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## A History of Court Lyrics in China during Wei-Chin Times

Any study of early Chinese court music can deepen our understanding of the lifestyles of courtiers and officials and give context to the demands that courts placed upon both scholars and artisans so that rites, venues, and spectacles operated smoothly. Recently, historical musicology has looked into China's and Japan's post-400 AD scale and mode structures, as well as orchestral and ensemble technics. It was in this period that lyrics and performance scores underwent development and were written down and analyzed as technical categories. Because a solid corpus of earlier, namely Wei-Chin, court/popular lyrics was collected, we can approach their history per se: how did certain types of these songs come to be? Who wrote them and why?<sup>1</sup> The essay at hand is a first attempt that focuses on Wei-Chin. Along with remarks about music, per se, we look mainly at scholars' careers, discussions over naming and composition, and classicist ideals.

My method pursues two related wings of research. The first wing uses what I believe are the only source-texts that, when pieced together, reveal developments from Wei 魏 to early-Chin 晉, that is, about 190–300 AD: 1. a *San-kuo chih* 三國志 biography; 2. several *Chin-shu* 晉書 biographies; 3. and Shen Yüeh's 沈約 (441–513) "Treatise on Music."

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I dedicate this article separately to the memory of Denis Twitchett, who read an earlier version, yet passed away before the final version was cast. I remember editing for publication, years ago, his essay on problems concerning the historiography of T'ang court music and the "Treatise on Music" in *Chiu T'ang-shu*, and thus being introduced to an intriguing subject.

<sup>1</sup> Ch'in-Han oral-performative court texts are interpreted by Martin Kern, *The Stele Inscriptions of Ch'in Shih-huang* (New Haven: American Oriental Soc., 2000); and idem, *Die Hymnen der chinesischen Staatsopfer: Literatur und Ritual in der politischen Representation von*

The other wing of research takes off from the surface of the texts just mentioned. It tracks various social and political developments that can link the hazy outlines of the music history to social details. From about 190 to 260, state offices often had to be revitalized, and various ad hoc and ad hominem problems and struggles over rites rose to the fore. The whole matter of personal interactions among Wei-Chin scholars over court rites has not been given a separate study,<sup>2</sup> but undoubtedly it would allow us to interpret more fully the scholarly culture (perhaps throwing light on ideas that Chinese scholars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries pursued under the rubric of “Han learning” and “evidential studies”). Here, I wish to cast light on scholars’ motives for pursuing musicology and the role played by court politics. To do this, toward the end I examine a group of court lyricists under Chin Wu-ti 武帝 (司馬炎; r. 266–290) and give context in terms of both the dynasty’s political realities and intellectual and classicist styles. I apply those contexts to a translation of a court lyric produced by a member of that group.

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*der Han-Zeit bis zu den Sechs Dynastien* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1997). A recent trend has concentrated on understanding so-called popular lyric as either an offshoot or a separate development from court or scholarly lyric: see Charles Egan, “Reconsidering the Role of Folk Songs in Pre-T’ang Yüeh-fu Development,” *TP* 86.1–3 (2000); idem, “Were Yüeh-fu Ever Folk Songs? Reconsidering the Relevance of Oral Theory and Balladry Analogies,” *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 22 (2000); Anne Birrell, *Popular Songs and Ballads of Han China* (Honolulu: U. of Hawaii Press, 1993); and touching on these matters, Kern, “Ritual, Text, and the Formation of the Canon: Historical Transitions of *Wen* in Early China,” *TP* 87.1 (2001); and idem, “A Note on the Authenticity and Ideology of *Shih-chi* 24, ‘The Book on Music,’” *JAO* 119.4 (1999). In China, studies of the sounds and performances of pre-Sung court and non-court music were once led by Yang Yin-liu 楊蔭瀏; see the collection of his studies *Yang Yin-liu yin-yüeh lun-wen hsüan-chi* 楊蔭瀏音樂論文選集 (Shanghai: Shang-hai wen-i ch’u-pan, 1986); idem, *Chung-kuo ku-tai yin-yueh shih-kang* 中國古代音樂史稿 (Peking: Jen-min yin-yueh ch’u-pan she, 1980); and recently, in harmonics, see the work of Ch’en Ying-shih, e.g., his “Theory and Notation in China,” trans. Christopher Evans, in Robert C. Provine, Yoshiko Tokumaru, and J. L. Witzleben, eds., *East Asia: China, Japan, and Korea*, vol. 7, *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 115–26. From an ethnomusical, “convergence-diffusion,” point of view, we have Laurence E. R. Picken and Noel Nickson, with Nicholas Gray, Okamoto Miyoko, Robert Walker, *Music from the Tang Court. 7: Some Ancient Connections Explored* (Cambridge U.P., 2000). Their work is being furthered at the Center for the Study of Early Asian and Middle Eastern Musics, University of Arkansas, led by Rembrandt Wolpert and Elizabeth Markham (see information at the website [www.uark.edu/ua/eam/](http://www.uark.edu/ua/eam/)). The classic history of T’ang court music and its bureaucratic formulation is that of Kishibe Shigeo 岸邊成雄, *Tang-tai yin-yueh shih te yen-chiu* (*shang-ts’è*) 唐代音樂歷史的研究 (上冊), trans. Liang Tsai-p’ing 梁在平 and Huang Chih-chiung 黃志炯 (Taipei: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1973), orig. publ. as *Tōdai ongaku no rekishiteki kenkyū* (Tokyo: U. Tokyo P., [1960s]).

<sup>2</sup> A deep-context history of rites and the corresponding scholarly culture was begun for the T’ang period by Howard J. Wechsler, *Offerings of Jade and Silk: Ritual and Symbol in the Legitimation of the Tang Dynasty* (New Haven: Yale U.P., 1985); valuable insights are found as well in David McMullen, “Bureaucrats and Cosmology: The Ritual Code of T’ang China,” in David Cannadine and Simon Price, eds., *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1987), pp. 181–236.

We usually think of a particular intellectual turning point in the Wei-Chin period when discussing its culture of scholarship and thought. The turn was the Wei dynasty's Cheng-shih 正始 reign-era (240-249).<sup>3</sup> Several leading scholars then are presumed to have formed new ways of discussing ontology (as seen from commentaries and bits of extant prose), and notorious statements and actions are thought to have helped subvert social norms and the imperial court itself, shattering ethics and promoting isolationist (in some sense eremitic) stances through refusals to serve, effaced opinions, and quasi-retirement.<sup>4</sup> Much of that is true, yet we must be reminded that scholars's families continued to pass along educational programs that fostered skills considered necessary for learned men and women.<sup>5</sup> The previous dynasty, the Eastern Han, had encouraged such skills and research by having set up the Tung-kuan 東觀 (Eastern Lodge) as an archival institute, when, from the 50s AD down to about 180, its scholars investigated calligraphy, old texts, astronomy, and musicology, and other ritual technics, often with the motive to collate and write court-oriented treatises 志 on these subjects. After the demise of the Tung-kuan in about 190, the textual and material problems still were relevant.<sup>6</sup> The literate elite continued to study

<sup>3</sup> This is the basic assumption of Wang Pao-hsüan 王葆琰, *Cheng-shih hsüan-hsüeh* 正始玄學 (Tsinan: Ch'i-Lu shu-she, 1987).

<sup>4</sup> The best interpretations of scholars' lives in terms of radical social changes and the contexts for refusals and retirements are Donald Holzman's *Poetry and Politics: The Life and Works of Juan Chi A.D. 210-263* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1976); Aat Vervoorn, *Men of the Cliffs and Caves: The Development of the Chinese Eremetic Tradition to the End of the Han Dynasty* (Hong Kong: The Chinese U.P., 1990); and Dominik Declercq, *Writing Against the State: Political Rhetorics in Third and Fourth Century China* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

<sup>5</sup> The 5th-c. commentarial notes to *San-kuo chih* 三國志 (Chung-hua edn.; hereafter, *SKC*) describe, e.g., Chung Hui's mother as supervising his textual studies, Wang Lang's learned grand-daughter, Ts'ai Yen's polymathic erudition (see Howard L. Goodman, "Exegetes and Exegeses of the Book of Changes in the Third Century AD: Historical and Scholastic Contexts for Wang Pi," Ph.D. diss. [Princeton: Princeton U., 1985], pp. 51-52, 59, 124, respectively); also the sister of the computational diviner Chao Ta who was known for her cartography (see Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China* [hereafter, *SCC*] vol. 3, *Mathematics and the Sciences of the Heavens and the Earth* [Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1959], p. 538).

<sup>6</sup> See Howard L. Goodman, "Chinese Polymaths, 100-300 AD: The Tung-kuan, Taoist Dissent, and Technical Skills," *AM* 3d ser. 18.1 (2005), pp. 101-74. See also, David Knechtges, "Court Culture in the Late Eastern Han: The Case of the Hongdu Gate School," unpub. paper (2005). Some time ago, the E. Han Hsün 荀 family's polymathy was touched on by Chi-yun Chen, *Hsün Yüeh (A.D. 148-209): The Life and Reflections of an Early Medieval Confucian* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1975), who limited his scope to their contributions in historiography and classical commentaries. A broader approach to the social history of skills and learning is taken in Goodman, "Exegetes and Exegeses," and in the earlier groundbreaking work of Yü Ying-shih 余英時, "Han Chin chih chi shih chih hsin tzu-chüeh yü hsin ssu-ch'ao" 漢晉之際士之新自覺於新思潮, in idem, *Chung-kuo chih-shih chieh-ts'eng shih lun, ku-tai p'ian* 中國知識階層史論, 古代篇 (Taipei: Lien-ching, 1980); also Ch'ien Mu 錢穆, "Lüeh lun Wei Chin Nan-Pei Ch'ao hsüeh-shu wen-hua yü tang-shih men-ti chih kuan-hsi" 略論魏晉南北朝學術文化與當時門第之關係, *Hsin Ya hsüeh-pao* 新亞學報 5.2 (1963), pp. 23-77.

at the feet of private masters, in local schools that were sustained by local leaders, and autodidactically. Scholars continued to write prose and poetry, as well as commentaries on classics. But many were also occupied with rites and the fields associated with them, including music. We can even trace skills within families, as this essay points out later on concerning the group of Chin-court lyricists, as well as the way musicology remained a popular area of learning. We must not think that in about 200 AD the entire scholarly world shifted over to work on what we call ontology.

#### EARLY APPROACHES TO THE HISTORY OF COURT LYRICS

The notion of “high-music 雅樂” (or “elegant music”) suffused traditional China’s discussions of several areas of court ritual. Late-Western Han discourse about high-music versus lighter, or in some contexts debased, music in fact would remain as a footing on which music specialists of Wei-Chin debated and chose venues and lyrics. The lighter entertainments at court, because they were preceded in Han Wuti’s 漢武帝 (r. 140–87 BC) time, could be associated with court-music traditions. What is important is that “light” music was changing from something that elicited anxiety into something increasingly accepted as an unnamed category of high-music, although there is an argument to be made for linking the term *yüeh-fu* 樂府 to it.<sup>7</sup> By Wei-Chin times, scholars were concerned to delineate appropriate court venues for entertainments; and the ritual practices that they were researching were themselves in flux and open to what was new in the culture.

Scholarly conventions of naming and categorization were much more than list-making or dry argumentation: these discussions touched on dynastic legitimation. To reestablish music at a weak or a new court was to borrow and comment on previous dynasties. Song and ballet names affected didactic historiography – how scholars went about arguing the past and creating a contemporary ideology. Relevant topics were often related to ad hominem struggles and anxieties over bureaucratic turf. For example, the Ts’ao family 曹 who became the Wei dynasts introduced musical innovations into court life, but the fact that in the later years of their dynasty court music was debated and held by some to be in need of repair reflected on larger problems of Ts’ao legitimacy. Under the Ssu-ma 司馬 family, who abolished the Wei in

<sup>7</sup> This is explored in Howard L. Goodman, “Tintinnabulations of Bells: Scoring-Prosody in Third-Century China and Its Relationship to *Yüeh-fu* Party Music,” *JAO* 206 (2005), forthcoming.

266 and established the Chin, legitimacy demanded careful use of lyrics and nominal categories that were, on the one hand, proven and “old” (a contentious term), but which when adapted would, on the other hand, promote their own Chin.

Liu Hsieh 劉勰 (465–522) offers an insight into court music and lyric. A passage of his *Wen-hsin tiao-lung* 文心雕龍 harshly criticizes the Ts’aos for having yielded to the music of pleasure; subsequently, Liu praises (using an incorrect chronological order) Fu Hsüan 傅玄 (217–278), Chang Hua 張華 (232–300), and Tu K’uei 杜夔 (fl. ca. 180–225) as correctors of the Ts’aos’ mistakes. The three men restored grace and solemnity to court ensembles. For Liu, music’s external expressions and internal meanings carried a potential for a mutual balance, specifically because of such musicologists. The key was their nobility. They were curators of proper *wen*: “Since the body of music is sound, blind music masters tune the instruments; since the mind of music is poetry, superior men perfect literary forms 正其文.”<sup>8</sup> The very cooperation between blind tuners and technicians, on one hand, and scholar-officials in their role as lyricists, on the other, effected this balance. Liu goes on to claim that the situation will break down if the balance tips in favor of fancy, modern music (in some sense, “light” music), which makes men “... slap the thigh and hop up and down like sparrows. ... the first step ... in which both music and poetry [become] tinged by the influence of Cheng.” In Liu’s opinion, without artisans’ yielding to the wiser scholars under whom they work, high-music easily becomes lascivious. (One implication is that artisans innately lack the propriety for handling entertainments and need shepherding.) Liu in fact shows a certain sensibility to the realities of music of the third through fifth centuries. He knew that it was not merely about creating paeans to the zither, or correcting and glossing earlier texts. It was about finding good tuners and instrument makers and using their services to present high-music that was correctly “old,” and whose balance of tonality to meaning was perfect.

What were skilled and literate people dealing with, as they sought to correct and perfect the court’s lyrics? Cheng Hsüan 鄭玄 (127–200) once elaborated upon the various notions of musical expression found in the “Great Preface” of the *Shih*. He felt that rhapsodies, elegantiae and eulogia, and lyric in general had important political roles to play

<sup>8</sup> See Vincent Shih, trans. and annot., *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons* [*Wen-hsin tiao-lung*], by Liu Hsieh (Taipei: Chung Hwa Book Co., 1970), sect. “Yüeh-fu,” p. 56; on Liu’s life, Donald Gibbs, “Liu Hsieh, Author of the *Wen-hsin tiao-lung*,” *MS* 29 (1970–71), pp. 117–41.

in displaying either the past or the present, and when dealing with the present, compositions had to be treated with great care.<sup>9</sup> Concerning Eastern Han court music, the writer of *Sui-shu's* "Treatise on Music" 隋書樂志 claimed that under Ming-ti of Eastern Han (明帝; r. 58–76 AD) there were four categories 品 of court "music 樂" (a word that I mostly render as "opera" because of its association with vocal ensembles, costumes, and important venues). The first kind of opera was called "Ta-yü 大予" for use at the Suburban Temples and burial tumuli; the second was "Elegantiae and Eulogia 雅頌" for feasting and archery at the Pi-yung ritual site; the third was "Drumming 鼓 (which here probably means the tapping of zither strings, not drumming on taut sounding heads, per se) and Piping 吹 at the Yellow Gate," when the emperor feasted the crowds of officials; and finally, "Chants with Short Flute and *nao*-Bells 短簫鏜歌," used by the military.<sup>10</sup> The *Sui-shu* treatise remarks that many of the old songs were lost with the chaos at the end of Han, but then a good start at restoration was made by Tu K'uei (see above) serving under the Wei, a man who understood "the old performances 古樂 of former dynasties."

Thus we have a picture of court music performances (a generalized sort of *yüeh*) as coming under four categories. It would seem that this was all considered high-music, but as we move from category one to four, we see that in fact the music emerges from the seclusion of the emperor's ancestral temples and tombs, out into, as it were, the lighter sites – open areas and larger palace rooms, where assemblies and formations required music accompaniment. In this picture, court-music was concerned with political needs, but aesthetics and *wen* both loomed large.<sup>11</sup> Venues were relevant to all this. Were the outer venues ever deemed too open, thus exposing the court's music? Concerning porta-

<sup>9</sup> Cheng's comments read in part: "Yü means 'correct': one speaks of what is correct in the present, that it may serve later generations as a model. *Sung* refers to 'declamation,' 'acknowledgment' – declaiming what is virtuous in the present and amplifying it so as to give it praise"; trans. Declercq, *Writing Against the State*, p. 91.

<sup>10</sup> *Sui-shu* 隋書 (Chung-hua edn.; hereafter *SS*) 13, p. 286. *Nao* were one of several types of military signal bell in pre-Qin times, relatively tubular in shape, with a fairly high pitch, often mounted on chariots. There is a modern confusion, because archaeologists often use "*nao*" to refer to Shang-era chimed bells, but this cannot apply to such passages as this. (I thank Lothar von Falkenhausen for this insight.) Despite Liu Chih-chi's notes on history writing, it is not possible to determine exactly who wrote the "Treatise on Music" for *Sui-shu*; Liu Chih-chi 劉知幾, *Shih t'ung* 史通, in P'u Ch'i-lung 浦起龍, annot., *Shih t'ung t'ung-shih* 史通通釋 (Hong Kong: T'ai-p'ing shu-chü, 1964), 12 (sect. "Ku-chin cheng-shih"), p. 48, commentary. On the treatises, see David McMullen, *State and Scholars in Tang China* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1988), pp. 166–68, and n. 29.

<sup>11</sup> Political aspects of Ch'in-Han music are noted in Kishige's summary of pre-T'ang music; *T'ang-tai yin-yüeh*, p. 1.

bility, how should the large bell-sets for the emperor's solemn sacrifices be used? How did one set up and use the small bells for martial music? Also, how would songs be chosen for the appropriate feasts with officials and set against the flutes; and would scoring and lyric be different in comparison with the ancestral temple and tombs? When would a song, or a certain mode, be just mirthful enough – not too fancy and thus not likely to cause officials to “hop up and down like sparrows” or to allude to something anathema to the dynasty?

Martin Kern has described a tension between *wen* 文 and politics, and has noticed that from late-Western to early-Eastern Han, scholars' court role as rites technicians (recognizing, preserving, and presenting objects and performances as indices of proper *wen*) increasingly shifted to that of glossators, collators, and interpreters of *wen* as texts.<sup>12</sup> This is a useful thesis, and Kern successfully brings in technical and performative aspects of *wen*, a word some of whose ancient contexts included rhythmic elements of court music. He shows the moment very late in Western Han when critics of what was perceived as the overly indulgent and elaborate music of Wu-ti proposed looking into textual codifications and instructions in order to correct the problem.<sup>13</sup> Concerning music, the Eastern Han continued these pre-Han and early-Han technical skills, and scholars continued to be interested in arts and artisans in order to continue correcting. We can perhaps extend Kern's picture of textualists' descent from ritualists to encompass what might fairly be called China's post-Han renaissance (the period of 180–300), and to say, echoing Kern, that the new sort of textualist then was increasingly a techno-polymath. In approaching court music, for example, they were confronted with sophistication. Non-Chinese instruments and foreign songs were coming into popular use; moreover, the scholar-elite of this time were wealthier and better able to employ luthiers and musical ensembles at their own estates, thus making for a dual view of music – private and public. Before about 180, the Eastern Han courts had been powerful and their ritual requirements vast. Scholarship pointed toward those needs and shaped itself to the themes of dynastic politics. But from about 180 until the late 220s, forty or fifty years of political decentralization and even violent chaos put educated scholars adrift. Some, indeed, flagrantly shucked off court summonses to take up posts, or abandoned ethical and cultural norms. Some disdained the learning of court arts. But those that did not found a certain freedom to experiment, and music at courts changed dramatically beginning with the

<sup>12</sup> Kern, “Ritual, Text,” pp. 75–81.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 70–71.

