’ 〈銅鼓逐疫〉 199  
 Article on the eleventh day of the sixth month of the *wuzi* 戊子 year of the Guangxu 光緒 era (1888).
- Le Shan zhi* 《樂山志》 347  
 Authors: Huang Rong 黃鎔 (*fl.* eighteenth century) et al.
- Leipian* 《類篇》 260  
 Completed in 1066 by Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086)
- Lidai shiyu cihua* 《歷代詩餘詞話》 310  
 Compiled on imperial command in 1707.  
 ‘*cihua*’ is *juan* 111–120 of *Lidai shiyu* 310
- Li shu* 《禮書》 152  
 Author: Chen Xiangdao 陳祥道 (1053–1093)
- Li xing yuan ya* 《理性元雅》 18  
 Author: Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉 (*fl.* late sixteenth–early seventeenth centuries)
- Lianshe gaoxian zhuan* 《蓮社高賢傳》 36  
 No date or author given.  
 Also called: *The Eighteen High Virtuous of the East Wood* (*Donglin shiba gaoxian zhuan*) 《東林十八高賢傳》 36  
 N. 109  
 The entry for Tao Yuanming is listed under his formal name Tao Qian 陶潛 and not Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 his soubriquet 36 n. 109
- Lianting shichao* 《棟亭詩鈔》 201, 344  
 Author: Cao Yin 曹寅 (1658–1712)  
*Juan* 7 includes a section: ‘Zai guo Zheng shi jiang cun’ 〈再過鄭氏江村〉 344 n. 55
- Lianxu ge ji* 《蓮鬚閣集》 196  
 Author: Li Suiqiu 黎遂球 (1602–1646)
- Lianglei xuan yiqi tushi* 《兩疊軒彝器圖釋》 160  
 Author: Wu Yun 吳雲 (1811–1883)
- Liexian zhuan* 《列仙傳》 32, 51  
 Author: Liu Xiang 劉向 (77–6 BCE)  
 In *juan* 1: ‘Qin Gao zhuan’ 〈琴高傳〉 52  
*Liexian zhuan jiaojian* 《列仙傳校箋》 51  
 Author: Wang Shumin 王叔岷 (1914–2008)
- Liezi* 《列子》 23 n. 67  
 Eponymous text by Liezi (451–376 BCE)  
*Juan* 2: ‘Essay on the Yellow Emperor’ 〈黃帝篇〉 23 n. 67
- Lingbiao luyi* 《嶺表錄異》 175  
 Author: Liu Xun 劉恂 (*fl.* ninth century)
- Lingshu jing* 《靈樞經》 107 n. 4, 113  
 Author: not known; written in the Eastern Zhou dynasty or Spring and Autumn period.

- The second of two books that comprise  
*Huangdi neijing* 《黃帝內經》  
107 n. 4
- Juan 11* contains: 'Essay on Nine Palaces  
and Eight Winds' 〈九宮八風〉  
(Essay 77 of the entire book) 113
- 'Listening to the Music of Fujian'  
〈聽閩樂〉 344  
Poem by Cao Yin 曹寅 (1658–1712)
- Liucheng xianzhi* 《柳城縣志》 178  
Contains a section: 'Jinshi' 〈金石〉 173
- Liuyingtang ji* 《六瑩堂集》 197  
Poetry anthology of Liang Peilan 梁佩蘭  
(1629–1705)
- 'Long'an' 〈隆安〉 301  
A piece of music of the Tang Dynasty and  
Five Dynasties played on 'suspended  
instruments': bells, chimes, and drums.
- 'Long'an' 〈隆安〉 301  
A Five Dynasties 'repertory item'.
- Longhu qinpu* 《龍湖琴譜》 27  
Compiler: Shi Guozhen 石國禎  
(fl. sixteenth century)  
Printed in 1570.  
Contains: 'Ting qin fu' 〈聽琴賦〉 27
- Longkan shoujian* 《龍龕手鑑》 260  
Author: Xing Jun 行均 (fl. late tenth–  
early eleventh centuries)
- Juan 2* includes the entry for the 'hand' 手  
radical 260
- Longkan shoujian xinbian* 《龍龕手鑑  
新編》 261  
Author: Pan Chong-gui 潘重規  
(1908–2003)  
Contains an appendix: '(Longkan)  
shoujian Dunhuang xieben ziti  
xiangtongbiao' 《〔龍龕〕手  
鑑》 敦煌寫本字體相同表  
261
- 'Longxi Li shi zai xiu gongde ji' 〈隴西李氏  
再修功德記〉 219  
Dunhuang stele erected in 776.
- 'Looking at my Native Area: Slow' 〈望吾  
鄉慢〉 248  
Xi'an 'drum-blow' music 鼓吹樂 piece.
- The Lost Book of the Zhou Dynasty*  
《逸周書》 128  
Also translated as: *The Unofficial Book of  
the Zhou Dynasty*  
Written: approximately third century BCE
- Juan 53*: 'Explanation of the Months'  
〈月令解〉 128
- 'Lushan yao' 〈廬山謠〉 32  
Poet: Li Bai 李白 (701–762)
- Lushi zhaji* 《陸氏札記》 163  
Author: Lu Zengxiang 陸增祥 (1816–1882)
- Lushi zashuo* 《盧氏雜說》 259  
No author given and the text as a whole  
does not appear to have survived.
- Lüli* 《律曆》 128  
Author: Jing Fang 京房 (77–37 BCE)
- 'Lüshi chunqiu guyue pian xihuang jiejie'  
〈呂氏春秋古樂篇昔黃節解〉 127  
Author: Liu Fu 劉復 (1891–1934)  
Article in: *Literature* 《文學》, Shanghai,  
issue 2, article 6.
- Lü shu* 《律書》 128, 132, 140  
Found in the *Ri shu* 日書 unearthed  
among the Qin bamboo writing slips  
of Fangmatan 放馬灘.
- Lü shu* 《律術》 143  
Author: Jing Fang 京房 (77–37 BCE)
- Lüxue huitong* 《律學會通》 81  
Wu Nanxun 吳南薰 (1927–2008)
- Lüxue xinshuo* 《律學新說》 136  
Author: Zhu Zaiyu 朱載堉 (1536–1611)
- 'Blown Modes and Tunings: Eighth  
Proposition' 〈吹律第八〉 136
- Lun ci wu yao* 《論詞五要》 299  
Author: Yang Shouzhai 楊守齋  
(fl. thirteenth century)  
His original name is Yang Zuan 楊纘;  
Yang Shouzhai 楊守齋 is his  
soubriquet.
- The second 'Essential' is: 'Discourse  
on the Lü Modes: If they are not in  
response to the Months, then the  
Result is unbeautiful' 〈論律不應月  
則不美〉 299
- Lunheng* 《論衡》 119  
Wang Chong 王充 (27–97 CE)  
Chapter 43: 'Biandong pian' 〈變動篇〉  
119
- Luogu jing* 〈鑼鼓經〉 258  
Recent text.
- 'Lyrics to a Piece in the Gong Mode'  
〈宮詞〉 238  
Title to an item in British Library  
manuscript S(tein).6171 238

- Mahāparinirvāna Sutra* 《大般涅槃經》  
350  
Translation by Tan Wuchen 曇無讖: *juan*  
8 contains ‘Tenet on the Nature of  
Tathāgata’ 〈如來性品〉; the fourth  
section, the fifth subsection 350  
Translation by Hui Yan 慧嚴:  
*juan* 8 contains ‘Tenet on Written  
Language’ 〈文字品〉; the thirteenth  
tenet 350  
‘The Male Phoenix returns to the Clouds’  
〈鳳歸雲〉 252  
Dunhuang piece; Pelliot manuscript.  
‘The Male Phoenix takes the Chick’  
〈鳳將雛〉 269  
A song but unclear what it is.  
Probably eleventh century or possibly  
earlier.  
*Manshu* 《蠻書》 197  
Author: Fan Chuo 樊綽 (*fl.* ninth  
century)  
*Maofeng zhenyin man lu* 《鄮風真隱漫錄》  
257, 338  
Poetry anthology by Shi Hao 史浩  
(1106–1194)  
Contains a poem to the *cipai* set melody  
and rhyme scheme ‘Pink Butterfly’  
〈粉蝶子〉 338–339  
*Master Liu Tomb Inscription* 《柳氏墓志》  
307  
Master Liu: Liu Yong 柳永 (987–1053)  
*Master Lü’s Spring and Autumn Annals*  
《呂氏春秋》 100, 111, 127, 141  
Also called: *Lülan* 《呂覽》 127  
Author: Lü Buwei 呂不韋 (d. 235 BCE)  
*Juan* 5: ‘Zhongxia’ 《仲夏》 100, 127  
Passage 2: ‘Dayue’ 〈大樂〉 141  
Passage 3: ‘Chiyue’ 〈侈樂〉 141  
Passage 4: ‘Shiyin’ 〈適音〉 127  
Also called: ‘Heyue’ 〈和樂〉 141  
Passage 5: ‘Guyue’ 〈古樂〉 100, 135  
*Juan* 6: ‘Jixia’ 《季夏》 141, 127  
Passage 2: ‘Yinlü’ 〈音律〉 141  
Passage 3: ‘Yinchu’ 〈音初〉 141  
Passage 4: ‘Zhiyue’ 〈制樂〉 141  
*Juan* 13: ‘You shi lan’ 《有始覽》 111  
Passage 1: ‘You shi’ 〈有始〉 111  
*Mengpo shi huogu congbian* 《夢坡室獲古  
叢編》 156  
Authors: Zou Shilu 鄒適廬  
(1864–1940) and Zhou Qingyun  
周慶雲 (1866–1934)  
*Mengxi bitan* 《夢溪筆談》 229  
Author: Shen Kuo 沈括 (1031–1095)  
*Miancheng lou jichao* 《面城樓集鈔》 171  
*Juan* 3 includes: ‘Guangzhou zongdu  
junmen tonggu ji’ 〈廣州總督軍門銅  
鼓記〉 172  
‘Miaozhen zan’ 〈邈真讚〉 217–219  
Dunhuang manuscript: P.3718  
‘Midnight’ 〈子夜〉 269  
A song but unclear what it is.  
Probably eleventh century or possibly  
earlier.  
*Mingbao ji* 《冥報記》 37  
Author: Tang Lin 唐臨 (600–659)  
*Ming Dynasty Chaozhou Libretti: Five Types*  
(*Mingdai Chaozhou xiwen wu zhong*)  
《明代潮州戲文五種》 343  
Modern book.  
*The Mingtang yueling* 《明堂月令》 128  
Ancient text.  
*Modal Temperament* 《律準》 282  
Author: Wang Pu 王朴 (906–959)  
‘Mogao ku gongde ji’ 〈莫高窟功德記〉 217  
Dunhuang manuscript: P.3564  
‘Mo Mountain Stream’ 〈驀山溪〉 253  
Dunhuang dance notation.  
*Monthly Publication of Musical Scores* 《月刊  
樂譜》 228  
Twentieth century series.  
*Moji* 《默記》 294  
Author: Wang Zhi 王銍 (*fl.* twelfth  
century)  
*Mozi* 《墨子》 47, 58  
Eponymous text, author: Mozi 墨子  
(c.468–376 BCE)  
*Juan* 3 contains essay no. 12 of the whole  
*Mozi*, an essay called: ‘Shangtong  
zhong’ 〈尚同中〉 58 n. 51  
‘Mugong, Ruler of the State of Lu, asks Zisi’  
〈魯穆公問子思〉 71  
Essay written on Guodian bamboo slips.  
Lu Mugong: d. 377 BCE, r. 410–377 BCE  
Zisi (Confucius’ grandson): 483–402 BCE

- Music and Art (Yinyue yishu)* 《音樂藝術》  
228  
Shanghai journal.
- Musical Ceremonial of Past Dynasties* 《歷代樂儀》 305  
Author: Xu Jing'an 徐景安 (*fl.* Tang dynasty)  
*Juan* 10: 'Texts and Scores of Items of Musical Repertories' 〈樂章文譜〉  
234 n. 3, 305
- 'Music for Breaking through the Ramparts' 〈破陣樂〉 302  
Poem by Liu Yong 柳永 (987–1053)
- 'Music for Completed Achievements and Celebration of Goodness' 〈功成慶善樂〉 302  
Tang dynasty composition.  
Also called: 'Dance of Discoursing on Achievements' 〈講功之舞〉 302
- 'Music for Pouring out the Cup' 〈傾盃樂〉  
241  
Dunhuang *pipa* piece.  
A poem of this name is found in Liu Yong's 柳永 (984–1053)  
*Yuezhangji* 《樂章集》 241 n. 23,  
276, 307  
Also, a *cipai* melody and rhyme scheme  
270
- 'Music for Pouring out the Cup: Long Melody' 〈傾盃樂長調〉 241 n. 23  
Lyrics to a folksong found in *Yunyao ji* 《雲謠集》
- 'Music for Throwing a Ball' 〈拋球樂〉 310  
Poet: Huangfu Song 皇甫松 (*fl.* ninth century)  
Also, a *cipai* melody and rhyme scheme  
303, 308–309
- 'Music of Greater Giving' 〈大予樂〉 284  
Eastern Han dynasty genre of music.
- 'Nanfang caomu zhuang bianwei' 〈南方草木狀辨僞〉 53  
Author: Ma Tai Loi 馬泰來  
*Bulletin of Chinese Studies, Department of Chinese, the University of Hong Kong* 《香港大學中文系集刊》, *juan* 1:2,  
1987 363
- Nanhai baiyong* 《南海百詠》 172  
Author: Fang Xinru 方信孺 (1177–1222)  
Entry: 'Bronze Drum' 〈銅鼓〉 176
- Nanhai ji gui neifa zhuan* 《南海寄歸內法傳》 312  
Author: Yi Jing 義淨 (635–713)
- Nanjiao guchui gequ* 《南郊鼓吹歌曲》 302  
Comprises:  
'Showing the Way' ('daoyin') 〈導引〉 300  
'Six Prefectures' ('liuzhou') 〈六州〉  
300  
'The Twelve Watches' ('Shi'er shi') 〈十二時〉 303
- 'Nei xing cheng wen' 〈內行城文〉 238  
Title of an item in British Library manuscript S(tein).2146
- The New Official Book of the Tang Dynasty* 《新唐書》 179  
Authors: Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072) et al.  
*Juan* 11–60: treatises 16  
*Juan* 59 lists the *qin* piece: *Shi cao* 《士操》 16  
See: 'Bing' (third) Section' 《丙部》  
'Ming jia' 〈名家〉
- Juan* 110 includes: 'Feng Ang zhuan' 〈馮盎傳〉 179
- Juan* 222 includes: 'Nanman, Part Three (of Three)' 〈南蠻下〉 179  
Includes: 'Xicuan zhi nan' 〈西爨之南〉 179  
The Cuan are an ancient ethnicity.
- The New Official History of the Five Dynasties* 《新五代史》 224, 281  
Authors: Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072) et al.  
*Juan* 55 includes: 'Biography of Cui Zhuo' 〈崔悅傳〉 281
- 'New Willow Lyric Song' 〈新楊柳詞〉  
304–305  
Poem: Zhang Hu 張祜 (785–849)
- 'Next Time *Ju* (-Movement)' 〈下次据〉 258, 266  
Tang – Song dynasties drinking song.  
Also called: 'Next Time *Ju* (-Movement)' 〈下次句〉 266

- 'Nishang faqu' 〈霓裳法曲〉 304  
Music of the Central Asian Qiuci 龜茲 Section.
- 'Niaozi' 〈鳥字〉 315  
Beijing manuscript, no. 64.
- Notes on Reading Dunhuang Pipa Scores*  
《敦煌琵琶譜讀記》 242  
Book by Jao Tsung-i.
- The Official Book of the Chen Dynasty*  
《陳書》 178  
Juan 9 includes: 'Biography of Ouyang Wei' 〈歐陽頎傳〉 178
- The Official Book of the Jin Dynasty* 《晉書》  
36, 128, 172  
Author: Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 (579–648)  
Juan 16–18: 'Lüli zhi' 〈律曆志〉 137  
Juan 26: 'Shi huo zhi' 〈食貨志〉 172  
Juan 94: 'Yinyi liezhuan' 〈隱逸列傳〉 36  
The entry for Tao Yuanming is listed under his formal name Tao Qian 陶潛 and not Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 his soubriquet.
- The Official Book of the Later Han Dynasty*  
《後漢書》 21, 124, 168  
Author: Fan Ye 范曄 (398–445) 168  
Juan 24: 'Biography of Ma Yuan' 〈馬援傳〉 168  
Juan 30, Part Two (of Two): 'Biography of Lang Yi' 〈郎顛傳〉 124  
Juan 60, Part Two (of Two): 'Biography of Cai Yong' 〈蔡邕傳〉 21  
Notes by Li Xian 李賢 (655–684) 124
- The Official Book of the Song Dynasty*  
《宋書》 36, 137, 150  
Author: Shen Yue 沈約 (441–513)  
Juan 11: 'Lü zhi' 〈律志〉 137  
Juan 19–21: 'Yue zhi' 〈樂志〉 10 n. 21, 147, 150, 245, 296  
Juan 93: 'Yinyi liezhuan' 〈隱逸列傳〉 36  
The entry for Tao Yuanming is listed under his formal name Tao Qian 陶潛 and not Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 his soubriquet.
- The Official Book of the Southern Qi Dynasty* 《南齊書》 150, 153
- Juan 18: 'Treatise on Auspicious Omens' 〈祥瑞志〉 153
- Juan 35 includes: 'Biography of [Xiao] Jian, the short-lived Ruler of Shixing' 〈始興簡王〔蕭〕鑑傳〉 150 n. 9
- The Official Book of the Sui Dynasty* (*Sui shu*)  
《隋書》 16, 78, 125, 130, 154  
Authors: Wei Zheng 魏徵 (580–643) et al.  
Juan 6–35: treatises 《志》  
Juan 13–15: 'Yinyue zhi' 〈音樂志〉 78, 154  
Juan 16–18: 'Lüli zhi' 〈律曆志〉 128, 139  
Juan 16 quotes substantially from: *Zhonglü wei* 《鐘律緯》 130  
Juan 16 contains the essays:  
'Hesheng pian' 〈和聲篇〉 145  
'Shenduo pian' 〈審度篇〉 145  
'Lü zhi ri' 〈律直日〉 146  
'Houqi' 〈候氣〉 146  
Juan 29–31: 'Dili zhi' 〈地理志〉 172  
Juan 32–35: 'Jingji zhi' 〈經籍志〉 125, 146  
In Juan 34: a section titled 'Wuxing' 〈五行〉 125  
Juan 34 lists the *qin* piece: *Shi cao* (*Cao of the Scholar*) 《士操》 16  
See: 'Philosophical Works' 《子》 'Names' 〈名〉 16  
Juan 41 includes: 'Su Wei zhuan' 〈蘇威傳〉 131  
Juan 49: 'Niu Hong zhuan' 〈牛弘傳〉 143  
Juan 75 includes: 'He Tuo zhuan' 〈何妥傳〉 145  
Juan 78 includes: 'Wan Baochang zhuan' 〈萬寶常傳〉 131
- The Official Book of the Wei dynasty* 《魏書》  
170, 265  
Juan 101 includes: 'Lao zhuan' 〈獠傳〉 170
- The Official Corrected Version of 'The Tale of Liu Xibi's Gold Hairpin'* 《正字劉希必金釵記》 341–342  
Opera dated to 1431, author not known.  
Scene 4 includes: 'Dazhai lang' 〈大齋郎〉 341–342

- Scene 32 includes: 'Goose Dance' (雁兒舞) 342
- Scene 40 includes: 'Goose Dance' (雁兒舞) 342
- Scene 64: no specific melody named in Jao's citation 342
- The Official History of the Liao Dynasty (Liao shi)* 《遼史》 244, 344
- Author: Tuo Tuo 脫脫 (1314–1355)
- Juan 4: 'Taizong ji xia' (太宗紀下) 244
- Juan 54: 'Yue zhi' (樂志) 147, 245
- Includes a section: 'Zhuguo yue' (諸國樂) 245
- Juan 70: 'Shuguo biao' (屬國表) 245
- Juan 116 (the final *juan*): 'Guoyu jie' (國語解) 344
- The Official History of the Ming Dynasty* 《明史》 181
- Juan 40–46: 'Dili zhi' (地理志) 172, 189
- Juan 212 includes: 'Biography of Liu Xian' (劉顯傳) 181
- The Official History of the Northern Dynasties* 《北史》 146
- Author: Li Yanshou 李延壽 (*fl.* seventh century)
- The Official History of the Song Dynasty* 《宋史》 10 n. 21, 145, 151, 236, 282
- Authors: Tuo Tuo 脫脫 (1314–1355) et al.
- Juan 48–209: 'Zhi' 《志》 1, 7, 9
- Juan 61–67: 'Wuxing zhi' (五行志) 196
- Juan 126–142: 'Yue zhi' (樂志) 10, 247, 296, 298, 300, 302
- Juan 155–162: 'Yiwen zhi' (藝文志) 145
- Juan 263 includes: 'Dou Yi zhuan' (竇儀傳) 282
- juan 267 includes: 'Zhang Ji zhuan' (張洎傳) 236
- Juan 496 includes: 'Xinan zhu yi' (西南諸夷) 204
- The Official History of the Southern Dynasties* 《南史》 150 n. 9
- Author: Li Yanshou 李延壽 (*fl.* seventh century)
- Juan 43 includes: 'Biography of the Ruler of Shixing' (始興王傳) 151
- Juan 66 includes: 'Biography of Ouyang Wei' (歐陽頎傳) 178
- The Official History of the Zhou Dynasty* 《周書》 151, 278
- Juan 26 includes: 'Biography of Hushi Zheng' (斛斯徵傳) 151
- 'The Old Fisherman Dance' (漁父舞) 257
- Song dynasty dance.
- The Old Official History of the Five Dynasties* 《舊五代史》 222, 278–279
- Now lost, but a Qing dynasty reconstruction is used instead: *Jiu Wudai shi jiben* 《舊五代史輯本》 293
- Juan 25–74: 'The Official Book of the Tang Dynasty' ('Tang shu') (唐書) 145
- Juan 114–150: 'The Official Book of the Zhou Dynasty' ('Zhou shu') (周書) 151, 278
- Juan 127 includes: 'He Ning zhuan' (和凝傳) 300
- Juan 128 includes: 'Bian Wei zhuan' (邊蔚傳) 279
- Juan 144–145: 'Yue zhi' (樂志) 245
- The Old Official Book of the Tang Dynasty* 《舊唐書》 176
- Authors: Liu Xu 劉煦 (887–946) et al.
- Juan 15: 'Xianzong ji' (憲宗記) 176 n. 113
- Juan 47 lists the *qin* piece: *Shi cao* 《士操》 16
- See: '*Bing* [Third] Section' (丙部) 'Ming jia' (名家)
- Juan 159 contains: 'Zheng Yin zhuan' (鄭綱傳) 176
- 'The Original Stimulus for Nanda becoming a Monk' (難陀出家緣起) 266
- Poem in a Dunhuang manuscript.
- 'Ouyang shi shici bei' (歐陽氏世次碑) 178 n. 124
- Compiled by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072)
- 'Painting of Han Xizai's Evening Banquet' (韓熙載夜宴圖) 238
- Artist: Gu Hongzhong 顧閔中 (*fl.* tenth century)
- 'Pairs of Swallows' (雙燕子) 254
- Dunhuang dance notation.



- 'Passing the Temple of the Southern Sea, as it was too late to ascend therein, presented to  
Fellow Boat Passenger Wang Mingfu' 〈過南海廟，以晚不及登，呈同舟王明府〉 197  
Poet: Zhao Zhixin 趙執信 (1662–1744)
- 'Pictorial Explanation of the Evolution of the *Pipa*' 《琵琶沿革圖解》 238  
Modern Book.
- 'Pictorial Representation of the Vimalakirti Scripture' 〈維摩詰經變〉 243  
Dunhuang Mogao cave painting, cave 61.
- Poetry Anthology of Yi Mountain (Yishan shiji)* 〔飴山詩集〕 198 n. 165  
Poetry anthology of Zhao Zhixin 趙執信 (1662–1744)
- 'A Preliminary Discussion of the Culture of the Bashu region of Sichuan' 《巴蜀文化初論》 163  
Author: Xu Zhongshu 徐中舒 (1898–1991)
- 'Pride of the Fisherman's Household' 〔漁家傲〕 257  
Song dynasty song.
- 'Prince's-Feather' 〔水紅花〕 338 n. 34  
Jao Tsung-i gives this melody as 〔冰紅花〕  
Set melody and rhyme scheme of southern style *qu* pieces.
- 'Prose Eulogy for Younger Cousin Tao Jingyuan' 〔祭從弟敬遠文〕 37 n. 114  
Author: Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (365–427)
- Pu'an Mantra* 《普安〔安〕咒》 25, 312, 317, 319, 321, 323  
*Qin* composition.  
Pu'an 普安〔安〕 (1115–1169)
- The Pu'an (Spiritual) Incantations* 〔普庵〔神〕咒〕 319  
Buddhist incantations.
- 'Pusa man' 〔菩薩蠻〕 305, 318, 334  
A song current in the late Tang dynasty 331–332  
Or a late Tang dynasty composition 331–332  
Or a *cipai* set melody and rhyme scheme derived from the song 303, 336–339, 341
- Pu shu tingji* 《曝書亭集》 166  
Author: Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊 (1629–1709)  
Included in *juan* 46: 'Nanhai (miao) er tonggu ba' 〔南海〔廟〕二銅鼓跋〕 175
- Puxi tanxie* 《莆戲談屑》 329  
Modern book.  
The author could not be traced.
- Puxian Opera of Fujian* 《福建的莆仙戲》 330  
Authors: Chen Xiaogao 陳嘯高 et al.  
Modern book.
- Qi lue* 《七略》 10, 47–48, 57 n. 47  
Compilers: father and son Liu Xiang 劉向 (77–6 BCE), Liu Xin 劉歆 (c.50 BCE–23 CE)  
Original text lost in the Tang dynasty.  
Successor to *Bie lu* 《別錄》 57
- Qiyin yunjian* 《七音韻鑑》 322  
A pre-Southern Song dynasty text.
- 'Qiao hesheng' 〔喬合笙〕 341  
Early *cipai* melody and rhyme scheme that seems to have fallen into disuse.
- Qin Cao* 《琴操》 15  
Author/composer: Cai Yong 蔡邕 (133–192)
- Qin Cao* 《琴操》 15  
Author/composer: Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824)
- Qin Cao* 《琴操》 15  
Author/composer: Kong Yan 孔衍 (268–320)  
Also called: *Qin Cao Yin-Introduction* 《琴操引》 15
- Qin cao* 《琴操》 13  
Author: Ma Ruichen 馬瑞辰 (1777 or 1782–1853)
- Qinding gujin tushu jicheng* 《欽定古今圖書集成》 23  
Many authors: 1700–25  
Volumes 655–800: 'Jingji huibian' 《經濟匯編》 23  
Volumes 731–740: 'Yue lu dian' 《樂律典》 23, 153  
Volume 738, *juan* 98: documents pertaining to the *chunyu* 153

- Volume 739, *juan* 107: contains citation of Huang Xian's 黃憲 *Qin lun* 《琴論》 23
- Qin Heart* (*Qin xin*) 《琴心》 28, 32, 45, 50–51
- Author: Juanzi 涓子 (disciple of Laozi 老子, 571–471 BCE)
- Also called: *The Book of the Qin* 《琴書》 45, 51
- Probably associated with the eponymous text *Juanzi* 《涓子》, also called: *Yuanzi* 《蜎子》 45, 49–53, 68, 71
- Qin History* 《琴史》 32
- Compiler: Zhu Changwen 朱長文 (1039–1098)
- Juan* 2: begins with a short article on Juanzi 涓子 28
- Qin Inscriptions* 《琴銘》 18
- Author: Li You 李尤 (c.55–c.135 or c.44–c.126)
- The original text, if there ever was one, is now lost.
- Qin lun* 《琴論》 22
- Author: Huang Xian 黃憲 (*fl.* Eastern Han dynasty)
- Cited in volume 739 of *Qinding gujin tushu jicheng* 《欽定古今圖書集成》 23
- 'Jingji huibian' 《經濟匯編》 23
- juan* 107 of 'Yue lü dian' 《樂律典》 23
- Qin lun* 《琴論》 15
- Author: Xie Xiyi 謝希逸 (421–466) also called Xie Zhuang 謝莊.
- Now lost but quoted in *Yuefu shiji*. 《樂府詩集》 5
- 'Qinqu jicheng tiyao' 《琴曲集成提要》 17
- Modern publication.
- The book itself is called *Qinqu jicheng* 《琴曲集成》 17
- The abstracts are found at the beginning of volume 1 17
- Qinyuan yaolu* 《琴苑要錄》 26
- An anthology copied in the Ming dynasty Zhengde era (正德, 1506–1521), so no single author is prominent.
- Qingjiang Bei xiansheng wenji* 《清江貝先生文集》 22
- Master Teacher Bei 貝先生 is Bei Qiong 貝瓊 (1312–1379)
- Soubriquet: Qingjiang 清江, 'of the Qing River'.
- Juan* 25 includes: 'Shendu zhai ji' 慎獨齋記 22
- Juan* 22–30 comprise a chapter whose title is: 'Zhongdugao' 中都藁 22
- Qingjin ji* 《青金集》 200
- Shi Qian 史遷 (*fl.* late fourteenth–early fifteenth centuries)
- Includes: 'Song of the Bronze Drum' 銅鼓歌 200
- 'Qingping yue' 清平樂 305
- Late Tang dynasty poem or composition.
- 'Qionгда yi shi' 窮達以時 69
- Book written on Guodian bamboo slips.
- Qiongzhou fu zhi* 《瓊州府志》 173
- Juan* 43 includes: 'Jinshi' 金石 173
- Qiugu jingshe jinshitu* 《求古精舍金石圖》 158
- Compiled in 1813–1817.
- Qiu shu* 《楮書》 40
- Author: Zhang Taiyan 章太炎 (1869–1936)
- Chapter 11: 'Yan xue' 顏學 40
- Quan Han fu* 《全漢賦》 57
- Editors include Fei Zhengang 費振剛 (b. 1935)
- Quan Hou Han wen* 《全後漢文》 24
- Compiler: Yan Kejun 嚴可均 (1762–1843)
- 'Qin fu' 琴賦 58
- Author: Fu Yi 傅毅 (d. 90 CE)
- Appears in *juan* 21 of *Gu wen yuan* 《古文苑》 (undated)
- 'Qin fu' 琴賦 12, 51
- Author: Ji Kang 嵇康 (224–263 or 223–262)
- Appears in *juan* 18 of *Selections of Refined Literature* (*Wenxuan*) 《文選》 13, 47
- Ji Kang ji jiaozhu* 《嵇康集校注》 13 n. 41
- Author: Dai Mingyang 戴明揚 (1902–1953)
- 'Qin fu' 琴賦 12
- Author: Ma Rong 馬融 (79–166)

