

A Note on the "Monograph on Music" in
Chiu T'ang shu

Almost forty years ago, when I was beginning work on my Ph.D. dissertation, I spent many enjoyable evenings reading through the "Monograph on Finance" of the *Chiu T'ang shu* 舊唐書 with Piet van der Loon, attempting to relate its text with other T'ang period sources, and to see what it is possible to deduce about the way in which *Chiu T'ang shu* was put together over a period of more than two centuries. It therefore seems appropriate to offer this brief study of the "Monograph on Music" from the same history to my friend and erstwhile teacher on his seventieth birthday, doubly so since music, ritual, and dramatic performance have been a central part of his scholarly interest.

So much is known about the way in which the T'ang dynastic record was compiled that it is disconcerting still to read in otherwise solid scholarly writings repeated references to the *Chiu T'ang shu* as though it was a seamless whole written in the 940s, and reflecting the "tenth-century ideology and attitudes of its compilers."¹ Very often the references are to passages that had been in existence for two centuries before *Chiu T'ang shu* was completed, and it obviously makes a great difference to our critical appraisal if the text in question was written by a historian writing in the great days of Hsüan-tsung's reign, in the political chaos ensuing from An Lu-shan's rebellion, or in the far different world of the 940s by the historiographers of the Chin, the puppet regime that had been installed a few years before by the Khitan. This is particularly the case when attempts are made to define changes of attitude and judgment between the compilers of *Chiu T'ang shu* and Ouyang Hsiu and his collaborators in the *Hsin T'ang shu* 新唐書 a century later.

It is usually not difficult to make the distinction between the various elements that make up the text of *Chiu T'ang shu*. The general outline of the problem was very clearly stated forty years ago in a classical study of Ssu-ma Kuang's 司馬光 *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien k'ao-i* 資治通鑑考異 by E. G. Pulleyblank.² The *Chiu T'ang shu* came into being incrementally, its hasty

¹ See my forthcoming book on T'ang official historiography.

² E. G. Pulleyblank, "The Tz'yjh Tongjiann Kaoyih and the Sources for the History of the Period 730-763," *BSOAS* 13 (1950), pp. 448-73.

compilation in the 940s being the last stage of a system of ongoing compilation of the dynastic record that was largely created under the T'ang and would become the norm in later periods, with a Historiographical Office responsible for the editing of the Court Diaries (*ch'i-chü chu* 起居注), the occasional diaries of the meetings of the emperor with his chief ministers (*shih cheng chi* 時政記), and a broad variety of other documentation into a Veritable Record (*shih-lu* 實錄) for each reign. The next stage was the periodical production of a National History (*kuo-shih* 國史) identical in form with a standard dynastic history, but giving an account of the currently reigning dynasty. Several such National Histories were composed during the first half of the T'ang.³ The only one that survived the destruction of the Historiographical Office and its archives by An Lu-shan's rebels was that which had been in the course of compilation in the K'ai-yüan period of Hsüan-tsung's reign, under the direction of Wei Shu 韋述. His own illicit private copy, which was stored in his country mansion outside Ch'ang-an, survived the flames and was presented to court and subsequently edited by his friend and former junior colleague Liu Fang 柳芳 at the emperor's command. It was presented to Su-tsung in either 759 or 760, and subsequently updated to the end of Su-tsung's reign in the mid- or late-760s by Yü Hsiu-lieh 于休烈. No serious attempt was made to update the National History after Tai-tsung's reign, the energies of the Historiographers being mainly directed to the Veritable Records, which continued until the reign of Wu-tsung (841-45).

The compilers of the *Chiu T'ang shu* did their work, it seems, just as the earlier compilers of successive National Histories had done. They took the existing National History, in this case that compiled by Liu Fang and supplemented by Yü Hsiu-lieh, more or less verbatim, and continued it to the end of the dynasty, using the material in the Veritable Records and in the *Hui-yao* 會要 and *Hsü hui-yao* 續會要 as their main sources down to the end of Wu-tsung's reign, and whatever scrappy evidence they could find for the last half century of the T'ang.