Ts'aos, and reaching new forms with Hsün Hsü, Fu Hsüan, Juan Hsien, and others, about whom we learn more, later on.

*Problems of "Ancient/Former," Naming, and Dynastic Image*

During this post-Han renaissance, scholar-musicians wrote lyrics for court celebrations, rhapsodies on music performances and specific instruments; they wrote Confucian-seeming paeans to the creative products of those mythic music masters who had served the sages. Prose genres like disquisitions (*lun* 論), inscriptions (*ming* 銘), memoranda (*chien* 箋), essays on social and political topics (*chih* 志), and private prose collections 集 began to be popular as modes of expression in private discourse outside the context of commentaries. Topics frequently were devoted to music, rites, the sages, the *Book of Changes* and other mystery classics, as well as to customs and beliefs. Hsü Kan's 徐幹 (171–218) influential collection of essays titled *Chung lun* 中論 shows in certain passages a bias toward normative and socially-bound high-music.<sup>14</sup> The famous poet Wang Ts'an (see below) wrote an inscription on bell music that reveals a solid knowledge of the technical system of "keys" and their role in high-music.<sup>15</sup> There are many other examples, clearly demonstrating that music, lyrics, and musicology (embracing harmonics, tonometrics, instrument design, scoring, and the like) were much practiced skill-areas among the elite.<sup>16</sup> Probably the most noted writer, someone who broke new ground, was Hsi K'ang 嵇康 (223–262), who played the zither (*ch'in* 琴) and inquired into musical aesthetics.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Xu Gan [Hsü Kan], *Balanced Discourses: A Bilingual Edition*, trans. John Makeham (New Haven: Yale U.P./ Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 2002), pp. 89–93 and 155.

<sup>15</sup> See n. 37, below.

<sup>16</sup> My article "Chinese Polymaths" (appended table and pp. 171–73) makes this point, but I will add specifics here. The poet and scholar Ying Chen 應貞 (b. ca 220–30) lauded Chin Wu-ti with a song for a feasting occasion (see Lu Ch'in-li 遼欽立, *Hsien Ch'in Han Wei Chin Nan-pei ch'ao shih* 先秦漢魏晉南北朝詩 [Peking: Chung-hua, 1983], sect. "Chin shih 晉詩," ch. 2; also carried in Ying's biog.: *Chin-shu* 晉書 [Peking: Chung-hua, 1982; hereafter, *CS*] 92, p. 2371); he may have been reflecting a family skill, since his father Chü 璩 was much interested in song lyrics (Egan, "Reconsidering the Role of Folk Songs," p. 60). P'ei Hsiu 裴秀 is said to have written a "Yüeh-lun" 樂論 (see Liu Ju-lin 劉汝霖, *Han Chin hsüeh-shu pien-nien* 漢晉學術編年 [Shanghai: Shang-wu yin-shu kuan, 1935; hereafter *Han Chin*] 7, p. 83); and the bibliophile Huang-fu Mi 皇甫謐 wrote disquisitions on both the rites and music, neither having survived (Declercq, *Writing Against the State*, p. 167; Huang-fu's essay "Rejecting Advice" mentions the pitchpipe's role in effecting a cosmic and natural balance in all aspects of life; *ibid.*, trans. p. 193 [ll. 45–46]). Elite women, not just artisan singing-girls, were known for musical talents. For example, Chung Yen 鍾琰 of the famous Ying-ch'uan Chung family, and the wife of Wang Hun 王渾, was widely read and talented at writing 琰數歲能屬文...博覽記籍, as well as whistle-songs (or, whistling and singing) 嘯詠; see *CS* 96, p. 2510. See also n. 50, below.

<sup>17</sup> A well-crafted overview is that by Kenneth DeWoskin, "Early Chinese Music and the Origins of Aesthetic Terminology," in Susan Bush and Christian Murck, eds., *Theories of the*

As the Wei court became solidified, court music discussions resumed and could not but turn to traditional questions of how *wen* works best for constructing legitimacy and for completing the spiritual mission of the musical rites. A pertinent question concerned just how one was to judge antiquity, and how to use the older names of songs and performances to elicit a deeper meaning for a new dynasty. Unfortunately, no one contemporaneous with these events produced a synthetic history of court lyrics as part of a standard-history treatise; or at least none remains. Therefore, we rely on the treatise on musicology written by Shen Yüeh from about the 480s to just after 500.

Shen Yüeh set the history of Wei-Chin music on a solid historiographical course through his official history of the Liu-Sung dynasty (420-477) titled *Sung-shu* 宋書. When the new Ch'i dynasty was founded, Shen arrived at its capital in 482 and was appointed to posts (like gentleman drafter) dealing with archives and writing.<sup>18</sup> He was commissioned in 487 to compile *Sung-shu*, and had numerous other drafts to use in order to do that. One was written by Ho Ch'eng-t'ien 何丞天 (370-447), a high official of Sung who had produced annals and biographies, and who had earlier been commissioned to write a "Sung-shu" in 433.<sup>19</sup> For that purpose Ho compiled a "Treatise on Tonal and Celestial Systematics" 律曆志 that Shen incorporated directly into his commissioned *Sung-shu*.

It was about sixty years after Ho wrote the "Treatise on Tonal and Celestial Systematics" that Shen began collating texts for his "Treatise on Music."<sup>20</sup> It is valuable for transcriptions of *yüeh-fu* 樂府 and other song-texts from early-Han to Ch'i, as well as descriptions of all the

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*Arts in China* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1983), pp. 187-214; also Robert G. Henricks, *Philosophy and Argumentation in Third-Century China: The Essays of Hsi K'ang* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1983).

<sup>18</sup> Shen had previously worked on a potential "Chin-shu," but some of it was stolen, and he gave that up in 483. His completed *Sung-shu* was submitted to the throne in 488 (although scholars have analyzed evidence of the editorial work's having continued down to 494); Richard Mather, *The Poet Shen Yüeh (441-513): The Reticent Marquis* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1988), p. 26; Yang Chia-lo's prefatory "Sung-shu shu-yao," p. 2 of Yang Chia-lo 楊家駱, annot., *Hsin chiao-pen Sung-shu fu so-yin* 新校本宋書附索引 (Taipei: Ting-wen shu-chü, 1975; hereafter, *SgS*), discusses sources that claim it was 110 *ch.*, whereas Mather says 120.

<sup>19</sup> Mather, *Poet Shen Yüeh*, p. 26; Yang, "Sung-shu shu-yao," p. 1, says he was commissioned in 439.

<sup>20</sup> Although Shen's postface to *Sung-shu* was submitted in 488, his "Treatise on Music" was not completed until after 502, when it was incorporated retroactively; Mather, *Poet Shen Yüeh*, pp. 28, 31. See *SgS* 100, pp. 2466-68, for mention (in the year 488) of not having completed the treatises. Shen also wrote technical treatises on "Five Phases" (meteorognomy and other divination arts) and "Tallies and Omens" (prophecies based on correlative influence, objects, and divine texts).

categories of instruments in the court orchestra. It also reflects a certain complexity and apparent contradiction in Shen's editorial metier. A southern culture of erudition, already having faced the task of reconstituting texts and traditions of commentary that suffered with the collapse of Western Chin in 315, eventually established new styles of editing and transcribing, for example the superb evidentiary techniques of P'ei Sung-chih 裴松之 (372-451), and the Buddhist collational and hagiographic styles typified by Seng Yu 僧祐 (435-518). Shen, however, seems to have placed song-texts into his treatise without performing any editorial smoothing or fixing,<sup>21</sup> a fact hard to reconcile with his skills in paleography, prosody, and his vast archival knowledge.<sup>22</sup> Charles Egan has observed that Shen's "Treatise on Music" displays hints that he interviewed musicians so that he could, for example, refer in detail to technical "divisions" in music performance and lyrics. We cannot be certain whether Shen made such interviews or merely was transcribing verbatim written musical testimonies of singers and music masters. He did, however, utilize such interview-texts when he edited (or took wholesale) Ho's "Treatise on Tonal and Celestial Systematics," one example being a dialogue between Hsün Hsü 荀勗 (b. ca. 224, d. 289) and a former head of the Wei court's flute ensembles.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> I am grateful to Steven Owen for personal communications (August, 2005) that informed me about matters concerning Shen's editorial techniques and his transcriptions of songs. (My summary statements are based on those communications, and I alone am responsible for possible misconceptions.) In a recent book-project, Owen investigates the complex corpora of 3d- to 6th-c. lyrics that helped establish the new poetics; he tends to see Han-Wei poems as "one poetry," diverse texts that received Southern-dynasties retroflexive editing that created (sometimes forged) their historical roots and developmental features; see Owen's *The Making of Early Chinese Classical Poetry* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U.P., 2006).

<sup>22</sup> Shen's systematic renovation of prosody is described in Victor Mair and Mei Tsu-lin, "The Sanskrit Origins of Recent Style Prosody," *HJAS* 51.2 (1991), pp. 375-470. He also wrote a definitive commentary to the recovered and reconstituted "Bamboo Annals"; see Edward Shaughnessy's, *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts* (Albany: State U. of New York P., 2006), chap. 4, "The Editing and Editions of the *Bamboo Annals*." (I am grateful to the author for sharing draft versions with me in 2004-05.) A memorial to the Liang throne submitted by Shen Yüeh is quoted in the seventh-century "Treatise on Music" in *Sui-shu* to the effect that Shen had inspected and determined that Hsün Hsü's compendium, "the Chin [-era] *Chung-ching p'u* 中經譜 was devoid of any restored music texts 樂書; and [the pertinent writings] carried in Liu Hsiang's "Pieh-lu 別錄" ended up being lost once again": *SS* 13, p. 288. (Hsün's *Chung-ching p'u* was most likely a complete copy (rather than a title-list or precis) of the entire Chin imperial archive, including the found-texts from the Chi Tomb.)

<sup>23</sup> On Shen's contact with musicians, see Egan, "Reconsidering the Role of Folk Songs," p. 69; See Goodman, "Tintinnabulations of Bells" for trans. of portions of Hsün's interview (ca. 275) with the music artisan in question (as given in *SgS* 11, "Lü-li" A, pp. 212-19); also Ulrike Middendorf, "In Quest of Classical Harmony: The Dispute on *di*-Pitch-Pipe Standards between Xun Xu and Lie He in the Last Year of the Jin Taishi Period (274)." Unfortunately, I was not given access to this article; a Czech summary seems to have been printed in *BARAKA* (Prague), March 2000, pp. 18-21.

By following the first *chüan* of Shen's "Treatise on Music," an important core of any history of early court music, we see right away that Wei-Chin and earlier musicologists were concerned with "古," usually rendered in English as "old" or "ancient," but, in contexts dealt with below, could mean simply "earlier," or "precedented." Besides such concern for precedent, scholars were occupied by nominalist discussions over the words and phraseology contained in titles of songs and dances: categorization was always a powerful tool in scholarship. In Shen's treatise, the phrase "... changed in name to... 改曰" occurs frequently. It apparently meant more than name alone, but also the message of lyrics and the prosody of a word or phrase. As we read further in Shen's work, we see attention given to details of performance: colors, costumes, dance-steps and arrangements, and the objects of veneration (for example, sages, emperors, empresses). A new dynasty needed its own "look," as a unique political and ritual force. Scholars involved in the revamping of rites were concerned with how the political public might understand the Chin's veneration, dedications, and aesthetic principles (which, following Kern, we may call its classicist ideology, in some sense its *wen*). How was that to be done musically, when the court music that was available, carrying a whole kit of remembered mastery and techniques, had evolved from over two hundred years of other dynastic productions, including that of the problematic Wei?

At the very outset of the Treatise, Shen Yüeh frames music in terms of naming and categories, especially the problem of confusion in names through history. But in addition, we get a summary judgment about the earliest point in time when the very survival of court music was seen as a problem:

Although [the Warring States noble] Wei Wen-hou 魏文侯 enjoyed the ancient, nonetheless he was deluded about ancient music, and thereupon licentious music flared up and elegant tones were no more. ... With Han, there was a music artisan named Mr. Chih 制氏; but [scholars] were only able to note the jangling of his drum ballets and were not able to discuss his ideas.<sup>24</sup>

It was not enough to be a good antiquarian: a court leader – a dynast – had to know how to nurture the sounds and performances of antique times, to preserve lyrics and nominal categories so as to understand the deep contexts (sometimes factual dynastic events) for their praises and sacrificial attitudes. The treatise continues, noting that the

<sup>24</sup> *SgS* 19 ("Yüeh" A), p. 533. Wei Wen-hou of the late-400s BC won renown for his inculcation of rites and respect for governance; see *Shih-chi* 史記 44, esp. p. 1839.

Chou era had preserved contemporary performances (*yüeh*), and in the time of Ch'in only meager attention was devoted, contributing to the loss of “*yüeh-ching* 樂經” (that is, “music classics,” which could also imply “guides, manuals”).<sup>25</sup>

However, we learn that at least Ch'in and Han were effective in renaming certain pieces so as to reflect their uniqueness:

Ch'in Shih-huang changed the Chou's ballet [song names] to “Five Processes 五行”; and Han Kao-tsu 高祖 changed [the Ch'in's] “Shao Dance 韶舞” to become “Beginning of Wen 文始.” In this way, [courts] could show that they were not borrowing from each other.<sup>26</sup>

The Chou had had an opera titled “Inner Chamber Opera”; but it was changed by Han times, to be known as “An-shih 安世” (“Settling [Our] World”). Shen mentions next that the different courts reused and retooled earlier set-pieces, and that scholars in Han Wu-ti's time collated *Chou kuan* 周官 with numerous other writings to create a “Record of Music 樂記,” which was handed down until edited by Liu Hsiang 劉向 (79–8 BC), but never utilized and saved. I believe that Shen's point here is that name-changes actually became a detriment to the survival of music-related documents.<sup>27</sup>

Shen's mission, therefore, is to show not just the name changes themselves, but, more importantly, to bring out the reasons for such unfortunate confusion and losses. One reason was the rush to legitimacy, to grab onto the essence of a political slogan, as courtiers explored a proper *wen*. It was additionally perplexing, since in situations other than violent rejections of commonly perceived “wicked” rulers, a new dynasty or new emperor had to make gestures of sharing imperial grace with predecessors (the Eastern Han had to accept and laud the Western Han, if not Wang Mang 王莽; r. 9–23 AD. And the Wei had to ritually “share” with the Eastern Han dynasts). Shen tells us

<sup>25</sup> I hesitate to read this as a title of a specific book, as do the editors, per their punctuation; *SgS* 19, p. 533.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* The phrase “Shao Dance” is problematic both in the *loc. class.*, *Lun-yü* III/25 and xv/11, and the later commentaries; see D. C. Lau, *Confucius: The Analects* (London: Penguin Books, 1979), pp. 71, 133. Ho Yen's commentary states that it was the “dance of Shun” of primordial times. I am deducing from context that Shen Yüeh believed that a Shao Dance had been mounted and performed under Ch'in.

<sup>27</sup> *SgS* 19 (“Yüeh” A), p. 534. One of Han Wu-ti's experts was Liu Te 劉德 (Prince of Hochen); he died in 130/29 BC and had been a renowned bibliophile, classics editor, specialist on music texts, once responsible for directing a court operatic production; see Michael Loewe, *A Biographical Dictionary of Qin, Former Han and Xin Periods (221 BC–24 AD)* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), p. 290. On Shen's having looked through archives to find lost music treatises, see n. 22, above.

that the Eastern Han Ming-ti's courtiers advised that performances for ancestral temples should be unique, so as not to mix with one another and so as to make the individual merit and virtue of the ancestors be known. Thereupon a new ballet was concocted from the earlier, pre-Wang Mang, "Wen-shih 文始," "Wu-hsing 五行," and "Wu-te 武德" ballets and was titled "Ta-wu Ballet 大武之舞."<sup>28</sup> (I use "ballet" to mean a mixed performance of costumed dance and chants, accompanied by ensembles. The word 舞 itself tended on occasion to be conflated with 武, indicating its frequent association with martial genres.)

Repeatedly, we are informed that performances were "changed so as to be called..." It does not repay our making lists of them here. To learn, for example, the meaningful context surrounding a shift from "Wu-te" to "Ta-wu" requires looking through collections of prose and poetry, as well as standard anthologies of court institutions, making links everywhere to biographies and treatises. This would be a large, yet useful, project. But certain findings, such as one mentioned later on about a musicological context for the 240 AD reign-name "Cheng-shih," can lead to richer knowledge of politics and the court.<sup>29</sup> A general sort of interpretation about the above name-changes, however, might be stated. The Ch'in had advertised its new, rationalized system of change and of history – the Five Processes; Han in turn responded with their "cultivating" antidote to Ch'in's overweening systematicity. Finally, Eastern Han's mark was a synthesis – turning "Wu-te" into a "Grand" Wu-te Ballet. It shows that synthesis as a diplomatic device could be employed by musicologists to transform earlier legitimating slogans. Such slogans could invoke, yet efface, nominal realities and show originality.

#### TU K'UEI'S ATTEMPT TO SAVE THE ANCIENT AND THE HIGH

At this point, moving chronologically, Shen summarizes in 116 words the much longer *San-kuo chih* biography of Tu K'uei 杜夔 (d. ca. 225) (mentioned above, in connection with Liu Hsieh's opinion about literati music). The original author Ch'en Shou 陳壽 (d. 292/93), a Shu native, had emphasized the role Tu played at the very end of Eastern Han in trying to revive high-music. He wrote it sometime around the mid-270s, and it is a curious fact that no writer ever cited an earlier version, or any anecdote on Tu. P'ei Sung-chih's fifth-century notes to *San-kuo chih* offer not a single gloss or supplement to Tu's biography, only a long extract from Fu Hsüan's writings that at one point mentions

<sup>28</sup> *SgS* 19 ("Yüeh" A), p. 534.

<sup>29</sup> See n. 67, below.

a mechanical orchestra.<sup>30</sup> We can speculate that P'ei may have judged Tu K'uei to be a dazzling mechanic and nothing more. Ch'en's biography of Tu was, however, taken strictly as fact by Shen, not as a legend about a miraculous artisan. In addition, Shen Yüeh certainly would have read about the personal struggle between Hsün Hsü and Ch'en Shou that was likely centered on how Ch'en had judged Tu K'uei's talents and achievements, but, as we see, Shen settled on Ch'en's view of Tu K'uei. One focus of the Hsün-Ch'en confrontation concerned the level of Tu's knowledge. Hsün created controversy by announcing plainly that Tu K'uei had been utterly mistaken in the tonal system he created for the Ts'ao court. To Hsün, Tu was a misguided artisan, not a scholar. Ch'en Shou, on the other hand, painted Tu K'uei as the one and only scholarly musicologist at the end of Han, a martyred figure who valiantly tried to save both the "ancient" and the "high."<sup>31</sup>

At this point I give the entire *San-kuo chih* biography, which to the best of my knowledge has not been translated into a Western language.<sup>32</sup> It is important to remark, too, that Ch'en's "Disquisition 論" following the chapter on "technical artisans" in which it is found is entirely unforthcoming; it shows a certain discomfort with the subject-matter and simply makes a rhetorical appeal to Ssu-ma Ch'ien's 司馬遷 *Shih-chi* 史記 as the precedent for even including such material.<sup>33</sup>

*Translation of the Biography of Tu K'uei* 杜夔 (fl. ca. 180-225)

Tu K'uei 杜夔 had the courtesy name Kung-liang 公良 and hailed from Ho-nan. He was made *ya-yüeh lang* 雅樂郎 (gentleman of high-

<sup>30</sup> Ma Chün 馬均 (Mr. Uniform-Standards Ma), the inventor, possessed a Chuangtzu-ian state of mind and made miraculous constructions; *SKC* 29, pp. 807 ff. A detailed analysis of Ma is found in *SCC* 4.2, pp. 39-42 (in general), p. 158 (re. mechanical orchestra).