- Qin kuang* 《琴況》 28  
 Author: Xu Hong 徐洪 (1582–1662), also called Xu Qingshan 徐青山 or Xu Shangying 徐上瀛  
 Introduction by Qian Fen 錢棻 (fl. seventeenth century) 28
- Qin qing ying* 《琴清英》 56  
 Author: Yang Xiong 楊雄 (53 BCE–18 CE)
- Qin shu* 《琴疏》 32  
 No reliable record of this text is available.
- Qin Song* 〈琴歌〉 28  
 Poet: Cai Yong 蔡邕 (133–192)
- Qin Vows* 《秦誓》 66  
 Dated to 627 BCE.  
 Author: Mugong, ruler of the state of Qin 秦穆公 (d. 621 BCE, r. 659–621 BCE)
- Qinxue congshu* 《琴學叢書》 20 n. 60, 32  
 Author: Yang Shibai 楊時百 (1863–1932)  
 Contains the essays:  
 ‘Qin hua’ 〈琴話〉 18  
 ‘Qin yu man lu’ 〈琴餘漫錄〉 19  
 ‘Qin xue wenda’ 〈琴學問答〉 20  
 ‘Qin yu man lu’ 〈琴餘漫錄〉 19  
 Author: Yang Shibai 楊時百 (1863–1932)  
 Found in: *Qinxue congshu* 《琴學叢書》 20 n. 60, 32
- ‘Qiuri oucheng’ 〈秋日偶成〉 19 n. 53  
 Poem by Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032–1085)
- ‘Quzhe’ 〈屈柘〉 251, 258–259  
 Central Asian piece mentioned in *Jiegu lu* 《羯鼓錄》
- Quan Jin Yuan ci* 《全金元詞》 337  
 Compiler: Tang Guizhang 唐圭璋 (1901–1990)
- Quan Song ci* 《全宋詞》 301  
 Published in 1931.
- Quan Song wen* 《全宋文》 293  
*Juan* 8 contains a formal policy proposal by Zhang Zhao 張昭 (894–972) 293
- Quan Tang wen* 《全唐文》 293  
*Juan* 864 contains a formal policy proposal by Zhang Zhao 張昭 (894–972) 293
- Rainbow Skirt, Feathered Tunic* 〈霓裳羽衣〉 235  
*Pipa* piece.
- Records of Dragon City* 《龍城錄》 347  
 Traditionally attributed to Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773–819)
- Records of the Grand Historian* 《史記》 45, 103, 117, 127, 180, 240  
 Author: Sima Qian 司馬遷 (b. 145 or 135 BCE)  
*Juan* 3: ‘Yin ben ji’ 〈殷本紀〉 180  
*Juan* 24: ‘Yue shu’ 〈樂書〉 127, 144  
*Juan* 25: ‘Lü shu’ 〈律書〉 128  
*Juan* 26: ‘Li shu’ 〈曆書〉 144  
*Juan* 27: ‘Tianguan shu’ 〈天官書〉 117  
*Juan* 31–60: ‘Shi jia’ 〈世家〉 68  
*Juan* 46: ‘Tian Jingzhong Wan shijia’ 〈田敬仲完世家〉 46  
*Juan* 47: ‘Kongzi shijia’ 〈孔子世家〉 132  
*Juan* 69: ‘Su Qin liezhuan’ 〈蘇秦列傳〉 65  
*Juan* 74: ‘Mengzi Xunqing liezhuan’ 〈孟子荀卿列傳〉 2  
*Juan* 117: ‘Sima Xiangru liezhuan’ 〈司馬相如列傳〉 21 n. 62  
*Juan* 127: ‘Rizhe liezhuan’ 〈日者傳〉 143  
 Translated into French (1898) by Édouard Chavannes (1865–1918) 103  
 Chinese name: 沙畹.
- Record of Guangzhou* 《廣州記》 177  
 Author: Pei Yuan 裴淵 (fl. Jin dynasty)
- Record of the Heard and the Seen* (*Wenjian ji*) 《聞見記》 34  
 Author: Feng Yan 封演 (fl. eighth century)
- A Record of Joined Sentences of Sanskrit Intoning* 《連句梵唄記》 75  
 Zhi Qian 支謙 (fl. third century)
- Record of Kuaiji* 《會稽記》 154  
 Author: Kong Ye 孔曄 (fl. Jin dynasty)
- Records of Linyi* 《林邑記》 168 n. 84, 169  
 Lost book quoted in sixth century texts.
- A Record of Nirvana Intoning* 《泥洹唄記》 75  
 Author: Kang Senghui 康僧會 (d. 280)
- Records of Rites* (*Li ji*) 《禮記》 4, 61, 128  
 Author: Dai Sheng 戴聖 (fl. Western Han dynasty)  
 Chapter 1: ‘Qu li shang’ 〈曲禮上〉 4  
 Chapter 2: ‘Qu li xia’ 〈曲禮下〉 4, 41  
 Chapter 6: ‘Yue ling’ 〈月令〉 128–129

- Chapter 9: 'Li yun' 〈禮運〉 71
- Chapter 19: 'Yue ji' 〈樂記〉 5, 29–30, 61  
Author: Liu De 劉德 (170–130 BCE)
- Chapter 2: 'Yue lun' 〈樂論〉 4
- Chapter 3: 'Yue li' 〈樂禮〉 255
- Chapter 5: 'Yue xiang' 〈樂象〉 11
- Chapter 7: 'Marquis Wen of Wei' 〈魏文侯〉 11
- Chapter 23: 'Dou Gong' 〈竇公〉 19–20 (now lost)
- Chapter 29: 'Kongzi xianju' 〈孔子閒居〉 39
- Liji zhengyi* 《禮記正義》 19 n. 56, 61, 135  
Author: Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574–648)
- Records of the Three Kingdoms* 《三國志》 265  
Author: Chen Shou 陳壽 (233–297)  
*Juan 1–30*: 'The Official Book of the State of Wei' 〈魏書〉 170, 265  
*Juan 8, part 2*: 'Biography of Tao Qian' 〈陶謙傳〉 265
- Regretting I came Late* 〈恨來遲破〉 239  
Tenth century *pipa* piece.
- Remnant Sounds of Ancient Antiquity (Taigu yiyin)* 《太古遺音》 16  
Author: Xie Lin 謝琳 (*fl.* fifteenth–sixteenth centuries)  
*Juan 4* includes an essay: 'Qin you suo yi' 〈琴有所宜〉 16  
*Juan 4* includes an essay: 'San sheng lun' 〈三聲論〉 25
- Report on Excavations at Shizhai Mountain* 《石寨山發掘報告》 171  
Modern text.
- Report on Investigation of the Miao People* 《苗族調查報告》 205  
Author: Torii Ryūzō 鳥居龍藏 (1870–1953)
- Repository of Siddham Script* 《悉曇藏》 313  
Author: Annen 安然 (841–c.901)
- Research into the Ancient Bronze Drums of Guangxi* 《廣西古代銅鼓研究》 180, 210  
Modern article.  
Author: Hong Sheng 洪聲
- Research into Dunhuang Musical Scores* 《敦煌曲譜研究》 228  
Modern book.  
Author: Ye Dong 葉棟
- Research into the Musical Modes of Banquet Music of the Sui and Tang Dynasties* 《隋唐燕樂調研究》 78 n. 15  
Author: Hayashi Kenzō 林謙三 (1899–1976)
- 'Research into Pitch Measurements of the Wuyang Jia Lake Bone Flute' 〈舞陽賈湖骨笛的測音研究〉 87  
Author: Huang Xiangpeng 黃翔鵬 (1927–1997)  
Published in *Wenwu* 《文物》, 1987, issue 1 87 n. 1
- Ri yuan* 《日苑》 139  
Anonymous book by practitioners of the *congchen* school of divination and magic and mentioned in *juan 30* of *Han shu* 《漢書》  
Also called: *Zhongliu congchen ri yuan* 《鐘律叢辰日苑》 143
- Rites of the Kaiyuan Era* 《開元禮》 292, 301  
Kaiyuan era: 713–741  
Completed in 732.  
Authors: Xiao Song 蕭嵩 (660–749) et al.
- 'The Rock Inscription on burying the Crane' ('Yihe ming') 〈瘞鶴銘〉 33  
Author: Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456–536)
- Rongzhai xubi* 《容齋續筆》 153  
Author: Hong Mai 洪邁 (1123–1202)  
*Juan 11* includes the entry: 'The Ancient Chunyu' ('Gu chunyu') 〈古錚于〉 153
- Ruiying benqi jing* 《瑞應本起經》 75
- Sancai jing* 《三才經》 50–51  
Also called: *The Book of Heaven, Earth, and Mankind* 《天地人經》 51  
Apparently lost; for authorship, see chapter 2.
- Sanjiao tongsheng* 《三教同聲》 312  
*Qin* anthology collected by Zhang Dexin 張德新 (*fl.* sixteenth century).
- Sanli tu* 《三禮圖》 9, 157  
Author: Nie Chongyi 聶崇義 (*fl.* tenth century)
- The Science of Lü Modes and Tunings (Lüxue)* 《律學》 132 n. 27  
Author: Miao Tianrui 繆天瑞 (1908–2009)

*Selections of Refined Literature* (cont.)

'The Seagull and Heron forget Scheming'  
(*Oulu wangji*) 〈鷗鷺忘機〉 23  
*Qin* piece.

*Selections of Refined Literature (Wenxuan)*

《文選》 12 n. 31, 13, 47

Compiler: Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501–531)

Exegetical notes by Li Shan 李善

(630–689) 12 n. 31, 32, 47

*Juan* 1 contains: 'Dongdu fu' 〈東都賦〉  
29

Poet: Ban Gu 班固 (32–92 CE)

*Juan* 16 contains: 'Changmen fu'

〈長門賦〉 57

Poet: Sima Xiangru 司馬相如

(179–118 BCE)

*Juan* 18 contains:

'Changdi fu' 〈長笛賦〉 95

Poet: Ma Rong 馬融 (79–166)

'Qin fu' 〈琴賦〉 12, 51, 58

Poet: Ji Kang 嵇康 (224–263 or  
223–262)

*Juan* 34 contains:

*Qi fa* 〈七發〉

Mei Sheng 枚乘 (210–c.138 BCE)  
47

'Serve Wine' 〈上酒〉 258, 276

Tang – Song dynasties drinking song.

*Shanhai jing* 《山海經》 8, 156

Chapter 2: 'Xishan jing' 〈西山經〉 157

Chapter 3: 'Beishan jing' 〈北山經〉 157

Chapter 5: 'Zhongshan jing' 〈中山經〉  
156

Chapter 14: 'Dahuang dong jing' 〈大荒  
東經〉 70

Chapter 18: 'Hainei jing' 〈海內經〉 8

Interlinear notes by Guo Pu 郭璞

(276–324) 59

*Shanzhai jijin lu* 《善齋吉金錄》 161

Author: by Liu Tizhi 劉體智 (1879–1962)

Category: 'Musical Instruments'

〈樂器〉 161

*Shenqi mipu* 《神奇秘譜》 319

*Qin* anthology by Zhu Quan 朱權

(1378–1448)

'Shenren chang' 〈神人暢〉 13

*Qin* composition found in *Yuefu shiji*

《樂府詩集》

*Shenxian zhuan* 《神仙傳》 52

Author: Ge Hong 葛洪 (1152–1237)

序 Introduction 52

*Shenglü jue* 《聲律決》 10 n. 21

Text cited in *juan* 142 of *The Official Book  
of the Song Dynasty*.

Other information on it, including the  
author, could not be traced.

*Shengshui yantan lu* 《澠水燕談錄》

308 n. 61

Author: Wang Pizhi 王闢之 (b. 1031)

'Sheng zhazi' 〈生查子〉 309

*Cipai* melody and rhyme scheme.

*Shiben* 《世本》 8, 180

Warring states period text; now lost.

*Shiben cuiji buzhu* 《世本粹集補注》 180

Supplementary notes given by Jao as

by Wang Shu 王澍 (1668–1743)

but actually by Zhang Shu 張澍

(1776–1847)

*Shi cao* 《士操》 16

Literary work.

Author: Wendi, Emperor of the Wei

dynasty 魏文帝 (187–226, r. 220–226)

Mention of it is found in:

*The Official Book of the Sui dynasty (Sui  
shu)* 《隋書》 *juan* 34 16

See: 'Philosophical Works' 《子》

'Names' 〈名〉

*The Old Official Book of the Tang*

*Dynasty* 《舊唐書》 *juan* 47 16

See: 'Bing [Third] Section'

《丙部》 'Ming jia' 〈名家〉

*The New Official Book of the Tang*

*Dynasty* 《新唐書》 *juan* 59 16

See 'Bing [Third] Section'

《丙部》 'Ming jia' 〈名家〉

*Shi'er jia jijin tulu* 《十二家吉金圖錄》 182

Author: Shang Chengzuo 商承祚

(1902–1991)

*Shi'er yan zhai jinshi guoyan lu* 《十二硯齋

金石過眼錄》 173

Author: Wang Jun 汪鋐 (b. 1816)

*Shiguo chunqiu* 《十國春秋》 235 n. 7, 236

Author and compiler: Wu Renchen

吳任臣 (1628–1689)

*Juan* 18 is mentioned 237

- Juan* 30 contains: 'Zheng Yanhua zhuan' (鄭彥華傳) 236
- Juan* 37: 'Shu houzhu benji' (蜀後主本紀) 235 n. 7
- Juan* 45 contains: 'Shi Cong zhuan' (石潔傳) 236 n. 8
- Shi ji zhengyi* 《史記正義》 144  
Author: Zhang Shoujie 張守節 (fl. seventh century)
- Shilin guangji* 《事林廣記》 229  
Author: Chen Yuanjing 陳元靚 (fl. thirteenth century)  
Contains: 'Yuanchengshuang pu' (願成雙譜) 234 n. 3
- Shipin* 《詩品》 28  
Author: Sikong Tu 司空圖 (837–908)
- Shisu* 《史溯》 87  
Author: Jao Tsung-i
- Shitan zhang* 《釋談章》 319, 321  
*Qin* piece.  
Also called: 《釋譚章》 320  
The second character is different, but the meaning and pronunciation are the same.
- 'Shitan zhenyan' (釋談真言) 312, 317, 319, 321  
Author: Pu'an 普安 [庵] (1115–1169)  
Evolved perhaps from *Pu'an zhenyan* 《普庵真言》 319
- Shi xing lu* 《始興錄》 75  
Cao Zhi 曹植 (192–232)
- 'Showing the Way' ('daoyin') (導引) 300  
Tang dynasty – Five Dynasties musical composition.
- 'Showing the Way' ('daoyin') (導引) 300  
Song dynasty *cipai* melody and rhyme scheme.  
Found in: *Nanjiao guchui gequ* 《南郊鼓吹歌曲》 302
- Shu Taowu* 《蜀檣杙》 349  
Author: Zhang Tangying 張唐英 (1029–1071)
- 'Shuidiao ge' (水調歌) 305  
Late Tang dynasty poem or composition.
- Shuijing* 《水經》 52 n. 22, 169 n. 85  
Author: Sang Qin 桑欽 (fl. Eastern Han dynasty)
- Shuijing zhu* 《水經注》 52, 169  
Author: Li Daoyuan 酈道元 (466–527)
- juan* 1–5: 'He shui zhu' (河水注) 171
- Juan* 24 includes: 'Ju he zhu' (睢河注) 52
- Juan* 36 includes: 'Wen he zhu' (溫河注) 169
- Juan* 37 includes: 'Yi shui zhu' (夷水注) 169
- Shuowen changjian* 《說文長箋》 317  
Collated by Zhao Yiguang 趙宦光 (1559–1625)
- Shuowen jiezi* 《說文解字》 10, 53, 94, 122, 150–151 n. 9, 163, 261–262  
Author: Xu Shen 許慎 (58–147 CE)  
The entry for the 'chi' radical 彳 (*juan* 2) 122 n. 28  
The entry for the 'shu' radical 尃 (*juan* 3) 122  
The entry for the 'dao' radical 刀 (*juan* 4) 65  
The entry for the 'zhu' radical 竹 (*juan* 5) 94  
The entry for the 'xin' radical 心 (*juan* 10) 59  
The entry for the 'nü' radical 女 (*juan* 12) 65  
The entry for the 'qin' radical 琴 (*juan* 12) 10, 53–54  
The entry for the 'shou' radical 手 (*juan* 12) 260  
The entry for the 'jin' radical 金 (*juan* 14) 55–56, 156
- Shuowen jiezi xizhuan* 《說文解字繫傳》 10  
Author: Xu Kai 徐鍇 (920–974)
- Shuowen yizheng* 《說文義證》 65  
Author: Gui Fu 桂馥 (1735–1805)
- Shuowen jiezi zhu* 《說文解字注》 53, 262  
Author: Duan Yucai 段玉裁 (1735–1815)
- Shuo wuyin* 《說五音》 144  
Author: Liu Xin 劉歆 (c.50 BCE–23 CE)
- Shuoyuan* 《說苑》 141  
Author: Liu Xiang 劉向 (77–6 BCE)
- Juan* 19: 'Xiuwen pian' (修文篇) 141
- Sicheng fu yaoren xiansui bei* (泗城府僇人獻歲碑) 165  
Ming dynasty.

- Sichuan tong zhi* 《四川通志》 201 n. 178  
Completed in 1733.
- 'Siddham Chapter' 〈悉曇章〉 314–316, 349  
Dunhuang manuscript.
- 'Siddham Chapter' 〈悉曇章〉 312  
*Qin* composition.
- Siku quanshu* 《四庫全書》 147, 177 n. 118  
Written: 1773–1792
- 'Six Prefectures' ('liuzhou') 〈六州〉 300  
Tang dynasty – Five Dynasties musical  
composition.
- 'Six Prefectures' ('liuzhou') 〈六州〉 303  
Song dynasty *cipai* melody and rhyme  
scheme.  
Found in: *Nanjiao guchui gequ* 《南郊鼓  
吹歌曲》 302
- 'Slow Composition' 《慢曲子》 247  
Dunhuang composition.
- 'Snowdrifts' 〈積雪〉 49  
*Qin* composition.  
Mention of it is found in Song Yu's 'Song  
Yu fu' 〈宋玉賦〉 also called: 'Feng  
fu' 〈諷賦〉 49 n. 14
- Song huiyao jigao* 《宋會要輯稿》 295  
Vols. 7–9: *Song huiyao jigao* 'Yue' 〈樂〉,  
esp. vol. 7 295  
Vols. 43–45: 'Yu fu' 〈輿服〉, *juan* 3 265
- Song jin zaju kao* 《宋金雜劇考》 329  
Modern book.  
Author: Hu Ji 胡忌  
The last chapter in it is called: 'Songju  
yixiang' 《宋劇遺響》 329
- 'Song of the Bronze Drum' 〈銅鼓歌〉 201  
Poet: Cao Yin 曹寅 (1658–1712)
- 'Song of the Bronze Drum' 〈銅鼓歌〉 204  
Li Zonghan 李宗瀚 (1770–1832)
- 'Song of the Bronze Drum' 〈銅鼓歌〉 200  
Poet: Shi Qian 史遷 (*fl.* late fourteenth–  
early fifteenth centuries)  
Found in: *Qingjin ji* 《青金集》 200
- 'Song of the Bronze Drum' 〈銅鼓歌〉 202  
Poet: Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 (1837–1909)
- 'Song of the Bronze Drum' 〈銅鼓歌〉 198  
Poet: Zhu Gui 朱珪 (1731–1806)
- 'Song of the Bronze Drum of Longzhou'  
《龍州銅鼓歌》 201  
Poet: Li Weiyin 李維寅 (1747–1797)
- 'Song of the Bronze Drum in the Temple of  
the Southern Sea God' 〈南海神廟銅  
鼓歌〉 197  
Poet: Liang Peilan 梁佩蘭 (1629–1705)
- 'Song Dynasty Lyric Song does not employ  
Melodies and Modes according to the  
Months' 〈宋詞不依月用律〉 297  
Author: Xia Chengtao 夏承燾  
(1900–1986)
- 'Song of Six Prefectures' 〈六州歌頭〉 303  
*Cipai* melody and rhyme scheme.
- Songs of Three Instruments* 《三器歌》 198  
Poet: Li Kai 李鐸 (1686–1746)  
First song: 'Yue Drum' 〈粵鼓〉 198
- 'Songshen zhang' 〈送神章〉 249 n. 50  
Ancient Xi'an 'drum-blow' music  
鼓吹樂 piece.
- Song Yuan jiyi zakao* 《宋元伎藝雜考》  
347  
Modern book.  
Author Li Xiaocang 李嘯倉 (b. 1921)  
Contains: 'Pinghua zhong de Erlang Shen'  
〈平話中的二郎神〉 347
- 'The Southern Chinese Wellspring of  
Changing Literature and the Cantor  
Craftsmen of Dunhuang' 〈變文的南方  
源頭與敦煌的唱導法匠〉 83  
Paper by modern scholar Jiang Boqin  
姜伯勤.
- 'Southern Songlet' 〈南歌子〉 245, 249–250,  
252–253, 276  
Dunhuang manuscript dance notation.
- 'Speckled Butterfly' 〈粉蝶兒〉 339  
*Cipai* set melody and rhyme scheme.
- 'The Spring Light is Lovely' 〈春光好〉 310  
Poem by Ouyang Jiong 歐陽炯  
(896–971)
- 'Tonggu ge wei Ma Xiaomei' 〈銅鼓歌爲馬  
小眉〉 204  
Poet: Feng Dengfu 馮登府 (1793–1841)
- Tonggu kaolie* 《銅鼓考略》 196  
Author: Zheng Shixu 鄭師許 (1897–1952)
- 'Suliu xitan zhang' 〈俗流悉曇章〉 315  
Dunhuang manuscript.
- 'Suliu xitan zhang' 〈俗流悉談章〉 349  
Dunhuang manuscript.
- Suzhou fu zhi* 《蘇州府志》 347  
Contributing author: Wang Jun 王峻  
(1694–1751)

- Sutra in Forty-Two Chapters* 《四十二章經》 33 n. 101  
Said to have entered China in the Eastern Han dynasty.
- 'Sword Dance' 〈劍舞〉 257  
The name of a Song dynasty dance.
- 'Sword Dance' 〈劍舞〉 273  
A literary passage by Shi Hao 史浩 (1106–1194)
- 'Table of the Regional Dispersal of Ancient Bronze Drums' 〈古代銅鼓分布地域表〉 200  
Compiler: He Jisheng 何紀生 (modern scholar)
- Taigong's Military Book* 《太公兵書》 107, 111–112  
Author: Jiang Ziya 姜子牙 (d. 1015), honorific title Jiang Taigong 姜太公.
- 'Taiyi shengshui' 〈大一生水〉 69  
Essay written on Guodian bamboo slips.
- Taiyin xisheng* 《太音希聲》 320  
*Qin* Anthology collected by Chen Dabin 陳大斌 (fl. late sixteenth–early seventeenth centuries)  
The title is also a pun on Chen Dabin's soubriquet Taixi 太希 and could be translated as *Taixi's Notes and sounds* 320  
Includes 'Notes' 注 to all the *qipai* patterns 320
- The Tale of the West Chamber* 《西廂記》 341  
Several different versions that include:  
One by Dong Jieyuan 董解元 (late twelfth–early thirteenth centuries) 341  
Version 3 with notes by Wang Jide 王驥德 (1540–1623) 341
- Tale of the White Rabbit* 《白兔記》 343  
Ming dynasty opera written under a generic alias, so no author's name is available.  
Contains 'Red Peony' 〈紅芍藥〉, a *qu set* melody and rhyme scheme 343
- 'Tan po chou nu er' 〈攤破醜奴兒〉 338  
*Cipai* set melody and rhyme scheme.
- Tang liu dian* 《唐六典》 174  
Authors: Zhang Jiuling 張九齡 (678–740) et al.
- Tang shengshi* 《唐聲詩》 305  
Author: Ren Bantang 任半塘 (1897–1991) also called Ren Zhongmin 任中敏.
- Tang xi nong* 《唐戲弄》 349  
Author: Ren Bantang 任半塘 (1897–1991), also called Ren Zhongmin 任中敏.
- Tang Xianzu ji* 《湯顯祖集》 345  
Author: Tang Xianzu 湯顯祖 (1550–1616)  
Vol. 7 or *juan* 34 includes 'Yuming tang wen' 〈玉茗堂文〉 345  
that contains 'Yihuang xian xishen Qingyuan shi miao ji' 〈宜黃縣戲神清源師廟記〉 345
- Tang Xianzu shiwen ji* 《湯顯祖詩文集》 345  
Collated by modern scholar Xu Shuofang (1923–2007)  
Tang Xianzu: 1550–1616  
*Juan* 18 contains a *shi* poem: 'Ji sheng jiao Zhang Luo'er hen Wu Ying dan kouhao' 〈寄生腳張羅二恨吳迎旦口號〉 346 n. 60  
*Juan* 34 contains an essay: 'Yihuang xian xishen Qingyuan shi miao ji' 〈宜黃縣戲神清源師廟記〉 345
- Tang yu lin* 《唐語林》 176, 258  
Author: Wang Dang 王讜 (fl. late eleventh–early twelfth centuries)  
*Juan* 8 contains the entry: 'Bizhou Cishi' 〈壁州刺史〉 267
- Tang zhiyan* 《唐摭言》 234 n. 3  
Author: Wang Dingbao 王定保 (870–954)
- Taochan ci* 《逃禪詞》 346  
Poet: Yang Wujiu 楊無咎 (1097–1171)  
Contains a poem called 'The God Erlang' 〈二郎神〉 346  
Titular subtext: 'Qingyuan's Birthday' 〈清源生辰〉 346
- 'Tao Yuanming zhuan' 〈陶淵明傳〉 36  
Author: Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501–531)  
Found in: *Tao Yuanming ji* 《陶淵明集》 36  
Compiler: Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501–531)



- Taozhai jijin lu* 《陶齋吉金錄》 171 n. 96  
Compiled by Duan Fang 端方 (1861–1911)  
‘Three Stages’ 〈三台〉 247, 262, 273  
*Cipai* melody and rhyme scheme.  
‘Throwing-Striking’ 〈拋打令〉 259  
Drinking song, rhyme, or game  
*Tiandi ruixiang zhi* 《天地瑞祥志》 125  
Author: Sa Shouzhen 薩守真 (*fl.* Tang dynasty)  
‘Ting qin fu’ 〈聽琴賦〉 27  
Author unknown.  
Found in: *Longhu qinpu* 《龍湖琴譜》 27  
Compiler: Shi Guozhen 石國禎 (*fl.* sixteenth century)  
Printed in 1570.  
*Tingshi* 《程史》 348  
Author: Yue Ke 岳珂 (1183–1243)  
Entry in *juan* 10: ‘(Lei) Wanchun lingyu’ 〈雷〕萬春伶語〉 348  
*Tongdian* 《通典》 151  
Compiler: Du You 杜佑 (735–812)  
*Juan* 141–147: ‘Citations on Music’ 《樂典》 277  
*Juan* 144 includes: ‘Leather Category’ 《革類》 180  
‘Tonggu ge ti Qufu Yan shi taben’ 〈銅鼓歌題曲阜顏氏拓本〉 177 n. 118  
Poet: Wang Fanggang 翁方綱 (1733–1818)  
*Tongjian jishi benmo* 《通鑑紀事本末》 234  
Author: Yuan Shu 袁樞 (1131–1205)  
*Juan* 39 includes a section: ‘Master Gao Occupies Jingnan’ 《高氏據荊南》 234  
*Tongwen yuntong* 《同文韻統》 319  
Published in 1751.  
*Juan* 1 contains: ‘Table of Indian Alphabets’ 〈天竺字母譜〉 319  
*Tongya* 《通雅》 156  
Author: Fang Yizhi 方以智 (1611–1671)  
*Tongyun* 《通韻》 316  
Author: Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什 (343–413)  
‘Toutuo si bei’ 〈頭陀寺碑〉 37  
Author of the inscription: Wang Jin 王巾 (d. 505)  
*Transcription of the Text of Yinque Mountain Han Dynasty Bamboo Slips* 《銀雀山漢簡釋文》 104  
Modern book by Wu Jiulong 吳九龍.  
*Tu jing bencao* 《圖經本草》 53  
Authors include: Su Song 蘇頌 (1020–1101)  
*Tui qi yin* 《推七音》 147  
‘The Twelve Watches’ (‘Shi’er shi’) 〈十二時〉 300  
Five Dynasties – Song dynasty musical composition.  
‘The Twelve Watches’ (‘Shi’er shi’) 〈十二時〉 303  
Song dynasty *cipai* melody and rhyme scheme.  
Found in *Nanjiao guchui gequ* 《南郊鼓吹歌曲》 302  
‘Two Dong So’n Drums from Kuala Trengganu’ 195  
Author: B. A. V. Peacock  
*Malaysia in History*, vol.10, 2, 1967 195  
*The Vimalakīrti Scripture* 《維摩詰經》 38  
Author: Vimalakīrti, in Chinese: Wei Mojie 魏摩詰 (a Buddhist luminary contemporary to Gautama Buddha)  
Sometimes called: *Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa Sūtra* 《維摩詰所說經》  
Translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva, Chinese name 鳩摩羅什 (344–413) 38 n. 119  
Scriptural Chapter 9: ‘Bu ru er fa men pin di jiu’ 〈不入二法門品第九〉 38  
‘Visiting the Gold Gate’ 〈謁金門〉 225  
Text in Dunhuang manuscript S(tein).4359  
*Wanqingyi Qing shi hui* 《晚晴移清詩匯》 200  
Poetry anthology.  
*Wang Xiangmin gongji* 《王襄敏公集》 343  
Wang Xiangmin (1426–1499): a soubriquet of Wang Yue 王越.  
*Juan* 4 contains a series of poems to the *cipai* set melody ‘Huang ying’er’ 〈黃鶯兒〉 343  
‘Washing Stream Gravel’ 〈浣溪沙〉 243, 252, 269  
*Cipai* set melody found in the Dunhuang manuscripts.