In the case of the basic annals (*pen-chi* 本記) and biographies (*lieh-chuan* 列傳) the ultimate source and date of each passage are for the most part easy enough to guess. The monographs (*chih* 志), however, provide historiographical problems of their own. These problems are particularly important because the monographs, more than the other sections of the history, do attempt to give an overall articulated account of events and policies and of

their causes and effects. In appraising these it is essential to know the date and hence the historical and political context in which each monograph was written.

We know that Liu Fang's National History contained monographs, though there is some confusion about which monographs were included. The really important question is whether the compilers of *Chiu T'ang shu* started from scratch, writing an account of developments in various areas of government activity from the viewpoint of the mid-tenth century, or whether they took over existing monographs written in the eighth century for the National History and rapidly updated them.

In 1955 I published a detailed study of the "Monograph on Finance," in which I demonstrated how much of the existing "Monograph" was clearly put together in the 940s using the material in the *Hui-yao* and *Hsü hui-yao*, which conveniently compiled a great bulk of documents under subject categories. However, I failed to notice some evidence in the introductory section which clearly shows where Liu Fang's original text ends, and the tenth-century continuation begins. This evidence shows clearly enough that the tenth-century compilers began with a monograph written around 757-758 and updated it to the best of their ability. Their additions were far more extensive than in the case of the other monographs. In my forthcoming book on T'ang official historiography I provide a detailed analysis of each of the monographs in the light of these problems; the answer seems to be similar in every case. Here I wish to deal with a single monograph, that on music, which is doubly interesting because it is possible to reach one stage further back, and identify the source from which the National History probably drew its material, and speculate about who actually wrote this section in the National History.

THE "MONOGRAPH ON MUSIC" (YIN-YÜEH CHIH 音樂志)

The "Monograph on Music" occupies four lengthy chapters — *Chiu T'ang shu* chapters 28 through 31. The first of these chapters begins with a brief general introduction outlining developments in court music under earlier dynasties. It then continues with a chronological account of court music (*ya-yüeh* 雅樂) under the T'ang, which is divided into two sections, the first devoted to the music performed in the Ancestral Temple (*miao-yüeh* 廟樂),⁴ the second to the music performed on festive occasions (*yen-yüeh*

³ See David McMullen, *State and Scholars in T'ang China* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1988), pp. 175-82.

⁴ *Chiu T'ang shu* 舊唐書 (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1975; hereafter *CTS*) 28, pp. 1040-45.

謙樂).⁵ The first of these sections, on the music for the Ancestral Temple, gives a very full account down to the K'ai-yüan period (713-741) of Hsüan-tsung's reign. This section was almost certainly taken from the National History of Liu Fang, which in its turn had derived from the earlier draft of Wei Shu. Subsequent developments are hastily summarized in five lines of text covering the entire period from the T'ien-pao reign period (742-756) to the observances for Wu-tsung, who died in 845,⁶ material which was certainly added by the *Chiu T'ang shu* compilers.

The second section, on music for festive occasions, follows a similar pattern. It too is meticulous in its detail down to the end of the K'ai-yüan period, and very scrappy thereafter. The earlier section once again certainly came from the National History. The section that follows gives information about events from the early years (756-758) of Su-tsung's reign,⁷ immediately after the An Lu-shan rebellion, and also could possibly have come from Liu Fang's National History. Curiously, everything in it has a connection with Yü Hsiu-lieh, the official historian who worked on the updating and revision of the National History after Liu Fang had presented it to the throne in 759 or 760, and who wrote the basic annals for Su-tsung's reign after his death in 762.⁸ These materials may not have been a part of Liu Fang's history, but may have been added by Yü Hsiu-lieh or one of his colleagues in the 760s. The rest of the dynasty gets very short shrift. The only substantial item dated after 758 is a lengthy memorial in 829 from the Court of Ritual (Li yüan 禮院) of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (T'ai-ch'ang ssu 太常寺) relating to changes in the performance of Triumphal Music (*k'ai-yüeh* 凱樂).⁹ The latest date mentioned is 838,¹⁰ and all the material relating to the period after 758 is included in *T'ang hui-yao*,¹¹ and was thus readily available to the *Chiu T'ang shu* compilers in the works that were later amalgamated to form the *T'ang hui-yao*, Su Mien's 蘇冕 *Hui-yao* of 801, and its official continuation, *Hsü hui-yao* of 853. It seems likely then that the section on festive music was compiled in three stages, the first part coming directly from the National History, the section dealing with 756-758 from Yü Hsiu-lieh's expansion of the National History under Tai-tsung, and the remainder added by *Chiu T'ang shu*'s compilers in the 940s on the basis of the *Hui-yao* and *Hsü hui-yao* texts.