<sup>31</sup> An anecdote from Hsün's career implies that something in Ch'en Shou's "Wei chih" angered him, and Hsün had Ch'en banished in 278. See *Hua-yang kuo-chih chiao-chu* 華陽國志校注 (Chengt'u: Pa Shu shu-she, 1984), *ch.* 11, p. 849; and *CS* 82 (biog. of Ch'en Shou), p. 2138. These remarks about the Tu K'uei biog. are summarized based on Howard L. Goodman, "Retuning the Ts'aos: Musicology as Authority and Antiquarians as Trouble in Early China" (unpub. paper).

<sup>32</sup> Shen's short version is at *SgS* 19 ("Yüeh" A), p. 534. The full source is *SKC* 29, "Biogs. of Fang-chi 方技," pp. 8067. I thank David R. Knechtges for advice about several difficult passages. Portions of the biog. were quoted in early historiography; e.g., *SgS* 11 ("Lü-li" A), p. 212, and *CS* 22, p. 679. The biog. is not found in Kenneth DeWoskin, *Doctors, Diviners, and Magicians in Ancient China: Biographies of Fang-shih* (N.Y.C.: Columbia U.P., 1983), which translates almost all the biogs. in that *chüan*; but DeWoskin did discuss it in *A Song for One or Two: Music and the Concept of Art in Early China* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1982), pp. 82-83. The biog. was summarized insightfully (and several sentences translated) in Maurice Courant's history of Chinese music, "Chine et Corée," in A. Lavignac and L. de la Laurencie, gen. eds., *Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du Conservatoire* (Paris: Libr. Delagrave, 1931) 1, p. 81.

<sup>33</sup> A trans. of this disquisition is in Goodman, "Retuning the Ts'aos."

music performance)<sup>34</sup> (ca. 185) because of his knowledge of notes/scoring timbres 以知音.<sup>35</sup> In 188 he left office because of illness. When he was summoned by the [director of] ceremonial in the office of minister over the masses for the provincial commandery, he fled to Ching-chou 荊州, since there was widespread chaos (from civil war). The shepherd of Ching-chou, Liu Piao 劉表, ordered him, in conjunction with Meng Yao 孟曜, to combine (or, to arrange) [performances of] high-music 爲漢主合雅樂 in honor of the Han emperor. When the [setup of the orchestral] performance was prepared, Liu wanted to observe it at court,<sup>36</sup> but Tu made objections: “Now, you sir have ordered a combined orchestra (or, have ordered to arrange the music) for the emperor, and yet you [want to] have them performed at [your own] court – wouldn’t this be impermissible?” 今將軍號爲天子合樂，而庭作之，無乃不可乎？ Piao took his speech to heart and stopped [these plans]. Subsequently (in 208), when Liu Piao’s son Liu Tsung surrendered to the Grand Progenitor (hereafter denoted as Ts’ao Ts’ao 曹操 [165–220]), Ts’ao Ts’ao employed Tu K’uei as libationer in the military planning [council], with the concurrent task of services under the grand master of music. Following [these new appointments, Ts’ao Ts’ao] ordered him to create the [court] high-music operas 創制雅樂.

K’uei was excellent at [casting] pitch-regulator bells 善鐘律,<sup>37</sup> surpassing the brilliance of anyone else 聰思過人. As to the instru-

<sup>34</sup> My interpretation of 雅樂 builds on the way Kern reads it as either “correct music” or “classical music,” in arguing that Han memorials and music treatises show a classicist ideology of disapproval toward “new,” non-classical, or otherwise inappropriate music at court; Kern, “Ritual, Text,” pp. 7071. It seems that *ya* in the sense of “Elegantiae” should be reserved for contexts referring to chanting the *Shih* Elegantiae and Eulogia 頌; *ibid.*, p. 82.

<sup>35</sup> Several senses of the word *yin* frequently collide in early texts: the five “notes” of the pentatonic scale, the different “tones/timbres” represented by orchestral sections (flutes, strings, metal gongs and bells, etc.), and the “pitch-standards” (often called the 12 *lü*). From the biog., it is clear that Tu was skilled in all these senses. On this lexic confusion, see Lothar von Falkenhausen, *Suspended Music: Chime-Bells in the Culture of Bronze Age China* (Berkeley: U. of California P., 1993), pp. 297–99, 306–9.

<sup>36</sup> The implication is that it was at Liu’s own court; see context in the following sentence.

<sup>37</sup> Courant, “Chine et Corée,” p. 81, says “bells and the *lü*.” The Sung-era commentator to the *Ku-wen yuan* version of a bell-inscription text by Wang Ts’an 王粲 (titled “Wu-i chung ming” 無射鐘銘) asserted that Tu was the maker of the ceremonial bell (perhaps bells) cast to honor Ts’ao Ts’ao’s becoming duke of Wei in 213. (See *Ku-wen yuan* 古文苑 [SPTK edn.] 13, p. 17a; the text of Wang Ts’an’s inscription is in Wu Yun 吳云, comp., *Wang Ts’an chi-chu* 王粲集注 [Henan: Chung-chou shu-hua-she ch’u-pan, 1984], p. 108.) On the “Nine Conferments,” see *Hou Han-shu* 後漢書 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1965; hereafter, *HHS*) 9, p. 387, which says only that one of the conferments was a musical device 樂器. Linking Tu to that bell-casting is a plausible deduction (based on facts inside this *SKC* biog.), but no more. I thank David Knechtges for pointing out the reference to Tu in *Ku-wen yuan*.

ments of silk and bamboo (that is, the zithers and flutes) and the Eight Timbres,<sup>38</sup> there was nothing of which he was not capable. [However] it was the songs and ballets that were not part of [his] metier.

At this time, the gentlemen-in-attendance Teng Ching 鄧靜 and Yin Ch'i 尹齊 were skilled at intoning high-music (or, the *Elegantiae*),<sup>39</sup> and song master Yin Hu 尹胡 was able to sing the tunes for the Imperial Temple and Suburban Sacrifices; the dance masters Feng Su 馮肅 and Fu Yang 服養 were experts in the various dances of the earlier dynasties. Tu coordinated and unified [performances] and hit the very essence [of high-music]. He [went out] far and wide to examine numerous texts; and, closer to hand (that is, among artisans and practice still available at Liu's and Ts'ao's courts), he gathered up [examples of] former [musical] services 遠考諸經, 近采故事. He rehearsed [the performers] and orally instructed [them]; he put into full order the music instruments. The restoration of the ancient music of former ages all started with Tu K'uei.<sup>40</sup>

In the middle of the Huang-ch'u reign (thus ca. 222–23) (under Ts'ao P'i 曹丕; r. Wen-ti 文帝, 220–226), he was made prefect grand musicologist 太樂令 and chief commandant of pitch-standards 協律都尉.<sup>41</sup> [Earlier] there was a Han-[court] bell-caster artisan named

<sup>38</sup> Because they are “eight,” there is no doubt that the reference is to the eight scoring-timbres (different instrumental sections) of the traditional court orchestra; writers sometimes called these the “eight *sheng* 聲.”

<sup>39</sup> It is possible that in this place of the text, “*ya-yüeh*” does mean “*Elegantiae*,” especially if Teng's and Yin's “intoning” was the singing of *Shih* verses, which was commonplace in the court's lighter music.

<sup>40</sup> Courant, “Chine et Corée,” p. 81, hits the matter square-on: “... les dirigea, étudia dans classiques, rechercha les traditions, réunit et fabriqua les instruments...” Needham, *SCC* 4.1, p. 185, quotes *Shih-shuo hsin-yü* 世說新語, ch. 20, to the effect that Tu attempted to tune instruments according to ancient rules. Courant and Needham were correct in sensing that Tu's musical skill was in great part empirical and technical. There exists a vague hint that Tu's arts also included “ether-watching”; Li Ch'un-feng's 李淳風 treatise in *SS* 16 (“Lü-li” A), p. 395, quotes the work of the otherwise unknown Sui-court metrologist Mao Shuang 毛爽: “During Hou-Han, the rule-standard measure became slightly longer. During Wei, Tu K'uei also worked on the pitch-standards, and [his findings] were used to [make tests with tubal] ether-watching 以之候氣. Yet the ashes did not fly [off of the ends of the tubes]. During Chin, the imperial household grandee Hsün Hsü obtained an ancient bronze tube-flute, and investigated what Tu K'uei had made; it was .04 longer than the ancient [device]...” This is the only source that I have seen to claim that the Wei court attempted an ether-watching project. (On ether-watching, and a discussion of Mao, see Derk Bodde, “The Chinese Cosmic Magic Known as ‘Watching for Ethers,’” idem, *Essays on Chinese Civilization* [Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1981], pp. 22–23.) Another uncorroborated claim about Tu comes from *SS* 14 (“Yüeh” A), p. 286, which mentions Tu K'uei's skill at the “seven [mode]-openings 七始” (i.e., octaval modes, each starting on a note of the seven-note gamut that became favored in northern music, since perhaps Han times; see Chen, “Theory and Notation,” p. 116).

<sup>41</sup> This suggests that Tu was given advancement in the court of Ts'ao P'i, who nonetheless subsequently fired him. Here, although I follow the Chung-hua edn. arrangement of para-

Ch'ai Yü 柴玉 whose skill had imagination 巧有意思. The majority of objects of [intricate, or artistic] form were produced [by him] 形器之中, 多所造作,<sup>42</sup> and they were known by noble [patrons] of his time.<sup>43</sup> [When] K'uei ordered Yü to cast bronze bells,<sup>44</sup> the tonal uniformity<sup>45</sup> of the (six) regular (or, *yang* pitch-standards 陽律) and the muddy (six flatted, or accompanying, *yin* pitch-standards 陰呂, i.e., totaling the theoretical 12 pitch-standard intervals) mostly did not match [Tu's?] specifications 其聲均清濁多不如法. [Tu had Yü] melt down and re-cast them several times. Yü detested [Tu] for this, and said that K'uei's [conception of] the "clear and muddy" [notes] was of his own devising, and he tended to resist K'uei's [supervision].<sup>46</sup> K'uei and Yü repeatedly made mutual complaints in Ts'ao Ts'ao's presence. Ts'ao took away the bells that had been

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graphs, I believe the following anecdote about Ch'ai Yü should be a new paragraph because the appearance of Ts'ao Ts'ao in the narrative dates it to pre-Huang-ch'u, and thus my interpolation "[Earlier...]". It seems to represent a cut-and-paste point. The anecdote is also carried in Ho's treatise, *SgS* 11 ("Lü-li" A), p. 212, with differences noted below. The two Han offices that Tu held are summarized in Kishibe, *T'ang-tai yin-yüeh*, pp. 104, 108. Kishibe states that the *hsieh-lü tu-wei* supervised performances in general and that in W. Han Li Yen-nien 李延年 was appointed for his skill in "new" music.

<sup>42</sup> See *Wen-hsin tiao-lung* 文心雕龍: sect. 37 "誇飾": "形器易寫, 壯辭可得喻其真"; cf. Shih, trans., *Literary Mind*, p. 282: "... the phenomenal *ch'i* are easy to describe, for their forms can be accurately pictured through vigorous language," which is a relatively philosophical rendering of "形器".

<sup>43</sup> The phrase 亦為時貴人見之 is not included in the *SgS* 11 version.

<sup>44</sup> *SgS* 11 version changes 鑄銅鐘 to 鑄鍾.

<sup>45</sup> *SgS* 11 version shortens 聲均 to 聲. In a personal communication (June, 2005), Chen Yingshi of the Shanghai Conservatory of Music advised against translating 聲均 to mean equal temperament, saying that the phrase is to be glossed as 聲韻. Yet, it seems to me that "euphony 韻" in some senses implies better temperament, better note production, which are allied with "equal temperament." *Han-yü ta tz'u-tien* 漢語大辭典 makes the same sort of gloss of 聲均 that Chen does; in fact it relies on this very phrase from *SKC* and suggests that its general meaning is "樂調" ("musical harmoniousness or consonance"). The dictionary's remaining semantic categories of 聲均 > 聲韻 point without exception to lyric or speech prosody. I believe that this way of interpreting 聲均 can be misleading: the *SKC* context demonstrates that Tu was a master caster of bell pitch-regulators (i.e. an empirical seeker after better temperament), not someone trying to make a chime-set play more consonantly (i.e., tuning bells by filing, or perfecting players' strike technique). *Chung-wen ta tz'u-tien* 中文大辭典 makes no such automatic gloss but says that 聲均 means "聲和," citing as authority *CS* 16 ("Lü-li" A), p. 479 (orig. compiled in *SgS* 11 ["Lü-li" A], p. 213). This is a passage from a memorial of Hsün Hsü, "吹其聲均, 多不諧合," the context of which is Hsün's criticism of poor flute temperament inside a highly technical argument about better temperament, not a complaint that flutes should play on pitch, or more beautifully. In short, we may have a case of dictionaries' (and even early compilers': note *SgS*'s emendation, stated above) inability to recognize certain positivist aspects of Chinese technologies. Just as in premodern China there was a lack of exacting terms for such things as "rhythm" (both in lyric prosody and music performance), there were no set terms to describe and differentiate better from equal temperament, nor a specific term for the act of tuning or modulating inside an established temperament. Falkenhausen, *Suspended Music*, p. 315, n. 19, recognized this confusion behind "均," correctly calling it "uniform standard."

<sup>46</sup> *SgS* 11 version eliminates the phrase about "tended to resist K'uei."

cast,<sup>47</sup> and had them tested in mixed variations (that is, randomly). Subsequently, he came to realize that K'uei had grasped the essence and Yü was in error.<sup>48</sup> At that point, he had Yü and all his sons found guilty [of a code infraction] and the whole [family] were forced into horse-raising.<sup>49</sup>

[Ts'ao Ts'ao's son] emperor Wen was fond of [Ch'ai] Yü and treated him deferentially. Once he ordered K'uei, along with Tso Yüan 左願 (or, in some later citations "Tso Tien 驥"<sup>50</sup>) and others, to play the mouth organ and strum zithers at a party 於賓客之中吹笙鼓琴. K'uei displayed a distinct uncomfortableness; and the emperor's thoughts [about K'uei] from then on were not pleasant. Later, on the pretext of an unrelated matter (that is, an official infraction), he had K'uei bound up in ropes [awaiting judgment] and (in this fashion) made [disciple Tso] Yüan and others take lessons.<sup>51</sup>

K'uei himself had [always] stated that what he was well-practiced in was high-music. It had been the basis for his court service, [yet] his notions [about music] were still unfulfilled. Subsequently, he died after he was dismissed from office.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>47</sup> *SgS* 11 clarifies the context by adding that it was "[Ch'ai] Yü's" cast-bells.

<sup>48</sup> *SgS* 11 eliminates this last phrase about Ch'ai's being in error. The story about Ch'ai up to here is given verbatim in *CS* 16 ("Lü-li" A), p. 480.

<sup>49</sup> The grammatical tightening (using *jan-hou*) provided in *SgS* 11 strengthens the narrative power and brings out the way ad hominem crises in rites were handled at court. It is interesting that Shen's own summary in "Treatise on Music" does not cover the conflict with Ch'ai at all. Fritz Kuttner's hypothesis about violent resolutions of scholarly (and other) court struggles is somewhat useful to consider: *The Archaeology of Music in Ancient China: 2,000 Years of Acoustical Experimentation, 1,400 B.C.-A.D. 750* (New York: Paragon, 1990), app. 8C, pp. 211-21.

<sup>50</sup> Confusion over his surname is discussed in *San-kuo chih chi-chieh* 三國志集解 29, p. 12b. He is called "Tien" (with that pronunciation clearly indicated) in Li Shan's commentary to the text of P'o Ch'in's 繁欽 "Memo to Wei Wen-ti" 與魏文帝箋 (see *Wen hsuan* 文選 [Taipei: Cheng-chung shu-chü, 1971] 40, pp. 15b-17a, where Li also mentions the party incident that ended Tu's career). P'o Ch'in (who came from Ying-ch'uan) was knowledgeable about entertainment music and dance, including flutes and a flute-mimicking type of singing called *hou-chuan* 喉嚨 (*SKC* 23, pp. 665, 668). P'o's "Memo" mentions Tso and two other artisan-musicians, Chien Chieh 饒姐 and Shih Na 史納, who Li Shan says were all well-known performers of that time.

<sup>51</sup> The phrase is difficult; but I see the emphasis as Ts'ao P'i's public humiliation of Tu, which extended to his students. The larger political agenda in which we may situate Ts'ao P'i's favoring Ch'ai over Tu was P'i's desire to dismantle Ts'ao Ts'ao's ritual programs in general, and thus the latter's court ethos and style; discussed in Howard L. Goodman, *Ts'ao P'i Transcendent: The Political Culture of Dynasty-Founding in China at the End of the Han* (Seattle and Surrey, England: Scripta Serica and Curzon, 1998), pp. 181-82.

<sup>52</sup> The Sung-era work by Chu Chang-wen 朱長文 titled *Ch'in shih* 琴史 mentions (nowhere corroborated) that "someone claimed 或云 that Tu was skilled in playing 'Kuang-ling san' 廣陵散, and that Chi K'ang sought out Tu K'uei's son, named Meng 孟, to acquire the [proper] notes of that [song]"; (*SKCS* edn., vol. 839), p. 17b. This datum is cited in a short sketch of

His disciples from Ho-nan – Shao Teng 邵登, Chang T'ai 張泰, and Sang Fu 桑馥, each rose to be assistants in the office of grand musician; Ch'en Hang 陳頡 of Hsia-p'i 下邳 became director of the pitch-standards as gentleman of the palace 司律中郎將. But with Tso Yen-nien 左延年<sup>53</sup> and others, although they were marvelous at [playing] the notes, [nonetheless] all were fond of the [dissolute] music of Cheng.<sup>54</sup> For appreciating antiquity and preserving what is correct, none [of Tso's milieu] was up to [the level of Tu] K'uei 自左延年等雖妙於音, 咸善鄭聲, 其好古存正莫及夔.

The two artisans' argument, above, about technical problems in chime-scaling gives us fascinating evidence of artisanal politics at court, the testing of music instruments, as well as serious punishments against those who contended over antiquarian and musical ideology. We see that there was a marketplace for fine skills, offering an artisan patrons and potential court careers. Chen Shou's final remarks imply that quite a few *ju* experts were competing to sell their skills as music experts at court. Although Tu's service at Liu Piao's famous Ching-chou collegium from about 190 to 208 put him in the ambit of Wang Ts'an 王粲 (d. 217), Sung Chung 宋忠 (d. ca. 220), and other well-known scholars,<sup>55</sup>

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Tu's role as zitherist by the modern scholar Hsu Chien 許健, *Ch'in-shih ch'u-pien* 琴史初編 (Peking: Jen-min yin-yueh ch'u-pan she, 1982), p. 25.

<sup>53</sup> Mention of Tso Yen-nien is problematic. The biographer implies by context that Tso was a lapsed disciple (the discussion is, after all, about Tu's many students). We know two things about Tso Yen-nien: 1. he was known as a Ts'ao court lyricist who reworked Tu's lyrics; see Tu Yu 杜佑, *T'ung-tien* 通典 477 (sect. "三朝行禮樂制議"), and Chih Chiang's 智匠 *Ku-chin yüeh-lu* 古今樂祿 (restored in the Ch'ing-era *Han Wei i-shu ch'ao* 漢魏遺書鈔 by Wang Mo 王謨; photorpt. of Chia-ching era, Chin-hsi Wang-shih private printing, in vol. 4 of *Ku-chi ts'ung-ts'an hui-pien* 古籍叢殘彙編, Chung Chao-p'eng 鍾肇鵬, gen. ed. [Peking Library Publishers]), pp. 506, 514; and 2. he was still serving the dynasty in about 236-40 during a court music discussion, discussed in detail, below. The suggestion that Tso Yen-nien had once been part of Tu K'uei's cadre around 210-225 is indirectly supported by *SgS* 11 ("Lü-li" A), p. 213, where his name, as quoted in a memorial, is linked with Tu's as joint creators of a pitch system for Wei music: "[The music bureau] has critiqued Tu K'uei and Tso Yen-nien, and all aspects of [their] pitch-regulators (or, pitch-standards) can be kept 平議諸杜夔左延年律皆可留."