- 'Water-Calthrop Flower Mirror' ('Linghua jing') 〈菱花鏡〉 342  
An opera.
- 'Tang Yu zhi dao' 〈唐虞之道〉 69  
Book written on Guodian bamboo slips.
- Wenwu 《文物》 104  
Modern scholarly journal.
- Wenxian tongkao 《文獻通考》 300  
Compiled by Ma Duanlin 馬端臨 (1254–1323)
- Wenxin diaolong 《文心雕龍》 32, 49  
Author: Liu Xie 劉勰 (465–521)  
'Xuzhi pian' 〈序志篇〉 32, 49  
The book comprises ten sections, each containing five essays. This essay is the fifth and last of the tenth and last section, that is, the fiftieth and last in the book.
- Wenyi xinlixue 《文藝心理學》 26, 30 n. 84  
Author: Zhu Guangqin 朱光潛 (1897–1986)
- Wenyuan yinghua 《文苑英華》 41  
Compilers: Li Fang 李昉 (925–996) et al.  
Compiled by imperial decree 982–986.  
In *juan* 77: 'Wu xian qin fu' 〈無弦琴賦〉 42  
Poet: Zhang Sui 張隨 (*fl.* Tang dynasty)  
In *juan* 507: 'You nu xin gu qin pan' 〈有怒心鼓琴判〉 41  
Poet: Yuan Zhen 元稹 (779–831)  
In *juan* 508: 'Dui qin you sha sheng pan' 〈對琴有殺聲判〉 41  
Poet: Liang She 梁涉 (*fl.* Tang dynasty)
- 'Wen zimu pin' 〈問字母品〉 319  
Associated with Mañjuśrī.
- 'West River Moon' 〈西江月〉 247  
Dunhuang composition.
- 'Written after the *Anthology of Musical Repertories*' ('Shu yuezhang ji hou') 〈書樂章集後〉 308  
Author: Huang Chang 黃裳 (1044–1130)
- Wuchuan xian zhi 《吳川縣志》 207  
*Juan* 4 includes: 'Jinshi' 〈金石〉 207
- Wudai huiyao 《五代會要》 278  
Author: Wang Pu 王溥 (922–982)
- Wudeng huiyuan 《五燈會元》 331  
Compiler: Shi Puji 釋普濟 (*fl.* thirteenth century)  
*Juan* 13 contains a biography of Wensui 文遂 (*fl.* ninth century) 331
- Wugang Qin Scores 《梧岡琴譜》 17  
Author: Huang Xian 黃獻 (1485–1561)  
Wugang 梧岡 is Huang Xian's soubriquet.
- 'Wu he fu' 〈舞鶴賦〉 33  
Poet: Bao Zhao 鮑照 (414–466)  
The first poem in *juan* 14 of *Selections of Refined Literature (Wenxuan)* 《文選》 13
- Wulin jiushi 《武林舊事》 262  
Author: Zhou Mi 周密 (1232–1298)  
*Juan* 4 includes a chapter: 'Section on the Imperial Music Academy of the Qiandao and Chunxi Eras' ('Qian Chun jiaofang bu') 〈乾淳教坊部〉 262  
Qiandao era: 乾道, 1165–1174  
Chunxi era: 淳熙, 1174–1189
- Wuli lun 《物理論》 255  
Yang Quan 楊泉 (*fl.* Western Jin dynasty)  
Quotation of it is found in *juan* 9 of *Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era* 《太平御覽》
- 'Wu xian qin fu' 〈無弦琴賦〉 42  
Poet: Zhang Sui 張隨 (*fl.* Tang dynasty)  
In *juan* 77 of *Wenyuan yinghua* 《文苑英華》 41
- Wuxing dayi 《五行大義》 107, 147  
Author: Xiao Ji 蕭吉 (525–606)  
*juan* 4 includes: 'Di shiqi lun bagua bafeng' 〈第十七論八卦八風〉 109
- Wuyi Shan zhi 《武夷山志》 237  
Author: Dong Tiangong 董天工 (1703–1771)
- 'Xi nu jiao' 〈惜奴嬌〉 339–340  
*Cipai* set melody and rhyme scheme.
- Xiqing gujian 《西清古鑑》 158  
*Xiqing xujian jiabian* 《西清續鑑甲編》 182, 371  
*Xiqing xujian yibian* 《西清續鑑乙編》 182, 371  
All were completed in 1751.
- Xiqu yanjiu 《戲曲研究》 362  
Modern journal.

- Xitan jingzhu* 《悉曇經傳》 317  
 Author: Zhao Yiguang 趙宦光  
 (1559–1625)  
 Facsimile edited by Jao Tsung-i 317  
 The facsimile contains a passage by Zhao Yiguang: 'Ke Fanshu xitan zhenyan xiaoyin' 〈刻梵書悉曇真言小引〉 317
- 'Xi zhanxiang' 〈戲瞻相〉 259  
 Poem by Xue Neng 薛能 (d. 880)
- 'Xiafang yuan' 〈遐方遠〉 251  
 Dunhuang piece; Pelliot manuscript.  
 See also: 'Qian xiafang yuan' 〈前遐方遠〉 252
- Xian's Governance* 《咸义》 180  
 Author: Wu Xian 巫咸 (fl. Shang dynasty)
- The Xiang'er Commentary on the Laozi*  
 《老子想爾注》 33  
 Author: Zhang Daoling 張道陵 (34–156)
- Xianghe jing* 《相鶴經》 33  
 Author: Fu Qiu 浮丘  
 (fl. sixth century BCE)
- Xiangshan yelu* 《湘山野錄》 309  
 Author: Wen Ying 文瑩 (fl. eleventh century)
- Xiang yan ju ci zhu* 《香研居詞麈》  
 248 n. 47  
 Author: Fang Chengpei 方成培  
 (fl. late eighteenth–early nineteenth centuries)
- Xiaodai liji* 《小戴禮記》 129 n. 13  
 Compiler: Dai Sheng 戴聖 (fl. first century BCE)  
 Nephew of Dai De 戴德  
 Essay 6: 'Yue ling' 〈月令〉 128–129
- Xiao jiaojing ge jimwen taben* 《小校經閣金文拓本》 160  
 Published in 1935.  
 Author: Liu Tizhi 劉體智 (1879–1962)  
*Juan 1* includes: 'Chunyu Type' 〈鎔于類〉 160
- Xiao zhi* 《嘯旨》 34  
 Author: Sun Guang 孫廣 (fl. eighth century)
- 'Xiexian you' 〈挾仙遊〉 19  
*Qin* piece.
- Xin lun* 《新論》 12, 14, 67  
 Author: Huan Tan 桓譚 (23 BCE–56 CE)
- Juan 16*: 'The Way of the Qin' 〈琴道〉 3, 12, 67
- Xinzuan yue shu* 《新纂樂書》 234 n. 3  
 Xu Jing'an 徐景安 (fl. Tang dynasty)  
 Contains a chapter: 'Yuezhang wenpu' 〈樂章文譜〉 234 n. 3, 305
- Xing bian ji wen* 《行邊紀聞》 205  
 Author: Tian Rucheng 田汝成  
 (1503–1557)
- Xing shi heng yan* 《醒世恆言》 347  
 Author: Feng Menglong 馮夢龍  
 (1574–1646)
- Juan 13*: 'Kan pixue dan zheng Erlang shen' 〈勘皮靴單證二郎神〉 347
- 'Xingzi mingchu' 〈性自命出〉 54  
 Essay on Guodian bamboo slips.
- Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 《續高僧傳》 315  
 Author: Dao Xuan 道宣 (596–667)
- Xu Han Lüli zhi* 《續漢律曆志》 133–134  
 Author: Liu Zhao 劉昭 (fl. sixth century)
- The Xulai Scripture* 《須賴經》 81  
 Buddhist scripture.
- Xu Tang shu* 《續唐書》 349  
 Author: Chen Zhan 陳鱣 (1753–1817)
- Xu zhi* 《續志》 138  
 Author: Sima Biao 司馬彪 (d. 306)
- Juan 1–3*: 'Lüli zhi' 〈律曆志〉 128, 139
- Juan 24–28*: 'Baiguan zhi' 〈百官志〉 139  
 Part of *Xu Han shu* 《續漢書》 138
- Xuanhe bogutu* 《宣和博古圖》 157  
 Author: Wang Fu 王黼 (1079–1126)
- Xunzi* 《荀子》 4  
 Eponymous Text by Xunzi 荀子  
 (c. 316–between 237 and 235 BCE) and others.  
 Also called: 《荀卿子》 4  
 Essay 1, found in *juan 1*: 'Quanxue pian' 〈勸學篇〉 16  
 Essay 20, found in *juan 14*: 'Yuelun pian' 〈樂論篇〉 67 n. 87
- 'Ya qin fu' 〈雅琴賦〉 11, 57  
 Author: Liu Xiang 劉向 (77–6 BCE)
- Yan fan lu* 《演繁露》 264  
 Author: Cheng Dachang 程大昌  
 (1123–1195)
- Yanshan ji* 《演山集》 308

- Author: Huang Chang 黃裳 (1044–1130)  
*Yanshi jiaxun* 《顏氏家訓》 41  
 Author: Yan Zhitui 顏之推 (531–591)  
 Chapter 19: 'Zayi pian' 《雜藝篇》 41  
*Yanyi* 《演義》 267  
 Author: Su E 蘇鶚 (*fl.* ninth century)  
 'Yangliu zhi' 〈楊柳枝〉 270, 304–305, 333  
 A song current in the late Tang dynasty  
 and Liang dynasty, or a lyric song, or a  
 song genre.  
*Yangliu zhi ci* 〈楊柳枝辭〉 304  
 Poet: Tang dynasty emperor Zhaozong  
 唐昭宗 (867–904, r. 888–904)  
 'Yeposuoji' 〈耶婆娑雞〉 251, 258  
 Central Asian piece mentioned by  
*Jiequ lu* 《羯鼓錄》  
*Yi bi* 《易比》 176  
 Potential author: Zheng Yin 鄭綱  
 (752–829) of Yangwu 陽武  
*Yijian zhi* 《夷堅志》 339  
 Author: Hong Mai 洪邁 (1123–1202)  
 Yijian 夷堅, an ancient mythological  
 scholar said to be adept at writing.  
*Juan* 13 [113] includes a passage: 'Nine  
 Flowers Heavenly Immortal' 〈九華  
 天仙〉 339  
 'Yi jiang feng' 〈一江風〉 249 n. 50  
 Ancient Xi'an 'drum-blow' music  
 鼓吹樂 piece.  
*Yisi Divination* 《乙巳占》 107  
 Author: Li Chunfeng 李淳風 (602–670)  
*Yiwen lei ju* 《藝文聚類》 18 n. 51  
 Editor-in-chief: Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢  
 (557–641)  
 Finished in 624.  
*Juan* 41–44: music 18 n. 51  
 'Yizhou' 〈伊州〉 247  
 Dunhuang composition.  
 'Yinjiu qi wu' 〈飲酒其五〉 38  
 Poet: Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (365–427)  
*Yinque Mountain Han dynasty Tomb Bamboo  
 Slips* 《銀雀山漢墓竹簡》 104  
 Modern book.  
 Published by Wenwu chubanshe 文物出  
 版社 104  
*Yinyue luncong* 《音樂論叢》 142  
 Author may be Pan Huaisu 潘懷素  
 (1894–1978)
- Yin Zhou qingtongqi tonglun* 《殷周青銅器  
 通論》 153  
 Author: Rong Geng 容庚 (1894–1983)  
*Yongchang fu wenzheng* 《永昌府文徵》  
 189 n. 152  
 Compiler: Li Genyuan 李根源  
 (1879–1965)  
 'You lan' 〈幽蘭〉 49 n. 14  
*Qin* composition.  
 Mention of it is found in some redactions  
 of 'Song Yu fu' 〈宋玉賦〉 also called  
 'Feng fu' 〈諷賦〉 49  
*Youyang zazu* 《西陽雜俎》 235  
 Author: Duan Chengshi 段成式  
 (803–863)  
*Juan* 6 contains a section entitled 'Music'  
 〈樂〉 235  
 Youyang 西陽 is a placename.  
 'Yucong 1' 〈語叢一〉 69  
 Collection of writings on Guodian  
 bamboo slips.  
*Yugu wencun* 《愚谷文存》 152  
 Author: Wu Qian 吳騫 (1733–1813)  
 'Yuhua dengxian' 〈羽化登仙〉 19  
*Qin* piece.  
*Yulinzhou zhi* 《鬱林州志》 194  
 Compiled in 1891.  
 'Yu Ziyan deng shu' 〈與子儼等疏〉  
 37 n. 114  
 Author: Tao Yuanming 陶淵明  
 (365–427)  
*Yupian* 《玉篇》 157  
 Author: Gu Yewang 顧野王 (519–581)  
 'Yu xuyu' 〈禹須臾〉 107  
 Book from Yunmeng 雲夢 on Qin  
 bamboo slips.  
 'Yuzhi linzhong qiao nei jia jiao' 〈御制臨鐘  
 高內家嬌〉 302  
 Piece in Dunhuang manuscript P.3251.  
 'Yu zhu huijing shuangdiao siqu' 〈虞主回京  
 雙調四曲〉 303  
 Poet: Fan Zuyu 范祖禹 (1041–1098)  
*Yuefu shiji* 《樂府詩集》 5, 263  
 Compiler: Guo Maoqian 郭茂倩  
 (1041–1099)  
*Juan* 52–54: 'Wuqu geci' 《舞曲歌辭》  
 263

- Yuefu shiji* (cont.)  
*Juan* 54 contains: 'Han jinwu ge'  
 〈漢巾舞歌〉 263  
 Also called: 'Han dai jinwu ci'  
 〈漢代巾舞辭〉 265  
*Juan* 57–60: 'Qinqu geci' 《琴曲歌辭》 5
- Yuefu zalu* 《樂府雜錄》 243  
 Author: Duan Anjie 段安節 (*fl.* ninth century)  
 Passage 1: 'Yayue bu' 〈雅樂部〉 243  
 Passage 3: 'Qingyue bu' 〈清樂部〉 243  
 Passage 6: 'Xiongpi bu' 〈熊羆部〉 243  
 Passage 8: 'Qiuci yue bu' 〈龜茲樂部〉 243
- Yuefu zhimi* 《樂府指迷》 310  
 Author: Shen Yifu 沈義父 (*fl.* thirteenth century)
- Yuefu zhimi* 《樂府指迷》 229, 297, 338  
 Author: Zhang Yan 張炎 (1248–1320)
- 'Yuejiang ling' 〈越江令〉 304  
 Author: Su Yijian 蘇易簡 (958–997)
- Yueling guangyi* 《月令廣義》 346  
 Author: Feng Yingjing 馮應京 (1555–1606)
- Yuelü biaowei* 《樂律表微》 126  
 Author: Hu Yansheng 胡顯昇 (*fl.* eighteenth century)
- Yuelü yi* 《樂律義》 145  
 Author: Shen Zhong 沈重 (*fl.* sixth century)
- Yuepu* 《樂譜》 145  
 Author: Xiao Ji 蕭吉 (525–606)  
 Also called: *Yuepu ji* 《樂譜集》 146  
 or *Yuepu jijie* 《樂譜集解》 146  
 A reconstructed edition was compiled in the nineteenth century by the Yuhan shanfang 玉函山房 146
- Yue shu* 《樂書》 79, 240  
 Author: Chen Yang 陳暘 (1064–1128)  
*Juan* 185 describes a dancing girl.  
 Contains a section: 'Female Musicians, Part Two (of Two)' 〈女樂下〉 256
- Yue shu* 《樂書》 131  
 Author: He Tuo 何妥 (*fl.* late sixth century)
- Yue shu* 《樂書》 144  
 Author: Xu Jing'an 徐景安 (*fl.* Tang dynasty)
- Yue shu yaolu* 《樂書要錄》 147  
 Written late seventh–early eighth centuries; author not given.
- Yue shu zhu tu fa* 《樂書註圖法》 147  
 Author: Xin Dufang 信都芳 (*fl.* Northern Qi Dynasty, sixth century)
- Yuxi jinshi zhi* 《粵西金石志》 206  
 Author: Xie Qikun 謝啓昆 (1737–1802)  
 Contains: 'Investigation of Bronze Drums' 〈銅鼓考〉 178
- Yuezhangji* 《樂章集》 241 n. 23  
 Poet: Liu Yong 柳永 (984–1053)  
 Contains poems or compositions:  
 'Music for Pouring the Cup'  
 〈傾盃樂〉 241  
 'Ancient Pouring out the Cup'  
 〈古傾盃〉 241 n. 23  
 'Pouring out the Cup' 〈傾盃〉 241 n. 23
- Yue zhi* 《樂志》 150  
 Author: Su Kui 蘇夔 (*fl.* late sixth–seventh centuries)  
 Quoted in *Yue shu yaolu* 《樂書要錄》 147
- Yunlu manchao* 《雲麓漫鈔》 152  
 Author: Zhao Yanwei 趙彥衛 (*fl.* late twelfth–early thirteenth centuries)
- Yunxi youyi* 《雲溪友議》 270  
 Author: Fan Shu 范攄 (*fl.* ninth century)  
*Juan* 3 (of 3) contains the story: 'Wen Pei chu' 〈溫裴黜〉 270
- Yunyaoji* 《雲謠集》 273, 310  
 Dunhuang anthology of folksongs lyrics.  
 Contains lyrics to the folksong 'Music for Pouring out the Cup: Long Melody'  
 〈傾盃樂長調〉 241 n. 23
- 'Yun zhong kao' 〈均鐘考〉 294  
 Author: Huang Xiangpeng 黃翔鵬 (1927–1997)
- Zaolin za zu* 《棗林雜俎》 347  
 Author: Tan Qian 談遷 (1594–1658)
- 'Zeng Wuwei Jun Li daoshi Jingxian shi'  
 〈贈無爲軍李道士景仙詩〉 19  
 Poet: Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072)  
 Found in: *Jushi ji* 《居士集》, *juan* 4 19
- Zhang Xie, the Zhuangyuan Scholar:*  
*Libretto* 《張協狀元戲文》 340

- Book by the Nine Mountains Book Society  
九山書會.
- 'Zhezhi' 〈柘枝〉 257  
Late Tang dynasty poem or composition.
- Zhezhi wu* 〈柘枝舞〉 257  
Song dynasty dance.
- Zhen gao* 《真誥》 33  
Author: Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456–536)  
Essay 2: 'Zhenming pian' 〈甄命篇〉  
33
- Zhenjiang fu zhi* 《鎮江府志》 307  
*Juan* 32 includes: 'Tombs' 〈墓〉 307
- Zheng He's Navigation Chart* 《鄭和航海圖》 169  
Cartographer: Zheng He 鄭和  
(1371–1433)
- Zhengyue shuodan bafeng zhan* 〈正月朔旦八風占〉 119  
Author: Wei Xian 魏鮮 (*fl.* Western Han dynasty)
- Zhengzi tong* 《正字通》 157  
Author: Zhang Zilie 張自烈 (1597–1675)
- Zhilin* 《志林》 172  
Author: Yu Xi 虞喜 (281–356)
- Zhizu zhaji* 《知足齋集》 198  
Poetry anthology of Zhu Gui 朱珪  
(1731–1806)
- 'Zhongguo de shuishaen chuanshuo yu Xiyouji' 《中國的水神傳說與西遊記》 353  
Author: Chen Bingliang 陳炳良 (b. 1955)  
Contains an appendix: 'Cong shuhui dao liyuan' 〈從書會到梨園〉 353
- 'Zhongguo yinlü zhi yanjiu' 《中國音律之研究》 375  
Modern book.  
Author: Zhuang Benli 莊本立
- Zhongguo yinyueshi lunji* 《中國音樂史論集》 375  
Modern compilation.
- Zhonglü* 《鐘律》 145  
Author: Shen Zhong 沈重 (*fl.* sixth century)
- Zhonglü chenshu* 《鐘律陳數》 147  
Author: Gu Chenxu 顧陳埏 (*fl.* early eighteenth century)
- Ciyang tang 賜硯堂 essay series, vol. 4  
丁集 148
- Zhonglü tongkao* 《鐘律通考》 147  
Author: Ni Fu 倪復 (*fl.* fifteenth century)  
Contains: 'Huangzhong benyuan dingfa zhang' 〈黃鐘本原定法章〉 147
- Zhonglü tu* 《鐘律圖》 144  
Authors: Lei Cizong 雷次宗 (386–448) and He Yinzhi 何胤之 (446–531)
- Zhonglü wei* 《鐘律緯》 130  
Author: Liang dynasty emperor Wudi 梁武帝 (464–549, r. 502–549)  
Substantial quotation in *juan* 16 of *The Official Book of the Sui Dynasty* (*Sui shu*) 《隋書》 130
- Zhonglü wei bian zongjian* 《鐘律緯辯宗見》 127–130  
Mentioned in the 'Zhi' of *The Official Book of the Sui Dynasty* (*Sui shu*) 《隋書》 130
- Zhonglü xiaoxi* 《鐘律消息》 144
- Zhonglü zaïying* 《鐘律災應》 143
- Zhongshan shihua* 中山詩話 268  
Author: Liu Ban 劉放 (1022–1088)
- Zhongxing shumu* 《中興書目》 283  
Completed in 1177.
- Zhong Yin wenhua guanxishi lunji yuwenpian* 《中印文化關係史論集語文篇》 312  
Contains an essay by Jao Tsung-i: 'Xitanxue xulun' 〈悉曇學緒論〉 312
- 'Zhongzhou chutu Bei Song xiqu wenwu lunkao' 〈中州出土北宋戲曲文物論考〉 262 n. 95  
Author: Liao Ben 廖奔  
Article in *Xiqu yanjiu* 《戲曲研究》, issue 18 262 n. 95
- 'Zhou huchun shuo' 〈周虎錚說〉 152  
Author: Wu Qian 吳騫 (1733–1813)
- The Zhou Rites* 《周禮》 93, 149, 156  
Also called: *Zhou Officers* 《周官》 154, 285, 287–288  
Anonymous: Spring and Autumn period or Han dynasty forgery.  
Chapter 2: 'Diguan situ' 《地官司徒》 149  
Subsection: 'Gu ren' 〈鼓人〉 149  
Chapter 3: 'Chunguan zongbo' 《春官宗伯》 122  
Subsection: 'Zhan meng' 〈占夢〉 122

*The Zhou Rites* (cont.)

Subsection: 'Baozhang shi'  
〈保章氏〉 123

Chapter 6: 'Dongguan kaogong ji'  
《冬官考工記》 155

Subsection: 'Yun ren' 〈韞人〉 168

Two principle sets of notes:

In both cases, the notes are by Zheng Xuan: 鄭玄 (127–200) and are very similar and taken from the same source:

*Zhouli zhushu* 《周禮注疏》 93 n. 6,  
122 n. 27, 149

*Juan 12* includes: 'Gu ren'  
〈鼓人〉 149

*Juan 25* starts with 'Zhan meng'  
〈占夢〉 122

*Juan 26* includes: 'Baozhang shi'  
〈保章氏〉 123

Supplementary explanation by Jia Gongyan 賈公彥 (*fl.* seventh century)

*Zhouli zhengyi* 《周禮正義》 122

*Juan 48* includes: 'Zhan meng'  
〈占夢〉 122

*Juan 51* includes: 'Baozhang shi'  
〈保章氏〉 123

Supplementary explanation by Sun Yirang 孫詒讓 (1848–1908)

Also: *Zhouli zhu* 《周禮注》 151

Author: Gan Bao 干寶 (280–336)

*Zhu ding yu wen* 《鑄鼎餘聞》 347

Author: Yao Fujun 姚福均 (*fl.* late Qing dynasty)

*Zhuguo jiyou* 《竺國紀遊》 205

Author: Zhou Ailian 周藹聯  
(*fl.* eighteenth century)

*Zhuqin zashi* 《諸琴雜事》 57–58

Author: Long De 龍德 (*fl.* Western Han dynasty)

Now lost.

*Zhuzyulei* 《朱子語類》 268

Compiler: Li Jingde 黎靖德 (*fl.* twelfth–thirteenth centuries)

*Juan 92*, 'Yue gujin' 〈樂古今〉 268

*Zhuanji baiyuan jing* 《撰集百緣經》 76

Published in French translation in Paris in 1891.

*Juan 2* is the second part of 'Baoying shou gongyang pin' 〈報應受供養品〉 76

Rationale no. 15: 'Dishitian gongyang foyuan' 〈帝釋天供養佛緣〉 76

Rationale no. 16: 'Fo xian Dishixing hua poluomen yuan' 《佛現帝釋形化婆羅門緣》 76

Rationale no. 17: 'Gantapo zuoyue zan Fo yuan' 〈乾闥婆作樂讚佛緣〉 76

Rationale no. 20: 'Dishi bian Jialantuo zhulin yuan' 〈帝釋變迦蘭陀竹林緣〉 76

*Zhuanjing daochang sishu* 《轉經道場四疏》 216

Dunhuang manuscript.

Also called: *Cao Yijin daochang sishu* 《曹議金道場四疏》 216 n. 2

*Zhuangzi* 《莊子》 332

Eponymous text by Zhuangzi 莊子  
(c. 369–286 BCE)

Essay 2: 'Qi wu lun' 〈齊物論〉 67

Essay 12: 'Tian di' 〈天地〉 332

Essay 13: 'Tian dao' 〈天道〉 67

Essay 14: 'Tian yun' 〈天運〉 70

Essay 19: 'Yu yan' 〈寓言〉 38

Essay 22: 'Zhi bei you' 〈知北游〉 67

Essay 33: 'Tianxia pian' 〈天下篇〉 66

*Zizhi tongjian yinshu* 《資治通鑒音注》  
277

Author: Hu Sanxing 胡三省 (1230–1302)  
277

'Zuihou zengren' 〈醉後贈人〉 266

Poem by Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846)

'Zui Penglai man' 〈醉蓬萊慢〉 308

*Cipai* melody and rhyme scheme used by  
Liu Yong 柳永 (987–1053).

*Zuixiang ri yue* 《醉鄉日月》 258

Author: Huang Fusong 黃甫松 (*fl.* ninth century)

Contains an entry: 'Gong lu shi'  
〈觥律事〉 260

*Zunqianji* 《尊前集》 310

Possible author: Lü Peng 呂鵬 (*fl.* late Tang dynasty – Five Dynasties)

*Zunyi fu zhi* 《遵義府志》 192

Completed in 1838.

*Juan 11*: 'Jinshi' 〈金石〉 192

*The Zuo Commentary* 《左傳》 8, 60, 97, 123, 126, 166 n. 74

Author: Zuo Qiuming 左丘明 (*fl.* late Spring and Autumn period)

Chapter 9: 'Duke Xiang' 《襄公》 8, 123

'The Second Year of his Reign'  
〈二年〉 8

'The Eighteenth Year of his Reign'  
〈十八年〉 123

Chapter 10: 'Duke Zhao' 《昭公》 12, 60, 136

'The Twelfth Year of his Reign'  
〈十二年〉 12

'The Twentieth Year of his Reign'  
〈二十年〉 60, 97

'The Twenty-fifth Year of his Reign'  
〈二十五年〉 98

*Explanatory Notes on the Zuo*

*Commentary* 《左傳釋文》 64

Author: Dong Yu 董遇 (*fl.* third century) 64

*Chunqiu Zuoshi jingzhuan jijie* 《春秋左氏經傳集解》 13

Author: Du Yu 杜預 (222–285)

*Notes on the Zuo Commentary*

《左傳注》 65

Author: Yang Bojun 楊伯峻 (1909–1992)

*Zuozhuan zhengyi* 《左傳正義》 123 n. 30

Notes by Du Yu 杜預 (222–285) and supplementary explanation by Kong Yingda 孔達 (574–648)

*Juan 33* contains Duke Xiang's 襄公 eighteenth year 123

## European Languages

*Alte Metalltrommeln aus Südost-Asien*

191 n. 156

Author: Franz Heger 黑格爾 (1853–1931)

'Bronze Kettledrums of South-East Asia' 195

Article by Léon Vandermeersch in *Journal of Oriental Studies* 3, 1956 291

*A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages* 82

Author: R. L. Turner (1888–1983)

*A Defence of Poetry* 《詩的辯護》 29, 30 n. 84

Poet: Percy Byssche Shelley 雪萊 (1792–1822)

*The Drums at Kampong Sungai Lang* 195

Modern book.