Chapter 29 begins with a detailed account of the repertoires of the various types of court music: the pieces performed by the "Standing Orchestra" (*li-pu chi* 立部伎)¹² and the "Seated Orchestra" (*tso-pu chi* 坐部伎),¹³ the repertory of southern "Pure Music" (*ch'ing-yüeh* 清樂),¹⁴ the various categories of foreign music,¹⁵ and the different types of "Variety Music" (*san-yüeh* 散樂).¹⁶ Apart from a two-line item mentioning the Burmese orchestra presented at court in 802,¹⁷ there is nothing whatever in this section dealing with any event subsequent to the reign of Hsüan-tsung.

The second part of chapter 29 is a description of various musical instruments. Understandably this contains very few dates. But all except one refer either to Hsüan-tsung's reign or before. The sole exception refers to 765.¹⁸

The third section of this chapter gives specifications for the instrumental layout for various types of court performance,¹⁹ similar to those we know were included in the Statutes on Music (*yüeh ling* 樂令).²⁰ The latest date mentioned in this section relates to the reign of the empress Wu (690-705).²¹ The section may well derive from the Statutes in force at the time when the National History was compiled. It is impossible to guess which of the several series of Statutes it came from. If it was inserted by Wei Shu they were probably the Statutes of 719; if by Liu Fang they would rather have been taken from the then current Statutes of 737.²²

Chapter 29 ends with what is clearly a later postscript added in the 940s, a section that deals with the loss of the tradition of court music in the aftermath of Huang Ch'ao's rebellion. Most of it consists of a lengthy citation of a memorial presented to Chao-tsung by his Chief Minister Chang Chün 張潛 sometime between 888 and 891.²³

Apart from this last section, the whole of chapter 29 was certainly taken over from the existing National History, amended only by the addition of a few items of later supplementary information. Besides the evidence of its contents there is further specific internal evidence to help us pinpoint the date, to which I revert below.

¹²CTS 29, pp. 1059-61.¹³CTS 29, pp. 1061-62.¹⁴CTS 29, pp. 1062-68.¹⁵CTS 29, pp. 1068-72.¹⁶CTS 29, pp. 1072-74.¹⁷CTS 29, p. 1070.¹⁸CTS 29, p. 1077, l. 13.¹⁹CTS 29, pp. 1079-81.²⁰Niida Noboru 仁井田隆, *Tōryō shūi* 唐令拾遺 (Tokyo: Tōkyō bunka gakkai Tōkyō kenkyūjo, 1933), pp. 325-41.²¹CTS 29, p. 1081.²²It was most probably not taken directly from the Statutes, but from section 17 of Liu K'uang's *T'ai-yüeh ling pi chi*, entitled "The formalities for presentation." See below.²³CTS 29, pp. 1081-83. See also *Ts'ê-fu yüan-kuei* 册府元龜 (1643 edn.; rpt. Peking: Chung-hua, 1960; hereafter cited as *TFYK*) 569, pp. 32a-b.⁵CTS 28, pp. 1045-54.⁶CTS 28, p. 1045, ll. 3-7.⁷CTS 28, p. 1052, ll. 5-13.⁸*Ch'ang-wen tsung-mu* 崇文總目 2, p. 36.⁹CTS 28, pp. 1053-54.¹⁰CTS 28, p. 1053, l. 5.¹¹*T'ang hui-yao* 唐會要 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1957; rpt. of Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu edn., Shanghai, 1937; hereafter *THY*) 33, p. 599; pp. 607-8.

The third and fourth parts of the "Monograph," chapters 30 and 31, are devoted to the song texts for the various hymns and dances performed at great state ceremonies. The chapters are quite specifically stated to have been "appended to the 'Monograph' according to the precedent of the Former History."²⁴ I take it that the "former history" (*ch'ien shih* 前史) here, as elsewhere in *Chiu Tang shu*, refers to the National History.²⁵ Certainly the contents of the two chapters would confirm the impression that they were simply taken over verbatim from the National History of 759-760, and that in large part they had been actually compiled still earlier, during the middle reign of Hsüan-tsung.