<sup>54</sup> Shen's precis version of Tu's biog. here reads: "而左延年等, 妙善鄭聲, 惟夔好古存正焉." "Music of Cheng" was a rhetorical trope for decadence and licentiousness, and often strongly resonated with "new music," which classicist critics (again borrowing Kern's term) attacked as inappropriate and inelegant for court rites. *Han-shu* contains a memorial complaining that Wu-ti had in fact not incorporated "classical melodies" 雅聲 in his hymns; see Kern, "Note on Authenticity," p. 676; and Kern, "Ritual, Text," p. 70. Egan, "Reconsidering the Role of Folk Songs," pp. 59-62, goes over the critical literature on the W. Han Music Bureau, which in fact may have had as one of its functions the collecting of so-called popular music (a concept rightly adjusted by Egan and others). When the bureau was disbanded in 6 BC under charges that its musical products were licentious, less than half of its over 800 officials was retained.

<sup>55</sup> Yoshikawa Tadao, "Scholarship in Ching-chou at the End of the Later Han Dynasty," *Acta Asiatica* 60 (1991), pp. 1-24, building upon T'ang Yung-t'ung's groundbreaking work, is a convenient account of Liu Piao's and Sung Chung's classicism.

and although we see mention that he “examined numerous texts ... and gathered up [examples of] former [musical] services,” I am not at all sure that this means he was accepted as a lofty scholar from a leading family. Tu’s metier was chiefly technical: he offered skill in casting, and gathered and rehearsed specialists in various instruments, lyrics, and dance. His family status also seems quite obscure. Ch’en Shou nonetheless desired to transform the available anecdotes (perhaps even stories spoken by Shu scholars whose older kin had had associations with Ching-chou learning), turning them into a hagiography of a great and maligned scholar, not a tragic artisan pushing his way through a competitive world of patronage. In the end, it does seem that he was this latter type, with a bevy of disciples, all of whom would rise in music offices, and one, Tso Yen-nien, becoming something of an apostate who applied Tu’s learning to music that was other than orthodox and ancient.

Shen Yüeh’s synopsis follows Ch’en Shou’s intent, and it conveys a simple warning about the fragility of court-music traditions, specifically the high-music of bell-chimes, temple chants, and the formal ballets: they could be subverted by a callous ruler desiring a new sort of music.

#### SNIPPETS COMPRISING A HISTORY OF WEI DEBATES OVER COURT MUSIC

The next section of Shen’s Treatise is critical to understanding how Wei music was perceived by Wei scholar-musicologists themselves in the ten or fifteen years after Tu K’uei. Through its text-passages we gain the background for Hsün Hsü and the other music specialists of 269–270 whom we meet further down. Many early-Chin scholars straddled Wei and Chin, and Wei men who had been in any way close to the Ts’aos and their allies began to turn into Chin men during the last fifteen years of Wei. After some rousing success in its first years, the Wei had not been able to integrate and make capital of its legitimating slogans and ideas, its displays of *wen*, nor able to establish consensus about rites and music. Instead, it began to unravel as Ts’ao P’i sharply revised his father’s court styles.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>56</sup> See n. 51, above. Wu Hung 巫鴻, “Han Ming, Wei Wen te li-chih kai-ko yü Han-tai hua-hsiang i-shu chih sheng-shuai 漢明魏文的禮制改革與漢代畫像之盛衰,” *Chiu-chou hsüeh-k’an* 九州學刊 3.2 (June 1989), pp. 39–40, makes valuable points about *ad hominem* preferences and requirements that led to changes in court mortuary rites, changes developing from the time of E. Han Ming-ti, and culminating with Wen-ti (Ts’ao P’i) of Wei.

In 221 AD, under the new Wei emperor Wen (namely, Ts'ao P'i), at exactly the same time that Tu K'uei was raised to prefect grand musicologist but then subjected to attack by Ts'ao P'i, the Wei court debated the names of ten ballets and operas. Shen's text at this point does not give the scholars' names, and we learn only of nominal changes to a Han-era western-flavored ballet, the Han "Pa-yü 巴渝舞 Ballet,"<sup>57</sup> which became "Chao-wu Ballet 昭武舞." As stated above, listing fully the name changes should not occupy our analysis. Two points should be extracted from the changes, however. First is that the important political matter of non-Chinese border-area constituents of the Han courts is raised (we do not know the specific event, but further research might place it in a diplomatic gambit to soothe allies). Second, based on Shen's own interpretive remark, Wei musicologists had not done enough to effect a proper music-lyric balance (to use Liu Hsieh's criterion), or, viewed another way, had failed to fashion a nominal entity – a slogan that tied the old with the new and could demonstrate Wei's sharing the imperial aura with the Han house. The Wei early on had been able to draw on the work of the recently deceased Wang Ts'an (a favorite literary courtier of Ts'ao Ts'ao), who was commissioned to "rewrite the processional chants and poems for 'An-shih' and 'Pa-yü,' but nothing more."<sup>58</sup> Shen may have hinted that in the area of lyrics the Wei simply no longer had anyone left like Wang – someone with the proper skill.

#### *Developments under Wei Ming-ti*

Then, in the early part of Wei Ming-ti's (明帝, that is, Ts'ao Jui's 曹叡) reign (r. 227–240) and probably after Tu K'uei's demise, an imperial order was issued that focused concern on court music. The gist of Ming-ti's concern was that court music was no longer under the proper offices, which ought to have been called "imperial 太" offices, and, importantly, that such grand, or imperial, services should be associated both with the emperor's Clan Temple and with specific ballets. This, he states, had been the case of old, even when the name for the service-official responsible for those ancient ballets had not been called

<sup>57</sup> For "Pa-yü" music (lit. "the Yü River in Pa"), see Hellmut Wilhelm, "The Bureau of Music of Western Han," in B. L. Ulmen, ed., *Society and History: Essays in Honor of Karl August Wittfogel* (The Hague: Mouton, 1978), p. 124, and nn. 9–10, p. 130. Han Kao-tsu, upon watching Shu-area martial dances that conveyed pro-Han sentiments, had the dances learned by his court musicians. Wilhelm notes sources that discuss Pa-yü performances for the Han court's New Year's celebrations and for state mourning. The Pa-yü musicians were among those later dismissed; see n. 54, above.

<sup>58</sup> These points come from *SgS* 19 ("Yüeh" A), p. 534.

“grand (imperial),” a reference to the sensitive problem of bureaucratic hierarchies, especially the Nine Ministers’ direct relationship with the throne. He also complained that Wei musicologists had not yet fixed the name and content of the ballet for Ts’ao Ts’ao’s temple. The court was ordered to get to work.<sup>59</sup>

It is here, beginning in about 227–228, that Wei music took a critical turn, a bad one in some scholars’ view; thus Shen used the previous edict as a run-up to a larger Wei crisis for which he gives six documents of Wei-era provenance. I look into several points and translate several passages found in them in order to build a social-historical context – the conflict among musicologists who straddled two emperors (and ruling cliques) and were working on the political problems of court music.

I specially denote the six Wei-era documents so as to clarify authorial voice and throw light on the function of free-standing documents inside Shen’s “Treatise on Music.” “Document no. 1 Attesting Wei-era Music Debates” is undated, but likely presented in summer of 237, when, as recorded in *San-kuo chih*, a memorial came to Ming-ti’s court proposing ritual names and ritual music for the first three Wei rulers – Ts’ao Ts’ao, Ts’ao P’i, and the current emperor Ts’ao Jui (Ming-ti).<sup>60</sup> Shen’s text goes into far more detail than the brief summary in *San-kuo chih*, but the speakers are unnamed, and we sense that it was part of a continuing discussion at Ming-ti’s court, especially given the phrase “groups of ministers who have discussed,” as seen below,<sup>61</sup> and that the court was responding (“thereupon”) to Ming-ti’s previous frustration. A philosophical premise at the beginning states that in order to achieve a desired cultural proliferation outward, a court needs opera and ballet performance to give visual image to form and content 樂舞足以象其形容; and it needs the technical aspects of notes and timbres to create the required chants and songs 音聲足以發其哥詠. The preamble also discusses venue: in the clan temples such spectacle inspired the spirits

<sup>59</sup> *SgS* 19 (“Yüeh” A), p. 535. Shen Yüeh notes that “*t’ai-yüeh*” was in fact a Han-era invention, but slightly altered to 太子樂官 in Eastern Han, because of an indication found in oracle texts. The exegete in this matter, citing passages and making the lexic divination, was Ts’ao Ch’ung 曹充, a ritualist under Kuang-wu; *HHS* 35, p. 1201.

<sup>60</sup> *SKC* 3 (sect. “Ming-ti chi”), p. 109, coming between sometime in the 5th and into the 7th lunar mo.; see Achilles Fang, trans., *The Chronicles of the Three Kingdoms* (220–265): *Chapters 69–78 from the Izü Chih Tung Chien of Ssü-ma Kuang* (1029–1086) (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U.P., 1952, 1965; hereafter, *TCIC/Fang*) 1, p. 544. Su Jinren 蘇晉仁 and Xiao Lianzi 蕭煉子, annot., *Song shu yuezhì jiaozhu* 宋書樂志校注 (Tsinan: Qilu shushe, 1982) p. 17, using this passage, also date the document to 237. I could not obtain the latter work and must thank the anonymous reviewer for the valuable reference.

<sup>61</sup> *SgS* 19 (“Yüeh” A), p. 535; it is also considered “anonymous” in Yen K’o-chün 嚴可均, *Ch’üan San-kuo wen* 全三國文 [Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1969; hereafter, *CSKW*] Wei 55, pp. 2a–b; also *Tung-tien* 141.

to join the harmonies, and in the court halls officials could relax.<sup>62</sup> A subsequent review of ancient court music examples is concluded by saying that the work of music is never finished; it must always renew itself. Then the memorial says:

The opera for the Grand Progenitor Martial Emperor (Ts'ao Ts'ao) should be called "Wu shih 武始" ("Martial Beginning") Opera. *Wu* is the spirit-warrior 神武 and further means "[life] traces 跡." It bespeaks of the beginning point of [his] Spirit-warrior, yet also the [actual] traces that arise from his being [a temporal] king.

The opera of High Progenitor Embellishing Emperor (Ts'ao P'i) should be called "Hsien-hsi 咸熙" ("Inclusive Happiness" Opera). *Hsien* means "all 皆"; and *hsi* means lively/elevated 興. It bespeaks the [moment when he] responsively received the era-turning of the mandate, and the world became everywhere happy from that [event].

[Chronologically,] we [now] come to the groups of ministers who have discussed the [dynasty's] virtue and picked out its achievements. They set up the appellation "Lieh tsu 烈祖" (for Ts'ao Jui, whose opera was named "Displaying 'Pin' 章斌"; see below) but have not yet fashioned an opera or ballet (or, opera/ballet). It is not a way to have shined forth virtue and recorded merit.<sup>63</sup>

The Wei had started out correctly, with scholars having chosen lexical values of gravity and effect for the first three Ts'aos, but court musicologists felt that their own ilk had not completed their tasks. Here, we may be seeing a reference to Ts'ao P'i's revamping of his father's musical *wen*. It was only several years earlier that Ts'ao P'i had fired his father's favorite, Tu K'uei, and begun to allow Tso Yen-nien and others to bring light-music, namely the banqueting music, into the mission statement of "court musicologist" (see Tu K'uei's biography, above). After the Tu K'uei problem and Ts'ao P'i's death, the court at this time was trying to find direction, since it was not clear that Wei Ming-ti would produce an heir, nor the dynasty remain stable under various internal threats. The document's authors propose that the Wei's essence, under Ming-ti, should be about a merging of *wu* 武 (Ts'ao Ts'ao) and *wen* 文

<sup>62</sup> The phrase 樂其度 has two possibilities in this context: find pleasure in its (the venue's) light-music songs (treating *tu* as "song compositions" 度曲); or find pleasure in their (own) compositions (or, their status).

<sup>63</sup> *SgS* 19 ("Yüeh" A), p. 535. *SKC* 3, p. 109; trans. *TCTC/Fang* 1, p. 544: "... and the Emperor [Ming-ti], who had introduced institutions and effected reconstruction, [is made] Lieh-tsu of Wei, using the music 'Chang-wu chih wu 章武之舞.'"

(Ts'ao P'i). They are saying that songs must be given venue and effect precisely from such lexic realities.

As to “*wen*,” since *wen* and *wu* make up “*pin* 斌” (i.e., “handsome yet fit”); [our emperor] takes hold of both creative embellishment (*wen*) and martial valor (*wu*). It is how sagely virtues are clearly displayed. We ministers respectfully have fashioned the opera-ballet name (or, created the ballet named) “Ballet of Displaying ‘Pin’ 章斌舞.” ... Han Kao-tsu and Wen-ti, each in his time, made the “Wu-te 武德” (see above) and “Four Seasons 四時” ballets. [Thus when we] examine the appropriateness of the [musical] policies of former reigns, they should fit with the grace of contemporary achievements and should disseminate vast heroism. Nothing surpasses the excellence of “Displaying ‘Pin.’” ... (Several examples are quoted from ancient texts to evidence the need for operatic spectacles that were appropriate to their venues.)

Today, for services to heaven and earth in the Clan Temples, then all three of these ballets (called “operas” above) [“Wu-shih,” “Hsien-hsi,” and “Chang pin”] are best for sacrificial offerings [to the ancestral spirits]. And in the case of the Grand Partaking (i.e., the spirits’ communion with the sacrifices) at court convocation 臨朝大享, it is also best to choreograph it. It is only after that, that we have blended with the way of serving spirits and following the people through the ancient institutes. We establish a route of communication with the ten-thousand generations, and their meanings are made increasingly clear.

Further, as we ministers ponder the matter, the three ballets ought to have a general name; we can name them “Grand Equalization Opera 大鈞之樂.” *Chün* means “evenness 平.” This bespeaks of how the Great Wei of three generations were of a unified merit, getting to the utmost of overarching peace 隆平. In terms of names, it [“Grand Equalization”] is graceful; in terms of meaning, it is appropriate.<sup>64</sup>

We are next told that these new musical categories and namings were accepted by Ming-ti only after being formally requested three times. He probably was advised not to turn down the musicologists, because music and rites needed repair. In fact, Tso Yen-nien was still at court, which suggests that the reformed music (that is, lighter music) of Ts'ao P'i's time may have had proponents willing to carry on

<sup>64</sup> *SgS* 19 (“Yüeh” A), p. 535-36.

the diminution of high-music. Tu K'uei had already taken to the grave much of his knowledge-base, especially concerning tunings and ensemble work. It is likely (again, based on Tu's biography) that Tso was in favor of what some called light, even "Cheng" (corrupting), music. The ministers of Document no. 1 may have been manipulating lexic slogans to attempt to heal the Ts'ao-family rift – the son Ts'ao P'i versus the mythic father, as well as simply to shore up Ming-ti's ideological notions and visible forms. That is why they produced the highly diplomatic solutions – "Pin" and "Grand Equalization" – and made such a strong case about the need of high-music in two large venues.

Immediately afterward comes Shen's "Document no. 2 Attesting Wei-era Music Debates," also undated, but certainly from Ming-ti's reign. It is basically a technical memo from the office of masters of writing that the emperor readily accepted. The memo describes the materials and the look of costumery (caps, sleeves, robes, leathers) for the aforementioned "Wu shih 武始 Ballet" and "Hsien-hsi Ballet." The latter was deemed as requiring nearly the same costumery as "Wu shih"; we learn, too, that "Chang pin" required the same as the other two. Here, it is fascinating to observe that "Grand Equalization" applied to visual appearances. It is also clear that the lower artisans had now been tasked, and were busy.<sup>65</sup>

Shen's "Document no. 3 Attesting Wei-era Music Debates" (perhaps dating to the end of Ming-ti's reign, ca. 249, and thus violating Shen's assumed chronological ordering), presents a palace server named Miao Hsi 繆襲 (b. ca. 190s; fl. 210–37), a man already experienced in the collating, lexic management, and categorizing of earlier Han-court military eulogies. He memorializes:<sup>66</sup>

"An-shih Chant 安世哥" was originally the name of a Han-era chant. The poetic lyrics today are not the same as the lyrics of

<sup>65</sup> *SgS* 19 ("Yüeh" A), p. 536; Shen remarks about a logical inconsistency concerning exactly what caps were required. The small memorial gives details of music culture (colors, types of costumes, etc.). We recall that Tu K'uei's retinue once included a "Dance Master"; presumably a remnant of that bureau survived, and its artisans were probably masters of costumery and props, and correlating zoomorphic symbols.

<sup>66</sup> The memorial and Shen's comments are at *SgS* 19 ("Yüeh" A), pp. 536–37. Miao Hsi's short biog. is at *SKC* 21, p. 620 (cit. "Hsien-hsien hsing-chuang" and "Wen-chang chih"). He was "well read in the classics and traditions" and was called up as erudit (*po-shih*). His father was a noted scholar as well and had refused the Han court's summons in the turbulent 190s, when Ling-ti was in Ch'ang-an (ibid.). Hsi was friendly with Chung-ch'ang T'ung, and compiled the latter's well-known prose criticism "Ch'ang-yen" 昌言. In about 221–22, Miao's office was cavalier regular-attendant and he was used by the new Wei emperor to give imperial orders and relay military instructions to Hua Hsin 華歆 (*SKC* 13.404 "Biog. Hua Hsin"). He was also noted as participating ca. 237 in debate with Chiang Chi 蔣濟 and Kao-t'ang Lung 高堂隆 about matters of the dynasty's ritual descent from primordial sages.

earlier times, so it is best to change [the name An-shih Chant so as to accord with the changed lyrics]. [We can] verify that the commentary to *Chou li* says that the An-shih Opera is the same as the Chou's "Fang-chung 房中" ("Intimate Chambers") Opera. For this reason, previous experts used the virtue of the Fang-chung chants for the princesses and ladies as a means to permeate the world and correct [the relations between] husbands and wives. [Previous Wei experts in 223, under Wen-ti] ought to have changed the name "An-shih" to "Correct Beginning Opera 正始樂."<sup>67</sup> Once the Wei state was established (216), former palace server Wang Ts'an, by [his] composing the processional chant titled "An-shih Poem" was emphasizing that we ought to consider the meaning behind singing for spirit-numens as well as making spirit-numens happy as a mirrored sort of communion.<sup>68</sup> Later on, I carefully read the Han-era "An-shih" chant, which said "High and extensive are the four hanging [bell-chimes]; the spirits arrive, feasting and partaking; happily making offerings and instructing the ordered program; would that we always receive their blessings." There were no words [there] concerning the "Two Southerly" princesses and ladies, wafting their influence across the world. I fear that in the case of the past [experts], their having deemed "Fang-chung" chants as [appropriate to] princesses and ladies was a mistake. We are about to sacrifice to the happy spirits. We shall mount the dais-hall 堂 and chant the achievement and virtue of the ancestor; we descend the dais-hall chanting and intoning the [spirits'] partaking

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CS 22 ("Yüeh" A), p. 701, explains that under the Han there were operas on the "Short Flute and Nao-Bell" ensemble songs ("短簫鐃歌"; 22 are named) that were arranged into drum-flute ensemble pieces for military contexts. Under Wei, 12 of those were changed, and Miao Hsi was charged with writing words that narrated the Han's achievements. A long list is given to explain how each song then was used to announce the Ts'ao warriors' achievements. In fact, all twelve are extant; see *SgS* 22 ("Yüeh" D), pp. 644-47.