Author: B. A. V. Peacock

*Encyclopedia of Burma* 《緬甸百科全書》 192

*Enuma-Elis* 102

*Babylon's Creation Epic*

In Chinese: 《開闢史詩》

*Hôbôgrin Dictionnaire Encyclopédique du*

*Bouddhisme* 《法寶義林》 80

Authors: Takakusu Junjirô 高楠順次郎 (1866–1845) and Paul Demiéville

戴密微 (1894–1979)

*The Lore of the Chinese Lute* 3

Author: Robert Hans van Gulik 高羅佩

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*Malaya in History* 195

Journal.

*Malaysia-in-History* 195

Journal.

*Mémoire sur la Musique des Chinois tant*

*anciens que modernés* 102

《中國古今音樂瑣憶》

Author: Qian Deming 錢德明 (Jean

Joseph-Marie Amiot, 1718–1793)

Published in 1780.

*Senokuseizho Zokuhen: The Collection of Old*

*Bronzes of Baron Sumitomo* 《泉屋

清賞》 159

Published in 1921.

*Two Bronze Drums* 《周銅鼓考》 167

Author: John Calvin Ferguson 福開森

(1866–1945)

*The Yoga Sūtra of Patañjali* 34

Also called: *The Yoga Sutra* 《瑜伽經》

34

Collected by the sage Patañjali between

400 CE and 500 CE.

Section 1 (of 4) is called 'Samādhi Pāda'

(transliterated into Chinese as

'Sanmei' 〈三昧〉) 35



### People Mentioned in the Text

Modern individuals that appear only in the footnotes are mostly not included here, but historic figures are.

#### Chinese

This list is arranged first according to the pinyin (including tones and stroke count) of the first syllable of the name cited below; where this is identical, the second character is assessed on the same basis.

**An Chongjin** 安重進 (*fl.* tenth century)

234

**An Congyi** 安從益 (*fl.* tenth century) 223

**An Lushan** 安祿山 (703–757) 290

**Bai Gong** 白公 (*fl.* second–  
first centuries BCE) 47

Mid-ranking *dafu* 大夫 minister of the  
state of Zhao.

**Bai Juyi** 白居易 (772–846) 266

**Bai Qi** 白起 (332–257 BCE) 45

Qin general.

**Baiyun Shouduan** 白雲守端 (1025–1072)

335

Chan Buddhist monk. Baiyun 白雲  
'White Cloud' is his Chan Buddhist  
soubriquet; Zhou Shouduan 周守端 is  
his secular name.

**Ban Gu** 班固 (32–92 CE) 10, 133

**Bao Ye** 鮑鄴 (*fl.* first century) 284

**Bao Zhao** 鮑照 (414–466) 33

**Bei Qiong** 貝瓊 (1312–1379) 22

Soubriquet: Bei Qingjiang 貝清江.

**Bian Jingzhao** 邊景昭 (b. 1350) 42

Soubriquet: Bian Wenjin 邊文進.

**Bian Wei** 邊蔚 (*fl.* tenth century) 277–280,

292–293, 304, 308

Soubriquet: Desheng 德昇.

**Bin** 邠 (untraceable) 258

The subject of the Tang or Five Dynasties  
drinking song 'Kind Teacher Bin'  
<邠善師>

**Bo Ya** 伯牙 (387–299 BCE) 26, 130, 321

**Bu Kong** 不空 (705–774) 350

Sanskrit name: Amoghavajra

**Cai Yong** 蔡邕 (132–192) 15, 21, 141

**Cai Ziyuan** 蔡子元 (untraceable) 146

**Cao** 曹生 (*fl.* Five Dynasties) 235

Court musician. The second character 生  
(*'sheng'*) is an honorific title given to  
a scholar.

**Cao Yijin** 曹議金 (d. 935) 215–216

**Cao Yin** 曹寅 (1658–1712) 201, 344

**Cao Zhi** 曹植 (192–232) 74–75

Also called 'the ruler Chensi' 陳思王 74

**Chang Gun** 常袞 (729–783) 176

**Chen Bingliang** 陳炳良 (b. 1955) 349 n. 73

Modern scholar.

**Chen Dabin** 陳大斌 (*fl.* late sixteenth–early  
seventeenth centuries) 320

Soubriquet: Taizi 太希 320

**Chen Huairen** 陳懷仁 (*fl.* eighteenth  
century) 347

**Chen Pengnian** 陳彭年 (961–1017) 263

**Chen Qiyou** 陳奇猷 (1917–2006) 135

**Chen Rongsheng** 陳榮盛 (*fl.* nineteenth  
century) 331

**Chen Shi** 陳氏 (*fl.* Sui dynasty) 146

Master Chen.

**Chen Shou** 陳壽 (233–297) 265

**Chen Wei** 陳偉 71

Modern scholar.

**Chen Wenche** 陳文徹 (*fl.* sixth century)  
178

**Chen Xiangdao** 陳祥道 (1053–1093) 152

**Chen Xiaogao** 陳嘯高 330

Modern scholar.

**Chen Yang** 陳暘 (1064–1128) 79, 240

**Chen Yingshi** 陳應時 229

Modern scholar.

**Chen Yuanjing** 陳元靚 (*fl.* thirteenth  
century) 229

**Chen Zhan** 陳鱣 (1753–1817) 153, 349

**Chen Zhancheng** 陳展成 (*fl.* nineteenth  
century) 194

**Chen Zhichu** 陳之初 (1909–1972) 186

**Cheng Lian** 成連 (*fl.* fourth century BCE)

26

Bo Ya's 伯牙 *qin* teacher.

**Cheng Dachang** 程大昌 (1123–1195) 264

**Cheng Hao** 程顥 (1032–1085) 19 n. 53

**Master Cheng** 程氏 (*fl.* Qing dynasty) 161

It is unclear to whom this refers.

**Cheng Wujia** 程午嘉 (1902–1985) 240

- Cheng Zhenyi** 程貞一 103  
Modern scholar.
- Chu Qing Xiangwang** 楚頃襄王  
(329–263 BCE) 45  
Ruler of the state of Chu (r. 298–263 BCE)
- Chu Zhuangwang** 楚莊王 (d. 691 BCE) 7  
Ruler of the state of Chu (r. 614–591 BCE)
- Chunyu Kun** 淳于髡 (c.386–310) 46 n. 8
- Confucius** 孔子 (551–479 BCE) 39, 132  
Also called Zhongni 仲尼.
- Governor Cui** 崔府君 (*fl.* seventh century)  
346  
A benevolent official renowned for helping the common people when struck by disaster.
- Cui Lingqin** 崔令欽 (*fl.* eighth century)  
270
- Cui Xiyu** 崔希裕 (this personage could not be traced) 53
- Cui Zhuo** 崔棧 (*fl.* tenth century) 280
- Da Wu** 大戊 (*fl.* Shang dynasty) 180  
Shang dynasty ruler.
- Dalasu** 答刺速 (fictional) 342  
Character in *The Official Corrected Version of 'The Tale of Liu Xibi's Gold Hairpin'*.  
Chinese transliteration of a Mongolian name.
- Dai Andao** 戴安道 (326–397) 37  
Also called Dai Kui 戴逵.
- Dai De** 戴德 (*fl.* first century BCE) 129
- Dai Mingyang** 戴明楊 (1902–1953) 13 n. 41
- Dai Nianzu** 戴念祖 141  
Modern scholar.
- Dai Sheng** 戴聖 (*fl.* Western Han dynasty)  
129 n. 13
- Dai Yi** 戴義 (*fl.* late fourteenth–early fifteenth centuries) 17, 94 n. 8  
*Taijian* eunuch official.
- Dao Xuan** 道宣 (596–667) 74, 315
- De Shan** 德山 'Virtuous Morality Mountain' (*fl.* ninth century) 332–333  
His Chan Buddhist soubriquet, secular name not known.
- De Shen** 德深 'Morality Deep' (*fl.* tenth century) 246  
His Chan Buddhist soubriquet, secular name not known.
- Dengtuzi** 登徒子 (*fl.* Spring and Autumn period) 47–48
- Deng Fu** 鄧馱 (*fl.* sixteenth century) 348
- Di Jun** 帝俊 (mythological) 8
- Dinghui** 定惠 (*fl.* early Tang dynasty)  
314–316
- Dong Jieyuan** 董解元 (late twelfth–early thirteenth centuries) 341, 344
- Dong Sizhang** 董斯張 (1586–1628) 32
- Dong Tiangong** 董天公 (1703–1771) 237
- Dong You** 董道 (*fl.* late eleventh–early twelfth centuries) 155–156, 163
- Dong Yu** 董遇 (*fl.* third century) 64
- Dong Shan** 洞山 'Cave Mountain' (807–869)  
332  
A Chan Buddhist and the founder of the Caodong School of Chan Buddhism  
曹洞宗; secular name: Yu liangjia 俞良價. Cave Mountain 洞山 is also the place where this individual taught.
- Dou Gong** 竇公 (*fl.* early second century BCE) 19–20 n. 56
- Dou Yan** 竇儼 (918–960) 157, 175, 281–283, 296, 309
- Dou Yi** 竇儀 (914–966) 282
- Du Tiande** 都田德 (*fl.* Ming – Qing dynasties) 148  
Soubriquet Qianwen 錢文.
- Du Guangting** 杜光庭 (850–933) 51 n. 19
- Du Kui** 杜夔 (*fl.* late second–early third centuries) 144
- Du Long** 杜龍 (untraceable, *fl.* fifth century)  
174
- Du Mu** 杜牧 (803–852) 196
- Du Wenlan** 杜文瀾 (1815–1881) 300
- Du You** 杜佑 (735–812) 151, 180
- Du Yu** 杜預 (222–285) 13
- Duan Anjie** 段安節 (*fl.* ninth century) 243
- Duan Chengshi** 段成式 (803–863) 235, 238
- Duan Yucai** 段玉裁 (1735–1815) 53, 65, 262
- Duan Zu** 段祖 (*fl.* fifth century) 150, 158 n. 42  
Probably to be identified with Duan Zuo 段祚.
- E Yue** 軛軛 (spurious tenth century copyist)  
233 n. 2

- Fa Yun** 法雲 (1088–1158) 77
- Fan Chuo** 樊綽 (*fl.* ninth century) 197, 210 n. 197
- Fan Libin** 范李彬 312, 323  
Modern scholar.
- Fan Ye** 范曄 (398–445) 168
- Fan Zuyu** 范祖禹 (1041–1098) 303
- Fang Chengpei** 方成培 (*fl.* late eighteenth–early nineteenth centuries) 248 n. 47
- Fang Xinru** 方信孺 (1177–1222) 172, 177, 196
- Fang Yizhi** 方以智 (1611–1671) 156
- Fang Zichun** 方子春 (*fl.* fourth century BCE) 26  
Cheng Lian's 成連 *qin* teacher. Cheng Lian was Bo Ya's 伯牙 *qin* teacher.
- Fei Zhengang** 費振剛 57  
Modern scholar.
- Feng Yan** 封演 (*fl.* eighth century) 34
- Feng Ang** 馮盎 (571–646) 179
- Feng Dengfu** 馮登府 (1783–1841) 204
- Feng Hanji** 馮漢驥 (1899–1977) 165, 170, 187, 210, 239 n. 20
- Feng Menglong** 馮夢龍 (1574–1646) 347
- Feng Yingjing** 馮應京 (1555–1606) 346
- Feng Ziqiu** 馮子酋 (*fl.* seventh century) 179
- Fuchai** 夫差 (d. 473 BCE) 149  
Ruler of the state of Wu (r. 495–473 BCE)
- Fuxi** 伏羲 (mythical) 8, 54, 67, 68 n. 90  
One of the three ancient mythical emperors.  
Also called **Fuxi** 宓犧 8 and **Paoxi** 庖犧 54
- Fu Qiu** 浮丘 (*fl.* sixth century BCE) 33
- Fu Ding** 父丁 (*fl.* late Shang dynasty) 156
- Fu Yi** 傅毅 (d. 90 CE) 58
- Gan Bao** 干寶 (280–336) 151
- Gao Yao** 皋陶 (ancient mythological ruler) 96, 203
- Gao Caiguan** 高彩官 (d. 1754) 194
- Gao Conghui** 高從誨 (891–948) 215, 234  
Ruler of the state of Southern Ping 南平國 (r. 934–948)
- Gao You** 高誘 (*fl.* second–third centuries) 6–7, 29, 47  
Exegete of the *Huainanzi*.
- Ge Hong** 葛洪 (152–1237) 52, 53 n. 26
- Ge Lifang** 葛立方 (d. 1164) 38
- Gongsun Nizi** 公孫尼子 (*fl.* early Warring States period) 67
- Gongyang Gao** 公羊高 (*fl.* late Spring and Autumn period – early Warring States period) 65
- Gu Chenxu** 顧陳埏 (*fl.* early eighteenth century) 147
- Gu Hongzhong** 顧闈中 (*fl.* tenth century) 238
- Gu Wufang** 顧梧芳 (*fl.* late sixteenth–early seventeenth centuries) 310
- Gu Yewang** 顧野王 (519–581) 157
- Guanyin** 關尹 (*fl.* late Spring and Autumn period – early Warring States period) 24, 66
- Guanzi** 管子 (723–645 BCE) 71, 96, 139  
Also called **Guan Zhong** 管仲 96
- Guankou** 灌口 'Irrigate Mouth' 340, 345, 349  
God of exorcism, also called Erlang 二郎.
- Gui Fu** 桂馥 (1735–1805) 65, 187
- Guo Baojun** 郭寶鈞 (1873–1971) 165 n. 70
- Guo Maoqian** 郭茂倩 (1041–1099) 5, 263
- Guo Pu** 郭璞 (276–324) 59, 126, 156, 157
- Guo Zhongshu** 郭忠恕 (d. 977) 53, 309
- Han Xizai** 韓熙載 (902–970) 238
- Han Yu** 韓愈 (768–824) 15, 198, 234 n. 3  
Also called Changli 昌黎.
- Han Gaozu** 漢高祖 (895–948) 279, 289, 304  
Later Han dynasty emperor (r. 947–948)
- Han Jingdi** 漢景帝 (188–141 BCE) 139  
Western Han dynasty emperor (r. 157–141 BCE)
- Han Pingdi** 漢平帝 (9 BCE–6 CE) 128  
Western Han dynasty emperor (r. 1–6 CE)
- Han Wudi** 漢武帝 (156–87 BCE) 104, 128–130, 145, 174, 288, 291  
Western Han dynasty emperor (r. 140–87 BCE)  
Also called **Xiao Wu** 孝武 128
- Han Xiandi** 漢獻帝 (181–234) 73  
Eastern Han dynasty emperor (r. 189–220)
- Han Yindi** 漢隱帝 (891–948) 236  
Later Han dynasty emperor (r. 947–948)
- Han Yuandi** (漢元帝 77–33 BCE) 287  
Western Han dynasty emperor (r. 48–33 BCE)

- Han Zhangdi** 漢章帝 (57–88 CE) 146  
Eastern Han dynasty emperor  
(r. 75–88 CE)
- Hao Yixing** 郝懿行 (1757–1825) 156
- He Changlin** 何昌林 215, 217 nn. 6, 7–220,  
224 n. 24, 228, 234, 236, 329  
Modern scholar.
- He Hui** 何惠 239 n. 18  
Modern scholar.
- He Jisheng** 何紀生 179, 200–201 n. 178  
Modern scholar.
- He Tuo** 何妥 (*fl.* late sixth century) 130,  
147, 289
- He Yinshi** 何胤之 (446–531) 130, 144
- He Jun** 和峻 (*fl.* tenth century) 300  
Son of He Ning 和凝.
- He Ning** 和凝 (898–955) 300
- He Xian** 和峴 (933–988) 296, 298–302,  
308–309
- He Xiu** 和休 (129–182) 66
- Heguanzi** 鶡冠子 (*fl.* Warring States period)  
71
- He Huaizhi** 賀懷智 (*fl.* eighth century)  
238
- Helian Bobo** 赫連勃勃 (381–425, r. 407–425)  
171  
Xiongnu ruler.
- Hong Mai** 洪邁 (1123–1202) 153, 158, 164,  
339–340 n. 39
- Hong Sheng** 洪聲 180, 210–211  
Modern scholar.
- Hong Shengwang** 洪聖王 177  
Mythical ruler of the South Sea.
- Hou Jing** 侯景 (503–552) 288
- Hou Tang Mindi** 後唐閔帝 (914–934) 217,  
221, 224  
Emperor of the Later Tang dynasty  
(r. 933–934)  
Also the ruler of the state of Song  
and called Li Conghou 李從厚  
221–223
- Hou Tang Mingzong** 後唐明宗 (867–933)  
215, 222–224  
Emperor of the Later Tang Dynasty  
(r. 926–933)
- Hou Tang Modi** 後唐末帝 (885–937) 221  
The last emperor of the Later Tang  
Dynasty (r. 934–937).  
Also ruler of the state of Lu 潞 and called  
Li Congke 李從珂.
- Hu Ji** 胡忌 302, 329  
Modern scholar.
- Hu Sanxing** 胡三省 (1230–1302) 277, 293,  
304
- Hu Yansheng** 胡顏昇 (*fl.* eighteenth  
century) 126
- Hu Zifu** 胡滋甫 (*fl.* early twentieth  
century) 34
- Huan** 桓 (untraceable) 75  
Ruler of Hedong 河東.
- Huan Tan** 桓譚 (23 BCE–56 CE) 12–14, 28,  
67–68 n. 90
- Huanzhong** 寰中 (780–862) 98, 332
- Huang Kan** 皇侃 (488–545) 144
- Huangfu Song** 皇甫松 (*fl.* ninth century)  
310
- Huang Bosi** 黃伯思 (1078–1118) 151,  
152 n. 15
- Huang Chang** 黃裳 (1044–1130) 308
- Huang Chao** 黃巢 (820–884) 285
- Huandi** 黃帝 (ancient, mythical) 46, 98,  
140, 144, 286  
The Yellow Emperor.  
Also called the Emperor of the Hong tribe  
帝鴻氏 286
- Huang Fusong** 黃甫松 (*fl.* ninth century)  
258
- Huang Juan** 黃卷 (*fl.* twelfth century) 330
- Huang Qiang** 黃強 (1887–1974) 187
- Huang Rong** 黃鎔 (*fl.* eighteenth century)  
347
- Huang Shi** 黃奭 (1809–1853) 144
- Huang Xian** 黃獻 (1485–1561) 17  
Soubriquet: Wugang 梧岡
- Huang Xian** 黃憲 (*fl.* Eastern Han dynasty)  
22–23  
Also called Zheng Jun 徵軍.  
'Zheng Jun' means 'Scholar-Gentleman',  
more particularly a scholar who  
has not been lauded with imperial  
approval.
- Huang Xiangpeng** 黃翔鵬 (1927–1997) 87,  
89, 94, 131, 294
- Huang Zengqing** 黃增慶 181, 186, 191, 195,  
206 n. 191–207  
Modern scholar.

- Huang Zuo** 黃左 (1490–1566) 177
- Hui Jiao** 慧皎 (497–554) 76 n. 7, 81
- Hui Rui** 慧叡 (355–439) 313
- Hui Yan** 慧嚴 (363–443) 350
- Hui Yuan** 慧遠 (334–416) 37
- Ji 乚** 340  
A celestial immortal.
- Ji Kang** 嵇康 (224–263 or 223–262) 12, 13, 30, 32, 37, 51
- Ji Xianlin** 季羨林 (1911–2009) 313 n. 3
- Ji 稷** 96 n. 16  
Ancient mythological figure.
- Jia Gongyan** 賈公彥 (*fl.* seventh century) 93, 149
- Jia Jun** 賈峻 (*fl.* tenth century) 291, 294
- Jiang Fan** 江藩 (1761–1831) 177 n. 118
- Jiang Boqin** 姜伯勤 83  
Modern scholar.
- Jiang Kui** 姜夔 (1154–1221) 9, 10 n. 21, 229–230, 264  
Also called Jiang Baishi 姜白石.
- Jiang Ziya** 姜子牙 (d. 1015) 107  
Honorific title Jiang Taigong 姜太公.
- Jiezi** 接子 (*fl.* fourth century BCE) 46
- Jin Gangzhi** 金剛智 (669–741) 80
- Jin Jianmin** 金建民 228  
Modern scholar.
- Jin Shizong** 金世宗 (1123–1189) 276, 281–282, 286, 293, 296, 337  
Jin dynasty emperor (r. 1161–1189)
- Jin Taizong** 金太宗 (1075–1135) 244, 284, 289, 304, 337  
Jin dynasty emperor (r. 1123–1135)
- Jin Wudi** 晉武帝 (236–290) 174  
Jin dynasty emperor (r. 266–290)
- Jin Xiaowudi** (晉孝武帝; 362–396) 172  
Jin dynasty emperor (r. 376–396)
- Jing Fang** 京房 (77–37 BCE) 125, 133, 135, 138, 143, 287–288, 291  
Soubriquet: Junming 君明 95
- Jingzhong Shouzuo** 淨眾首座 (*fl.* Northern Song dynasty) 336  
'Shouzuo' 首座 is an honorific title.
- The Ruler of Jingling** 竟陵王 (460–494) 83
- Juanzi** 涓子 (*fl.* fifth century BCE) 11 n. 27, 28, 32–33, 45, 49–53, 67–68, 70–72  
Disciple of Laozi (571–471 BCE)
- Also called: Yuan 蜎, Pian Yuan 便蜎, Huan Yuan 環淵, Xuan Yuan 玄淵, Yuan Xuan 娟嬛, Yuan Xuan 娟蜎, Yuan Yuan 蜎淵, Yuanzi 蜎子; see also: Xie Juanzi 謝涓子 and Liu Juanzi 劉涓子.
- Kang Baoyi** 康保裔 (d. 1000) 207  
Also called 'The Ruler Kang' 康王.
- Kang Mengxiang** 康孟祥 [詳] (*fl.* late second–early third centuries) 73, 75, 78, 81
- Kang Senghui** 康僧會 (d. 280) 75, 83
- Kong Yan** 孔衍 (268–320) 15
- Kong Ye** 孔擘 (*fl.* Jin dynasty) 154
- Kong Yingda** 孔穎達 (574–648) 19 n. 56, 123 n. 30, 135
- Kou Zhun** 寇準 (961–1023) 309
- Kulugan** 庫魯干 (fictional) 342  
Character in *The Official Corrected Version of 'The Tale of Liu Xibi's Gold Hairpin'*.  
Chinese transliteration of Mongolian.
- Kuang Qinghuan** 鄺慶歡 231  
Modern scholar.
- Kui 夔** (*fl.* the epoch of the ancient semi-mythical emperor Shun 舜) 129, 290
- Lan Qin** 蘭欽 (*fl.* sixth century) 178
- Lang Ye** 郎擘 (*fl.* Southern Song dynasty) 36
- Lang Yi** 郎顛 (*fl.* Western Han Dynasty) 124
- Laozi** 老子 (571–471 BCE) 28, 32–33 n. 102, 43, 45–46, 51–52, 56, 59, 66, 71–72  
Also called Lao Dan 老聃 66  
Soubriquet Boyang 伯陽 32, 51
- Letan** 泐潭 (1012–1070) 335  
'Le' 泐 is a place name; 'tan' 潭 means 'pool': a pool on Dong 洞 mountain of this name.  
A Chan Buddhist Master, secular name: Liu Hongying 劉洪英.
- Lei Cizong** 雷次宗 (386–448) 130, 144
- Lei Haiqing** 雷海青 (716–755) 348
- Lei Wanchun** 雷萬春 (d. 757) 348
- Li Jingde** 黎靖德 (*fl.* twelfth–thirteenth centuries) 268

- Li Bai** 李白 (701–762) 32
- Li Ban** 李班 (288–334) 347
- Li Bing** 李冰 (*fl.* third century BCE)  
347–348  
Father of the god Erlang 二郎.
- Li Chengfa** 李成發 192  
Twentieth century antiquities collector.
- Li Chunyi** 李純一 140 n. 52  
Modern scholar.
- Li Chunfeng** 李淳風 (602–670) 107–108, 125
- Li Congrong** 李從容 (d. 933) 221–222, 224  
Ruler of the state of Qin.
- Li Futong** 李福通 (*fl.* late fifteenth–early sixteenth centuries) 173
- Li Genyuan** 李根源 (1879–1965)  
189 nn. 152–154
- Li Gu** 李穀 (903–960) 294
- Li Guangting** 李光庭 (late eighteenth–early nineteenth centuries) 181–182 n. 140
- Li Jiarui** 李家瑞 (1895–1975) 179
- Li Jingxian** 李景仙 (*fl.* eleventh century)  
19
- Li Jing** 李璟 (916–961) 237  
Emperor of the Southern Tang dynasty (r. 943–961)  
Temple soubriquet: Yuanzong 元宗 237  
As the second emperor of the dynasty, also called Zhongzong 中宗.
- Li Kai** 李鐸 (1686–1746) 198
- Li Keji** 李可及 (*fl.* eighth–ninth centuries)  
243
- Li Liangzuo** 李良佐 (*fl.* tenth century)  
236–237  
Soubriquet Yuanfu 元輔 237
- Li Ling** 李零 44  
Modern scholar.
- Li Mingzhen** 李明振 (839–890) 219
- Li Quanxian** 李泉現 (*fl.* late twelfth century) 262  
Actor.
- Li Ruiqing** 李銳清 228, 232  
Modern scholar.
- Li Shan** 李善 (630–689) 12 n. 31–13 n. 41, 32–33, 47–49, 51, 57
- Li Shigen** 李石根 230  
Modern scholar.
- Master Li** 李氏 (untraceable,  
*fl.* late nineteenth–early twentieth centuries) 173
- Master Li of Longxi** 隴西李氏 (*fl.* eighth century) 20, 125, 192, 245–246, 264, 273, 347
- Li Shuinan** 李水南 (*fl.* late sixteenth–early seventeenth centuries) 320–321  
Chen Dabin's 陳大斌 *qin* teacher.
- Li Sichun** 李思純 (1893–1960) 347
- Li Suiqiu** 黎遂球 (1602–1646) 196, 197 n. 163
- Li Taifen** 李泰棻 (1896–1972) 158–159  
Soubriquet: Chi'an 癡齋
- Li Weiyin** 李維寅 (1747–1797) 202
- Li Xian** 李賢 (655–684) 124
- Li Xiaocang** 李嘯倉 (b. 1921) 347  
Modern scholar.
- Li Yanshou** 李延壽 (*fl.* seventh century)  
146, 151
- Li You** 李尤 (c.55–c.135 or c.44–c.126) 18
- Li Yu** 李煜 (937–978) 235, 238  
Emperor of the Southern Tang dynasty (r. 961–975)  
The last emperor of the dynasty and thus often known by the appellation 'last emperor of the dynasty' 後主 221, 235–237
- Li Zhao** 李照 (*fl.* eleventh century) 295
- Li Zhengyu** 李正宇 245, 260  
Modern scholar.
- Li Zhongyu** 李仲寓 (958–996) 236–237
- Li Zhouhan** 李周翰 (*fl.* eighth–ninth centuries) 13
- Li Zonghan** 李宗瀚 (1770–1832) 204  
Soubriquet: Chunhu 春湖
- Li Daoyuan** 鄺道元 (466–527) 52, 169
- Liang Jian Wendi** 梁簡文帝 (503–551) 154  
Emperor of the Liang dynasty (r. 549–551)
- Liang Mingming** 梁明明 (*fl.* late ninth–early tenth centuries) 225
- Liang Peilan** 梁佩蘭 (1629–1705) 197
- Liangqiu Ju** 梁丘據 (*fl.* sixth century BCE)  
61
- Liangqiuzi** 梁丘子 (*fl.* eighth century)  
30–31  
Also called Bai Lüzhong 白履忠.