The song texts are arranged under the ceremonies at which they were performed. With two exceptions they contain no item dated after 729.²⁶ The exceptions are both sets of additional song texts added to the list of hymns for specific rites, introduced in each case by "In addition there were ..." (*yu ... yüeh chang ... shou* 又 ... 樂章 ... 首). The first of these additional sets gives fourteen additional hymns to be used in the observances of the emperors from Hsüan-tsung to Hsien-tsung,²⁷ supplementing the original series compiled in 729 by Chang Yüeh 張說, which covered the observances for emperors down to Jui-tsung.²⁸ No additional song texts are added for the ritual observances of emperors after Hsien-tsung, although these were duly composed and are listed in *T'ang hui-yao*.²⁹ The second set of additions is to the section dealing with the music to be used in the I-k'un miao 儀坤廟,³⁰ the special ancestral temple established by Hsüan-tsung in what had been his father Jui-tsung's former mansion in the capital in honor of Jui-tsung's two empresses, Su-ming 肅明皇后 and Chao-ch'eng 昭成皇后.³¹ The rites for the empress Chao-ch'eng were transferred to the Dynastic Ancestral Temple after Jui-tsung's death in 716.³² Those for the empress Su-ming were likewise transferred to the Dynastic Ancestral Temple in 733,³³ after which the I-k'un miao was transformed into a Taoist

nunnery, at first called the Su-ming kuan 肅明觀 and renamed the Ta-chen kuan 大真觀 after the death of Hsüan-tsung in 762.³⁴ Thus there was strictly speaking no I-k'un miao after 733.³⁵ However, the "Monograph" continues first with two additional or alternative hymns to be used there, and then adds a set of nine hymns to be used in the shrine for Te-tsung's empress Chao-te 昭德, who died in 786.³⁶

In both these cases it is clear that the additional song texts were inserted into an original text dating from Hsüan-tsung's reign, and probably from before 733. This general dating is confirmed by the last sections of chapter 31, which give the texts of the hymns to be used in the temples established for various heirs-apparent who never succeeded to the throne. These were "emperor Hsiao-ching" 孝敬皇帝 (Li Hung 李弘, the fifth son of Kao-tsung, who died, probably murdered, in 675); the "Concealed heir-apparent" 隱太子 (Li Chien-ch'eng 李建成, Kao-tsu's eldest son, murdered in 626); the Chang-huai heir-apparent 章懷太子 (Li Chien 李賢, Kao-tsung's sixth son, banished and forced to commit suicide in 684); the I-te heir-apparent 懿德太子 (Li Ch'ung-jun 李重潤, Chung-tsung's eldest son, murdered 701); and the Chieh-min heir-apparent 節愍太子 (Li Chung-chün 李重俊, Chung-tsung's third son, who died during a rebellion in 707 and was rehabilitated in 710).³⁷ All these formal titles were those in use during the early years of Hsüan-tsung's reign. The individual cults mentioned in the "Monograph" were, moreover, abolished in 747, when they were (with the exception of Li Hung, who in theory enjoyed the dignity of a sovereign) gathered together with the cults of three of Jui-tsung's sons: the Hui-chuang heir-apparent 惠莊太子 (Li Ch'eng-i 李成義, his second son, died 724); the Hui-wen heir-apparent 惠文太子 (Li Fan 李範, his fourth son, died 726); and the Hui-hsüan heir-apparent 惠宣太子 (Li Yeh 李業, his fifth son, died in 734). These were set up in a single ancestral temple for the "Seven Heirs-apparent" (Ch'i T'ai-tzu miao 七太子廟).³⁸ The passage was therefore presumably compiled before 747. The "Monograph" ends with the hymns used in the Ch'ung-hsien miao 崇先廟, the ancestral temple set up by empress Wu in honor of her own ancestors, and in the Pao-te miao 褒德廟, a similar ancestral temple established by Chung-tsung's consort the empress Wei.³⁹

All this evidence suggests that, as in the case of chapters 28 and 29, the

²⁴ CTS 30, p. 1090. ²⁵ See, e.g., CTS 32, pp. 1152-53.