<sup>67</sup> See *SKC* 2 ("Wen-ti chi," under late summer of Huang-ch'u 3), p. 83, cit. "Wei shu": a memorial proposed, among other opera name-changes, that "the Han-era An-shih opera" be called "Cheng-shih 正世." There is no mention, however, of its being approved by Wen-ti. Here, Shen's *SgS* text may be carrying a mistaken character and thus properly "世." The earlier Wei music memorial named Wu-ti's ballet "Wu-shih 始," suggesting that a 始 pattern of naming was being sought. One implication is a criticism of the father-disturber Ts'ao P'i, thus Ming-ti's reign being a correction 正 of Ts'ao Ts'ao's "Martial Beginning 始." This apparently would relate to the reign-name change to Cheng-shih 正始 after Ming-ti's death, and possibly dates the document to about Dec. 239 to Jan. 240, when the transition to the new emperor was being made (*SKC* 4 ["San shao-ti chi"], pp. 118-19). This must remain sheer speculation at present.

<sup>68</sup> I am not satisfied with my trans. of the last phrase. It would seem that Miao's point was that Wang Ts'an thought of "An-shih" as something holy – a recognition of the mutually reflecting communion with spirits, and not as a way to glorify the palace women as models of connubial bliss.

at banquet. There is no such service [in this context] for chanting the princesses' influences. It is best to rely on whatever the service is, in order to name the songs and chants appropriately. We should change "An-shih" chant to "Hsiang-shen 享神" ("The Partaking Spirits") chant.

The memorial was approved.<sup>69</sup> The technical problem was increasingly becoming one of proper venues and categories, that is, to distinguish among the subcategories of high-music – the Imperial Clan Temple music versus princesses' music, and those, in turn, versus banqueting and toasting music. A court musicologist might risk setting up an inappropriate association (for example, a link with the palace women) if his historical research and awareness were lacking.

In "Document no. 4 Attesting Wei-era Music Debates," Miao Hsi memorializes in support of a separate category of palace women's music, saying that a certain musical equality should exist for the empress-dowager's temple. He then mentions the precise specifications and instructions that music artisans were expected to create, note down, and follow in their performances.

In the temple for the Wen-chao 文昭 August Empress, we should set up four [sets of] suspended [bells]. The proper inscriptions [on them] will make apparent the [strike] order for a harmonized performance. Following the name of the T'ai-tsu [Ts'ao Ts'ao] Temple, we name [the empress's] music implements for a "Chao 昭" temple.<sup>70</sup>

The palace writers responded, saying that since the empresses inherit emoluments and participate equally at banquet, thus their music should be the same: "Today, although Chao August Empress has a separate temple, when it comes to the palace bell-sets and musical devices, and their tonal harmonizations, we ought to do as Miao Hsi has opined."

<sup>69</sup> Shen Yüeh comments first that it was not possible to understand Miao's proposal to change "An-shih" to "Hsiang-shen," since Wei Wen-ti's court had already changed it to Cheng-shih 正始 (世?) (see n. 67, which points out, however, that there is no evidence of Wen-ti's approving the suggested change); second, that Wang Ts'an's "An-shih" lyric was no longer extant.

<sup>70</sup> *SgS* 19 ("Yüeh" A), p. 537. (Bell inscriptions that correlate a bell's note with other, transposed, notes and with note names from other regions are discussed throughout Falkenhansen, *Suspended Music*.) The empress is née Chen 甄, Ming-ti's mother; see *SKC* 5, pp. 159-64; *TCTC/Fang* 1, pp. 68-69. Originally Yuan Hsi's wife, she was taken by Ts'ao Pi, when the Yuan stronghold at Yeh was conquered in 204-05 AD. Various later compilers believed that she wrote lyrics for a ballad usually ascribed to Ts'ao Ts'ao; see editors' note no. 5 to *SgS* 21, p. 624. I am unable to account for the final sentence, implying a lexic link between her temple and "T'ai-tsu's Temple name." It is possible that since Ts'ao Ts'ao was "wu" then anything indirectly associated with Ts'ao Pi's "wen" (which *chao* implied, see Kern, "Ritual, Text," p. 53, cit. *Ch'un-ch'iu*) worked well for Wen-ti's consort's symbol-system.

Shen's "Treatise on Music" now offers "Documents no. 5 and 6 Attesting Wei-era Music Debates," both products of the famous scholar, classicist, and court critic Wang Su 王肅 (195-256). In the first one, Wang is called a cavalier regular-attendant, dating it to about 229-236 AD, relatively early in his career and coming long before his difficulties in about 245 with the Ts'ao Shuang 曹爽 (d. 249) clique, when Wang was temporarily removed from court. He was an expert in court high-music and a composer of court lyrics (but there is virtually no recognition of this fact in treatments of him in modern scholarship).<sup>71</sup>

It is in the nature of kings that each uses his rites to serve [the altars of] Heaven and Earth. Today's discussants base [themselves] on a single text from *Chou-kuan* to make a grand outline for regulating the state. I am anxious that they have merely managed a specific position, but have not understood the big picture. ... The Han emperor Wu ... (for well-known ritual services) exhaustively employed his musical performances. When we speak of "exhaustively employing," we speak of exhausting the use of temple chime-set music. It is the nature of heaven and earth that they value what is simple (i.e., unadorned); and generally this refers to the implements [of music and rites] being unglamorous 不文爾; it does not mean that various things should in addition be decreased. "Rites" means the emperor's palace suspended [bells] and [his] ballet with the eight [-by-eight] dance-troupes 八佾.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>71</sup> For the timing of Wang's bureaucratic positions, see R. P. Kramers, *K'ung Tz'u Chia Yü, The School Sayings of Confucius: Introduction, Translation of Sections 1-10, with Critical Notes* (Leiden: Brill, 1950), pp. 56-62. Wang referred to Ts'ao Shuang's clique as the modern version of "Hung Kung and Shih Hsien": both those figures were W. Han eunuchs, the latter becoming nearly all-powerful under Yuan-ti (Kramers, pp. 67-68, and see Loewe, *Biographical Dictionary*, pp. 479-80). Wang Su's music expertise is noted by one phrase in Kramers, but is absent in Yoav Ariel, *K'ung-ts'ung-tzu, The K'ung Family Masters' Anthology: A Study and Translation of Chapters 1-10, 12-14* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1989), and quite surprisingly not covered in *Han Chin* 7, pp. 15-19 (which does not list Wang's 12 "court opera-lyrics" as part of his oeuvre), or in Lu K'an-ju 陸侃如, *Chung-ku wen-hsüeh hsi-nien* 中古文學係年 (Peking: Jen-min wen-hsüeh ch'u-pan, 1985) (who does not touch upon Wang at all). *Yüeh-fu shih-chi* 樂府詩集 (hereafter, *YFSC*) 56 quotes Wang's gloss of the song title "俳歌辭"; also a gloss (ch. 58) on the zither tune "將歸操," sometimes called "聊操." Such glosses may have come from a nonextant musical work of Wang Su, perhaps never edited or collated under any accepted title.

<sup>72</sup> *SgS* 19 ("Yüeh" A), p. 537; the memorial is also given in *Tung-tien* 147 and collected in *CSKW*, Wei 23, pp. 5b-6a. The 8-man dance squads, totaling 64 dancers, are referred to in *Lun-yü* 111/1; Confucius said of the Chi Family, "They use eight rows of eight dancers each to perform in their courtyard. If this can be tolerated, what cannot be tolerated" (Lau, *Confucius*, p. 67). The implication is that the 8x8 squads are the imperial prerogative. See also David Knechtges, trans., and annot., *Wen xuan, Or Selections of Refined Literature* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1996; hereafter *WX*) 1, pp. 166-67. A technical discussion of the numbers involved in these dance-troupes, based on a passage of Tu Yü's 杜預 (222-284) *Tso-chuan* commentary, occurred in 424/25 AD, under Liu-Sung emperor Wen; see *SgS* 19 ("Yüeh" A), p. 547. In 20th-

Wang Su concludes by proposing that the chime-sets be set up for the emperor's prayer venues at the Round Altar and Square Pool. Other Wei ministers – Wei Chen 衛臻, Miao Hsi, and Tso Yen-nien (the former leader of anti-Ts'ao Ts'ao court music under Ts'ao P'i) agreed, and the memorial was approved. Wang's opinion here meshes with his usual stentorian criticisms given all through Wei Ming-ti's reign (often in tandem with Kao-t'ang Lung 高堂隆), hoping to keep the emperor's spending and excessive displays in check.<sup>73</sup> “Wen” was, for him, to be pure and limited to certain traditional forms, in this case the emperor's bells and eight-by-eight troupes. Such notions related to a larger turn of opinion about *wen*, beginning in early Eastern Han and remaining down to Wang Su's day. Court critics rose up sharply against various examples of *ju* advisers who plied excessive wares and advice, and produced confusion in the rites, material objects, and even in writing itself.<sup>74</sup> But, finally, in Wang's warning there is an undertone of specific musicological problems: attention to proper instrumentation and venue, that is, a return to the chime-sets and their location in austere imperial temples as part of the high-music ballets.

“Document no. 6 Attesting Wei-era Music Debates” has Wang weighing in once more.<sup>75</sup> It is a longer piece than the previous one, and while glossing classical texts like *Chou kuan*, it expresses theoretical notions about diversity in court music and its use as a tool of imperial hegemony and diplomacy. One of its main ideas is that contemporary experts have misunderstood Chou-era music venues by thinking that they were limited to three high-music ballets, one for each of the three imperial venues – prayers to Heaven, sacrifices to Earth, and ceremonies in the Clan Temple (these would all be in category one of high-music, as expressed in *Sui-shu*; see above). In Wang Su's opinion high-music should include the feasting of guests (now moving outside

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c. Korea, court performances were still mounted along ancient specifications: both military and civil troupes, one up on the terrace, and one below it. “The symbols held by the dancers are a shield and a hatchet. The dances are performed in squares, that is, four rows of four, six rows of six, or eight rows of eight dancers. The dance movements, as well as the melodies accompanying them, are of no great complexity. In fact, complexity is exactly what is not sought. ... by the exact following of the rules, measures, and proportions of the Confucian Doctrines, perfect balance can be achieved. Therefore the dance consists of the prescribed number of men going through the simple movements (turn, bow, face the shrine...), while the symmetrical objectiveness of the melody moves without change in rhythm or tempo and with only very subtle indications of accent”; Robert Garfias, *Music of a Thousand Autumns: The Tōgaku Style of Japanese Court Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), p. 10.

<sup>73</sup> Kramers, *K'ung Izū Chia Yü*, pp. 56–64, translates these memorials.

<sup>74</sup> See Kern, “Ritual, Text,” pp. 57–61, 63–64.

<sup>75</sup> Wang's memorial is at *SgS* 19 (“Yüeh” A), pp. 537–38; also in *CSKW*, Wei 23, pp. 6a–b; and indirectly quoted in *SS* (“Yin-yüeh” A), p. 290.

the temples), and, citing *Chou-kuan*, should not be limited to only three of the traditional six ballets. The second point consists of a political explanation for such musical multiplicity. It came about in earlier times (continuing to cite *Chou-kuan*) to satisfy different constituents in the realm, mainly the non-Chinese “I 夷” peoples, who contributed their unique, local dance forms.<sup>76</sup> Not to see those different dance forms in the imperial venues would be bad diplomacy, since it would not satisfy people’s expectations 不厭人心, and those “people” were the non-Chinese, who often remained at court as diplomatic hostages and providers of potential non-Chinese brides for Chinese royalty.

In dealing with the Grand Partaking [in the imperial temples] as well as court feasting days, we must understand the musics of the ancient and modern I [barbarian periphery] and Hsia [central states]; both [musics] must be chief events in the imperial temples, and then later it reaches over to the rest of it [the lighter, feasting venues] 大享及燕日如之者, 明古衣夷、夏之樂, 皆主之於宗廟, 而後播及其餘也. In creating the music of former kings, the important point is to incorporate [different ballets and operas] and use them all; by bringing in the music of the four barbarian peoples, we demonstrate how elegance and virtue<sup>77</sup> expand and reach [everywhere in the kingdom] 夫作先王樂者, 貴能包而用之, 納四夷之樂者, 美德廣之所及也.

Wang Su as musicologist was both guarded and monitory about the need for delineating high-music venues, but at the same time, probably from his deep interest in music lyric and performance, pushed hard for inclusiveness – embracing all the operatic elements and dances of early dynasties and embracing all the foreign elements. The Wei court’s feasting music and ballets are seen here in an ancient diplomatic context that often concerned ways to impress and lull the different non-Chinese. Wang Su subsequently requested that the temples of the Wei

<sup>76</sup> For relevant *Chou-li* contexts as well, see Walter Kaufmann, *Musical References in the Chinese Classics*, Detroit Monographs in Musicology 5 (Detroit: Information Coordinators, Inc., 1976), ref. no. 112, pp. 176–77; also ref. no. 106, p. 175, for a list of Chou music officials who purportedly instructed the court in Mei-dances of the I peoples; the *Li-chi* context is seen at ref. no. 69, p. 53.

<sup>77</sup> Wang’s words “elegance and virtue” may have taken a cue from pre-Han and Han writings on rites; see esp. the opening remark in *Shih-chi* 23 (“Book [Treatise] on Rites 禮書”), p. 1157: 洋洋美德乎, 宰制萬物, 役使群眾, 豈人力也哉! (“Is not the very virtue of elegance a vast profundity? To master the myriad types of things and marshal hordes of workers, how can that be [strictly] by the force of men?”) Ssu-ma Ch’ien’s point turns out eventually to be that because of the hallowed, heaven-derived nature of material things and their beauty, and their appeal to men’s emotions, a system of categories and control must be put into place.

emperors and their empresses employ all the traditional ballets, as well as the new “Wu-shih” and “Ta-chün” ballets. This was accepted.

*Intersections of High and Light Music*

Shen Yüeh closes off the document by commenting that “Wang Su privately composed poetry and eulogies in twelve sections for the Clan Temple that did not have accompanying chants.”<sup>78</sup> In sum, Wang Su may have been aware of both Miao Hsi and Tso Yen-nien, and their ideas that touched on the ever-broadening categories of court-music. He was anxious, therefore, to fix those categories carefully and improve the relatively confused and mistaken remnants of early-Wei musicology. There was no question that Wang was a leading scholar, having already passed on his father’s commentaries to the classics as the official learning for students at the Wei court’s new academy, and having produced dozens of polemic and text-critical writings, as well as classicizing pseudepigrapha. His thoughts on music, then, were a foil by which Shen’s readers could judge Wei music from the point of view of an old-guard critic of court excess, yet a committed musicologist wishing to expand music.

At this point, Shen Yüeh shifts to the lighter court music by discussing court song-collections and their venues. The term of art is no longer chiefly 歌, but 曲 and 辭. One wonders if Shen Yüeh is implying a distinction between vocals for sacred, high-music (should we call that “chant”?) and, on the other hand, songs accompanied by ensembles that were increasingly scored with flute and string. Any distinction would require more careful evidence. We learn that earlier, in 85–86 AD, musicologists under Eastern Han Chang-ti 章帝 (76–88) had compiled a set of thirty songs 曲 for the emperor’s dining and his Clan Temple, as well as for story-telling; they did so by taking the products of Eastern Han Kuang-wu’s 光武帝 (r. 25–57) court and “creating on their own 自作” four new ones and picking and eliminating others. They also had in their repertory thirteen songs developed as Han feasting songs by the Han-era grand musicologist’s office. Shen says that in Wei and Chin

<sup>78</sup> *SgS* 19 (“Yüeh” A), p. 538. The following is a tentative translation of one of the two extant examples of Wang’s song texts, both called “宗廟頌” (“Eulogy for the Clan Temple”). “[Their] bright virtue is sweet indeed. / [Our] hallowed-heaven lords arrive. / [They] revere and bless our Wei. / [Our] meager words inspire them. / How do [we] inspire them? / By putting the folk at peace. / How have [our] lords arrived? / By [computing] the celestial number that adheres in the [imperial] Self. / Oh, it is overwhelming and glorious. / The bright spirits – they have communicated.” 明德惟馨，昊天之子，眷祐我魏，薄言起之。起之伊何，黎元時雍。子之伊何，歷數在躬。於乎盛哉，神明是通。 Saved originally in *Ch’u-hsüeh chi* 初學記 13; I have used the text as given in *CSKW*, Wei 23, pp. 11a–b.

times, court musicians like Hsün Hsü and Fu Hsüan "... all would make (remake?) lyrics [for these] 爲哥辭."<sup>79</sup>

In a final statement about developments in Wei, Shen tells us that scholars considered three of the just-mentioned thirteen songs from the Eastern Han court as ineffective and they cut them from the repertory. Furthermore, the "high-music" of the Wei court had four songs 曲: 1. "Lu-ming 鹿鳴" (Cry of the Deer) (Mao no. 161), which was later changed to "Yü-wu 於赫" (Oh, Hail!) for intoning Wu-ti's valor; 2. "Tsou Yü 騶虞" (Grooms and Gamesters) (Mao no. 25), later changed to "Wei-wei 巍巍," for intoning Wen-ti; 3. "Fa-t'an 伐檀" (Hewing the T'an-wood) (Mao no. 112), later excised; and 4. "Wen-wang 文王" (Mao no. 235), later changed to "Yang-yang 洋洋" (Vast Profundity), for intoning Ming-ti.<sup>80</sup> Shen now says that Tso Yen-nien "... recomposed the music 改其聲" for "Tsou Yü," "Fa-t'an," and "Wen-wang." He continues, taking up the theme of setting categories and proper venues:

[For the Wei's] Grand Convocations at Lunar New Year's day, the Grand Commandant's Presentation of the Jade Disk, and the Clustered Officials' Processional Rites 行禮, [accompaniment was by] the Eastern Chamber's high-music gentleman-composer 作者. Today, we call these the Processional Rites songs 曲, and they are performed in the Ku-hsien Chamber 姑洗箱 (which possibly refers to a room with a chime-set that is based on the *ku-hsien* pitch-standard). Lu-ming was originally banquet music, and is not proper for court sacrifices. [To use Lu-ming for court sacrifices] was the error of earlier times.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>79</sup> These remarks and the lists of the songs are at *SgS* 19 ("Yüeh" A), pp. 538-39.

<sup>80</sup> *Tso-chuan* discusses a music program, in which the vocal pieces "Lu-ming" and "Wen-wang" were preceded by ritual dances accompanied by bells; see Falkenhausen, *Suspended Music*, p. 215. "Tsou Yü" had other meanings in ancient times: *yü* was a ritual associated with ceremonies during the three-year period of mourning (as in *I-li*); and *tsou-yü* was the name of a mythical animal, as evidenced in *Shuo-wen*; for these, see Constance A. Cook, *Death in Ancient China: The Tale of One Man's Journey* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), p. 39, nn. 103, 104.

<sup>81</sup> *SgS* 19 ("Yüeh" A), p. 539. There is a parallel version of this in *CS* 22 ("Yüeh" A), p. 684 (subsect. "正旦大會行禮歌"); its chief difference is in naming Tu K'uei as having passed down the four Wei-era songs. At this point, I cannot judge the veracity of such a remark, or whether the *CS* compilers might have had documents not available to Shen 150 years earlier. Recall also that Ch'en Shou had written, in Tu K'uei's biography, that "[However] it was the songs and ballets that were not part of [Tu's] metier." Ch'en may have been the first to have read extant Wei-court documents about music and noticed that although Tu was much lauded, nevertheless, 10-15 years after his death, men like Tso, who had opposed Tu, were editing Tu's contributions to lyrics. In fact *Tung-tien* 477 (sect. "三朝行禮樂制議") discusses the four songs, and claims that the W. Chin-era (*sic*) musician Ch'en Ch'i (discussed below, n. 85) was the one to record this fact about Tu K'uei and that Tso Yen-nien's changes were made ca. 230 ("太和中"), saying that all four song lyrics were set to "old-style music 皆古聲辭." It further states that Tso composed (new) performance music for them, and that the names of the songs survived but not his music composition "更作聲節, 其名雖存, 而聲實異."