- Liang She** 梁涉 (*fl.* Tang dynasty) 41
- Liang Wudi** 梁武帝 (464–549) 130, 145, 288, 291  
Liang dynasty emperor (r. 502–549)  
Also called Xiao Yan 蕭衍.
- Liang Xing tong** 梁行通 (*fl.* tenth century) 217, 220, 222, 224–225
- Liang Xing de** 梁幸德 (*fl.* tenth century) 215, 217–220, 225  
Soubriquet: Renchong 仁寵.
- Liang Zu** 梁祖 (852–912) 276  
Later Liang dynasty emperor (r. 907–912)
- Liao Ben** 廖奔 262 n. 95, 274 n. 143  
Modern scholar.
- Liao Taizong** 遼太宗 (902–947) 284, 289, 304, 337  
Emperor of the Liao dynasty (r. 922–947)  
Also called Yelüdeguang 耶律德光.
- Liezi** 列子 (451–376 BCE) 23
- Lin Ai** 林藹 (*fl.* ninth century) 175–177, 198
- Lin Xudian** 林徐典 186  
Modern collector.
- Ling Lun** 伶倫 (mythical) 100, 142
- Ling Zhoujiu** 伶州鳩 (*fl.* sixth century BCE) 92, 97
- Ling Chunsheng** 凌純聲 (1902–1981) 187
- Ling Jun** 'handsome soul' 靈俊 (*fl.* tenth century) 219–220  
Dunhuang monk.  
This is a 'Buddhist' name; his secular name is not known.
- Linghu Defen** 令狐德棻 (583–666) 151
- Lingtao Shouzu** 令滔首座 (*fl.* eleventh century) 335  
A Chan Buddhist monk.  
'Shouzu' 首座 is an honorific title.
- Liu An** 劉安 (179–122 BCE) 6, 7, 32, 50–51, 89, 133, 142, 164  
The ruler of Huainan and a writer of the *Huainanzi*.
- Liu Ban** 劉放 (1022–1088) 268
- Liu Chaisang** 劉柴桑 (*fl.* early fifth century) 39
- Liu Changsheng** 劉長生 (1147–1203) 31  
Also called Liu Chuxuan 劉處玄.
- Liu Congxiao** 留從效 (906–962) 236
- Liu De** 劉德 (170–130 BCE)
- Liu Fu** 劉復 (1891–1934) 141, 242  
Also called Liu Bannong 劉半農.
- Liu Han** 劉瀚 (*fl.* nineteenth century) 155
- Liu Juqing** 劉聚卿 (1874–1926) 174  
Also called Liu Shiheng 劉世珩.
- Liu Juanzi** 劉涓子 (c.370–450) 53
- Liu Lexian** 劉樂賢 107  
Modern scholar.
- Liu Songnian** 劉松年 (1131–1218) 27
- Liu Tizhi** 劉體智 (1879–1962) 160–161
- Liu Tianhua** 劉天華 (1895–1932) 240
- Liu Wenlong** 劉文龍 (see below) 342–343  
Jao Tsung-i gives Liu Wenlong as the writer of 'Water-Calthrop Flower Mirror' 《菱花鏡》, but prevailing sources suggest it is the title of another opera.
- Liu Wenzheng** 劉文徵 (1555–1626) 189
- Liu Xibi** 劉希必 (fictional) 341–350  
Lead character in the opera *The Official Corrected Version of The Tale of Liu Xibi's Gold Hairpin*.
- Liu Xian** 劉顯 (d. 1581) 181
- Liu Xianting** 劉獻廷 (1648–1695) 319
- Liu Xiang** 劉向 (77–6 BCE) 11–12, 19, 32, 47, 51–52, 57–58, 68, 141
- Liu Xie** 劉勰 (465–521) 32, 45, 49–51
- Liu Xin** 劉歆 (c.50 BCE–23 CE) 10, 47, 128–129, 132–133, 138, 144
- Liu Xu** 劉洵 (887–946) 360
- Liu Xun** 劉恂 (*fl.* ninth century) 175, 181
- Liu Yimin** 劉遺民 (352–410) 37, 39
- Liu Yong** 柳永 (984–1053) 241, 302, 307–311
- Liu Zhao** 劉昭 (*fl.* sixth century) 133, 139, 143, 243
- Liu Zhaoxia** 劉朝霞 (*fl.* Tang dynasty) 243  
Also called Liu Xia 劉暇.
- Liu Zongyuan** 柳宗元 (773–819) 347
- Long De** 龍德 (*fl.* Western Han dynasty) 57
- Long Sha** 龍沙 (*fl.* tenth century) 218  
Dunhuang monk.
- Master Long** 龍氏 (untraceable, *fl.* Han dynasty) 9
- Lu Mugong** 魯穆公 (d. 377 BCE) 71  
Also called Duke Lu; ruler of the state of Lu (r. 410–377 BCE)
- Lu Wengong** 魯文公 (c.697–628 BCE) 66  
Also called Duke Wen; ruler of the state of Lu (r. 636–628 BCE)

- Lu Xianggong** 魯襄公 (575–542 BCE) 8  
Also called Duke Xiang; ruler of the state of Lu (r. 572–542 BCE)
- Lu Xuangong** 魯宣公 (d. 591 BCE) 9  
Also called Duke Xuan; ruler of the state of Lu (608–591 BCE)
- Lu Zhaogong** 魯昭公 (d. 510 BCE) 12, 60  
Also called Duke Zhao; ruler of the state of Lu (r. 542–510 BCE)
- Lu Deming** 陸德明 (c.550–630) 64 n. 76, 168, 293
- Lu You** 陸遊 (1125–1210) 235
- Lu Zengxiang** 陸增祥 (1816–1882) 159–161, 163, 172, 206
- Luo Shilin** 羅士琳 (1783–1853) 174
- Luo Tongda** 羅通達 (*fl.* late ninth–early tenth centuries) 225
- Luo Zhenyu** 羅振玉 (1866–1940) 173
- Lü Buwei** 呂不韋 (d. 235 BCE) 100, 111, 127
- Lü Dalin** 呂大臨 (1042–1090) 158
- Lü Hongjing** 呂洪靜 248–250, 269, 274  
Modern scholar.
- Lü Hou** 呂侯 (*fl.* tenth century BCE) 58  
The Marquis of Lü.
- Lü Peng** 呂鵬 (*fl.* late Tang dynasty–Five Dynasties) 310
- Lü Xizhou** 呂希周 (*fl.* sixteenth century) 320  
Soubriquet Xuanju 選居.
- Ma Duanlin** 馬端臨 (1254–1323) 300
- Ma Guohan** 馬國翰 (1794–1857) 145
- Ma Ling** 馬令 (*fl.* late eleventh to twelfth centuries) 235
- Ma Ruichen** 馬瑞辰 (1777 or 1782–1853) 13
- Ma Rong** 馬融 (79–166) 12, 13, 95
- Ma Tai Loi** 馬泰來 53  
Modern scholar.
- Ma Xiaomei** 馬小眉 (*fl.* late eighteenth–early nineteenth centuries) 204
- Ma Yuan** 馬援 (14 BCE–49 CE) 168, 169, 171  
Also called Ma Fubo 馬伏波.
- Mao Chang** 毛萇 (*fl.* early Western Han dynasty) 9 n. 20, 59
- Mao Heng** 毛亨 (*fl.* late Warring States period–early Western Han dynasty) 9 n. 20, 59
- Mao Shuang** 毛爽, (*fl.* late sixth–early seventh centuries) 146
- Mao Heting** 冒鶴亭 (1873–1959) 310, 338  
Also called Mao Guangsheng 冒廣生.
- Mei Sheng** 枚乘 (210–c.138 BCE) 47, 52
- Mencius** 孟子 (372–289) 52
- Meng Chang** 孟昶 (919–965) 349
- Meng Kang** 孟康 (*fl.* third century) 349
- Meng Yuanlao** 孟元老 (*fl.* twelfth century) 255, 256 n. 75, 263 n. 100, 264 n. 104, 271 nn. 133, 136, 137, 140, 346  
His original name was Meng Yue 孟鉞. Yuanlao 元老 means ‘Venerable Counsellor’.
- Miao Tianrui** 繆天瑞 (1908–2009) 132 n. 27
- Moqi Yong** 万俟詠 (*fl.* early twelfth century) 297
- Mozi** 墨子 (c.468–376 BCE) 47, 58  
Also called Mo Di 墨翟 47
- Mu Anzhong** 牧庵忠 (*fl.* twelfth century) 316
- Mu of the Yu tribe; Yu Mu** 虞幕 (mythical) 99
- Mu Jiang** 穆姜 (*fl.* sixth century BCE) 8  
Wife of Lu Xuangong 魯宣公, ruler of the state of Lu (d. 591 BCE).
- Nai Deweng** 耐得翁 (*fl.* thirteenth century) 265  
Surname Zhao; ‘weng’ 翁 is a respectful term for an old man.
- Nanyue** 南岳 ‘South Sacred-Yue-Mountain’ (677–744) 333, 335  
This is his Chan Buddhist soubriquet; his secular name is Du Huairang 杜懷讓.
- Nan Zhuo** 南卓 (*fl.* ninth century) 251, 259
- Ni Fu** 倪復 (*fl.* fifteenth century) 147
- Nie Chongyi** 聶崇義 (*fl.* tenth century) 9, 157
- Niu Hong** 牛弘 (545–611) 143
- Niu Sengru** 牛僧孺 (779–848) 234 n. 3
- Ouyang He** 歐陽紇 (537–570) 178
- Ouyang Jiong** 歐陽炯 (896–971) 309–310
- Ouyang Sheng** 歐陽盛 (*fl.* sixth century) 178
- Ouyang Sui** 歐陽邃 (*fl.* sixth century) 178
- Ouyang Wei** 歐陽頎 (497–563) 178–179



- Ouyang Xiu** 歐陽修 (1007–1072) 19–20, 224, 281
- Pan Boyin** 潘伯寅 (*fl.* late nineteenth–early twentieth centuries) 160
- Pan Chong-gui** 潘重規 (1908–2003) 261
- Pan Huaisu** 潘懷素 (1894–1978) 142
- Pei** 裴 289  
Character in a story in *juan* 3 (of 3) of *Yunxi youyi* 《雲溪友議》 by Fan Shu 范攄 called ‘Wen Pei chu’ 〈溫裴黜〉
- Pei Yuan** 裴淵 (*fl.* Jin dynasty) 177–178
- Peng Chuanzu** 彭傳祖 (untraceable) 200
- Peng Zu** 彭祖 (semi-mythical) 52
- Pu’an** 普庵 [厂, 安, or 菴] (1115–1169) 312, 316–320, 322–323
- Qi Zhao** 祈招 (*fl.* sixth century BCE) 12  
Mentioned in *The Zuo Commentary*, ‘Duke Zhao’, ‘The Twelfth Year of his Reign’: 530 BCE.
- Qi Xuanwang** 齊宣王 (350–301 BCE) 46  
Ruler of the state of Qi (r. 320–301 BCE)
- Qianlong** 乾隆 (1711–1799) 148, 177, 194, 198, 205  
Qing dynasty emperor (r. 1736–1796)
- Qianming Puchu** 乾明普初 (*fl.* ninth century or slightly later) 332–333  
Mentioned in *Wudeng huiyuan* 《五燈會元》 (*juan* 18).  
乾明 means ‘Qian-Trigram Bright’ and is likely to be his Chan Buddhist soubriquet, Puchu 普初 his secular given name; his original surname is not known.
- Qian Fen** 錢棻 (*fl.* seventeenth century) 28
- Qian Lezhi** 錢樂之 (424–453) 145, 288
- Qian Mu** 錢穆 (1895–1990) 40  
Soubriquet: Binsi 賓四.
- Qian Nanyang** 錢南揚 (1899–1987) 341
- Master Qian** 錢氏 (untraceable, *fl.* late nineteenth–early twentieth centuries) 102, 173
- Qian Xiling** 錢錫陵 (*fl.* fourteenth century) 147
- Qiao Er** 壻兒 (*fl.* late sixteenth–early seventeenth centuries) 318
- Qin Mugong** 秦穆公 (d. 621 BCE) 66, 71  
Ruler of the state of Qin (r. 659–621 BCE)
- Qin Shihuang** 秦始皇 (259–210 BCE) 64, 141, 143  
Ruler of the state of Qin (r. 247–221 BCE) and then first Emperor of China (r. 221–210 BCE)
- Qin Gao** 琴高 ‘Qin High’ 50, 52  
A celestial being afforded a short biography in Liu Xiang’s *The Hagiography of Celestial Beings* 《列仙傳》
- Qin Gao** 禽高 (dates uncertain) 50, 52  
Cited in relation to Juanzi in *Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era* (*juan* 578, ‘Qin, Part Two [of Three]’) which quotes *Da Zhou Zhengyue*; no other records of this individual survive.
- Qingyuan** 青原 ‘Turquoise Origin’ (671–740) 236–237, 335, 340, 345–348  
His Chan Buddhist soubriquet; his secular name is Liu Xingsi 劉行思.
- Qingyuan** 清源 ‘Pure Spring’ 236, 340  
Ancestral master and god of theatrical entertainment.  
Perhaps associated with Qingshui 清水 ‘Pure Water’, a Buddhist saint, revered for his almsgiving; secular name: Chen Zhaoying 陳昭應 (1047–1101).
- Qu Dajun** 屈大均 (1630–1696) 169, 175, 178, 200
- Ren Bantang** 任半塘 (1897–1991) 305, 349  
Also called Ren Zhongmin 任中敏 305 and Ren Erbei 任二北 260
- Ren Naogong** 仁淖公 (*fl.* late sixteenth–early seventeenth centuries) 318–319  
Buddhist monk.  
Maybe the same person as ‘Benevolence Superior’ 仁公 (*fl.* late sixteenth–early seventeenth centuries).
- Rong Geng** 容庚 (1894–1983) 153, 159, 167
- Rong Xinjiang** 榮新江 225  
Modern scholar.
- Ruan Xiaoxu** 阮孝緒 (479–536) 53 n. 27
- Ruan Yuan** 阮元 (1764–1849) 177
- Sa Shouzhen** 薩守真 (*fl.* Tang dynasty) 125
- San Lao Jun** 三老君 31, 34

- Lord Lao of the Three Purities Palace;  
Daoist deity; called more fully in  
Chinese 三清者老君.
- Sang Qin** 桑欽 (*fl.* Eastern Han dynasty)  
52, 169
- Seng You** 僧祐 (445–518) 73–75, 78, 83
- Seng Zhao** 僧肇 (384–414) 37, 39
- Shang Chengzuo** 商承祚 (1902–1991) 182
- Shennong** 神農 (mythical) 8, 56, 58,  
67–68 n. 90  
God of agriculture and one of the three  
mythical emperors.
- Shensugu** 神速姑 (*fl.* tenth century) 344  
A female shaman.
- Shen Kuo** 沈括 (1031–1095) 229
- Shen Xiong** 沈雄 (*fl.* early Qing dynasty)  
310
- Shen Yifu** 沈義父 (*fl.* thirteenth century)  
310
- Shen Yue** 沈約 (441–513) 150
- Shen Zhong** 沈重 (*fl.* sixth century)  
145–146, 288
- Shen Dao** 慎到 (395–315 BCE) 46
- Shi Kuang** 師曠 (*fl.* late Spring and Autumn  
period) 12, 123, 290
- Master Shi** 師氏 (untraceable, *fl.* Han  
dynasty) 9
- Shi Tang** 師堂 (ancient: *fl.* Spring and  
Autumn period or earlier) 6
- Shi Xiang** 師襄 (*fl.* sixth–fifth centuries BCE)  
131
- Shi Cong** 石淶 (*fl.* tenth century) 235
- Shi Guozhen** 石國禎 (*fl.* sixteenth century)  
27
- Shi Shuangyuan** 石霜圓 (*fl.* tenth–eleventh  
centuries) 335  
Chan Buddhist monk. Little is known of  
him, and it is likely that the second  
and third characters of his name  
or all three are his Chan Buddhist  
soubriquet: 'Stone Frost Round'.
- Shi Bo** 史伯 (*fl.* ninth–eighth centuries BCE)  
62–64, 66
- Shi Hao** 史浩 (1106–1194) 256–257 nn. 78,  
79, 273, 338–339
- Shi Qian** 史遷 (*fl.* late fourteenth–early  
fifteenth centuries) 200  
Soubriquet: Liangchen 良臣.
- Shi Siming** 史思明 (703–761) 290
- Shi Xijing** 史奚景 (*fl.* first century) 146
- Shi Puji** 釋普濟 (*fl.* thirteenth century) 331
- Shi Yancong** 釋彥琮 (557–611) 315–316
- Shi Zhijiang** 釋智匠 (*fl.* sixth century) 13,  
269
- Shou Longxian** 壽龍賢 (*fl.* twelfth century)  
316
- Sikong Tu** 司空圖 (837–908) 28, 294
- Sima Biao** 司馬彪 (d. 306) 138
- Sima Guang** 司馬光 (1019–1086) 222 n. 19,  
236, 277, 305 n. 54
- Sima Qian** 司馬遷 (b. 145 or 135 BCE)  
119 n. 18, 20, 120, 127 n. 3, 128 n. 6,  
132 n. 25, 135, 138 n. 43, 143 n. 67,  
144 nn. 69, 70, 180 n. 134
- Sima Xiangru** 司馬相如 (179–118 BCE) 20,  
57
- Song Huizong** 宋徽宗 (1082–1135) 27, 337,  
347  
Song dynasty emperor (r. 1100–1126)
- Song Kangwang** 宋康王 (d. 286 BCE) 52  
Ruler of the state of Song (r. 328–286 BCE)
- Song Renzong** 宋仁宗 (1010–63) 295, 308  
Song dynasty emperor (r. 1022–1063)
- Song Taizu** 宋太祖 (927–976) 278–279,  
296, 299  
Song dynasty emperor (r. 960–976)
- Song Xiaozong** 宋孝宗 (1127–1194) 337  
Song dynasty emperor (r. 1127–1189)
- Song Zhenzong** 宋真宗 (968–1022) 298,  
347  
Song dynasty emperor (r. 997–1022)
- Song Yu** 宋玉 (*fl.* third century BCE) 47–49
- Su Dongpo** 蘇東坡 (1037–1101) 36–37 n. 112  
Also known as Su Shi 蘇軾.
- Su E** 蘇鶻 (*fl.* ninth century) 267
- Su Kui** 蘇夔 (*fl.* late sixth–seventh  
centuries) 131, 147
- Su Qin** 蘇秦 (d. 284 BCE) 65
- Su Song** 蘇頌 (1020–1101) 53
- Su Tingrui** 蘇庭瑞 (untraceable) 200
- Su Yijian** 蘇易簡 (958–997) 304
- Su Yuanlei** 蘇淵雷 (1908–1995) 364
- Sui Gaozu** 隋高祖 (541–604) 279, 289, 304  
Sui dynasty emperor (r. 581–604)
- Sun Yirang** 孫詒讓 (1848–1908) 364

- Sun Guangxian** 孫光憲 (896–968) 196, 215, 309
- Sun Guang** 孫廣 (*fl.* eighth century) 34
- Sun Zhuang** 孫壯 (b. 1879) 182  
Soubriquet: Xue Yuan 雪園 182
- Tan Qian** 談遷 (1594–1658) 347
- Tan Guo** 曇果 (*fl.* late second–early third centuries) 73, 81
- Tan Chuduan** 譚處端 (1123–1185) 337
- Tan Lun** 譚綸 (1520–1577) 345
- Tang Xianzu** 湯顯祖 (1550–1616) 345–346 n. 61
- Tang Bohu** 唐伯虎 (1470–1524) 238
- Tang Guizhang** 唐圭璋 (1901–1990) 337
- Tang Jin** 唐進 (*fl.* tenth century) 217, 225, 293
- Tang Lin** 唐臨 (600–659) 37
- Tang Minghuang** 唐明皇 (685–762) 305, 314, 348  
Tang dynasty emperor (r. 712–756), also called Tang Xuanzong 唐玄宗.
- Tang Taizong** 唐太宗 (598 or 599–649) 284, 289, 304, 337  
Tang dynasty emperor (r. 626–649)
- Tan Wuchen** 曇無讖 (385–433 or 439) 350  
Sanskrit name: Dharmakṣema.
- Tang Wu Hou** 唐武后 (624–705) 147, 189, 205  
Tang dynasty empress (r. 690–705)  
Usually called Wu Zetian 武則天 147
- Tang Xizong** 唐僖宗 (862–888) 175–177  
Tang dynasty emperor (r. 873–888)
- Tang Xianzong** 唐憲宗 (778–820) 176  
Tang dynasty emperor (r. 793–820)
- Tang Yao** 唐堯 221  
Ancient emperor.
- Tang Yizong** 唐懿宗 (833–873) 333  
Tang dynasty emperor (r. 859–873)
- Tang Yongtong** 湯用彤 (1893–1964) 78
- Tang Zhaozong** 唐昭宗 (867–904) 181, 304  
Tang dynasty emperor (r. 888–904)
- Tao Hongjing** 陶弘景 (456–536) 33, 34, 53  
Also called ‘Tao Yinju’ 陶隱居.
- Tao Jingyuan** 陶敬遠 (*fl.* fourth–fifth centuries) 37 n. 114  
Brother of Tao Yuanming 陶淵明.
- Tao Qian** 陶謙 (132–194) 265
- Tao Qian** 陶潛 (365–427) 36  
Formal name of Tao Yuanming 陶淵明.
- Tian Jian** 田健 (*fl.* fifth century) 153
- Tian Jingzhong** 田敬仲 (b. c.705) 46  
Also called Tian Wan 田完.
- Tian Pian** 田駢 (*fl.* fourth century BCE) 46
- Tian Rucheng** 田汝成 (1503–1557) 205
- Marshal Tian** 田元帥 (fictional) 330, 345, 348, 350  
Patron god of opera.  
Sometimes called Tian Dou 田竇
- Tu Jianqiang** 屠建強 234 n. 3  
Modern scholar.
- Tuo Tuo** 脫脫 (1314–1355) 362, 366
- Wan Baochang** 萬寶常 (556–595) 131, 289, 291, 306
- Wan Shu** 萬樹 (c.1630–1688) 242 n. 23, 248, 300 n. 45, 346
- Wang Jun** 汪鑿 (b. 1816) 173–174 n. 104
- Wang Zhong** 汪中 (1744–1794) 27
- Wang Bao** 王褒 (90–51 BCE) 65
- Wang Baoyi** 王保義 (*fl.* tenth century) 234
- Wang Baoxuan** 王葆玆 44 n. 3  
Modern scholar.
- Wang Bing** 王冰 (c.710–c.805) 107
- Wang Bogao** 王伯高 (untraceable, ancient) 155
- Wang Chong** 王充 (27–97 CE) 119, 124
- Wang Dang** 王讜 (*fl.* late eleventh–early twelfth centuries) 34 n. 106, 176, 258, 259 n. 85, 267 n. 119
- Wang Dingbao** 王定保 (870–954) 234 n. 3
- Wang Fanzhi** 王梵志 (*fl.* early seventh century) 267
- Wang Fu** 王輔 (1079–1126) 157–158 n. 42
- Wang Guangyu** 王光裕 (*fl.* tenth century) 301
- Wang Jide** 王驥德 (1540–1623) 341
- Wang Jian** 王建 (847–918) 239  
Founding emperor of the Former Shu dynasty (r. 907–918)
- Wang Jin** 王巾 (d. 505) 37
- Wang Jun** 王峻 (1694–1751) 173–174 n. 104
- Wang Kefen** 王克芬 (1927–2018) 260
- Wang Liqi** 王利器 (1912–1998) 144
- Wang Mang** 王莽 (45 BCE–23 CE) 160

- Wang Mingfu** 王明府 (*fl.* late seventeenth–early eighteenth centuries) 197
- Wang Mo** 王謨 (1731–1817) 144
- Wang Niansun** 王念孫 (1744–1832) 95
- Wang Ningsheng** 汪寧生 180 n. 132, 192, 210  
Modern scholar.
- Wang Pizhi** 王闢之 (b. 1031) 308 n. 61
- Wang Pu** 王朴 (906–959) 281–282, 284, 291–292, 294–296
- Wang Pu** 王溥 (922–982) 278
- Lady of the Wang Family** 王氏女 (*fl.* tenth century) 215, 234, 235, 236  
Daughter of Wang Baoyi 王保義 (*fl.* tenth century) 234
- Wang Shumin** 王叔岷 (2014–2008) 51
- Wang Shu** 王澍 (1668–1743) 180
- Wang Sun** 王孫 (untraceable, pre-Qin dynasty) 32, 50  
Author of *Ingenious Heart* 《巧心》  
No specific records of this author or text could be found.
- Wang Weichang** 王維昌 (*fl.* late tenth–eleventh centuries) 298
- Wang Yan** 王衍 (899–925) 235  
Emperor of the Later Shu dynasty (r. 919–925)
- Wang Yi** 王沂 (untraceable) 235  
An individual cited by Jao Tsung-i from a reference found in *Youyang zazu* 《酉陽雜俎》 by Duan Chengshi 段成式 (803–863), *juan* 6, in a section entitled ‘Music’ 樂.
- Wang Yinglin** 王應麟 (1223–1296) 234 n. 3, 283
- Wang Yue** 王越 (1426–1499) 343  
Soubriquet: Wang Xiangmin 王襄敏.
- Wang Zhaojun** 王昭君 (54 BCE–19 CE) 231
- Wang Zhe** 王喆 (1112–1170) 336 n. 28–337  
Also called Wang Chongyang 王重陽.
- Wang Zhenfan** 王貞範 (*fl.* tenth century) 235
- Wang Zhi** 王銍 (*fl.* twelfth century) 294
- Wang Zhuo** 王灼 (1105–1160) 243–244 n. 31, 247 n. 41, 297
- Weizhan Guang Deng** 惟湛廣燈 (d. 1073) 336
- Wei Huacun** 魏華存 (252–334) 30
- Wei Mou** 魏牟 (*fl.* Warring States period) 47
- Wei Wendi** 魏文帝 (187–226) 16  
Emperor of the Wei dynasty (r. 220–226)
- Wei Wenhou** 魏文侯 (472–396 BCE) 11  
The Marquis Wen of Wei, ruler of the state of Wei (r. 445–396)
- Wei Xizeng** 魏錫曾 (1828–1881) 178 n. 124
- Wei Xian** 魏鮮 (*fl.* Western Han dynasty) 117, 119, 120, 124
- Wei Zhao** 韋昭 (204–273) 96, 150
- Wei Zheng** 魏徵 (580–643) 367
- Wen Qi** 溫歧 (c.812–c.870) 196  
Also called Wen Tingyun 溫庭筠 196  
As Wen Qi, a character in a story in *juan* 3 (of 3) of *Yunxi youyi* 《雲溪友議》 by Fan Shu 范攄 called ‘Wen Pei chu’ 溫裴黜 270
- Wensui** 文燧 (*fl.* ninth century) 331–333
- Wen Ying** 文瑩 (*fl.* eleventh century) 309
- Wen You** 聞有 184 n. 145, 186 n. 147  
Modern scholar.
- Weng Fanggang** 翁方綱 (1733–1818) 177 n. 118
- Western Eyes** 西目 (*fl.* late sixteenth–early seventeenth centuries) 318  
Buddhist monk.  
This is his Buddhist name; his secular name is not known.
- Wu Xian** 巫咸 (*fl.* Shang dynasty) 180–181
- Wu Cihe** 吳慈鶴 (1778–1826) 199
- Wu Jiulong** 吳九龍 104  
Modern scholar.
- Wu Kuan** 吳寬 (1435–1504) 310
- Wu Nanxun** 吳南薰 (1927–2008) 81
- Wu Qian** 吳騫 (1733–1813) 150, 152–153 n. 17, 159, 166 n. 73, 206 n. 193
- Wu Renchen** 吳任臣 (1628–1689) 235 n. 7–236 n. 8, 239 n. 19
- Wu Xingyou** 吳興祐 (*fl.* late twelfth century) 262  
Actor.
- Wu Ying** 吳迎 (*fl.* late sixteenth–early seventeenth centuries) 346 n. 60  
Recipient of a poem by Tang Xianzu.
- Wu Yun** 吳雲 (1811–1883) 160, 167 n. 76

- Wu Zhao** 吳釗 87, 89 n. 4, 93, 101, 103,  
234 n. 3, 238 n. 18, 248 n. 46  
Modern scholar.
- Wu Zongyuan** 武宗元 (c.990–1050)  
239 n. 18
- Xi Zezong** 席澤宗 103  
Modern scholar.
- Xi Zhenguan** 席臻賈 (1941–1994) 233 n. 2,  
242, 269, 274
- Xia Chengtao** 夏承燾 (1900–1986) 297,  
299 n. 39
- Xia Jingguan** 夏敬觀 (1875–1953) 242 n. 23
- Xia Song** 夏竦 (985–1051) 53
- Xia Zhirong** 夏之蓉 (1697–1784) 199
- Xiao Chengxun** 蕭承訓 (*fl.* tenth century)  
285
- Xiao Ji** 蕭吉 (525–606) 108 n. 6,  
110 n. 8–113 n. 12, 146, 147 n. 80
- Xiao Jian** 蕭鑑 (471–491) 150, 151  
The short-lived ruler of Shixing 始興簡  
王鑑.
- Xiao Song** 蕭嵩 (660–749) 292
- Xiao Tong** 蕭統 (501–531) 12 n. 31, 13, 36,  
47
- Xiao Zixian** 蕭子顯 (487–537) 150
- Xiaochun** 曉純 'Morning Pure' (*fl.* ninth  
century) 333  
His Chan Buddhist soubriquet; his secular  
name is not known.
- Xie Lin** 謝琳 (*fl.* fifteenth–sixteenth  
centuries) 16
- Xie Lingyun** 謝靈運 (385–433) 313
- Xie Qikun** 謝啓昆 (1737–1802) 178,  
206 n. 192
- Xie Qiang** 謝鏘 (late second–early third  
centuries) 75
- Xie Xiyi** 謝希逸 (421–466) 15  
Also called Xie Zhuang 謝莊.
- Xin Dufang** 信都芳 (*fl.* Northern Qi Dynasty,  
sixth century) 147
- Xing Bing** 邢昺 (932–1010) 9 n. 19
- Xing Jun** 行均 (*fl.* late tenth century–early  
eleventh centuries) 260
- Xiong Chuanxin** 熊傳薪 163  
Modern scholar.
- Xu Hong** 徐洪 (1582–1662) 28  
Also called Xu Qingshan 徐青山 28
- Xu Hun** 許渾 (788–860) 196
- Xu Jian** 徐堅 (660–729) 67
- Xu Jing'an** 徐景安 (*fl.* Tang dynasty) 144,  
234 n. 3, 305
- Xu Kai** 徐鍇 (920–974) 10
- Xu Quzhan** 徐麴瞻 (*fl.* Liu Song dynasty)  
25
- Xu Shujun** 徐樹鈞 (1842–1910) 174
- Xu Shuofang** 徐朔方 (1923–2007) 346
- Xu Yu** 徐宇 (*fl.* thirteenth century) 17  
Also called Xu Tianmin 徐天民.
- Xu Zhongshu** 徐中舒 (1898–1991) 161, 163,  
164 n. 67
- Xu Guan** 許瓘 (*fl.* seventh century) 179
- Xu Shen** 許慎 (58–147) 10, 53–54 n. 32,  
58–60 n. 61, 65, 94–95 n. 10, 122 n. 28,  
151 n. 9, 163, 168 n. 81, 261–262 n. 97
- Xuan Ming** 玄冥 110  
Mythological being.
- Xue Neng** 薛能 (d. 880) 259
- Xuefeng** 雪峰 'Snow Peak' (822–908)  
332–334  
His Chan Buddhist soubriquet; his secular  
name is Zeng Yicun 曾義存.  
Awarded the title Chan Master of  
Perfected Intuition 真覺禪師 by the  
Tang dynasty emperor Yizong. Jao  
Tsung-i has his secular surname as Cao  
曹 and calls him Cao Shizi 曹氏子 or  
'scion of the Cao family' 333
- Xun Xu** 荀勗 (d. 289) 130, 144
- Xunzi** 荀子 (c.316–between 237 and  
235 BCE) 4, 5, 16, 67  
Also called Xun Qing 荀卿 or Sun Qingzi  
孫卿子 5, 67 n. 87
- Yan Shigu** 顏師古 (581–645) 45, 122 n. 25,  
138 n. 45, 142
- Yan Yuan** 顏元 (1635–1704) 40
- Yan Zhitui** 顏之推 (531–591) 41
- Yan Fodiao** 嚴佛調 (*fl.* late Eastern Han  
dynasty) 39
- Yan Kejun** 嚴可均 (1762–1843) 24, 53 n. 27
- Yan** 嚴 (*fl.* fourth–fifth centuries) 37 n. 114  
Son of Tao Yuanming 陶淵明. More is not  
known about him.
- Yantou** 巖頭 (d. 887) 'Precipice Edge'  
332–333  
His Chan Buddhist soubriquet; his secular  
name is Ke Quanhua 柯全瓊.