²⁶ CTS 31, p. 1136. The date has been corrupted by the omission of *shih* and should be corrected thus. See collation notes to Chung-hua shu-chü edn. of CTS, p. 1149.

²⁷ CTS 31, pp. 1138-40. ²⁸ CTS 31, p. 1138.

²⁹ THY 33, pp. 602-4; see also *Hsin T'ang shu* 新唐書 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1975; hereafter HTS) 21, p. 467.

³⁰ CTS 31, p. 1142.

³¹ The title Chao-ch'eng empress used in this section for Jui-tsung's consort née Tou (the mother of Hsüan-tsung) was formally changed in 749 to Chao-ch'eng Shun-sheng Huang-hou. The Monograph is usually careful to use the full posthumous titles of empresses. The use of the earlier posthumous title Chao-ch'eng Huang-hou may indicate that this section was written between 711 and 749, although the short title was still sometimes used in later T'ang times.

³² THY 19, p. 380. ³³ THY 19, p. 380.

³⁴ *T'ang liang ching ch'eng fang k'ao* 唐兩京城坊考 3, p. 10a.

³⁵ THY 19, p. 380. ³⁶ CTS 12, p. 355; T'FYK 569, p. 27b.

³⁷ CTS 31, pp. 1143-48. ³⁸ CTS 26, p. 1011; THY 19, p. 383.

³⁹ CTS 31, pp. 1148-49.

Chiu Tang shu compilers took over what are now chapters 30 and 31 more or less integrally from the National History presented to the throne in 759-760, making only a few almost random interpolations of material referring to changes made after the An Lu-shan rebellion. Moreover, the bulk of these chapters seems to have taken shape in Hsüan-tsung's middle years.

The *Chiu Tang-shu* compilers certainly took this material from the National History of Liu Fang, as updated and supplemented under T'ai-tsung, for this was the only National History that survived after 756. The question remains, where did Liu Fang take the material for the "Monograph" from? Did he compile it himself? Or did he, as seems more likely, take over the chapters from Wei Shu's draft National History completed in the early 740s, which we know was his main source? Or did he or Wei Shu base it upon some other sources, and if so what sources could they have used?

THE SONG TEXTS OF CHANG YÜEH AND WEI T'AO

The ultimate source of chapters 30 and 31 is fairly clear. Wei Shu and Liu Fang both had available to them two official repertoires of song texts (*yüeh chang* 樂章) that they must have used as an authoritative source. The song texts had been composed in 627 by a group of T'ai-tsung's favorite scholars led by Tsu Hsiao-sun 祖孝孫, and including Wei Cheng 魏徵, Yü Shih-nan 虞世南, and Ch'u Liang 褚亮. They were completed in 631, and revised later in T'ai-tsung's reign.⁴⁰ Subsequently the texts in current use were extensively changed, especially under the empress Wu. In 725 Hsüan-tsung ordered Chang Yüeh to revise them. The work, which coincided with preparation for a new ritual code, was done in the newly established Chi-hsien Academy 集賢院,⁴¹ to which the musicians of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices were summoned to be instructed and practice the new song texts.⁴² However, the new texts were used indiscriminately with those written in T'ai-tsung's time, and in 737 the President of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (*ai-ch'ang ch'ing* 太常卿) Wei T'ao 韋縉 and a group of experts in music and ritual produced an authoritative repertoire of song texts in five scrolls, which were sent to the music departments, and their musicians

ordered to practice them.⁴³ It was almost certainly this collection that Wei Shu used as the source for his National History. The collation and composition of the texts were done in the Chi-hsien Academy, of which he was a member from 730 onwards, and in which a great deal of historical compilation was also carried on.