Wang Su died before Ssu-ma Chao 司馬昭 and his brother Ssu-ma Yen 司馬炎 (later to become Chin Wu-ti) began patronizing scholars and ordering institutions to be researched and recast. Wang's sons (born ca. 220–230) made no mark on musicology and performance (nor in any scholarly way whatever). It would seem that after Wang Su's musicological views, yet without any further Wang-family leadership in rites and music, Wei music fell into disarray from about 245 (when Wang Su suffered demotion under Ts'ao Shuang), to 264–265, when the Ssus organized their preferred experts and advisers.

#### WESTERN CHIN SONG-WRITERS AND A COMPETITION OVER LYRICS

We come to an important document revealing a musicological rift in the early 260s, at the beginning of Chin. It involved a court-lyric group, specifically Hsün Hsü and Chang Hua, in a dispute over the antiquarian purity of lyrics and also something I term scoring-prosody. We see that three experts in the group – Hsün, Chang, and Fu Hsüan – engaged in what may be seen as a competition. They all wrote lyrics for (but perhaps “about”) the same ballets, including the “Cheng-te 正德 Ballet.” The arguers in this passage are trying to determine where it was appropriate to present songs. How did lyrics fit with the ensemble instruments? Hsün Hsü offers an opinion about the way venues were misunderstood. To him, the court's ensembles ought to have been working better than they were. Just as in the Document no. 2, above, it is the masters of writing, but now under the Chin, who send up a memo about technical matters.<sup>82</sup>

In 269/70, the masters of writing [office] memorialized, [instructing] that grand tutor Fu Hsüan, inspector of palace writers Hsün Hsü, and gentleman of the Yellow Gate Chang Hua each create chants and poems for use at New Year's Morning 正旦, the Clustered Officials' Processional Rites 羣后行禮,<sup>83</sup> and the music for Princes' and Dukes' Birthday Salutations of Longevity at Drinking and Dining 王公上壽酒食舉樂. An edict also directed gentle-

<sup>82</sup> *SgS* 19 (“Yüeh” A), pp. 539.

<sup>83</sup> The phrase “羣后” was also glossed in early literature as “all the various feudal lords 諸侯”; taken this way, it bolsters the sense of Ssu-ma nobles who held fiefs outside the capital to which they were obliged to travel with their retinues. A Processional Rite staged by officials may have functioned to welcome them back to the safety of the imperial palace, after contending with the dangers of journey; see ancient rites of a similar nature associated with postmortem journey, as discussed in Lai Guolong, “Death and the Otherworldly Journey in Early China as Seen through Tomb Texts, Travel Paraphernalia, and Road Rituals,” *AM* 34 ser. 18.1 (2005), pp. 23–24.

man of palace writers Ch'eng-kung Sui 成公綏 (232-73) to create [such lyrics] as well.

(Interpolated from *Chin-shu*.) <Hsün Hsü stated: "For Processional Rites and their toasting the Wei house twice chose the Chou poem "Cry of the Deer" as their song lyric. Yet, 'Cry of the Deer' is meant for banquets as celebrations with guests (that is, court light-music). We ought not to use it for court [high-music sacrifices]. [The Wei musicians] looked into past precedents, and they never understood the [proper] correlations" 魏氏行禮、食舉，再取周詩鹿鳴以爲樂章。又鹿鳴以宴嘉賓，無取於朝，考之舊聞，未知所應。><sup>84</sup>

Chang Hua memorialized: "The poems for salutations [to the emperor] and feasting in the Wei and the [poems] that the Han house caused to be spread everywhere had verse-texts of uneven length, thus not all of them matched with [those of] antiquity (or, "previous court songs"). In general, we should base [ourselves] on the cadences of [those] vocalizers and string-players. Originally it was [a case of their] following and conforming [with practice], so that masters of performance and those who knew about tones (pitch-standards and/or notes in the scales) had sufficient [material] to fashion sounds; they regulated songs and made models for [others'] uses. This is not what mediocre recent musicians can change. We have come through two dynasties (the Wei and the Chin, referring to men like himself who straddled two ruling houses) and three capitals (that is, the three courts set up by Ts'ao Ts'ao: in Hsü 許 and Yeh 鄴, and after about 221 in Loyang); we have inherited [the music specifications] unchanged. Although the poems are available to be seen, their words vary; things come and go in their season. When it comes to the interplay of rhyme and the song-pauses, everything is bound to the old [usage]; and this is as it should be. With this [in mind], everything completely should follow in line with what has been achieved. We dare not change [things]."

Hsün Hsü then said "In Wei times, the [court] chants and poems were of two-, three-, four-, and five-word [lines], and were not of a category with ancient/former poetry 古詩." [Then Hsün],

<sup>84</sup> This passage is inserted by me here, based on the text of *CS* 22 ("Yüeh" A), p. 684, which treats it in this same context as Hsün's words. *SgS*, however, states this very argument, but expressed as Shen Yüeh's own narrative (trans. in the preceding extract); *SgS* 19 ("Yüeh" A), also on p. 539. As mentioned (see n. 81), possibly, early music documents showed this opinion as coming from Hsün. Usually in contexts of wholesale borrowing, *CS* does not rearrange passages from *SgS* technical treatises, making this specific case, if it is such, emphatic. It is possible, too, that Shen Yüeh did not see that it was Hsün's argument and just copied it in as a datum.

based on this [problem], asked (former follower of Tu K'uei and former Wei-dynasty) general of gentlemen of household, director of pitch-standards 司律 Ch'en Ch'i (or Hang) 陳頎(頎),<sup>85</sup> who said: "[The performances formerly were] covered by the bell and sounding-stone [accompaniments], and they were not necessarily all a good match." Therefore, Hsün Hsü composed Chin chants, and all were four-word [lines]. Only the poem for the salutations [to the emperor] made by the princes and dukes was composed in three- and five-word [lines]. With this, thus Chang Hua and Hsün Hsü clearly understood that they had different interpretations.

In 273, Hsün Hsü followed [specific codified] instructions and took charge of orchestral services 九年, 荀勗遂典知樂事. He had Kuo Ch'ung 郭瓊 and Sung Shih 宋識, and others, make the ballets "Cheng-te 正德" and "Ta-yü 大豫," yet Hsün Hsü, Fu Hsüan, and Chang Hua in addition each made poems for (on?) these ballets and chants 各造此舞哥詩.

Chang Hua was wary about making changes to lyrics. He was widely known as a collector and diviner of strange objects; he possessed vast numbers of court drafts, which ended up cluttering his house.<sup>86</sup> He had that curator's sense of preservation. Hsün's opinion about "Cry of the Deer" had already positioned him as someone quite ready to change Wei-era music. Chang Hua's point, that the available, precedented lyrics were uneven in line-length, was confirmed by Hsün Hsü, but Hsün took it much further: to him, the lyrics were "not of a category with ancient poetry." His proposal was that the lyricists go back to antiquity and use four-syllable lines (that is, recalling "*ku-shih* 古詩," which in this context refers to the *Classic of Poetry* itself). Hsün even seems somewhat in the camp of Tso Yen-nien, who, according to a later source had edited the four feasting songs of early Wei, fashioning them into ancient lyrics and providing musical pieces 古聲辭.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>85</sup> Comparison of this name with that found in Tu's biog., discussed above, shows that Ch'i is graphically very near to that of Hang. (陳頎 was a Tu disciple and held the exact same official title as referred to in this *SgS* passage.) *CS* 24 ("Chih-kuan"), p. 736, states that the supervisor of pitch-standards during Han was Tu K'uei, who was called chief commandant of pitch-standards 協律都尉, but Chin changed this to colonel of pitch-standards 協律校尉. The *CS* treatise makes no mention of a Chin-dynasty "gentleman of household, director of pitch-standards 司律." It is possible that Chin music offices were not rationalized and named properly by 270 or so, but given these other coincidences, it seems safe to suggest that the elderly Ch'en Ch'i/Hang was not serving officially at this time, and is being referred to by his old Wei-court title. Therefore, Ch'en Ch'i is identical with Ch'en Hang, the name having been miswritten.

<sup>86</sup> See his biog., *CS* 36, pp. 1074-75.

<sup>87</sup> I am indebted to *Asia Major's* reviewer for the insight about Hsün's turn to deep antiquity and the 4-word *ku-shih*; and I have borrowed some of the reviewer's wording in this regard. For the evaluation of Tso's work, see *T'ung-tien*, cited in n. 81, above.

The artisan Ch'en Ch'i (Hang), probably an old musician from the Wei court, seems to have signaled another point to Hsün – that Wei performers had never cared about proper scoring-prosody. Bell and stone chimes by nature are undamped, fixed in pitch, and relatively noisy; they can intrude on unregulated lyrics – those that have not been metered correctly in order to make the strophic pauses match the instrumental voids. Does this mean that Hsün has learned a quick-and-dirty trick of music scoring – that some instruments and their phrasings will drown out sloppily applied textual meter or poor euphony? Perhaps so;<sup>88</sup> but in any case, Hsün Hsü was by this time becoming disappointed with early-Wei musicology. Ch'en's revelation may have inspired Hsün to think about correcting it and thus giving Chin's music a new beginning.

A historical development in music reforms (specifically, new music) now becomes discernible – possibly including Ch'ai Yü in about 221–225, clearly Ts'ao P'i and Tso Yen-nien at that time (with Tso continuing under Ming-ti). To this we add Miao Hsi and Wang Su in an indirect way in the 230s, and now Hsün Hsü in about 270. A tension in values has emerged from Chang's and Hsün's stances: preservationist versus reactionary. Hsün did not want to follow Wei music artisans and their unworkable juxtapositions of strophe to song, song to ensemble, and ensemble to venue. He preferred Chou antiquity. What is not seen in these documents is the fact that in the two or three years that followed, Hsün would assert, through physical measure and tests, that the Ts'ao-Wei court had been musically illegitimate: they had based their tuning pitch on the wrong metric specifications via Tu K'uei's error.<sup>89</sup> Here, at this moment in time, Hsün was already gathering evidence of the erroneous ways of Ts'ao-Wei court music. Hsün Hsü, along with Fu and Chang, did in fact compose a large number of song lyrics for the Chin court, a portion of which were saved by Shen Yüeh's archival work, and by later compilers. Moreover, as per Hsün's claims, many of his lyrics turned out to be even, four-word lines, addressing, it would seem, both his desire to revert to antiquity and solve prosodic disjointedness.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>88</sup> Goodman, "Tintinnabulations of Bells."

<sup>89</sup> See, e.g., Kan Pao's 干寶 (fl. ca. 300–25) "Chin chi" 晉紀; quoted in Yang Yung 楊勇, annot., *Shih-shuo hsin-yü chiao-chien* 世說新語校箋 (Hong Kong: Ta-chung shu-chü, 1969), p. 530 (cf. trans. Richard Mather, *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü: A New Account of Tales of the World [By Liu I-ch'ing, with Commentary by Liu Chün]* [Minneapolis: U. Minnesota Press, 1976; hereafter, *SSH/Mather*], p. 358); also *SgS* 11 ("Lü-li" A), p. 219. This aspect of Hsün Hsü is treated fully in Goodman, "Retuning the Ts'aos."

<sup>90</sup> The lyrics are found in *SgS* 20 ("Yüeh" B), pp. 583–90; *YFSC* 13 (sect. "Yen-she ko-tz'u

*The Song-Writers*

We have begun to see that Hsün Hsü, Chang Hua, and the others deployed apposite skills in their musicological projects, and in Hsün's case, only several years later he would find material evidences from archeology, metrics, and harmonics to criticize the Wei more severely. The ways in which such men came by their skills were not just random, but followed traditions and opportunities for polymathy that had started in Eastern Han and come to a head with the later years of the Tung-kuan. It was there that Ts'ai Yung 蔡邕 (133-192), another musician-polymath, had had a hand in musicological reconstructions and experiments, and where he had started his drafts of technical treatises.<sup>91</sup> I have already mentioned, above, the popularity of music topics and the continuity of musical skills in this time.

Hsün Hsü 荀勗 was not a literary figure himself, but was from a scholarly family of literary renown and with interests in a variety of skills. Elsewhere, I have explored in some detail the scholarly traits and skill-areas among these Hsüns, and have highlighted the musicology of Hsün's elder kinsman, Hsün I 荀顛 (205-274),<sup>92</sup> who seems to have been the key to understanding how Hsün Hsü was inducted into court music leadership. A point to be made here is that one did not need to be a classical scholar to pursue work in the court rites, since neither Hsün authored any commentaries. Hsün Hsü's life demonstrates a passion to complete an agenda in an interrelated complex of arts. In addition, he used opportunities for fame and court power and the influence of family and various peers, who were interested in similar technics.

Hsün Hsü's era was known as an experimentive one, when people turned away from so-called Confucian rites and court projects. Yet, we should not treat such labels (anti-rites, eremitic) too essentially. Intellectual revolutionaries and scoffers at social forms shared interests with men like Hsün (not at all a revolutionary or scoffer), especially because so many were versed in arts, especially music. All of this in retrospect would have impacted the immediate cultural world of the Western Chin song writers, and the reasons why the court assigned these particular men to a music project. In addition, just after Chung Hui's 鍾會 (225-

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燕射歌辭” part 1); and Chang P'u 張溥 (Ming era), comp. *Han Wei Liu-ch'ao pai san chia chi* 漢魏六朝百三家集 (SKCS edn.; photographic rpt. in *Ssu-k'u wen-hsüeh tsung-chi hsüan-k'an* 四庫文學總集選刊 [Shanghai: Shang-hai ku-chi ch'u-pan she, 1994; hereafter *HWLC*] 38, pp. 13b-19a.

<sup>91</sup> See Goodman, “Chinese Polymaths.”

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 148-55; I's biogs. are at *SKC* 10, pp. 319-20, commentary, citing “Chin Yang-ch'iu”; and *CS* 39, pp. 1150-52.

264) rebellion of 263–64, the Ssu-mas began to review policies and rites in preparation for founding a dynasty. Several days after Ssu-ma Yen's enthronement in February of 266, Hsün Hsü and Hsün I were among a group of Ssu-ma boon-companions that included Yang Hu 羊祜 (221–278) and P'ei Hsiu 裴秀 (224–271) who were promoted and enfeoffed. This was the clique in control of state affairs.<sup>93</sup>

After having punctiliously declined a noble title,

[Hsün] was appointed as inspector of palace writers, added to [his office as] palace attendant, and with responsibilities as drafter 著作 [in the historiography offices].<sup>94</sup> Together with Chia Ch'ung 賈充 (217–282), he brought order to the regulations and commands (the system of administrative and criminal codes).<sup>95</sup>

These very offices would turn out to be Hsün's springboard to the Imperial Library and its trove of texts, objects, and even the necessary artisans to explain them.

Now that Hsün Hsü had firm court status, he could build a mansion and indulge in luxuries. If a passage in *Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan chi* 洛陽伽覽記 (completed 547 AD) is to be believed, and there is no compelling reason to reject all its data, luxuries were found at a site later identified as Hsün's mansion in Loyang. One object was a cast statue of bodhisattvas, with an inscription naming Hsün as the owner and dating it to the summer of 266.<sup>96</sup> This is meaningful, since later in his career, Hsün's reform of metrics and flute temperament would involve casting a new court-standard foot-rule 尺 and flute pitch-regulators 笛律. Other stories about Hsün Hsü tout his polymathy, especially his skill in design and

<sup>93</sup> See *CS* 40, p. 1166; and 43, p. 1224, where we learn that P'ei was much lauded and supported in this new status by Shan T'ao.

<sup>94</sup> From Hsün Hsü's biog., *CS* 39, p. 1153. Drafter, based on numerous contexts in *Chin-shu* biogs., referred here to responsibility for compilations and diaries of "activity and repose"; *Pei-t'ang shu-ch'ao* 北堂書鈔 (n.p.: Nan-hai k'ung-shih san-shih you san wan ch'üan t'ang edn., 1888) 57, p. 2a, cit. Wang Yin's *Chin-shu*, claims that Hsün was commissioned in this post to compile the *pen-chi* of Ssu-ma Chao (Wen-ti).

<sup>95</sup> *Han Chin* 7, p. 60, claims Chia's exegetical project to adjust the legal code was initiated in 264; possibly it was only in 266 that Hsün was commended for it.

<sup>96</sup> *Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan chi* (SPPY edn.) 1, pp. 9b–10a; Wang Yi-t'ung, trans., *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-yang*, by Yang Hsüan-chih (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1984), pp. 55–56. Standard chronological tables would disagree with Wang's phrase "June 24" and would correct this to "July 4." The same story, considerably condensed (and perhaps even quoting another tradition) appears in *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* 36, and in Sung-era florilegia. Wang, *ibid.*, pp. xiii–xv, reasons that *Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan chi* can be considered a good, occasional source for passages from nonextant documents (e.g., Yen K'o-chün's uses of *Ch'ieh-lan chi* to transcribe several prose items). One comes away with the sense that such anecdotes as this about Hsün carry a kernel of documentary reliability (we can easily accept that a statue was found, and that its colophon was transcribed), even though what follows are fabrications about holy lights and the statue's coming to life.

portraiture, and his collections of valuable objects, including swords. Hsün was thus exploring the sorts of ostentatious luxury and connoisseurship that others of his station explored, as Ssu-ma power increased the fortunes of loyalists, from the 250s onward.<sup>97</sup>

Of Hsün Hsü's music associates, it was Fu Hsüan and especially Chang Hua who later on would most engage him in factional politics. Chang is described as coming from a poor family, orphaned early, and, while still young, showing a great literary talent. He studied *t'u-wei* 圖緯 ("charts and weft-texts"), astrology, and *feng-shui* – a scholar deeply interested in arts and technics. He possessed a talent for spatial and mechanical arrays: he committed to memory the plan of all the Loyang palace gates and layouts, and could sketch them and discuss them on-demand, in great detail.<sup>98</sup> His youthful literary creation "Fu on the Wren" 鷓鴣賦 (written around 254) is said to have been highly praised by Juan Chi,<sup>99</sup> and the Juan connection facilitated Chang's appointment as erudite in the office of grand master of ceremonies in 255. Subsequently, he was made gentleman of the palace writers, chief clerk, and imperial secretary. Upon the founding of the Chin dynasty in 266 he was made gentleman of the Yellow Gate, and ennobled as *kuan-wei hou*. By 270, apparently just about the time of the court-music work, he rose to prefect of palace writers.

The rift between Chang Hua and Hsün Hsü over a specialized matter of prosody and lyric meter, above, was small compared with their eventual rupture. Chang would support the war against Wu, plans for which ramped up slowly between 276–279; Hsün and his faction would be against. Add to this a certain bitterness that we might speculate derived from jealousy and status differences. Chang's family was not a leading one, and his appointments when the Chin was founded were relatively low, viewed against those of the wider peer group. Chang was made Yellow Gate gentleman, whereas Hsün became inspector of palace writers.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>97</sup> *SSHY/Mather* 21, p. 365, relates Hsün's collecting and wealth, and gives evidence of a mansion having been built by Hsün's in-laws as well, the Chung family – an influential family until Chung Hui's failed rebellion. See Goodman, "Chinese Polymaths," pp. 151–53.

<sup>98</sup> Biog. in *CS* 36, pp. 1068–77; trans. by Straughair, minus the "Rhapsody on the Wren," in Anna Straughair, *Chang Hua: A Statesman-Poet of the Western Chin Dynasty*, Occasional Paper 15 (Canberra: Australian National University, Faculty of Asian Studies, 1973), esp. pp. 25–28, for his early life and talents.

<sup>99</sup> The *fu* text is at *HWLC* 40, pp. 1a–2a; Straughair, *Chang Hua*, p. 27, doubts that Juan would praise anyone for talents that could lead to high office. I would disagree and can imagine that Juan, a scoffer and eremite, could be both avuncular and quirky in this era of bon mots, personal vettings of potential office-holders, and new forms of social linkage. On Chang and Juan, see Holzman, *Poetry and Politics*, pp. 260–61, n. 44, who showed that early critics who disbelieved their encounter did not allow for the strong connection between the two families.