- Jao Tsung-i also calls him Ke Shizi  
柯氏子 or 'scion of the Ke  
family' 333
- Yan Ying** 晏嬰 (578–500 BCE) 61  
Also called Yanzi 晏子.
- Yan Long** 宴龍 (mythological) 8
- Yan Su** 燕肅 (961–1040) 295
- Yang Zi** 羊滋 (*fl.* twelfth century) 307
- Yang Xiong** 揚雄 (53 BCE–18 CE) 56, 59,  
129, 137  
Also called Yang Ziyun 揚子雲.
- Yang 楊** (*fl.* late Qing dynasty) 199–200  
*Daling* 大令 magistrate of Panyu 番禺.
- Yang Bojun** 楊伯峻 (1909–1992) 64  
Modern scholar.
- Yang Can** 楊粲 (*fl.* late twelfth–early  
thirteenth centuries) 181
- Yang Ji** 楊霽 (b. 1837) 177
- Yang Lun** 楊掄 (d. 1634) 321–322 n. 21
- Yang Meilei** 楊沒累 (1897–1928) 143
- Yangqi Fanghui** 楊岐方會 (992–1049)  
334–335  
Chan Buddhist monk and founder of  
the Yangqi lineage; secular name:  
Leng Fanghui 冷方會. 'Yangqi' is a  
placename.
- Yang Quan** 楊泉 (*fl.* Western Jin dynasty)  
112
- Yang Shen** 楊慎 (1488–1559) 343
- Yang Shibai** 楊時百 (1863–1932) 19–20,  
24, 32
- Yang Shouzhai** 楊守齋 (*fl.* thirteenth  
century) 299  
His original name is Yang Zuan 楊  
纘; Yang Shouzhai 楊守齋 is his  
soubriquet.
- Yang Weizhen** 楊維禎 (1296–1370) 200
- Yang Wujiu** 楊無咎 (1097–1171) 346
- Yang Zhu** 楊朱 (c.395–c.335) 47
- Yanggu Shenwang** 陽谷神王 30 n. 88  
A mythological being; the Yanggu  
Spirit-King.
- Yao Fujun** 姚福均 (*fl.* late Qing dynasty)  
347
- Yao Zhenzong** 姚振宗 (1842–1906) 144
- Yelü Chucai** 耶律楚材 (1190–1244) 16
- Ye Dongqing** 葉東卿 (*fl.* Qing dynasty) 172
- Ye Dong** 葉棟 228, 232  
Modern scholar.
- Yijian** 夷堅 (semi-mythological) 339  
Ancient scholar said to be adept at  
writing.
- Yi 益** (mythological) 96 n. 16
- Yi Jing** 義淨 (635–713) 312
- Yi Feng** 翼奉 (*fl.* Western Han dynasty)  
124–125
- Yin Tong** 殷彤 (*fl.* second century BCE) 139
- Yin Yingsun** 殷盈孫 (*fl.* tenth century) 285
- Yin Zhizhang** 尹知章 (660–718) 140
- Ying Shao** 應劭 (*fl.* Eastern Han dynasty)  
4–5 n. 7, 11 n. 28, 14 n. 43–15 n. 44, 49,  
57, 95, 129 n. 11
- You Mao** 尤袤 (1127–1194) 48
- Yu Puming** 于普明 (*fl.* late sixth–early  
seventh centuries) 146
- Yu Shun** 虞舜 (ancient, semi-mythical) 34,  
99, 130, 146, 221, 290  
Ancient emperor. Often just called  
'Shun' 舜.
- Yu Xi** 虞喜 (281–356) 172
- Yu 禹** (first emperor of the Xia dynasty)  
265
- Yu Jianwu** 庾肩吾 (487–551) 53
- Yuan Zhen** 元稹 (779–831) 41
- Yuan Jue** 袁桷 (1266–1327) 6
- Yuan Shu** 袁樞 (1131–1205) 234
- Yuan Qing** 願清 'Yearning for Clarity'  
(*fl.* tenth century) 218–219  
His Buddhist soubriquet; his secular  
name is not known.
- Yue Ke** 岳珂 (1183–1243) 348
- Zenghou Yi** 曾侯乙 (c.475–c.433) 55  
The Marquis Yi of Zeng.
- Zeng Minxing** 曾敏行 (d. 1892) 207
- Zeng Yiben** 曾一本 (*fl.* sixteenth century)  
199
- Zeng Zhao** 曾釗 (1793–1854) 168, 171 n. 97,  
206 n. 193
- Zha Fuxi** 查阜西 (1895–1976) 17 n. 50, 25
- Zhanzi** 詹子 (*fl.* Warring States period) 47  
Also called Zhan He 詹何 47
- Zhang Bintong** 張賓桐 (*fl.* Ming dynasty)  
320
- Zhang Cang** 張蒼 (253–152 BCE) 128  
Also called the Marquis of Beiping  
北平侯 128
- Zhang Daoling** 張道陵 (34–156) 33

- Zhang Dexin** 張德新 (*fl.* sixteenth century) 320–321
- Zhang Fangzhi** 張方直 (*fl.* ninth century) 175
- Zhang Guangda** 張廣達 225  
Modern scholar.
- Zhang Hu** 張祐 (785–849) 305
- Zhang Ji** 張洎 (934–997) 236
- Zhang Jiuling** 張九齡 (678–740) 174
- Zhang Luo'er** 張羅二 (*fl.* late sixteenth–early seventeenth centuries) 346 n. 60  
Recipient of a poem by Tang Xianzu.
- Zhang Menglong** 張猛龍 (*fl.* fifth–sixth centuries) 242 n. 24
- Zhang Pan** 張磐 (*fl.* second century) 265
- Zhang Shao** 張紹 (*fl.* Southern Tang dynasty) 237
- Zhang Shen** 張參 (714–786) 176
- Master Zhang** 張氏 of Xiangyin 湘陰 (*fl.* Qing dynasty) 161
- Zhang Shibin** 張世彬 234 n. 3  
Modern scholar.
- Zhang Shoujie** 張守節 (*fl.* seventh century) 144
- Zhang Shu** 張澍 (1776–1847) 49, 180, 181
- Zhang Sui** 張隨 (*fl.* Tang dynasty) 42
- Zhang Tangying** 張唐英 (1029–1071) 349
- Zhang Tingyu** 張廷玉 (*fl.* late sixteenth–early seventeenth centuries) 18, 19 n. 52
- Zhang Wenshou** 張文收 (*fl.* late sixth–early seventh centuries) 284, 289, 291, 306
- Zhang Xie** 張協 (d. c.307) 340
- Zhang Xie** 張燮 (1574–1640) 194
- Zhang Xuecheng** 張學誠 (1738–1801) 143
- Zhang Xian** [Shen?] 張銑 [詵?] (*fl.* late second–early third centuries) 75
- Zhang Yan** 張炎 (1248–1320) 229–230, 247, 264 n. 107, 297, 298 n. 35, 299, 310 n. 67, 338–339, 341  
Soubriquet: Yutian 玉田 299, 320, 339
- Zhang Yan** 張晏 (*fl.* second–third centuries) 138
- Zhang Yanchang** 張燕昌 (1738–1814) 159
- Zhang Yi** 張揖 (*fl.* third century) 95, 263
- Zhang Yichao** 張譯潮 (799–872) 219
- Zhang Yuandao** 張淵道 (*fl.* twelfth century) 339
- Zhang Zhao** 張昭 (894–972) 279, 280, 286, 292–293, 296–299, 302, 305–306, 308  
Also called Zhang Zhaoyuan 張昭遠.
- Zhang Zhidong** 張之洞 (1837–1909) 202, 203 n. 182, 204 n. 183, 205
- Zhang Zilie** 張自烈 (1597–1675) 157
- Zhang Taiyan** 章太炎 (1869–1936) 40
- Zhao Changqing** 趙長青 (*fl.* late twelfth–early thirteenth century) 338 n. 36
- Zhao Jianwei** 趙建偉 70  
Modern scholar.
- Zhao Nü** 趙女 (*fl.* ninth century) 259  
Character mentioned in a poem by Xue Neng 薛能 (d. 880).
- Master Zhao** 趙氏 (*fl.* Han dynasty) 9
- Zhao Shuyong** 趙叔雍 (1898–1965) 254 n. 70, 258, 265
- Zhao Tai** 趙泰 (1898–1965) 273  
Also called Zhao Zunyue 趙尊岳.
- Zhao Xiaosheng** 趙曉生 229  
Modern scholar.
- Zhao Xuanzi** 趙宣子 (655–601 BCE) 149
- Zhao Yanwei** 趙彥衛 (*fl.* late twelfth–early thirteenth centuries) 152
- Zhao Yiguang** 趙宦光 (1559–1625) 317–319, 321–322  
Soubriquet: Fanfu 凡夫.
- Zhao Yu** 趙昱 (*fl.* Sui dynasty) 347–349
- Zhao Zhixin** 趙執信 (1662–1744) 197, 198 n. 165
- Zheng Bangfu** 鄭邦福 (*fl.* sixteenth century) 320  
Also called: 'the Daoist who ploughs the furrow with iron' 鐵耕道者.
- Zheng He** 鄭和 (1371–1433) 169
- Zheng Huangong** 鄭桓公 (d. 771 BCE) 62  
Also called Duke Huan; ruler of the state of Zheng (r. 806–771 BCE).
- Zheng Qi** 鄭棨 (839–910) 243
- Zheng Shixu** 鄭師許 (1897–1952) 173 n. 101, 196
- Zheng Shi** 鄭氏 'Master Zheng' (*fl.* late seventeenth–early eighteenth centuries) 344 n. 55  
Untraceable individual who appears in *Lianting shichao* 《棟亭詩鈔》, 'Zai guo Zheng shi jiang cun' 《再過鄭氏江村》.
- Zheng Wenbao** 鄭文寶 (953–1013) 236

- Zheng Xuan** 鄭玄 (127–200) 93, 122–124, 135, 149–150
- Zheng Yanhua** 鄭彥華 (*fl.* tenth century) 236  
Father of Zheng Wenbao 鄭文寶 (see above).
- Zheng Yi** 鄭譯 (540–591) 78, 131, 289, 291, 298, 306  
Also called the Duke of Pei 沛公.
- Zheng Yin** 鄭綱 (752–829) 175–177, 198
- Zheng Zhong** 鄭眾 (d. 83 CE) 155
- Zhi Qian** 支謙 (*fl.* early third century) 39, 75–81, 83
- Zhi Sheng** 智昇 (*fl.* eighth century) 75
- Zhi Yi** 智顛 (538–597) 77
- Zhong You** 仲由 (542–480 BCE) 66  
Also called Zilu 子路.
- Zhou Ailian** 周藹聯 (*fl.* eighteenth century) 205
- Zhou Bangyan** 周邦彥 (1056–1121) 298  
Soubriquet: Meicheng 美成.
- Chou Feng-wu** 周鳳五 71  
Modern scholar.
- Empress Zhou** 周后 (936–965) 235  
Full name: Zhou Ehuang 周娥皇 235  
Also called Zhaohui 昭惠 235, 239
- Zhou Jingwang** 周景王 (d. 520 BCE) 98, 130  
Zhou dynasty emperor (r. 544–520 BCE)
- Zhou Maoqi** 周懋琦 (1836–1896) 155
- Zhou Mi** 周密 (1232–1298) 262
- Zhou Nanwang** 周赧王 (d. 256 BCE) 163  
Zhou dynasty emperor (r. 315–256 BCE)
- Zhou Shaoliang** 周紹良 (1917–2005) 221, 222 n. 18, 223
- Zhou Qingyun** 周慶雲 (1866–1934) 156–157
- Zhou Shizong** 周世宗 (921–959) 282  
Later Zhou dynasty emperor (r. 954–959)
- Zhou Taizu** 周太祖 (904–954) 278–279  
Later Zhou dynasty emperor (r. 951–954)
- Zhou Wenju** 周文矩 (c. 907–975) 238
- Zhou Wuwang** 周武王 (1076–1043 BCE) 54  
Founding emperor of the Zhou dynasty (r. 1046–1043 BCE)
- Zhou Xuzhi** 周續之 (377–423) 37
- Zhou Yi** 周顛 (269–322) 81
- Zhou Zhengfu** 周正夫 (*fl.* twelfth century) 38
- Zhuang Benli** 莊本立 134 n. 31
- Modern scholar.
- Zhuangzi** 莊子 (c. 369–286 BCE) 38, 47, 66–67, 332 n. 7  
Also called Zhuang Zhou 莊周 47
- Zhu Changwen** 朱長文 (1039–1098) 32  
Also called Zhu Boyuan 朱伯原.
- Zhu Guangqian** 朱光潛 (1897–1986) 26, 30, 37
- Zhu Gui** 朱珪 (1731–1806) 198, 199 n. 167
- Zhu Quanzhong** 朱全忠 (852–912) 304
- Zhu Quan** 朱權 (1378–1448) 319
- Zhu Xi** 朱熹 (1130–1200) 268, 272  
Also called Master Zhu 朱子.
- Zhu Yizun** 朱彝尊 (1629–1709) 166–167, 175, 176 n. 111, 177, 206, 310  
Soubriquet: Zhu Zhucha 朱竹垞.
- Zhu Zaiyu** 朱載堉 (1536–1611) 136
- Zhuge Liang** 諸葛亮 (181–234) 181, 189, 201–203, 205  
Also called Wu Hou 武侯 147, 189, 205  
Also called Kong Ming 孔明 189
- Zhu Zhu** 主柱 (*fl.* fifth century BCE) 52
- Zhurong** 祝融 197–199  
The God of Fire.
- Zhu Hong** 祿宏 (1535–1615) 319, 321–322  
Buddhist monk also called ‘Cloud Perching’ 雲棲.
- Zhuo Wenjun** 卓文君 (*fl.* Western Han dynasty) 20
- Zichan** 子產 (d. 522 BCE) 98
- Zisi** 子思 (483–402 BCE) 44 n. 3, 71
- Zou Shilu** 鄒適廬 (1864–1940) 156  
Also called Zou Shouqi 鄒壽祺.
- Zou Yan** 鄒衍 (c. 305–240) 46
- Zu Xiaosun** 祖孝孫 (562–631) 279, 284, 289, 291, 306
- Zuo Qiuming** 左丘明 (*fl.* late Spring and Autumn period) 8, 9 n. 16, 13, 60–62, 64 n. 75, 93 n. 7, 97–98, 123, 126, 166
- Non-Chinese**
- In alphabetical order according to surname.
- Amiot, Jean Joseph-Marie** 錢德明 (1718–1793) 102



- Anmohe** 安摩訶 (*fl.* late ninth–early tenth centuries) 217, 225
- Annen** 安然 (841–c.901) 313
- Asura** 啊修羅 79  
A god in Sanskrit writings.
- Bodhidharma** 菩提達摩 (d. 536) 314
- Brahma** 〔大〕梵天 74, 79–80  
God.
- Chavannes, Édouard** 沙畹 (1865–1918) 103
- Cohen, Mrs Monique** 233  
Librarian in the Department of East Asia of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France
- Demiéville, Paul** 戴密微 (1894–1979) 80
- Ferguson, John Calvin** 福開森 (1866–1945) 167
- Fujiwara Sadatoshi** 藤原原貞 (d. 867) 240
- Gandhava** 乾闥婆 76–78  
Buddhist god who makes music.
- Gautama Siddha** 瞿曇悉達 (*fl.* eighth century) 119
- van Gulik, Robert** 高羅佩 (1910–1967) 3
- Guṇabhadra** 求那跋陀羅 (394–468) 314–315
- Hayashi Kenzō** 林謙三 (1899–1976) 78, 228, 232, 239–240, 242
- Heger, Franz** 黑格爾 (1853–1931) 186–187, 191–192, 194–196, 205, 207–208, 210
- Indra** 因陀羅 74  
Indian god.
- Kanda Toyoda** 神田喜一郎 (1897–1984) 242
- Kimura Taiken** 木村泰賢 (1891–1930) 77
- Kin Bunkyo-shi** 金文京氏 350  
Modern scholar.
- Kumārajīva** (344–413) 鳩摩羅什 38 n. 119, 39, 316
- Lipps, Theodore** (1851–1914) 27
- Mahākāśyapa** 摩訶迦葉 74  
One of the principal disciples of Gautama Buddha.
- Mañjuśrī** 曼殊 38, 318–319  
A Buddha.
- Matsumoto Nobuhiro** 松本信廣 (1897–1981) 182, 193–194, 208
- McClain, Ernest** 102  
Modern American scholar.
- Mi Li** 覓歷 (*fl.* fourth century) 81
- Nanda** 難陀 266  
Gautama Buddha's half-brother.
- Nārāyaṇa** 那羅延 79  
A god in Sanskrit writings.
- Needham, Joseph** 李約瑟 (1900–1995) 102
- Patañjali** (*fl.* fifth century BCE) 34  
Ancient Indian sage
- Pelliot, Paul** 伯希和 (1878–1945) 81, 215, 228, 242, 243 n. 28, 244, 251, 254, 257, 260, 271–272, 314
- Pañcavaśīkhin** 版遮琴 73, 76–80, 82  
Buddhist music god.
- Po-Śrīmitra** 帛尸梨蜜多羅 (d. 343) 81  
Also called High Constellation 高座.
- Pythagoras** 畢達哥拉斯 (c.570–c.495) 101–103
- Rahula Thero, Walpola** (1907–1997) 35  
Sri Lankan scholar.
- Śakra** 帝釋〔天〕 73–74, 76, 79–80  
The ruler of the Trāyastriṃśa Heaven according to Buddhist cosmology.
- Sarasvatī** 大辯〔才〕天 79  
A god in Sanskrit writings.
- Schipper, Kristofer** 施博爾 331  
Modern scholar.
- Shelley, Percy Byssche** 雪萊 (1792–1822) 29
- Stein, Aurel** 斯坦因 (1862–1943) 252, 254, 264–265
- Sudi(shi)po** 蘇祇〔氏〕婆 (*fl.* sixth century) 78
- Suigen Giko** 水源渭江 260  
Modern scholar.
- Master Sumitomo** 住友氏 (*fl.* early twelfth century) 159  
Also called 'Baron Sumitono'.
- Takakusu Junjirō** 高楠順次郎 (1866–1845) 80

- Tanaka Issei** 田仲一成 330  
Modern scholar.
- Torii Ryūzō** 鳥居龍藏 (1870–1953) 204,  
205 n. 187
- Turner, Ralph Lilley** (1888–1983) 82
- Umehara Sueji** 梅原末治 (1893–1983) 167
- Vajra-rāja** 金剛王 322  
Buddhist god.
- Vandermeersch, Léon** 汪德邁 195  
Modern French scholar.
- Vighna** 維只〔難〕 (*fl.* third century) 83
- Vimalakīrti** 魏摩詰 37–39, 243  
Buddhist luminary contemporary to  
Gautama Buddha.
- Vischer, Robert** (1847–1933) 26
- Place Names**
- Places cited only in footnotes are not included here.  
Well-known place names are not given either.  
Neither are names not given in Chinese characters.
- This list is arranged in alphabetical order of pinyin syllables, including tones and stroke count. Non-Chinese names are inserted into the list according to their usual English equivalent.
- Ailao** 哀牢 189
- Anding** 安定 169, 218–219
- Anguo** 安國 250
- Bama county** 巴馬縣 191
- Bashu region** 巴蜀 163
- Baisha** 白沙 265
- Bantam** 萬丹 193–194
- Bao mountain** 包山 189, 207
- Bao mountain** 保山 189
- Batu Pasir Garam** 鹽沙岩 (in Malaysia) 184
- Beihai prefecture** 北海郡 156
- Beiliu** 北流 178
- Beiping** 北平 128, 167
- Bizhou** 壁州 267
- Binyang** 賓陽 196
- Binzhou** 賓州 196
- Bozhou** 播州 202
- Boluo river** 波羅江 175, 197–198
- Bobai county** 博白縣 169
- Bronze Drum mountain** 銅鼓山 169
- Bronze Drum pond** 銅鼓塘 169
- Bronze Drum pool** 銅鼓潭 169
- Bronze Drum village** 銅鼓村 169
- Central Shaanxi plains** 關中 18
- Chaling** 茶陵 335
- Changbai** 長白 148
- Changsha** 長沙 8, 33, 44, 178
- Changyang county** 長楊縣 163  
in Shanzhou 陝州 163
- Changshu** 常熟 348
- Chaozhou** 潮州 341
- Chen prefecture** 陳郡 75
- Chen Qiao** 陳橋 312
- Chongde county** 崇德縣 320
- Chongyang county** 崇陽縣 167
- Chunzhou** 春州 176
- Chunyu county** 淳于縣 156
- Chunyu Wufeng mountain** 淳于毋逢山 157
- Cili county** 慈利縣 163
- Dartsedo** 打箭爐; in Chinese: Kangding 康定 207
- Dabona** 大波那 169–170, 184
- Dawen river mouth** 大汶口 94
- Daxing** 大興 198, 201
- Dayao mountain** 大嶠山 195
- Dangzhou** 當州 200
- Dang mountain** 礪山 52
- Deqing** 德清 320–321
- Dian region** 滇 165, 180, 210
- Dian lake** 滇池 171
- Dingyuan** 定遠 187
- Dongsunba** 冬筍壩 161
- Donge** 東阿 75
- Dong mountain** 東山 207, 210
- Dongwu** 東吳 (another name for Suzhou) 199
- Dong mountain** 洞山 332
- Dongting lake** 洞庭湖 313
- Dragon's Mouth** 龍口 313
- Du'an county** 都安縣 169
- Eastern Sea** 東海 26; East Sea 194
- Emei** 峨嵋 347

- Fangmatan 放馬灘 140, 143  
 Fengxiang 鳳翔 167, 223-224  
 Fish mountain 魚山 Yushan 74  
 Funan 扶南 175, 180  
 Fuxu 扶胥 198  
 Fuling prefecture 涪陵郡 153-154, 161  
 Fuzhou 福州 331, 333  
  
 Gambir 甘蜜埔 193  
 Ganzhou 甘州 217, 304  
 Gaozhou 高州 175-177, 198  
 Gongzhou 龔州 175  
 Great Kindness mountain 大慈山 332  
 Gua 瓜 215  
 Guanbin 灌濱 154  
 Guanghan 廣漢 150  
 Guangyang 廣陽 319  
 Guangyao 廣窯 18  
 Guangyuan 廣元 246, 256, 261 n. 91, 264,  
 272, 274 n. 143  
 Gui mountain 驪山 157  
 Guifang 鬼方 220  
 Guiping county 桂平縣 195  
 Gui county 貴縣 171, 194  
 Guodian 郭店 43-45, 52, 54, 56, 58-60, 68,  
 71-72  
 Guozhou 虢州 155-156, 163  
  
 Haikou 海口 173  
 Hakka areas 316  
 Han mountain 寒山 318  
 Hedong 河東 75  
 Hemudu 河姆渡 95  
 Hexi 河西 216, 218  
 Heze 荷澤 51-52  
 Hengzhou 衡州 178  
 Hengzhou 橫州 196  
 Huazhou 化州 200-201  
 Huangfu 黃父 310  
 Huanggang Xinkou 黃岡心口 169  
  
 Jixia 稷下 52, 68, 71  
 Ji region 冀州 52  
 Jia mountain 夾山 333  
 Jiahe 嘉禾 336  
 Jiazhou 嘉州 347  
 Jia lake 賈湖 87-88, 93-96, 98-100, 103  
 Jiangchuan 江川 171  
 Jiangjin county 江津縣 207  
 Jiaozhi 交趾 168  
  
 Jiaozhou 交州 178  
 Jinsha river 金沙江 201  
 Jingnan 荊南 234-236  
 Jiusi mountain 九絲山 181  
 Jiuzhen 九真 199  
 Jun mountain 君山 313  
  
 Kaifeng 開封 255, 278-279, 346, 348;  
 also called Dongjing 東京 255, 263, 271,  
 273, 287, 346, 348、Zhongzhou  
 中州 262  
 Kayah State 克耶邦 192  
 Klang 巴生 184, 194  
 Kongsang mountain 空桑山 287  
 Kuaiji 會稽 154, 172  
 Kumtura 庫木吐拉 238  
 Kuicheng 夔城 210  
  
 Langya 琅琊 64 n. 77  
 Lañkā mountain (in Sri Lanka) 楞迦 314  
 Le mountain 樂山 347  
 Leizhou 雷州 171  
 Leigudun 擂鼓墩 131  
 Leigu mountain 擂鼓山 189  
 Lidui 離堆 346  
 Lishi county 離石縣 171  
 Lijia mountain 李家山 171  
 Lizhou 澧州 163, 331-333  
 Lian River county 廉江縣 200  
 Lianzhou 廉州 169, 200  
 Liangzhou 涼州 219  
 Liang'an district 兩岸區域 206  
 Linyi (the state of) 林邑國 168 n. 84, 169  
 Lingdao county 冷道縣 146  
 Lingshui county 陵水縣 171  
 Lingling 零陵 146  
 Ling mountain 靈山 169  
 Lingnan 嶺南 175-176, 180, 197  
 Liu forest 劉林 94  
 Liucheng 柳城 178  
 Liuzhou 柳州 186, 191, 302-303  
 Longmen caves 龍門石窟 313  
 Longzhou 龍州 201  
 Longxi 隴西 219  
 Lu mountain 廬山 32  
 Luzhou 瀘州 201  
 Lu 潞 221, 224 (the ruler of Lu 潞王)  
 Luozhong 洛中 259  
 Luoja 瑠珈 42