<sup>100</sup> Possibly, the younger Chang by 266 had not achieved the promotions placing him at an equally ranked post. But I doubt that after the volatile 255–65 period the bureaucracy remained fine-tuned and concerned with fairness. The Ssu-mas were just then issuing numerous

Like Chang's, Fu Hsüan's family (from the Kansu-Shensi area) were not among the Eastern Han elite. Fu was an expert in music performance and in the construction of instruments.<sup>101</sup> He also made a mark as policy adviser in the 250s, with ideas often based in systematic analysis, such as proposals to calculate ratios of non-agricultural versus agricultural portions of the population and to create a categorized census for developing percentiles in the taxing of agriculture.<sup>102</sup> In addition, he was a historiographer – one of several compiling Wei history even as they lived through its last years.

Being slightly older than Hsün and Chang (suggesting farther along a career track), in 266 Fu Hsüan was made chief commandant of attendant cavalry, later palace attendant, and palace assistant secretary. Later, by 269, his appointments rose quite high: grand coachman and grand tutor, then in 270 colonel director of retainers. He was cashiered in 278 for becoming angry about a lack of respect displayed to him during mourning rites for the empress-dowager Hsien and he died that year. He had never fallen out or come to an intellectual impasse with Hsün Hsü, as had Chang.

Another person mentioned in the document, above, was Ch'eng-kung Sui. He was a native of Tung 東 commandery in modern-day Honan. He was well-known in his own day as a scholar and a poet,<sup>103</sup> and had been appointed, apparently along with Hsün Hsü, to assist Chia Ch'ung's committee to revamp the law codes in 264–265.<sup>104</sup> He

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rewards to compatriots. The matter of relative statuses and the internal logic of official posts in the Chin is problematic. Unlike basic *k'ao-cheng* work available for San-kuo officialdom and institutions (e.g., Yang Chen 楊晨, *San-kuo hui-yao* 三國會要 [Peking: Chung-hua, 1956], and Hung I-sun 洪飴孫, *San-kuo chih-kuan piao* 三國職官表 [Kuang-ya shu-chü edn.; also in vol. 2, *Erh-shih-wu shih pu-pien*]), scholarship on the Chin has not likewise benefited; nor have there been large studies of Chin officialdom, military, geography, or finance based on a comparison of treatises contained in *HHS*, *CS*, *SgS*, and *SS*, such as those written decades ago by E. Balazs and R. des Rotours concerning Sui-T'ang. Early groundbreaking work in this area by Miyazaki has been incorporated intelligently by Declercq, *Writing Against the State*, esp. chap. 4.

<sup>101</sup> See Yang, *Chung-kuo ku-tai yin-yüeh*, pp. 130–31, where Fu's preface to "Fu on the P'i-p'a" is discussed for its accurate descriptions of the old-style Han *p'i-p'a*. See also, L. E. R. Picken, "The Origin of the Short Lute," *The Galpin Society Journal* 8 (1955); also Kishibe Shigeru, "Biwa no engen" 琵琶の淵源, in Tōyō ongaku gakkai, eds., *Tōdai no gakkai* 唐代の樂器 (Tokyo, 1979), pp. 120–21. The sect. on music in the poorly transmitted extant *Fu-tzu* contains virtually nothing on music *qua* music, only generalities; see Jordan D. Paper, *The Fu-tzu: A Post-Han Confucian Text*, Monographies du T'oung Pao 13 (Leiden: Brill, 1987; based on author's 1970 Ph.D. thesis), pp. 58–59.

<sup>102</sup> Biog. in *CS* 47, pp. 1317–32; trans. in full, Paper, *Fu-tzu*; see esp. pp. 74–80, for early life and these memorials. All rhapsodies, poems, and memorials, are in *HWLC* 39.

<sup>103</sup> Biog. *CS* 92, pp. 2371–75; a synthetic biog. in *WX* 3, pp. 374–75, which gives a birth date of 231, unlike my calculation. Ch'eng-kung was widely respected for scholarship, and many works were copied and preserved in later compendia; see *HWLC* 52.

<sup>104</sup> *CS* 92, p. 2375.

was politically in the ambit of Chang Hua, who had recommended him for grand master of ceremonies in 255, even though they were nearly the same age and both quite young. Ch'eng-kung did not receive that post, only the status of erudite.<sup>105</sup> But he eventually rose to positions as gentleman in the Imperial Library and gentleman palace writer.

Ch'eng-kung "... appreciated (was good at) notes and pitch-standards 好音律" and knew quite a bit about music instruments, having written rhapsodies about both the *p'i-p'a* and *ch'in*. His most famous piece, "Rhapsody on Whistling" 嘯賦, concerns an art that caught the imaginations of a number of early musicologists and eremitic types, like the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove. It indicates that the author, like many specialists in lyric and music, had a basic knowledge of the technical matters of the pentatonic scale and the relationship of "notes" to the highly analytical "pitch-standards." Toward the end, we read: "Emit the *zhi* note, and at the peak of winter it becomes hot and humid; / Release the *yu* note, and severe frost withers things in summer; / ... The tones and harmonies are not constant, / The tunes have no fixed measure."<sup>106</sup> This sentiment derides the positivist value in measure and computation. Not surprisingly, many of his notions and inspirations in his writings were lyrically eremitic and taoistic.<sup>107</sup> Ch'eng-kung's view about the pointlessness of fixing pitches to a measured constant was exactly the opposite of Hsün Hsü's well-known program to research, test, and measure.

We can make deductions about the steps that took Hsün Hsü toward music. His kinsman Hsün I was a musicologist working under the aegis of the Chin court at this time, having been commissioned about the year 270 to "correct the music" for the two ballets "Cheng-te 正德"

<sup>105</sup> Liu, *Han Chin* 7, pp. 61-62, probably errs in the chronology of Ch'eng-kung's life; he quotes (cit. *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 太平御覽 632) a missive of Chang Hua recommending Ch'eng-kung. It discusses Ch'eng-kung's age, appearance and character. Liu places the writing at 265, but the letter says that Ch'eng-kung "... is 25 [i.e., 24] and his cognomen is Tzu-an, ... etc." Thus, it must have been 255, as *WX* 3, p. 374, says as well.

<sup>106</sup> Trans. Knechtges, *WX* 3, p. 323; see also the trans. of Douglass A. White, in Victor Mair, ed., *The Columbia Anthology of Traditional Chinese Literature* (N.Y.C.: Columbia U.P., 1994), pp. 429-34.

<sup>107</sup> See E. D. Edwards, "Principles of Whistling": *Hsiao chih* - Anonymous," *BSOAS* 20.1-3 (1957), pp. 217-29, which studies an 8th-c. treatise; and Fan Ziye 範子燁, "Lun xiao, juexiang de Zhongguo ya yue" 論嘯, 絕响的中國雅樂, *Ch'iu shih hsüeh-k'an* 求是學刊 3 (1997), pp. 74-77. Holzman, *Poetry and Politics*, pp. 149-51, 187, noticed the connection between Juan Chi's quietism and the mountain-man whistler Sun Teng; and see Goodman, "Exegetes and Exegeses," pp. 112-14, for the way mountain retreats and mountain music affected the Bamboo Sages who wrote on *I-ching*. Knechtges, *WX* 3, p. 315, connects whistling to Taoist exercises. Ch'eng-kung also wrote a rhapsody on "the world" ("天地賦") that lauds naturalness, emptiness, etc.; see *CS* 92, pp. 2373-74.

and “Ta-yü 大豫.”<sup>108</sup> This was more or less the same year that Hsün Hsü, Chang, and Fu worked on lyrics for those ballets. Based on the terminology (“correct the *music*”) and on the fact that I’s name was not mentioned in Shen Yüeh’s documents concerning lyric and song, we can deduce that Hsün I’s work was specifically performative (tuning and ensemble harmony) and not textual, involving lyric. The last paragraph in the document concerning the song-writing group, translated above, says that in 273 Hsün Hsü took over the orchestra, and gathered performance artisans to complete these same two ballets. Thus, Hsün I, quite possibly the Chin court’s first expert in tuning and scoring but now in his last months of life, introduced the needed skills to his younger cousin to ensure completion of the task.

Thus in 273, it was not just that Hsün Hsü somehow stumbled upon the orchestra, but that he was purposefully moving from textual and prosodic problems to those of material measure and tone production. In fact, Shen adds emphasis by saying that “Earlier, Hsün Hsü having already used new tonal-standards to fashion the two ballets, went on further to re-do the proper [tunings of the] bell- and lithophone-[sets].” This latter project would not be concluded before his death, and his son’s appointment to finish it was fruitless in the face of the chaos and destruction of the 290s.<sup>109</sup> All of this puts the lie to a high-handed implication contained in Hsün’s *Chin-shu* biography: that Hsün’s famous talent in detecting notes and the cloak of savant-mystery that such lore placed around his personality were enough to propel him into leadership of the court’s music.<sup>110</sup>

### *The Contestants’ Lyrics*

Why did Shen Yüeh mention the fact that Hsün, Chang, and Fu all wrote separate lyrics for/about the “Cheng-te 正德” and “Ta-yü 大豫” ballets?<sup>111</sup> Shen’s aim seems to have been to illuminate musico-logical problems over time and to record the successes and failures of courts as they faced those problems. In this paradigm of “crisis and reaction,” the Chin court would be expected to resolve matters. The

<sup>108</sup> *CS* 39, p. 1151.

<sup>109</sup> *SgS* 19 (“Yüeh” A), p. 540.

<sup>110</sup> *CS* 39, p. 1153; legends about his sensory genius were collected earlier in *Shih-shuo hsün-yü*; see *SSHY/Mather* (sect. 20, “Technical Understanding”), pp. 357, 359. The *CS* biog. makes its back-handed praise by the way it places one of those legends in its narration of Hsün’s career.

<sup>111</sup> I remain slightly equivocal on the distinction between these lyrics as the chants used by the singers in the opera-ballet itself and as ensemble lyrics that later on simply evoked that performance. In favor of the latter, one wonders why there would be musical self-references in a chant delivered in a high-music performance; see below. But we cannot rule that out.

tension between Chang and Hsün stood out as undesirable friction. Hsün the reactionary antiquarian and denouncer of former dynasties' incompetences made waves within the surviving remnants of music offices, where artisans who had worked under the Wei were, quite interestingly, still available for consultation. The other scholars, with Chang Hua probably as unstated literary leader (remember that Ch'eng-kung was his protégé), were established poets and writers. To engage in a competition was simply a practical way to gain alternatives for these lyrics, and to have choices available for an ultimate adjudication, perhaps by the emperor.

Following is my translation of Hsün Hsü's lyrics for the "Cheng-te," or "Correct Virtue" Ballet. After that I compare aspects with the corresponding lyrics by Chang and Fu. Hsün's consists of twelve couplets of four-word lines. Each couplet's end-rhymes are given in modern Mandarin (italicized), followed directly by Edwin Pulleyblank's Early-Middle Chinese reconstructive transcription (unemphasized). There seems to be a prosodic consistency of finals running through the even lines: the first six (lines 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12) resonate around "-awŋ" (with some variation); and the second six around "-aw'". These two sound-complexes, similar and always on the even "up-beats," as it were, may have given a feeling of unresolved *ostinato* – chant-like and sacred.<sup>112</sup>

#### Hsün Hsü's "Chant for the Upright Virtue (Cheng-te) Ballet"

- 1 Patterns of men are unfurled as models;                    則 *tse tsək*  
 2 [Our] flourishing virtue "has [such] generosity."<sup>113</sup>                    容 *juŋ juawŋ*  
 3 Using tones, we follow the [flow of] singing 依詠;<sup>114</sup>                    詠 *yung wiajŋ<sup>h</sup>*

<sup>112</sup> *SgS* 20 ("Yüeh" B), p. 587. Unfortunately, *YFSC* 52 ("Wu-ch'ü ko-tz'u" 舞曲歌辭), which also carries the text, gives nothing in its introductory essay nor any glosses that bear examining. I make no claims for understanding the song's variations of the medial ("–əwŋ" vs. "–awŋ"); nor am I able to explain other structures (e.g., patterns in the odd-line finals). I rely on Edwin Pulleyblank, *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese and Early Mandarin* (Vancouver: U. British Columbia, 1991). For convenience, his "barred i" is written here as 'y' (the back end of a diphthong); "palatal fricative c" written as 's' (as *x* in Mandarin "xi"); "voiced palatal fricative" as 'z'; Glottal stop as '?'; "voiced velar fricative" as 'kh'; see *Lexicon*, pp. 4–8.

<sup>113</sup> *Shu*, "Ch'in shih"; see Karlgren, "The Book of Documents," *BMFEA* 22 (1950), p. 81; also *Li-chi*, sect. "Ta-hsüeh": 其如有容焉。I employ quote marks only around phrases, like this one, that are preceded in the Han-era Five Classics.

<sup>114</sup> I find no precedent for this 2-char. phrase, and in fact Hsün may be the literary originator: later both Lu Chi and his younger brother would use it; e.g., Lu Yun's 陸雲 "Sheng-te Eulogy 盛德頌": "How poems and chants follow the intoning, and how bells and stones waft up [sounds] 詩歌之所依詠[詠], 金石之所掄揚"; Yen K'o-chün, *Ch'üan Chin wen* 全晉文 103, pp. 12b.

- 4 Using dances, we give image [to our martial]  
deeds 象功.<sup>115</sup> 功 *kung kəwŋ*
- 5 “Shields and axes 干戚,”<sup>116</sup> “brandished,  
flashing 發揮,”<sup>117</sup> 揮 *hui xuj*
- 6 With the cadence, we *sheng*-pipe, we *yung*-ring. 鏞 *yung juawŋ*
- 7 “Feathers and flutes 羽籥”<sup>118</sup> in billowing groups: 會 *hui khwaj<sup>h</sup>*
- 8 Clear announcements giving orders for  
the foot-steps. 蹤 *tsung tsuawŋ*
- 9 Setting out [our] beautiful grace, fulfilling [our]  
goodness, 善 *shan dzian<sup>h</sup>*
- 10 Fully harmonious, the times are at peace 時邕.<sup>119</sup> 邕 *yung ?uawŋ*

<sup>115</sup> *Po-hu t'ung* 白虎通, sect. 6 “Li yüeh”: 歌者在堂上, 舞者在堂下何? 歌者象德, 舞者象[功], 君子上德而下功。 “Singers are to be on the upper level of the hall and dancers on the lower – why is that? Singers give images of virtues, and dancers give images of [battle] merit. Gentlemen place virtue high and merit low”; D. C. Lau, gen. ed., *A Concordance to the Bai-hutong*, ICS Ancient Chinese Texts Concordance Ser., Philosophical Works 21 (Hong Kong: Shang-wu, 1995), p. 16. *Chou-li* (“K’ao-kung chi”) mentions “giving image to battle-merit 以象伐也。” The phrase was also used (萬舞象功) by Hsün in his song no. 10, “Chi-yen 既宴,” of his twelve “Banquet Accompaniment Songs for the Side-Rooms” (see *SgS* 20 [“Yüeh” B], p. 586). Chang-sun Chih 長孫稚 (d. 535) used the phrase in “Shang piao ch’i-ting yüeh-wu ming 上表乞定樂舞名”: “... 故樂以象德, 舞以象功, 幹戚所以比其形容, 金石所以發其歌頌, 薦之宗廟則靈只饗其和, 用之朝廷則君臣協其志, 樂之時義大矣哉!”; see Yen K’o-chün, *Ch’üan Hou-Wei wen* 全後魏文 21, p. 8a.

<sup>116</sup> *Li-chi*, sect. “Wen-wang shih-tzu”: 大樂正學舞干戚, 語說, 命乞言; D. C. Lau, gen. ed., *A Concordance of the Liji*, ICS Ancient Chinese Text Concordance Ser. (Hong Kong: Shang-wu, 1992), p. 57. See Kaufman, *Musical References*, ref. no. 111, p. 178: “The Masters of the Dances: These men teach the dances of the weapons”; *ibid.*, p. 51–52, citing the same *Li-chi* sect.: “The use of shields and spears was taught in spring and summer. ... The use of feathers and the *yüeh* in autumn and winter in the Eastern College.”

<sup>117</sup> *I-ching*, Ten Wings sect. “Wen-yen” (edn. Harvard-Yenching Inst. Sinol. Index Series, Suppl. 10, p. 2, rt. col.): “The six lines come forth and show clear 發揮 (some edns. write 輝 for 揮).” Cf. Richard Wilhelm, *The I-ching or Book of Changes*, trans. Cary F. Baynes, 3d rev. edn. (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1967), p. 378: “The six individual lines open up and unfold the thought.” I have translated Hsün’s line in a way that preserves the martial context. The phrase was also used by Hsün in song no. 6, “I-yü 猗歟,” of his twelve “Banquet Accompaniment Songs for the Side-Rooms” (see *SgS* 20 [“Yüeh” B], p. 585).

<sup>118</sup> *SgS* 19 (“Yüeh” A), p. 540, says that the Chin (implying perhaps around 273–75) “... changed the Wei’s ‘Chao-wu 昭武 Ballet’ to be called ‘Hsüan-wu 宣武 Ballet,’ and ‘Yü-yüeh 羽籥 Ballet’ became ‘Hsüan-wen 宣文 Ballet.’” We have Fu Hsüan’s lyrics to a “Feathers and Flutes Ballet” (*SgS* 20 [“Yüeh” B], p. 573). It seems that Hsün’s diction is generic, without links to a specific ballet. For “feathers and *yüeh* flutes” also see n. 116, above.

<sup>119</sup> In *Shang-shu*, sect. “Yao-tien” we read: “百姓昭明, 協和萬邦, 黎民於變時雍,” on which the K’ung commentary says that 時雍 means “是和.” The phrase was used by Hsün in his song no. 11, “Shih-yung 時邕,” of his twelve “Banquet Accompaniment Songs for the Side-Rooms” (see *SgS* 20 [“Yüeh” B], p. 586); and it is the very last phrase of the preceding song, no. 10. It is possible that some influence was exerted by Wang Su’s lyric “Eulogy for the Clan Temple,” with its phrase “黎元時雍”; see n. 78, above. For a later usage, see Chang Hsieh’s 張協 “七命”: “... 六合時邕, 巍巍蕩蕩”; Yen, *Ch’üan Chin wen* 85, p. 11b; also carried in his biog., *CS* 55.

- 11 Shining bright<sup>120</sup> are their insignia! 章 *chang* t'syan
- 12 [Our] radiance penetrates the “myriad  
states 萬邦.”<sup>121</sup> 邦 *pang* paywŋ
- 13 The myriad states – “[such] vast  
importance 洋洋,”<sup>122</sup> 洋 *yang* jyan
- 14 They ride along the Way of Chin! 道 *tao* daw<sup>h</sup>
- 15 [We] partner Heaven, effecting spirit-presence; 享 *hsiang* xyan'
- 16 The originating mandate – it possesses  
creating [force]! 造 *tsao* ts'aw<sup>h</sup>
- 17 The on-high transforms – it is like winds; 風 *feng* puwŋ
- 18 The folk below respond – it is like grasses.<sup>123</sup> 草 *ts'ao* ts'aw'
- 19 So magnificent, so perfect, 斌 *pin* pin
- 20 Those forms from “the arrayed panto-  
mimes 綴兆.”<sup>124</sup> 兆 *chao* driaw'
- 21 Patterning and mightiness act side-by-side; 作 *tso* tsak
- 22 Praisegiving flows<sup>125</sup> to all four directions. 表 *piao* piaw'

<sup>120</sup> The phrase was used by Hsün in song no. 5, “Lieh-wen 烈文,” of his twelve “Banquet Accompaniment Songs for the Side-Rooms”; *SgS* 20 (“Yüeh” B), p. 585.

<sup>121</sup> This phrase is seen often in the traditional Five Classics; e.g., *I-ching*, hex. 7, Ten Wings Image Commentary to line 2: “He has the welfare of all countries at heart” (trans. Wilhelm, *The I-ching*, p. 423).

<sup>122</sup> A common expression in the classics and early letters; in this meaning, perhaps *Shu*, sect. “I-hsun” comes close: 聖謨洋洋, 嘉言孔彰; Legge, *The Chinese Classics* 3, *The Shoo King* (rpt. Hong Kong U. P., 1960), p. 198: “Sacred counsels of vast importance, admirable words forcibly displayed.” The phrase was also used by Hsün, at the beginning of his song no. 7, “Lung-hua 隆化,” of his twelve “Banquet Accompaniment Songs for the Side-Rooms”; *SgS* 20 (“Yüeh” B), p. 585.

<sup>123</sup> The basic notion (a commonplace one in political philosophy) was expressed in slightly different verbiage by Hsün in song no. 9, “I-i 翼翼,” of his twelve “Banquet Accompaniment Songs for the Side-Rooms”; *SgS* 20 (“Yüeh” B), p. 586.

<sup>124</sup> See *Li-chi*, sect. “Yüeh-chi” (pointing out music’s material *ch’i* 氣 vis-a-vis its *wen*): 屈申俯仰綴兆舒疾, 樂之文也 “Les inclinations du corps ou de la tête, la disposition des musiciens ou des pantomimes rangés dans un espace défini, la lenteur ou la rapidité des mouvements forment comme le décor des concerts de musique”; trans. Seraphim Couvreur, *Mémoires dur les bienséances et les cérémonies*, Cathasia, Ser. Culturelle des Hautes Études de Tien-Tsin (Paris: n.d.), vol. 2, part 1, p. 59. Cheng Hsüan’s commentary, however, reads the phrase as the way ranks and troupes of dancers were staged (“綴, 謂鄼舞者之位也。兆, 其外營域也”), thus making it about performance procedure, not approaches to *wen*.

<sup>125</sup> Perhaps we see further literary give-and-take with Chung Hui, who used this phrase in a piece titled “移蜀將吏士民檄”: ...投迹微子之踪, 錯身陳平之軌, 則福同古人, 慶流來裔 “... Thus our blessings are the same as that of ancients, and praisegiving reaches down to our progeny”; *CSKW* 25 (Wei 25), p. 4a.

- 23 Being without strife<sup>126</sup> – it is surely glory;            烈 *lieh* liat  
 24 Eternal generations – thus [we] continue on!            紹 *shao* dziaw'

One is struck by the internal technical references to operatic materials: the lyric weaves together the moods, movement, and coordination of dancers and musicians at work. Specifics abound: “singing,” “brandished shields and axes,” “feathers and flutes,” and the dancers’ footsteps. It resembles slightly the tone and matches some of the verbiage in Hsün’s song no. 10, “Chi-yen 既宴,” from his collected “Banquet Accompaniment Songs for the Side-Rooms, Twelve Pieces,” found also in Shen’s “Treatise on Music,” second *chüan*. In “Cheng-te Ballet” (in fact, in “Chi-yen” as well) it is satisfying to imagine the troupe of choreographed singers intoning these words, as well as hundreds involved in presenting colors, pictures, narratives, and movement. Hsün Hsü bent his words toward the ears of the *Ssu-mas* and the court. He employed normative flourishes to announce dynastic glory: the “myriad statelets... ride along the Way of Chin” – words that come dramatically, as the very first B-line up-beat of the six “-aw” rhymes that last till the end. It all sounds cadential.

Fu Hsüan’s lyrics are a bit shorter (only five couplets of four-word lines), and its rhyme scheme perhaps not as complex or even as interesting as Hsün’s. It is decidedly more plainly power-oriented in lauding the Chin; the opening lines read: “Heaven has mandated: [it is now] the bearers of Chin 有晉, [whose] radiance aids the myriad states 國. Magnificent and sagely august! Patterning and might 文武 are now the model. In heaven this is what is correct; on earth it completes [our] virtue.” There are no mentions of the details of performance, and the final tone is somewhat philosophical: “We set out the saintly teachings 玄化 (the governance of the sage ancestors) and arrive to the Middle Way 中道.”<sup>127</sup>

Chang Hua’s work is the same length as Hsün’s – twelve couplets, also in four-word lines. As in the others’ pieces, there is the requisite line mentioning “Chin” by name (seemingly an expected, prosodic cadence-point in chants dealing with founding legitimacy): “The blessed mandate is in Chin,” this coming in the A-line of the third couplet, compared with “Chin” in Hsün’s seventh couplet, B-line, which, as discussed, might have been a little more dramatic. Chang does, like

<sup>126</sup> The phrase was used in an alternative way (“無競惟尺”) in Hsün’s song no. 8, “Chen-lu 振鷺,” of his twelve “Banquet Accompaniment Songs for the Side-Rooms”; *SgS* 20 (“Yüeh” B), p. 585.

<sup>127</sup> *SgS* 20 (“Yüeh” B), p. 582.

Hsün, bring in terms of art concerning music and spectacle: “The metal [bells] and [sounding] stones are lodged in the suspension [racks]. The myriad dances (or dancers) are in the [court] halls. [Music and dance] manifest images and express blessings; the harmonized tones are covered (accompanied) by music.” Next is a reference to two ballet (or chant) names, and then: “As one, they (the dancers?) enter, and then retreatingly they yield; transforming bit-by-bit, they are without form.” It ends, as does Fu’s, with philosophical lyricism, referring in fact to a taoistic “gloomy dark 幽冥.”<sup>128</sup> Chang seems to find the dancing as representative of something shifting and formless – perhaps in parallel with the spirit world. On the other hand, Hsün’s references to dancing are more technical.

I cannot say exactly why Fu Hsün was more blunt with his legitimizing verbiage, nor why Chang offered a sort of taoistic sentiment at the end and Hsün Hsü did not. It is possible that Hsün was simply not interested in the Taoist fillip, perhaps because the learning he received from his family did not emphasize poetry, Taoist lyricism, or belles lettres, but only serious prose, like historiography and politically potent *I-ching* commentary. We may say, then, that in these lyrics at least, Hsün was relatively non-philosophical; he was keen on musical and performance terms of art, terms filled with immediacy and physical specifics. Chang Hua’s was similar in that regard, although I have chosen not to translate his and Fu’s lyrics in full.

The wording of Shen Yüeh’s document on the Chin lyric-writers did not indicate that the court, specifically the masters of writing, stipulated that the three scholars submit lyrics for judging and that someone received a reward. More generally, the literary world of Chinese scholars was (and is) well known for private competitions and oral and literary games. It is possible, then, that the three agreed to test themselves in the spirit of bravado. In fact, when Hsün Hsü was younger he was once “commanded 命” by Chung Hui, his in-law peer, to write something jointly, as friendly competition. For a rhapsody on the grape plant, Chung wrote: “I have planted a grape vine in front of my hall; I delight in it and rhapsodize about it. I have told Hsün Hsü to write [a piece] along with [me].” There is preserved a single line from Hsün’s own contribution, either from the preface or the body of a “Rhapsody on the Grape” 葡萄賦.<sup>129</sup>

<sup>128</sup> SgS 20 (“Yüeh” B), p. 590. See *Huai-nan tzu* 淮南子 (SPTK edn.), sect. “說山訓,” ch. 16, p. 1a: “幽冥者, 所以喻道而非道也,” where this phrase operates as a metaphysical gloss: it is something that “can evoke the Tao but it is not the Tao.”

<sup>129</sup> Chung’s phrase is at *CSKW* 25 (Wei 25), p. 2a (cit. *T’ai-p’ing yü-lan* 972), “葡萄賦”:

Winning was equivocal – part of a delayed process. Hsün Hsü may have been the loser to the more literary and lofty personages of Chang and Ch'eng-kung, who represented a bureaucratic clique. We know that Hsün did not pursue lyric composition as a strong peg in his career (the light song lyrics associated with him may have been written outside of the context of court). I believe that family-profile and ambit, as just mentioned, played a role: the Hsüns were not perceived as poets and musicians, although acutely perceived as experts in various systematics, namely tonometrics, harmonics, and pitch-standards. The literary winners would in some sense have simply been the literarily connected – Chang and Fu, who in the coming centuries fared extremely well by the critics. Liu Hsieh, as we noted above, considered these two as the first musician-writers to attempt to correct the poor state of lyrics brought on by the Ts'ao. But also, further in his essay, Liu specifically pointed to Hsün Hsü as the corrupter of the beautiful tunings created for Ts'ao Ts'ao by Tu K'uei. Liu was contributing to a critical wave against Hsün, in part helping to deny the latter's contributions as lyricist. Given the aesthetic value of Hsün's wordings and evocations, above, this was a most unfortunate review.<sup>130</sup>

In the history of court lyrics, the century and a half following this competition was tragically ironic. The dynasty would succumb to violent, ad hominem politics, and in the 320s it fled to those southern zones that had been conquered with great fanfare in 280. Now, in the south, remaining musicologists and performers could be united with the flavorful songs, modes, and prosodies that had captured imaginations since Han times. In the south, they could find much material to help them return to the academic and physical problems in the history of court music. In the early 420s, under Liu-Sung emperors Wu and Wen, discussions did in fact arise, concerning how during the Three Kingdoms era the state of Wu had arranged its performances, venues, and lyrics. Liu-Sung officials received permission to set up large teams of lyric writers. One result was that they "... changed 'Cheng-te Ballet' to become 'Former Ballet 前舞'; and 'Ta-yü Ballet' became 'Latter Ballet 後舞.'"<sup>131</sup> We can only speculate about the semantic politics or the political semantics behind this bureaucratization of names. Further,

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余植蒲萄于堂前，嘉而賦之，命荀勗并作；the Hsün remnant is at *HWLC* 38, p. 1a. We have other impressions of Chung and Hui as competitors: *SSHY/Mather* 21, p. 365 (already cited in n. 97, above), where the context was a cruel game of theft and retaliation involving a prized object.

<sup>130</sup> Shih, *Literary Mind*, pp. 55-56.

<sup>131</sup> *SgS* 19 ("Yüeh" A), p. 541.

we may never know how (or whether) this new team in the 420s read, interpreted, or changed the lyrics of Fu, Chang, and Hsün.

## CONCLUSION

It is a given that Eastern Han rites and dynastic spectacles dissolved into chaos by 190, the court's musicians and artisans mostly having scattered or demised (especially the eunuch servers in the bureaus, who were slaughtered in the thousands). Further, everyone except Hsün Hsü seems to have agreed that Tu K'uei was the only person able to recover high-music, working first under Liu Piao (about 190–208) and then Ts'ao Ts'ao (in the span 208–220). A couple of years later, Ts'ao P'i swept out Tu and his disciples. Perhaps ten or twelve years later, in about 235–240, Wei Ming-ti ordered the court to reassess the imperial high-music. Scholars singled out the Clan, or Ancestral, Temple rites as the most important venues for high-music, with Wang Su insisting that they retain bell music with bells that were harmonically simplex (my deduction of the meaning of his "unadorned"). Scholars hurried to complete the naming of the high-music and to set the venues. They decided that Wei's essence would be grounded in the *wu/wen* paradigm, and extended further – into a synthesis called "Grand Equalization." The Wei, with Ming-ti's court trying to act as fair-minded judge of older political rifts, was being fitted with a new image of correctness and completeness, and perhaps the phrase "Cheng-shih 正始," a product of these nominalist debates, was seen as a "correction" of the bold, "beginning" *wen* that had been instituted by Ts'ao Ts'ao, yet a *wen* that had been derailed by Ts'ao P'i. The Ts'ao family was in some sense undergoing a decades-long struggle, a competition over rites and styles; and the music naming conventions were simply part of the remedy.

In about the mid-230s, after artisans began setting out specifications for performance colors, designs, and costumery, Wang Su, the court's most important classical scholar warned, as we saw, about the need to keep high-music pure and not too complex; but furthermore he proposed that it be inclusive of the whole set of classical ballets, including those from foreign realms. This large program, he stated, could include venues other than the forbidden, imperial temples; they could involve lighter venues. I see in this remark a hint of the growing importance of entertainment music at court.

From everything seen thus far, it is clear that Ssu-ma court musicologists did not inherit from Wei merely textual or editing problems. Skills and instructions had been lost, artisans dispersed, and anxieties

remained concerning the value of the more intimate, Ts'ao-led music. Hsün Hsü faced off against Chang Hua, a noted poet and writer. They focused particularly on technical matters, Chang's solution being the more passive ("don't change the court lyrics," as it were). Hsün had learned of the existence of Wei Ming-ti-era artisans, and one of them, Ch'en Ch'i, described a failure of his time: musicians had not bothered to observe neat scoring-prosody as a general rule. That remark was left dangling by its recorder, Shen Yüeh, himself an expert in new approaches to tonal and poetic prosody in the late-400s.<sup>132</sup> From an internal writing competition at the Ssu-ma court, we saw that even line-lengths were employed for the Cheng-te Ballet lyrics. We examined Hsün's lyric and noted a lively verbiage that featured the material details of opera/ballet spectacle and seems, somewhat in contrast to the lyrics of Chang and Fu Hsüan, free of philosophically laden notions.

Other musical anxieties impacted the Wei and early Chin. Antiquity as a criterion needed constant reexamination in order that an earlier music be deemed correct. Antique music needed to be high (elegant and with proper venue and lyrics); but high-music did not come directly from deep antiquity with end-user instructions, as it were. It mostly involved retooling older music and lyrics that were available, and also debating which was a *proper* former reign from which to borrow (although when dealing with living memory, the immediately prior reign could not be ignored), and which non-temple, relatively lighter, music could still be called "high." Also, musicologists kept track of their ideologies. They were, like other educated, generalist officials, an in-group, and over time they would have been reading a small body of technical literature, interviewing artisans, and working from their own ingrained and remembered notions, as well. We recall the turn of mind in early Eastern Han that Martin Kern has delineated, when critics' tirades against musical (and other) excesses of Han Wu-ti's court became based on compilations and newly edited texts as authorities. It is safe to assume that Hsün Hsü, as a newly forged musical expert, and Ch'en Shou, as an up-and-coming historian setting down the meanings of Three Kingdoms events, were both reading the same, or parallel, archival documents and privately written items that were available to Chang and Fu, and several others, and remained available to Shen Yüeh much later. I believe that at some level they thought about music, musicology, and the technical details of performance, when interpreted correctly, as a linear development, and perhaps also as a teleology – older

<sup>132</sup> This is taken up in Goodman, "Tintinnabulations of Bells."

material given correct interpretations could be made appropriate for, or a harbinger of, one's own dynasty.

A variety of struggle arose from a variety of contexts. In Ts'ao Ts'ao's rambunctious and uncertain time men like Tu K'uei and Ch'ai Yü, both metal-workers and empirical, intuitive artisans, came to a standoff over bell pitches and quality. By about 235-40, Wang Su, in criticizing recent music, may have had an unspoken agenda – the healing of the Ts'ao P'i/Ts'ao Ts'ao break in rites style, and his position, if it had been articulated fully for us, surely would have been orthodox, that is, in favor of the high-music of Tu K'uei (Ts'ao Ts'ao's musician) and opposed to the sort of private *soirée* music of Ts'ao P'i's and Ts'ao Jui's time – music not controlled by precedent and proper venue. Wang Su would not continue as a leader in music, and in any event scholars were beginning to give up hope for the continuity of Wei and had little to fight for. It would only be in 270 that the state structures, brimming with infusions of dynastic support, could produce a song-writing commission that produced sparks once again. In this case, the sparks more than likely were related to nearly twenty years of factional tension – Chang Hua's pro-Wu war faction against Hsün's anti-war faction.

In the matter of lyrics, Hsün and Chang formally and absolutely disagreed. Later, this amplified, and toward the beginning of 282, the Hsün clique arranged that Chang Hua receive a post that kept him out of Loyang for a long time. How much, then, did technical matters of lyric meter and scoring-prosody act as seeds of national struggles later? As we often see, intellectual and political preferences were important in the lives of scholar-administrators, and should not be ignored. They give much-needed depth to our usual studies of career rewards, economies, battles and coups, and sexual politics (intermarriage and distaff power). In fact, in about the mid-280s a leading scholar named Chih Yü 摯虞 (d. 311) would attack the Hsün family's scholarship and indirectly Hsün Hsü's metrological reforms by discussing a found-object – an ancient foot-rule. Chih was probably not just going along with a growing anti-Hsün line, but may have been acting specifically out of intellectual concerns over music, since he was one of the first in Chinese literature to write about *yueh-fu* lyrics as a genre.<sup>133</sup> Music meshed with metrics, and metrics meshed with prosody, prosody with politics, ad infinitum. Struggles among polymaths were weighted with a multitude of concerns.

<sup>133</sup> Chih's attack are quoted in *CS* 51, p. 1425. On his music criticism, see Egan, "Reconsidering the Role of Folk Songs," p. 51; for a translation of his essay on literature, Joseph Roe

Ultimately, scholarship and music were political. I would suggest that aside from his factional loyalty to Chia Ch'ung and to Chia's much-loathed manipulation of distaff power, and also his problem with his vocal musicological critic Juan Hsien 阮咸,<sup>134</sup> Hsün Hsü's reactionary agenda to cleanse the mistakes of early-Wei musicology touched yet another nerve. To many early in Chin, Ts'ao Ts'ao was not all that evil, even admirable – various hatreds toward Ts'ao P'i and Ts'ao Shuang notwithstanding. The politics of music, or politicized musicology, therefore, are reduced to dialogs about dynastic style and personalities. These were mediated by computations, measurements, and the making of devices. Dialogs could be emotional; and one had to be careful in criticizing Ts'ao Ts'ao's world, or in rubbing against entrenched Taoist or solipsist notions of music, or the new poetry, or nostalgia for the Seven Sages. Certain ideas could still act as a refuge for men's subtle anti-Ssu-ma, or anti-state, stances. Many reacted against Hsün's overweening agenda that would make all sciences serve the state. But also distasteful to some would have been his desire to cast off all of Wei as musically illegitimate: court institutes needed the past as a basis by which to secure the present. All of these things impelled men like Chang Hua, Chih Yü, and others to have Hsün promoted up – and out of the powerful Library archives in 287.<sup>135</sup> His reactionary turn toward a purely ancient, four-word strophe for the court lyrics, his strong agenda for a new tuning pitch (also derived from Chou antiquity), and his control over orchestral practice all were unacceptable to the more accommodating, literary sensibilities of his opponents.

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Allen, "Chih Yü's Discussions on Different Types of Literature: A Translation and Brief Comment," *Parerga 3: Two Studies in Chinese Literary Criticism* (Seattle: Inst. for Comparative and Foreign Area Studies, U. Washington, 1976), pp. 1–38.

<sup>134</sup> See Goodman, "Retuning the Ts'aos."

<sup>135</sup> *CS* 39, p. 1157; also *Han Chin* 7, p. 149.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CS	<i>Chin-shu</i> 晉書
CSKW	Yen K'o-chün 嚴可均, <i>Ch'üan San-kuo wen</i> 全三國文
<i>Han Chin</i>	Liu Ju-lin 劉汝霖, <i>Han Chin hsüeh-shu pien-nien</i> 漢晉學術編 年
HHS	<i>Hou Han-shu</i> 後漢書
HWLC	<i>Han Wei Liu-ch'ao pai san chia chi</i> 漢魏六朝百三家集
SCC	Joseph Needham et al., <i>Science and Civilisation in China</i>
SgS	Yang Chia-lo, ed., 新校本宋書附索引
SKC	<i>San-kuo chih</i> 三國志
SS	<i>Sui-shu</i> 隋書
SSHY/Mather	Richard Mather, trans., <i>Shih-shuo Hsin-yü: A New Account of Tales of the World</i>
TCTC/Fang	Achilles Fang, trans., <i>The Chronicles of the Three Kingdoms (220-265)</i>
WX	David Knechtges, trans., <i>Wen xuan, Or Selections of Refined Literature</i>
YFSC	<i>Yüeh-fu shih-chi</i> 樂府詩集