- Malayan peninsula 馬來亞 184  
Mawangdui 馬王堆 44, 52, 71  
Mao peak 鄧峰 257, 338  
Mian river 澠水 369  
Ming tributary 明江 206  
    of the Zuo river 左江 206  
Mogao caves 莫高窟 232, 242, 333  
Mo mountain 驀山 253, 265, 267
- Nan'an county 南安縣 333  
Nanhai Road 南海路 187  
Nanjing 南靖 194  
Ningyuan 寧遠 174
- Pahang (a Malaysian state) 彭亨 184, 194, 204  
Panyu 番禺 173, 175, 177, 199  
Peiligang 裴李崗 87  
    (Peiligang culture 裴李崗文化) 87  
Penglai mountain 蓬萊山 26, 308, 331  
Pi county 邳縣 94 n. 8  
Piye (an ancient Indian city) 毗耶 37  
Pingle 平樂 180  
Pingnan 平南 175  
Putian 莆田 330  
Puzhou Fan county 濮州范縣 293  
Putong Tonggu 浦通銅鼓 169
- Qizhou 岐州 221, 223  
Qiaohe 喬禾 341  
Qieleng mountain 伽稜 318  
Qin mountain 欽山 332, 334, 338  
Qinzhou 欽州 169  
Qingcheng mountain 青城山 347  
Qingyuan 清源 236, 335, 340, 345-348  
Qiu mountain 丘山 82  
Qiuci 龜茲 82, 239, 243, 250-251, 281, 289, 304  
Qufu 曲阜 177 n. 118  
Quanzhou 泉州 236, 331, 333
- Ridge of the Divided Grasses 分茅嶺 200
- Sarawak 砂勝越 186  
Selangor (a Malaysian state) 雪蘭莪 184, 194-195, 201  
Semarang 三寶壠 193  
Sha 沙 215  
Shanbiao 山彪 164
- Shanyang 山陽 146  
Shanzhou 陝州 163  
Shifang 什邡 150  
Shimen county 石門縣 156  
Shiwan village 石灣村 200, 217  
Shizhai mountain 石寨山 165, 171, 179, 210  
Shixing 時興 150-151, 158 n. 42  
Shuzhou 舒州 335  
Shule 疏勒 250-251  
Shulei 蜀壘 154  
Shu prefecture 蜀郡 348  
Shuanma 拴馬 239  
Sicheng 泗城 165  
Sizhou 泗州 307  
Song mountain 嵩山 314, 316  
South prefecture 南郡 172  
ancient Sri Lanka 師子國 315  
Su county 宿縣 164  
Suqi mountain 宿齊 303  
Sui county 隨縣 44, 102, 126  
Sungai Tembeling 淡柏河畔 (in Malaysia) 184
- Ta'erpo 塔而坡 163  
Taicang 太倉 28, 178  
Tanzhou 潭州 333  
Tembeling 單馬令 184, 194  
Tengyue prefecture 騰越州 189  
Terengganu 丁加奴 194  
Tianhui mountain 天迴山 8  
Tianmen 天門 154  
Tianxiang 天雄 223  
Tieli 鐵驪 244  
Tonggu 銅鼓 176, 179  
Tongwan 統萬 171  
Tu mountain 塗山 154, 164
- Wan county 萬縣 161  
Wang mountain 望山 54  
Weining 威寧 207  
Wei mountain 滄山 316  
Weibei 渭北 239  
Weizhou 魏州 223  
Wen river 溫水 169  
Wenchang county 文昌縣 169, 186  
Western Capital 西京 307  
West Sea 西海 157  
Wu mountain 巫山 339-340

- Wuyixiang 烏衣巷 ('Black Clothes Lane')  
313
- Wu prefecture 吳郡 75, 318
- Wuwei county 無爲軍 19-20
- Wulipai 五里牌 45
- Wuli mountain 五里山 163
- Wuchang 武昌 82-83
- Wuyi mountain 武夷山 163
- Wuyang 舞陽 82-83
- Xichuan 西川 340, 345
- Xiliang 西涼 250
- Ximeng 西盟 192
- Xiagang 下港 194
- Xianyang 咸陽 163, 290
- Xiangxi 湘西 164
- Xiangyin 湘陰 161
- Xiangyun county 祥雲縣 169-170, 184
- Xin'an 新安 161
- Xinyang 信陽 8
- Xingma (Singapore and Malaysia) 星馬 184
- Xingzhou (Singapore) 星洲 184
- Xingwen county 興文縣 181
- Xiushui county 修水縣 164
- Xuanhua 宣化 202
- Xunyang 潯陽 37
- Xunzhou 潯州 176
- Xiawanggang 下王崗 94 n. 8
- Yazhou 雅州 201
- Yanzhou 兗州 94
- Yan mountain 演山 358
- Yan mountain 燕山 318
- Yangcheng 羊城; 'Sheep City', another name  
for Guangzhou 117 n. 118
- Yangwu 陽武 176
- Yangzhou 揚州 173, 221
- Yangqi mountain 楊岐 334
- Yanggu (or Yang gorge) 陽谷 30 n. 88,  
31 n. 90
- Yizhou 伊州 247
- Yi river 夷水 167 n. 87
- Yichun 宜春 316
- Yihuang county 宜黃縣 346, 348
- Yi mountain 飴山 198 n. 165
- Yinqe mountain 銀雀山 104, 107-108,  
120, 122
- Yin mountains 銀山嶺 180
- Yinglinggang 英靈岡 171
- Ying (the Chu capital) 郢 150
- Yingzhou 郢州 236
- Yongchang 永昌 189
- Youzhou 幽州 175
- Youyang 酉陽 235, 237, 238 n. 13
- Yufupu 魚腹浦 202
- Yu county 禹縣 265
- Yu mountain 郁山 335
- Yuzhang 豫章 158, 163
- Yulinzhou 鬱林州 178
- Yuanzhou 袁州 334
- Yue region 越 154
- Yue region 粵 154
- Yunmeng 雲夢 107
- Yunxi 雲溪 270
- Yutian 于闐 216-217, 225, 339, 341
- Zaolin 棗林 347
- Zhangye 張掖 217-218
- Zhaoti (temple) 招提〔寺〕 336
- Zhaotong 昭通 41
- Zhending 真定 319
- Zhenjiang 鎮江 307
- Zhong mountain 中山 156, 268
- Zhouxi 州西 346
- Zhuo prefecture 涿郡 52
- Zitong 梓潼 200
- Zunyi 遵義 171, 192, 207, 347
- Zuo river 左江 206

### Chinese Terms

Widely used terms are not assigned a chapter number. Some are arranged according to pinyin pronunciation of the characters, including tones and stroke count, others in commonly found sequences, and others in the English translations as found in the main text.

### General

- ba* 跋 postscript 310
- caoshu* 草書 cursive script
- chengyu* 成語 set phrase 21 n. 62,  
23 n. 67, 332 n. 7
- chi* 尺 feet 42, 48 n. 13, 135, 140, 147, 150, 155,  
159, 168, 172, 174, 176-178, 182, 200-202,  
285-286, 335

*cun* 寸 inches 95, 132, 135, 142, 145, 150, 155, 159, 172, 174, 176–177, 182, 198, 285  
*dao* 道 the Way 15, 20, 32–34, 38, 40, 46–47, 52, 69–71, 210, 237, 336–337, 345  
*fen* 分 deci-inches 150, 172, 285  
*gong* 公 Duke 8, 9, 12, 60, 62, 65, 97–98, 123, 126, 255, 289, 330  
*hao* 號 soubriquet 17, 22, 175, 166, 182, 204, 299, 320, 339  
*li* 釐 micro-inches 155  
*li* 里 a unit for measuring distance, approximately a third of a mile 198–199  
*jin* 斤 (斤) unit of weight, now 500g 178, 237  
*juan* 卷 folio 4–6, 9–12, 15–16, 18–19, 21–23, 25, 28 n. 78, 29, 32, 34–36, 42, 45–54, 57–59, 61–62, 65–67, 73–79, 81, 93–96, 99–100, 107, 108 n. 7, 109–111, 113, 117, 119–120, 122, 123 n. 30, 124–132, 135, 137–139, 141–161, 163, 166 n. 76, 168–174, 176, 178–182, 189, 192, 196, 198 n. 165, 199 n. 170, 200, 202 n. 180, 204, 207, 215, 216 n. 2, 217, 222, 228, 233 n. 2, 234–237, 242 n. 23, 244–245, 247–248, 251, 255–256, 258–272, 277–283, 286, 293, 295–298, 300, 302, 304–305, 307, 310, 314–315, 317 n. 11, 319, 320 n. 18, 322 n. 20, 330–332, 333 n. 9, 334–335, 337, 339, 341–348, 350  
*lü* 律 melody, note, or mode 25, 89, 97–98, 100–102, 106–107, 123–124, 126–141, 143, 146–148, 287–288, 298–299, 305, 320, 322  
*miaohao* 廟號 (temple) soubriquet 237  
*ren* 仞 fathom 48, 137  
*wang* 王 ruler (of a state) 5–7, 11, 23, 32, 45–46, 48–52, 60–62, 64, 66, 68, 75, 83, 141, 169, 171, 176, 180, 203, 215, 221–224, 333  
*wanwu* 萬物 the myriad things or objects 19, 47, 59 n. 55, 70, 110, 116  
*weng* 翁 a respectful term for an old man 19, 177 n. 118  
*xian* 仙 celestial being or immortal 19, 31–33, 42, 51–52, 237, 331, 340  
*xianghao* 香號 Buddhist soubriquet 218–219  
*xing* 行 semi-cursive script 263, 273

*xu* 序 introduction 14, 25, 52, 142, 196, 235, 309, 314  
*xun* 尋 a unit of length approximately 2–3 metres 48  
*ya* 雅 elegant 9–11, 57, 279–282, 284, 286–289, 295–296, 298  
*yang* 陽 energy 110, 112  
*yin* 陰 energy 111, 122  
*yinyang* 陰陽 the *yinyang* duality 40, 69–70, 93, 101, 104, 287  
*zhang* 丈 a unit of length approximately 3–4 metres 177, 180, 198  
*zhouwen* 籀文 greater seal script 236  
*zhuan* 篆 seal script 18, 161, 172, 182, 203  
*zhujian* [竹] 簡 bamboo writing slips 4, 43  
*zi* 字 soubriquet 32, 36 n. 109, 40, 42, 49, 50 n. 18, 51, 95, 106, 132–134, 137, 148, 200, 219–220, 237, 241 n. 22, 279, 298, 317–318

### *The Five Elements* 五行

*huo* 火 fire 63, 74, 77, 103, 109, 172, 334  
*jin* 金 metal 5, 29, 53, 55–56, 63–64, 109–111, 156, 175, 339  
*mu* 木 wood 5–6, 9, 18, 63, 67, 68 n. 90, 109–110, 210, 238, 243, 260, 287, 294  
*shui* 水 water 41, 48, 61, 63–64, 71, 109, 150, 152–154, 156, 164, 169, 176, 197, 201, 203  
*tu* 土 earth 24–25, 29–30, 42, 63, 68–71, 74, 111, 175, 203, 205, 260, 321, 339

### *The Ten Heavenly Stems* 天干

*jia* 甲 9, 137, 161  
*yi* 乙 137  
*bing* 丙 39, 137  
*ding* 丁 137, 204, 229–230  
*wu* 戊 137  
*ji* 己 137, 160  
*geng* 庚 137  
*xin* 辛 137  
*ren* 壬 137  
*gui* 癸 137

### *The Twelve Earthly Branches* 地支

*zi* 子 50 n. 18, 106, 132–134, 137, 241 n. 22  
*chou* 丑 106, 133–134, 137  
*yin* 寅 14, 133–134, 144

*mao* 卯 134  
*chen* 辰 134  
*si* 巳 110, 134  
*wu* 午 134, 137  
*wei* 未 134  
*shen* 申 134  
*you* 酉 132-134, 181  
*xu* 戌 14, 25, 39, 134, 134, 196, 235, 309, 314  
*hai* 亥 106, 132-134

### The Combined Stem and Branch Sixty-cycle

1 *jiazi* 甲子 106-107, 298  
 2 *yichou* 乙丑 106, 156  
 3 *bingyin* 丙寅 105  
 4 *dingmao* 丁卯 105, 230  
 5 *wuchen* 戊辰 223, 333  
 6 *jisi* 己巳 105, 245, 276  
 7 *gengwu* 庚午 105-106, 244  
 8 *xinwei* 辛未 105-106, 222  
 9 *renshen* 壬申 106  
 10 *guiyou* 癸酉 106  
 11 *jiaxu* 甲戌 105, 172  
 12 *yihai* 乙亥 105  
 13 *bingzi* 丙子  
 14 *dingchou* 丁丑  
 15 *wuyin* 戊寅 224, 320-321  
 16 *jimao* 己卯 198  
 17 *gengchen* 庚辰 105-106  
 18 *xinsi* 辛巳 105-106, 160  
 19 *renwu* 壬午 165 n. 71  
 20 *guiwei* 癸未  
 21 *jiashen* 甲申 173  
 22 *yiyou* 乙酉 105-106, 350  
 23 *bingxu* 丙戌 201  
 24 *dinghai* 丁亥 244  
 25 *wuzi* 戊子 199, 222-223  
 26 *jichou* 己丑 161  
 27 *gengyin* 庚寅  
 28 *xinmao* 辛卯 173  
 29 *renchen* 壬辰 105, 223, 321  
 30 *guisi* 癸巳 176 n. 112  
 31 *jiawu* 甲午  
 32 *yiwei* 乙未  
 33 *bingshen* 丙申 105  
 34 *dingyou* 丁酉  
 35 *wuxu* 戊戌 105, 194  
 36 *jihai* 己亥  
 37 *gengzi* 庚子 105-106, 321  
 38 *xinchou* 辛丑 105-106, 223

39 *renyin* 壬寅 222  
 40 *guimao* 癸卯 223  
 41 *jiachen* 甲辰 105  
 42 *yisi* 乙巳 39, 105  
 43 *bingwu* 丙午 39, 105  
 44 *dingwei* 丁未 105  
 45 *wushen* 戊申 105-106  
 46 *jiyou* 己酉 105, 321  
 47 *gengxu* 庚戌  
 48 *xinhai* 辛亥 318-319, 321  
 49 *renzi* 壬子 105  
 50 *guichou* 癸丑 105, 176, 208  
 51 *jiayin* 甲寅  
 52 *yimao* 乙卯 198  
 53 *bingchen* 丙辰 222  
 54 *dingsi* 丁巳  
 55 *wuwu* 戊午 276  
 56 *jiwei* 己未  
 57 *gengshen* 庚申  
 58 *xinyou* 辛酉 225  
 59 *renxu* 壬戌 105  
 60 *guihai* 癸亥 105

### Characters Signifying the Eight Trigrams

*dui* 兌 108-109, 111-112, 125, 150, 158  
*gen* 艮 108-109, 111-112  
*kan* 坎 108-109  
*kun* 坤 108-109, 111-112  
*li* 離 8, 93, 108-109, 111-112  
*qian* 乾 108-109, 111-112, 120  
*xun* 巽 108-109, 111-112  
*zhen* 震 108-109, 111-112, 125

### The Five Notes

*gong* 宮 16-17, 25, 59 n. 55, 78-80, 88-89, 92-93, 100, 105-106, 121, 127, 129, 132, 135-137, 142, 241-242, 248, 283-284, 285, 287-289, 292, 298, 302, 307  
*shang* 商 16-17, 41, 59 n. 55, 78-81, 89, 93, 95, 105, 121, 129, 137, 239, 241, 287, 302, 320  
*jue* 角 16-17, 25, 59 n. 55, 78-79, 81, 89, 93, 105, 121, 129, 137, 150 n. 6, 198, 239  
*zhi* 徵 16-17, 78-81, 88-89, 93, 105, 121, 129, 137  
*yu* 羽 16-17, 78-81, 88-89, 93, 105, 121, 129, 137, 155, 157, 241 n. 23  
*biangong* 變宮 altered *gong* 88-89, 93

bianyin 變音 altered notes (the two required to make up the seven note scale) 88, 92, 101, 126, 146

bianzhi 變徵 altered *zhi* 78, 88–89, 93

### The Six *lü* 律 Modes

These are consecutive, each rising a whole tone apart from the next.

*guxian* 姑洗 89, 126, 136, 140

*huangzhong* 黃鐘 17, 89, 96, 98, 100–101, 105–106, 124, 126–127, 132–137, 142–144, 241 n. 23, 284–286, 289, 291, 294–295, 298, 306, 308

*ruibin* 蕤賓 89, 98, 106, 124, 136, 289

*taicou* 太簇 89, 136, 241 n. 23, 285–286

*wuyi* 無射 130, 136

*yize* 夷則 130, 136, 295

### The Six *lü* 呂 Modes

These also rise a whole tone apart each from the next. As they are positioned a perfect fifth higher than the *lü* 律 modes, the combined effect is a twelve-semitone chromatic scale.

*dali* 大呂 106, 136–137

*jiazhong* 夾鐘 100, 136, 145, 295

*linzhong* 林鐘 100, 106, 124, 136, 241 n. 23, 285, 302

*nanlü* 南呂 89, 136, 241 n. 23

*yingzhong* 應鐘 89, 100, 106, 124, 136

*zhonglü* 仲呂 140

### Instruments

#### i. Percussion

bells: *bianzhong* 編鐘 tuned bells hung on racks 152, 285

*bo* or *bozhong* 搏鐘 large bell 151 n. 9, 163, 285

*duo* 鐸 bell 149–150, 154–155, 164

*weng* 甕 large and bulbous bell 159

*ya* 雅 bells 159

*zheng* 鉦 tubular bell 164, 303

Sometimes *zheng* 鉦 152

Sometimes *dingzheng* 丁鉦 or *dingning* 丁寧 149, 164, 198, 203

*Wu(xu)zhuyu zheng* 無〔鄜〕諸俞鉦 tubular bell 164

*zhong* 鐘 100, 163

*zhuo* 鐃 small bell 149, 154–155

chimes: *qing* 磬 9, 129, 151 n. 9

*chunyu* 鎗于 149–161, 163–167, 184, 206

*jiangyu* 將于 156

drums: *fen* 鼗 large drum with two drumheads 168, 180

*fou* 缶 large drum 156

*gao* 鞀 bass drum 203

*gu* 鼓 150 n. 6, 155, 168 n. 84

*pi* 鞀 drum 210

*tao* 鼗 drum 154

*tonggu* 銅鼓 bronze drum 163, 165–176, 177 n. 178, 180, 186, 192, 197–202, 204, 206–207, 210

*nao* 鐃 cymbals 149–150, 154, 175

*xiang* 相 154, 203, 219, 240, 261

#### ii. Wind

*di* 笛 94–95, 130

*qiang di* 羌笛 95

*guan* 筩 or 管 pipe 283

*jiao* 角 horns 239

*sheng* 笙 203, 205

*xiao* 簫 94, 291

*yue* 籥 flute 95, 283

#### iii. Zithers

*qin* 琴 3–12, 13 n. 41 n. 14, 18–24, 26–34,

36–37, 40–42, 49, 53–59, 61–62, 64,

67–68, 71, 76, 129, 131, 320–322

*li* 離 a large kind of ancient *qin* 8

*se* 瑟 4–5, 7–10, 18, 41, 53–56, 58–59, 61–62, 64–65, 71, 287

#### iv. Other Plucked Instruments

*pipa* 琵琶 215, 225, 228, 230–231, 233–240, 241 n. 22, 247–249, 251, 274, 276, 289

*hu pipa* 胡琵琶 239

### Qin Techniques and Terms

*biao* 標 striking 6–7

*bola* 撥喇 the *bola* technique 6–7

*cantan* 參彈 the *cantan* technique: a *qin* technique by which strings are played together either in succession or as chords 6

*cao* 操 *cao* pieces 13–17, 34

*chang* 暢 *chang* pieces 13–15



*dayinfangnao* 大吟放猿 'great-moan-frees-monkey' 25  
*fengzhao* 鳳沼 phoenix pool sound-hole 45  
*fu* 拂 pressing and caressing 6-7  
*ge* 歌 songs 14  
*hui* 徽 nodes of vibration 6, 36  
*jue* 攫 snatching 6  
*longchi* 龍池 dragon's pond sound-hole 45  
*minglian* 鳴廉 Sounding Uprightness (the name of a *qin*) 5  
*wuxian qin* 無弦琴 the *qin* without strings 38  
*yin* 引 *yin* pieces 14  
*yuan* 援 pulling 6

**Symbols used in Medieval Texts to Denote Punctuation and Rhythm; Chapter 9**

*che* 掣 229-230  
*ding* 丁 137, 229-230  
*zhe* 折 160, 229-230, 245, 255, 259, 264  
*zhu* 住 229-230  
*zhuai* 拽 230, 270

**Dunhuang Dance Movements; Chapter 9**

*bu* 補 245-246, 254-257, 259, 263  
*cu* 諫 245-246, 255, 262-263  
*da* 打 251-252, 255, 269-270, 272  
*dan* 單 242, 245-246, 251-263, 269-271  
*guo* 裹 252, 271-272  
*ji* 緝 24, 317  
*ju* 据 245-246, 251-256, 258-259, 263, 266, 269, 272  
*ling* 令 153, 245, 251-255, 266, 268-270, 272, 304-305  
*lun* 輪 242, 253, 265-267  
*pu* 鋪 246, 254-257, 263  
*qing* 請 270  
*shuang* 雙 245-246, 252, 254-259, 263, 271  
*song* 送 246, 251-255, 259, 268-272  
*sui* 掇 155, 245-246, 251-256, 263-264, 268-270  
*tou* 頭 270  
*xun* 巡 242, 253, 265-267  
*yi* 揖 245, 251, 255, 260-262, 271  
*zhe* 折 160, 229-230, 245, 255, 259, 264  
*zhun* 准 157, 251

Tang dynasty drinking rhyme movements  
*gouying* 勾迎 266  
*paoxun* 拋巡 266

Song dynasty drinking movements

*song* 送 246, 251-255, 268-272  
*yao* 搖 268, 272  
*zhao* 招 268, 272

**Nine Palaces 九宮; Chapter 5**

Canguo 倉果 113-114  
 Cangmen 倉門 114  
 Shangtian 上天 114  
 Tianliu 天留 114  
 Xinluo 新洛 113-114  
 Xuanwei 玄魏 113-114  
 Yezhe 叶蟄 114-115  
 Yinluo 陰洛 114  
 Zhaoyao 招搖 114, 272

**Gates 門; Chapter 5**

*bai men* 白門 White Gate 110  
*cang men* 蒼門 Azure Gate 110  
*changhe men* 閭闔門 Heaven *Changhe* Gate 110  
*gui men* 鬼門 Ghost Gate 111  
*han men* 寒門 Cold Gate 110  
*kaiming men* 開明門 Opening Bright Gate 110  
*shu men* 暑門 Hot-Weather Gate 110  
*xi men* 皙門 Pale-White Gate 110  
*yang men* 陽門 *Yang*-Energy Gate 110  
*youdu men* 幽都門 Dark Capital Gate 110

**Winds 風; Chapter 5**

*ai feng* 哀風 Plaintive Wind 112  
*changhe feng* 閭闔風 Heaven *Changhe* Wind 110  
*chong feng* 衝風 Charge wind 125  
*dagang feng* 大剛風 Great Hard Wind 105, 107-109, 111, 113, 116, 122  
*dagang feng* 大罡風 Great Strong Wind 108, 122  
*daruo feng* 大弱風 Great Weak Wind 107-109, 111, 113, 116, 123-124  
*dong feng* 動風 Movement Wind 111  
*gang feng* 剛風 Hard Wind 105, 107-109, 111, 113, 116, 122

- gaozhe feng* 高折風 High Snap Wind 108  
*guangmo feng* 廣莫風 Wilderness Wind  
 110  
*gui feng* 兇風 Villain Wind 124  
*han feng* 寒風 Cold Wind 111  
*jing feng* 景風 Sunlight Wind 110  
*ju feng* 巨風 Massive Wind 111  
*le feng* 樂風 Happy Wind 112  
*liang feng* 涼風 Cool Wind 110  
*li feng* 厲風 Fierce Wind 111  
*mingshu feng* 明庶風 Bright Proletariat  
 Wind 110  
*mou feng* 謀風 Scheming Wind 107-109,  
 111, 116  
*nu feng* 怒風 Angry Wind 112  
*piao feng* 飄風 Whirling Wind 111  
*qi feng* 淒風 Desolate Wind 111  
*qingming feng* 清明風 Pure Bright Wind 110  
*rouruo feng* 柔(柔)弱風 Soft Weak Wind  
 105, 107-109  
*ruo feng* 弱風 Weak Wind 105, 107, 117  
*tao feng* 滔風 Vastly-Flowing Wind 111  
*tiao feng* 條風 Ribbon Wind 110  
*xiaoruo feng* 小弱風 Small Weak Wind 108,  
 111, 113  
*xie feng* 協風 Harmonious Wind 100 n. 25,  
 120  
*xi feng* 西風 West Wind 108  
*xi feng* 喜風 Joyful Wind 112  
*xi feng* 皙風 Pale-White Wind 105, 107-108,  
 120  
*xiong feng* 凶風 Inauspicious Wind 105,  
 107-109, 111, 117  
*buzhou feng* 不周風 Not Surrounding Wind  
 110  
*yan feng* 炎風 Blistering-Hot Wind 111  
*ying'er feng* 嬰兒風 Baby Wind 107-109, 111,  
 113, 117, 125  
*yinmou feng* 陰謀風 Secretly Scheming Wind  
 108  
*zhe feng* 折風 Snap Wind 107-108, 111, 116  
*zhou feng* 周風 Surrounding Wind 105,  
 107, 109
- Named Buildings**  
*Baijing lou* 拜經樓 159  
*Chongxu guan* 冲虛觀 The Daoist Temple of  
 the Empty Void 237  
*Cihua si* 慈化寺 Temple of Moulding into  
 Kindness 316  
*Ciyang tang* 賜硯堂 147  
*Da xingshan si* 大興善寺 Greater Prosperity  
 Goodness Temple in Xi'an 316  
*Dijun dian* 帝君殿 Hall of the Earth Lord  
 200  
*Donggong* 東宮 East Palace 43-44  
*Feinu bowuyuan* 費諾博物院 Musée Louis  
 Finot; now called The National Museum  
 of Vietnamese History 195  
*Fengtian xingong* 奉天行宮 Palace  
 Museum of Shenyang 184  
*Gugong* 故宮 Gugong Palace Museum 18,  
 42, 261  
*Huishan si* 會善寺 Temple of Assembled  
 Goodness 314-315  
*Huixian guan* 會仙觀 Daoist Temple of  
 Assembled Celestial Beings 236, 237  
*Huo ci* 火祠 Temple of Fire 74  
*Jiade men* 嘉德門 Gate of Excellence of  
 Virtuous Morality 301  
*Jiefu men* 介福門 Jiefu Gate 348  
*Kangwang miao* 康王廟 Kang Wang temple  
 207  
*Lianxi si* 蓮溪寺 Lotus Stream Temple 82  
*Lingtai* 靈臺 Terrace of Virtue 139, 309  
*Mengchang gong* 孟昶宮 Meng Chang  
 Palace 349  
*Mengpo shi* 夢坡室 157  
*Nanchan si* 南禪寺 Southern Chan Temple  
 339  
*Nanhai shen miao* 南海神廟 Temple of the  
 Southern Sea God 175, 177, 196-198  
*Nanjing Gao Caiguan mu* 南靖高彩官墓  
 Gao Caiguan of Nanjing's Tomb 194  
*Qingxu tang* 清虛堂 The Hall of the Clear  
 Void 237  
*Quanwu boguguan* 泉屋博古館 Sen-Oku  
 Hakukokan Museum (Japan) 167  
*Sanyu tang* 三餘堂 Hall of the Three  
 Surpluses 148  
*Shenbao guan* 神保觀 God Protects Daoist  
 Temple 346, 348  
*Sheshi* 舍尸 Sheshi Palace 77  
*Shun miao* 舜廟 Temple of the Ancient  
 Mythical Emperor Shun 146  
*Tianning si* 天寧寺 Tianning Temple 173

*Wandan guanyin fozu* 萬丹觀音佛祖  
'Bantan, Guanyin, the Buddhist  
Ancestor'; name of a temple in Bantan,  
Indonesia 193

*wenshi* 溫室 Temperate Chamber (a palace  
room) 57–58

*Wutai xianguan* 舞胎仙館 Parlour of the  
Dancing Embryo Celestial Beings 32

*Xianggang zhongwen daxue wenwuguan*  
香港中文大學文物館 Chinese  
University of Hong Kong Art  
Museum 294

*Xiangxue zhai* 香雪齋 186

*Yinglinggang leimiao* 英靈岡雷廟  
Yinglinggang Thunder God Temple  
171

*Yishen ting* 怡神亭 Harmoniously Happy  
Spirit Pavilion 235

*Yizheng tang* 亦政堂 158

*Yu miao* 虞廟 Yu Temple 173

*Yuquan si* 玉泉寺 Jade Spring Temple 215

*Zhongxing dian* 中興殿 Hall of Central  
Prosperity 220

### Officials

*bingma qianxia* 兵馬鈐轄 infantry and  
cavalry commander 307

*boshi* 博士 Doctor of Letters 146, 285, 307

*canjun* 參軍 *canjun* commander 174

*chengxiang* 丞相 Chief Minister 271

*cishi* 刺史 administrator 175, 178, 267

*dafu* 大夫 *dafu* minister 4, 46–47, 218; *dafu*  
ministers come in various categories:  
*shang* 上: senior 44, 81; *zhong* 中:  
mid-ranking 47

*daling* 大令 magistrate 199

*da sima* 大司馬 Commander-in-Chief 345

*da sinong* 大司農 finance officer 129

*dayu* 大予 music official 149

*dayuanshuai* 大元帥 Field Marshal  
222–223

*da yueling* 大樂令 senior musician; also:  
太樂令 *tai yueling* 146, 291, 294

*duwei* 都尉 *duwei* official 129

*duyaya* 都押衙 *duyaya* Commander 225

*duyuhou* 都虞候 *duyuhou* commander  
174

*fengchang* 奉常 *fengchang* official 291

*gongshi* 工師 senior official 44

*huangcheng shi* 皇城使 Officer of the  
Imperial Guard 223

*huangmen* 黃門 Yellow Palace Gate official  
16–17

*jianjiao* 檢校 Inspector-General 216, 218

*jianjiao guozi jijiu* 檢校國子祭酒  
Inspector-General of Schools 218–220

*jiansheng* 監生 educational official 200

*jiansi* 監司 local officials 172

*jiedu shi* 節度使 Military Commissioner  
175–176, 198, 215–216, 223–224, 236

*jinshi* 進士 *jinshi* degree 243 n. 28

*jungong* 郡公 *jungong* governor 236

*junshou* 郡守 prefectural governor 265

*juren* 舉人 successful candidate in regional  
examinations 259

*kaicao* 鎧曹 *kaicao* commander 174

*li* 吏 ordinary official 115

*linggong* 令公 Lord Chief Secretary 216

*linglun* 伶倫 court musicians 286

*lubu boshi* 鹵簿簿使 official of the royal  
entourage 293

*panguan* 判官 *panguan* official 307

*quzi xianggong* 曲子相公 the poetical  
*zaixiang* Chief Minister 223, 300

*Shangshu* 尚書 *shangshu* official 259, 286,  
293

*shi* 士 *shi* official 4, 43–44; *shi* officials  
come in various ranks: *shang* 上:  
high-ranking 43

*shifu* 師傅 instructor of the hereditary crown  
prince 44

*shilang* 侍郎 *shilang* official 279, 339

*shizhong* 侍中 Counsellor 222

*shou shangshu ling* 守尚書令 Minister of  
Proclamations 222

*shuai* 帥 commander 174

*shuijun tongzhi* 水軍統制 naval commander  
307

*shumishi* 樞密使 *shumishi* official 281, 284

*sikong* 司空 counsellor 294

*sixun yuanwailang* 司勳員外郎 *sixun*  
*yuanwailang* official 300

*taichang qing* 太常卿 senior official  
277–280, 292–293, 308

*taijian* 太監 eunuch official 17

*taishi* 太師 senior counsellor 287

- taishiling* 太史令 Astrologer Royal 125  
*taishou* 太守 Governor 146, 175–177, 347–348  
*weishuai* 衛率 defence commander 174  
*xiang* 相 Minister 115, 124  
*xielülang* 協律郎 official responsible for harmonising *lü* modes 305  
*xihe* 羲和 calendrical official 128  
*xingjun sima* 行軍司馬 *xingjun sima* commander 234  
*xunfu* 巡撫 Governor-General 181  
*yajiang* 牙將 ya general 217  
*yaya anyuan* 押衙安員 *yaya anyuan* official 276  
*yin* 尹 an officer of the royal guard 49  
*yingqing guanglu dafu* 銀青光祿大夫 minister without portfolio 218–219  
*yousi* 有司 *yousi* official 237  
*yuegong* 樂工 professional court musician 235, 278, 280–281, 295  
*yueshi* 樂師 Music Master 100, 263, 278  
*yuhou* 虞候 *yuhou* military official 173–174, 218–219  
*yujun* 虞軍 *yujun* military official 174  
*yushi zhongcheng* 御史中丞 Imperial Historian and Censor 218–219, 279  
*zaixiang* 宰相 Chief Minister 223  
*zhangshuji* 掌書記 Collator of Records 236  
*zhongshu* 中書 *zhongshu* official 280–282  
*zhongshu sheren* 中書舍人 *zhongshu sheren* senior official 282  
*zhuangyuan* 狀元 scholar; the scholar awarded the top mark in the palace examination: the palace examination ‘Senior Wrangler’ 340  
*zhuzhuolang* 著作郎 historiographer 307  
*zongbing* 總兵 Commander 207  
*zongdu* 總督 Governor-General 168 n. 84, 171 n. 97  
*zuomabu du yuhou* 左馬步都虞候 Inspector General of the Army 218–219  
*zuosanqi changshi* 左散騎常侍 Imperial Counsellor 218–220
- Numbers**  
*yipai* 一拍 ‘one beat’; Tang dynasty metric format 245–246, 249, 253, 255, 259, 264–265, 272  
*yiqi* 一氣 One Ether 63, 98  
*erti* 二體 Two Customs 63, 98  
*liangchao* 兩朝 Two Royal Courts 113  
*sancai* 三才 24, 50–51  
*sansheng* 三乘 Three Spiritual Vehicles 333  
*sanchao* 三朝 Three Courts 289–292  
*sangong* 三宮 Three Palaces 32  
*sanhuo* 三火 Three fires (or Three Poisons 三毒) 74  
*sanjiao* 三教 Three Teachings: Daoism, Buddhism, Confucianism 217–219  
*sanjing* 三京 Three Capitals 216  
*sanlei* 三類 Three Varieties (of song in *The Book of Songs* 《詩經》) 63, 98  
*sanmei* 三昧 samadhi 35  
*sanqi* 三契 Three cycles (of Sanskrit intoning) 75  
*sansheng* 三生 Three Lives 316  
*sansheng* 三聲 Three Timbres 24–25  
*sansuo* 三所 Three Locations 97  
*sanyong* 三雍 Three Palaces 290–291  
*sifang* 四方 Four Regions, Quarters, or Directions 96, 108, 119–120, 125, 346  
*sifeng* 四風 Four Winds 120  
*siku* 四庫 Four Repositories 147, 177 n. 118  
*si shengdi* 四聖諦 Four Noble Truths 35  
*sishi* 四時 Four Seasons 59 n. 55  
*si tianwang* 四天王 Four Heavenly Kings 74  
*sitong* 四通 dodecachord 130, 288  
*sivei* 四維 Four Midway Directions (south-east, south-west, north-east, north-west) 112, 125  
*siwu* 四物 Four Objects: the Four Directions from which Objects are procured to make musical instruments 63, 98  
*sixiang* 四廂 Four Arenas 289–290  
*siyu* 四隅 Four Corners 108, 125  
*sizhi* 四支 Four Branches 63  
*wuchen* 五臣 Five Ministers 13  
*wufeng* 五風 Five Winds 107  
*wufu* 五府 Five Bodily Organs 216  
*wugu* 五穀 Five Grains 120  
*wuguan* 五官 Five Officials 139  
*wuse* 五色 Five Colours or Timbres 139, 286–287  
*wusheng* 五聲 Five Voices 62–63, 96–98, 126–127, 139–140 or Sanskrit Five Modes 79  
*wushi* 五施 Five *shi*; a unit of length: one *shi* is seven *chi* feet 140

- wushu* 五數 Five Numbers 132–133, 139  
*wusi* 五駟 the fifth star of the Four-Horse  
 Chariot Team constellation 97  
*wuwei* 五位 Five Positions 97  
*wuwe* 五味 Five Flavours 62–63, 139  
*wuxing* 五行 Five Elements 98, 104, 112–113,  
 125  
*wuyin* 五音 Five Notes 95, 104, 124, 140  
*wuzhu* 五銖 'five *zhu*' coinage; 'zhu': a unit of  
 weight 181  
*liuchen* 六塵 Six Sense Objects 336  
*liudao* 六道 Six Destinies 315–316  
*liuchu* 六畜 Six Domestic Animals 106  
*liufu* 六府 Six Storehouses 139  
*liufu* 六府 six *fu* internal organs 31  
*liulü* 六律 Six *Lü* (Musical) Modes 63,  
 97–98  
*liuyue zhi shu* 六樂之書 The Six Books on  
 Music 291–292  
*qiyun* 七均 (韻) Seven Consonances 148,  
 291–292, 294, 306  
*qilie* 七列 Seven Constellations 97  
*qilü* 七律 Seven *Lü* (Musical) Modes 97  
*qishi* 七始 Seven Beginnings 97  
*qisha* 七煞 Seven Cadences 330  
*qishi* 七事 Seven Governances 97  
*qiti* 七體 Seven Bodies 63  
*qitong* 七同 Seven Accordances 97  
*qiyin* 七音 Seven Notes 63, 87, 97–98, 126  
*qizheng* 七政 Seven Moving Celestial Bodies  
 138  
*bafang* 八方 Eight Regions 124  
*bafeng* 八風 Eight Melodies 63; Eight  
 Winds 98, 104, 107, 109–111, 113,  
 116–119, 123, 287  
*baji* 八極 Eight Extremities 110–111  
*bajie* 八節 Eight Solar Terms 286–287  
*baqiao* 八竅 Eight Orifices 101  
*basuo* 八索 Eight Aspirations 63  
*bayin* 八音 Eight Sound-Producing Materials  
 (used to make musical instruments) 12,  
 87, 97–98, 138, 288, 295  
*bazheng* 八正 Eight Seasonal Divisions  
 107–108  
*bazhong* 八種 Eight Seeds or Instruments  
 made of Eight Types of Materials 97  
*jiubian* 九變 Nine Variations 291, 306  
*jiubu* 九部 Nine Continents 289–290  
*jiuge* 九歌 Nine Songs 63, 98  
*jiugong* 九宮 Nine Palaces 113  
*jiuji* 九紀 Nine Disciplines 63  
*jiuqi* 九氣 Nine Ethers 31  
*jiushan shuhui* 九山書會 Nine Mountains  
 Book Society 340  
*jiuxian* 九仙 Nine Celestial Beings 32, 51  
*jiuzou* 九奏 Nine Performances 290–291  
*shishu* 十數 Ten Numerals 63  
*sh'er fen* 十二分 Twelve Divisions of the  
 Buddhist Scriptures 333  
*sh'er lü* 十二律 Twelve *Lü* Modes 133,  
 140–141  
*shi you erfeng* 十有二風 Twelve Winds 123  
*shi you erchen* 十有二辰 Twelve subdivisions  
 of the twenty-four hour day 123  
*niansi qi/jieqi* 廿四氣 or 節氣 Twenty-Four  
 Solar Terms 143  
**Reign Eras**  
*Baoda* 保大 (943–957) 236–237  
*Changxing* 長興 (930–933) 215–216, 222  
*Chenghua* 成化 (1465–1487) 173, 343  
*Chunxi* 淳熙 (1174–1189) 48, 163, 262, 337  
*Dading* 大定 (1161–1190) 337  
*Daoguang* 道光 (1821–1851) 177 n. 118, 191  
*Datong* 大同 (535–546) 41  
*Dazheng* 大正 Taishō (1912–1926; Japan) 73,  
 314  
*Dazhong xiangfu* 大中祥符 (1008–1016)  
 204  
*Guangshun* 廣順 (951–953) 277–278, 292  
*Guangxu* 光緒 (1875–1909) 160, 177, 194,  
 201, 207  
*Guangzheng* 廣政 (938–965) 349  
*Hongwu* 洪武 (1368–1398) 200  
*Hongzhi* 弘治 (1488–1505) 17  
*Huangwu* 黃武 (222–229) 75, 83  
*Huangyou* 皇祐 (1049–1054) 308, 335  
*Huitong* 會同 (938–947) 244  
*Jiaqing* 嘉靖 (1522–1566) 199, 348  
*Jian'an* 建安 (196–220) 73  
*Jiaqing* 嘉慶 (1796–1821) 192  
*Jianwu* 建武 (25–56 CE) 172  
*Jianyuan* 建元: 140–135 BCE 122  
 or 479–482 153  
*Jingyou* 景祐 (1034–1038) 157, 295  
*Kaibao* 開寶 (968–976) 293, 300, 302–303

*Kaihuang* 開皇 (581–600) 146  
*Kaiping* 開平 (907–911) 245–246, 276, 333  
*Kaiyuan* 開元 (713–741) 75, 119, 238,  
 291–292, 301, 305, 314  
*Longsheng* 龍昇 (407–413) 171  
*Mingdao* 明道 (1032–1033) 150 n. 6  
*Qiandao* 乾道 (1165–1174) 262, 307, 337  
*Qiande* 乾德 (963–968) 293  
*Qianyou* 乾祐 (948–950) 236  
*Shaoxi* 紹熙 (1190–1194) 163, 339  
*Shaoxing* 紹興 (1131–1162) 316, 339–340  
*Taiping* 太平 (970–979) 11, 48, 50–51, 135,  
 151, 179, 259, 283, 308, 337  
*Taiyuan* 太元 (376–396) 173  
*Taishi* 泰始 (265–274) 174  
*Tianbao* 天寶 (742–756) 243, 314  
*Tianfu* 天福 (936–944) 234, 280  
*Tianhe* 天和 (566–572) 67, 79  
*Tianhui* 天會 (1123–1137) 337  
*Tianpin* 天平 Tenpyō (729–749; Japan) 228  
*Tianqi* 天啓 (1621–1627) 189  
*Wanli* 萬曆 (1573–1620) 181, 307, 312, 318,  
 320–321, 345  
*Xiande* 顯德 (954–960) 276, 279, 282, 284,  
 305  
*Xianfeng* 咸豐 (1851–1862) 203  
*Xianping* 咸平 (998–1003) 298–299  
*Xiantong* 咸通 (860–874) 175, 333  
*Xining* 熙寧 (1068–1077) 196  
*Xuande* 宣德 (1426–1435) 341  
*Xuanhe* 宣和 (1119–1125) 337  
*Yingshun* 應順 (934, first to fourth months)  
 217  
*Yixi* 義熙 (405–419) 39, 173–174  
*Yongan* 永安 (258–262) 93  
*Yongle* 永樂 (1403–1424) 177 n. 118, 293  
*Yongxi* 雍熙 (984–987) 309  
*Yuanfeng* 元豐 (1078–1085) 196  
*Yuanhe* 元和 (806–820) 176, 199  
*Yuanjia* 元嘉 (424–453) 315  
*Yuanshi* 元始 (1–5 CE) 128  
*Yuantong* 元統 (1333–1335) 147  
*Yuanyou* 元祐 (1086–1093) 181  
*Zhengde* 正德 (1506–1521) 26  
*Zhenghe* 政和 (1111–1118) 297, 337  
*Zhengtong* 正統 (1436–1450) 337 n. 29  
*Zhenguan* 貞觀 (627–649) 302  
*Zhenyuan* 貞元 (785–805) 179

### Miscellaneous

*anshi zhi luan* 安史之亂 The resurrection of  
 An Lushan and Shi Siming (755–763)  
 290  
*ba* 八 symbol for marking metre in modern  
 opera 258  
*Bai* 白 Bai ethnicity; also given as Bo 燮  
 ethnicity 170  
*bailing* 百靈 Hundred Spirits of the Sea 198  
*bangqiang* 幫腔 help-syllable 329, 341 also  
 幫聲 331 or 助聲 336  
*bangzi* 梆子 Bangzi opera 349  
*banshe* 般涉 *banshe* melody 241 n. 23  
*beidou* 北斗 (the constellation) the Plough  
 55, 330  
*bi* 畢 Net constellation 105  
*bianwen* 變文 changed literature 83 or  
 transformational texts 321  
*bieyin* 別音 alternative or additional sounds  
 287–288  
*bingbu* 兵部 Military Department 279  
*bingjia* 兵家 The Military School 111–112  
*biqiu* 比丘 (in Buddhism) *bhikṣu* male  
 acolytes 77  
*boluomi* 波羅密 Perfection (a Buddhist term)  
 337  
*caipeng* 彩棚 colouring the theatrical awning  
 329–330  
*caoshi* 曹氏 Cao family rulership of  
 Dunhuang 333  
*chan* 禪 Chan school of Buddhism and  
 meditation 314–315  
*changjiao* 唱叫 street-crying 265  
*chansheng* 纏聲 Melismatic vocalisations  
 338  
*chen* 槨 coffin 9  
*ChenQiao bingbian* 陳橋兵變 Chen Qiao  
 mutiny 296  
*chi* 螭 mythical beast 163, 198  
*chi* 魑 mythical beast or monster 199  
*chu* 貓 tiger 280–281  
*chujian* 楚簡 Chu bamboo slips 43–44  
*chun* 雉 Quail constellation 105  
*chunshou* 鶉首 Astrological Quail-Head  
 Heaven, also called the Zhang 張  
 constellation 97  
*ci* 詞 lyric song 196, 229, 336, 343, 346

- cipai* 詞牌 lyric song set melody and rhyme scheme 270, 303, 336
- congchen* 叢辰 school of divination and magic (Han dynasty) 139, 143
- cuan* 爨 cooking utensil 170
- da* 搭 symbol for marking metre in modern opera 258
- dasheng* 大乘 Mahāyāna or 'Great Vehicle' Buddhism 314
- dadongmen wai* 大東門外 the area outside the Great East Gate 82
- da'e* 打訛 added onomatopoeia 330
- dahe* 打和 added harmoniousness 330
- daling* 打令 performing *ling* compositions 251
- dan* 旦 actor of female roles in opera 346 n. 60
- dan* 蜃 Dan ethnicity 153–154
- da qingming* 大清明 Greater Enlightenment 35
- Dasheng (yue)fu* 大晟〔樂〕府 Greater Prosperity College of Music 297, 299
- da shidiao* 大石調 *dashi* melody 241 n. 23
- Dayue shu* 大樂署 The Office of Greater Music 301
- ding* 鼎 vessel 204
- Dong* 峒 Dong ethnicity 176
- dongcang* 東倉 a music society of Xi'an 'drum-blow' music 248
- dulu* 渡瀘 Zhuge Liang's 'Crossing the Jinsha River at Luzhou' campaign 201
- Duanwu* 端午 festival 244
- dui* 碓 treadle-operated tilt hammer for hulling rice 150
- Dunhuang tulufan xuehui de yishu xiaozu* 敦煌吐魯番學會的藝術小組
- Dunhuang Turpan Scholarly Association, Research Group on the Arts 228, 329
- (*Er*)*langjunshe* 〔二〕郎君社 Lord [Er] lang Association (the name of ensembles for the performance of Southern Sounds) 349
- fanbai* 梵唄 Sanskrit intoning of Buddhist chants 74–75, 78
- faqu* 法曲 Buddhist musical compositions 238
- fengzhan* 風占 Divination of the Winds 108 n. 7, 124
- fu* 賦 poem 12, 49 n. 14, 51, 196, 243
- fushi* 晁氏 officials or the Fu clan 286–287
- futou* 幞頭 silken cap 246
- gaodeng yanjiuyuan zongjiaobu* 高等研究院 宗教部 Department of Religious Studies in the Institute of Advanced Studies (Paris) 331
- ge* 戈 sabre-spear 43, 159
- Ge* 玃 Ge ethnicity 202
- gebai* 歌唄 sung intonation 74
- geba xiangsheng* 隔八相生 The principle of eight semitones in distance (a perfect fifth) to generate the next note or mode 136
- gongche* 工尺 musical notation 148, 230
- guan* 棺 inner coffin 169
- guchui yue* 鼓吹樂 'Drum-blow' music of Xi'an 248, 274 n. 143
- Guangdong zhonghua minzu wenhua cujinhui* 廣東中華民族文化促進會 Guangdong Chinese Peoples Association for the Promotion of Culture 83
- guanse yingzhi zipu* 管色應指字譜 Notational characters of a pipe's timbral characteristics in answer to fingering requirements 229
- guiyi jun* 歸義軍 Return to Righteousness Army 215–216, 218–219
- guo* 槨 outer coffin 169
- haiyan sheng* 海鹽聲 sea-salt voice 345
- hanlin* 翰林 Hanlin Academy 281–283, 330
- qiaochuan* 橋川 Hashikawa 334 (Jao Tsung-i gives no more information on the provenance of this term.)
- heng* 橫 horizontal calligraphic stroke 160
- hesheng* 和聲 harmonious vocalising 330, 341
- houjing zhi luan* 侯景之亂 Hou Jing's insurrection (548–552) 288–289
- houtian* 後天 Later Heaven 125
- hu* 胡 barbarians 79, 295
- hu* 壺 vessel 91
- huandan* 還丹 reconstituted *dan* elixir 32
- huangchi zhi hui* 黃池之會 Conference at the Yellow Pool (482 BCE) 149
- huoquan* 貨泉 coins 160
- huoshen* 火神 God of Fire 74
- ji* 稷 millet 119, 121

- jia* 欖 tree 9
- jialuoyue* 迦羅越 *kulapati*; a Buddhist believer 318–319
- jianqi qu* 劍器曲 compositions on sword weaponry 257
- jiaofang* 教坊 Imperial Music Academy 262, 271, 278, 281
- jiaolong* 蛟龍 water dragon 65 n. 81
- jiasha* 袈裟 robe 335–336
- jiduo* 笈多 Gupta script 313
- jizan* 偈讚 a genre of Buddhist praise-songs 81
- jiyin* 借音 sound borrowing 340
- jin* 巾 ribbon; a Han dynasty dance 257, 265
- jingpeng* 淨棚 purify the awning 330
- jushu* 秬黍 black millet 286
- ke* 客 Guest; the first aspect of the *Guest-Host* polarity 105
- kezhu* 客主 the *Guest-Host* polarity 104, 112
- lan* 蘭查 Ranjana script 313
- lan[lan]wei* 啉〔婪〕尾 The last recipient in the chain when wine is passed around; also written as 藍尾 267
- lei* 誄 eulogy 238
- li* 俚 Li ethnicity 177
- li* 犁 meaning: 'plough' 260
- Lao* 僚 Lao ethnicity 177, 180
- lao* 獠 Lao barbarians 178
- libu* 吏部 Civil Service Department 293
- lichun* 立春 the Beginning of Spring 99, 114
- ling* 令 poem, rhyme, or song 268, 304
- liuyin* 流音 Liquid consonants 350
- liyuan* 梨園 Pear Garden musical training school 304
- luan* 鸞 phoenix 184, 218
- luohan* 羅漢 Arhat 77
- Luoyue* 駱越 Luoyue culture 168
- lülü* 律呂 modal system 100, 127, 138, 283, 287–288, 296
- manqu* 慢曲 slow compositions 247, 250
- manqu* 矛 spear 161
- Miao* 苗 Miao ethnicity 179
- mige* 秘閣 Imperial Secret Repository or simply Secret Repository 158
- mingsuo* 冥索 searching in darkness 35
- mo* 末 actor of middle-aged males in opera 342
- Mo'er wuyan* 默爾無言 Silence, without uttering 37, 38
- Moxie* 麼些 Moxie ethnicity 161
- Moyang* 墨陽 the name of a famous ancient sword 7
- Moye* 莫邪 the name of a famous ancient sword 7
- mu* 木 the 'wood' radical 260
- nanji* 南箕 Southern Winnowing Fan (a constellation) 290
- nanping guo* 南平國 The state of Southern Ping 215
- nanyin* 南音 Southern Sounds (a musical genre) 290
- Nan Zhao* 南詔 Nan Zhao (state in the Yunnan region, eighth–tenth centuries) 187
- nayin* 納音 received notes 107
- pangpu* 旁譜 side-by-side notation 229
- pankui* 蟠夔 coiled *kui* dragon 164
- Pihuang* 皮簧 *Pihuang* opera 349
- pin* 品 fret-rods attached to the body of a *pipa* 240
- pingpai* 平拍 level beats (in Xi'an 'drum-blow' music) 248, 250
- pobo* 破撥 *pipa* technique 238
- poluo men* 婆羅門 Brahmins 74
- poyn* 破音 'broken note' in Tantric Buddhist praise-chanting 80
- pulao* 蒲牢 monster 203–204
- Puxian xi* 莆仙戲 Puxian Opera 330
- qi* 氣 *qi*-energy 19–20, 28, 35, 40–41, 286–287, 289
- qinghun* 青昏 Turquoise Dusk 70
- qingshang* 清商 used as part of the name of a musical mode: 'semitonal *qingshang*' 241
- qingyuebu* 清樂部 243
- qinjian* 秦簡 Qin bamboo slips 140, 143
- qin tiao Wenjun* 琴挑文君 (*chengyu* set phrase) The *qin* moved the lady Zhuo Wenjun's heart to love 21 n. 62
- Qiuci yuebu* 龜茲樂部 243
- qu* 曲 composition, poem, or poetic genre 257, 338 n. 32
- Quanzhen jiao* 全真教 Complete Perfection Sect (Daoism) 336



- qulou* 佉樓 Kharoṣṭī language 313  
*qupo* 曲破 divisional songs 140  
*quzi ci* 曲子詞 lyric compositions 309  
*Riben Gongnei bieben* 日本宮內別本  
     Japanese Imperial Household alternative  
     edition 350  
*rishu* 日書 Divination books 140  
*rongshu* 戎菽 large beans 118, 121  
*ruding wen* 乳釘紋 'nipple-nodule' patterns  
     167  
*ṣaḍava* 沙臘(徵調) term in Indian music  
     80  
*sala* 灑臘 term in Tantric Buddhist  
     praise-chanting 80  
*sanshui* 散水 melody 241  
*sengzheng* 僧政 Monasticism Department  
     218, 219  
*sha* 煞 phrase; 'broken' phrase 229  
*shangshu sheng* 尚書省 ministry 286  
*shangzhu guo* 上柱國 Pillar-of-the-State  
     218–219  
*shashi* 沙識 version of *jiao* mode found in  
     the Western regions 81  
*shediao huihudui* 射鵰回鶻隊 245  
*sheng* 生 actor of male roles in opera 342  
*shenxi zhou* 神戲咒 Operatic incantation  
     329  
*shi* 詩 poem 14, 19, 37, 197, 267, 291, 305,  
     306, 344 n. 55, 346  
*shige* 史閣 Imperial Historical Repository  
     283  
*shimen* 石門 Stone Gate Publishers 2  
*shou* 手 the 'shou' radical 260  
*shouqu* 收曲 cadencing the piece (in Xi'an  
     'drum-blow' music) 249–250  
*shoutaiyang* 手太陽 hand-taiyang  
     acupuncture point 116–117  
*shu* 黍 millet 119, 121  
*shuangshengziji* 雙勝子急 double quick  
     time 248  
*shuochang* 說唱 the talking and singing  
     genre 343  
*si* 駟 The Four-Horse Chariot Team (the Fang  
     房 constellation) 97  
*song* 頌 praise 9–10  
*Taichang si* 太常寺 Taichang Department  
     277–279, 281–283, 291–292, 294–295  
*taiyi* 太一 the Supreme Unity 113, 115–117  
*taizi* 太子 hereditary crown prince 43–44  
*tiancheng ti* 天成體 Devanagari script 313  
*tong* 桐 wood 18, 67  
*tong* 獶 Tong ethnicity 203  
*tongbao* 通寶 coinage 181  
*tuoluoni* 陀羅尼 *dhāraṇī* Buddhist  
     incantations 316  
*Wa* 佉 Wa ethnicity 192  
*Wande yuan* 萬德院 The Academy of Ten  
     Thousand Virtuous Moralities 193  
*weifu* 衛府 defence ministries 174  
*wenwu chubanshe* 文物出版社 104  
*Wuman* 烏蠻 Wuman barbarians 179  
*wushan shennü* 巫山神女 spirit-woman of  
     Wu mountain 340  
*wusheng zhi yue* 無聲之樂 music without  
     sound 36, 40  
*wuxi* 武戲 operas of martial genres 258  
*xi* 洗 basin 159  
*xiang* 相 v-shaped ridges on the neck of a  
     *pipa* 240  
*Xianlü gong* 仙呂宮 name of a musical mode  
     241 n. 23  
*Xianmi si* 顯密寺 a music society of Xi'an  
     'drum-blow' music 248  
*Xianyun* 獠狽 Xianyun barbarians 217–218  
*xiaochang* 小唱 little ditties 265  
*xiezhi diao* 歇指調 *xiezhi* melody 241  
*xingpai* 行拍 'walking beats' (in Xi'an  
     'drum-blow' music) 9  
*Xinya shuyuan* 新亞書院, 文學院,  
     研究所  
     New Asia College, Faculty of Arts, Institute of  
     Advanced Studies 40  
*xiongpi bu* 熊羆部 243  
*xiushen lixing* 修身理性 'refine, body, make  
     reasonable, essential characteristics' 18  
*xu* 耜 meaning: 'plough' 260  
*xunliu* 巡流 a flowing round of drink  
     267–268  
*Xunyang sanyin* 潯陽三隱 The three hermits  
     of Xunyang 37  
*xushi* 虛實 'soft' and 'hard'; also 'empty' and  
     'full' 113  
*Yali'an ren* 雅利安人 Aryans 74  
*Yangqi yi xi* 楊岐一系 Yangqi lineage 334  
*Yao* 搖 Yao ethnicity 165  
*Yao* 猺 Yao ethnicity 165  
*yayue bu* 雅樂部 243  
*Yi* 夷 Yi (non-Han) race 161, 179–181

- Yi* 彝 Yi ethnicity 179  
*yin* 引 introduction, introductory piece 13  
*yin* 引 role in vernacular opera 262  
*yinxi* 引戲 role in vernacular opera 262  
*youweifa* 有爲法 conditioned dharmas (laws or truths) 35  
*yu* 盂 vessel 157  
*yue* 越 the name of a musical mode  
     241 n. 23  
*yuebu* 樂部 Music category 153, 175, 257  
*yuefu* 樂府 College of Music 83, 129, 288,  
     297, 304, 309  
*yuejian* 月建 Monthly-Branch 110  
*yuhan shanfang* 玉函山房 146  
*yuling* 語令 Drinking rhymes 266  
*yunlei wen* 雲雷紋 'cloud-thunder' patterns  
     167, 171  
*zanwen* 讚文 A generic piece of writing  
     written in praise of someone 335  
*zhe* 折 hooked calligraphic stroke 160  
*zhengjue* 正覺 True Awareness 336  
*zhengqi* 正氣 righteous *qi*-energy 286  
*zhishi* 制氏 Zhi clan 287  
*Zhonghua shuju* 中華書局 341 n. 42  
*zhonglü* 鐘律 Bell modes and tunings  
     127–131, 138–140, 142, 147–148  
*zhongyin* 中音 'Middle note' in Tantric  
     Buddhist praise-chanting 80  
*zhu* 主 *Host*; the second aspect of the  
     *Guest-Host* polarity 104  
*zhu* 柱 bridge-like frets on the neck of a *pipa*  
     239  
*Zhuang* 僮 Zhuang ethnicity 180, 192  
*zi (xian)* 子(弦) *pipa zi* 子 string; name for  
     one of the *pipa* strings 242 n. 23  
*zuoyue* 坐樂 'stationary music' of the  
     'drum-blow' music of Xi'an 248