THE T'AI-YÜEH LING PI CHI OF LIU K'UANG

The source that is a distinct possibility for chapters 28 and 29 is the *Wall Inscription for the Director of the Imperial Music Office* (*T'ai-yüeh ling pi chi* 太樂令壁記), a work in three chapters by Liu K'uang 劉昉. It was certainly written some time before 720, when the author was serving as Chief Musician (*hsieh-lü lang* 協律郎) in the office.⁴⁴ The book is no longer extant, but it was still in existence in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, and perhaps even later.⁴⁵ It was included in the *Ch'ung-wen tsung-mu* 崇文總目 catalogue of 1042; it is listed in the bibliographical monograph of *Sung shih*, which would confirm its existence at some date before the 1170s.⁴⁶ The *Chung-hsing kuan-ko shu-mu* 中興館閣書目 of 1178, as quoted in Wang Ying-lin's 王應麟 (1223-1296) *Yü hai* 玉海, cites several extracts from it, including its lengthy preface and a detailed table of contents. The table of contents for the second and third of its chapters corresponds closely with the sections of the first and second chapters of the "Monograph." Only its first chapter, entitled "The Origins of Music," and the last section of its third chapter, entitled "Rise and Decay," which probably put its contents into a broad historical context, have no clear parallel in the *Chiu Tang shu* "Monograph on Music."⁴⁷

⁴⁰ *CTS* 30, p. 1089; *Yü hai* 106, p. 20b.

⁴¹ The author is cited with this official title in *HTS* 57, p. 1436, and in *Ch'ung-wen tsung-mu*, as cited in *Wen-hsien i'ung-k'ao* 文獻通考 186, p. 1589c.

⁴² It is listed for example in the bibliography (*Kuo-shih ching-chi chih* 國史經籍志) compiled by Chiao Hung 焦竑 (1541-1620) in 1590 for the abortive *Ming National History* finally undertaken in 1594 under Ch'en Yü-pi. See *Ming-shih i-wen chih pu-pien fu-lu* 明史藝文志補編附錄 (Peking: Shang-wu, 1959), vol. 2, p. 843b.

⁴³ *Sung shih* 202, p. 5053b.

⁴⁴ The following passages from the *T'ai-yüeh ling pi-chi* are quoted in *Yü hai*:

YÜ-HAI (ch. and pp.)	SECTION HEADING
104: 13a	Han Chiao miao yüeh ch'i 漢郊廟樂器
105: 7a-b	T'ang hsüan-kung yüeh 唐旋宮樂
105: 11b-12a	T'ang chiu pu yüeh 唐九部樂
105: 15a	T'ang Wu-fang shih-tzu yüeh 唐五方師子樂
105: 21a-23a	T'ang T'ai-yüeh ling pi chi 唐太樂令壁記

⁴⁵ *CTS* 30, p. 1089; *Yü hai* 106, p. 20b; *THY* 33, pp. 589-91; *TFYK* 569, pp. 8a-b.

⁴⁶ See McMullen, *State and Scholars*, pp. 134-36.

⁴⁷ *THY* 33, p. 595; *TFYK* 569, p. 21b. *CTS* 30, p. 1089, gives the date "at the beginning of the K'ai-yuan period" (i.e. 713), but this is in error. *Yü hai* 106, p. 20b, quotes *CTS* 30, but with the date 725 as in *THY*.

Some ten or so sections of *T'ai-yüeh ling pi chi* are quoted in *Yü hai*;⁴⁸ several of them have very close textual parallels in the "Monograph on Music," parallels so close that it is impossible that the two texts are not intimately related.⁴⁹

But perhaps the clinching evidence for a relationship between Liu K'uang and the *Chiu T'ang shu* "Monograph" is a passage in the section of the "Monograph" devoted to southern "Pure Music" ("Ch'ing yüeh"), where the compilers have left in the text an item concerning Liu K'uang himself, in a context that makes it clear that the passage was written in the early K'ai-yüan period, not in the late 750s or 760s for the National History, and most certainly not in the 940s by the compilers of *Chiu T'ang shu*.

From the Ch'ang-an period (701-705) onward the court did not value these ancient pieces highly, the musicians' tradition of their performance was broken off, and only the eight pieces *Ming chün* 明君,⁵⁰ *Yang pan* 楊伴,⁵¹ *Hsiao-hu* 驍壺,⁵² *Ch'un-ko* 春歌, *Ch'iu-ko* 秋歌, *Pai-hsüeh* 白雪,⁵³ *T'ang-t'ang* 堂堂,⁵⁴ and *Ch'un-chiang hua yüeh* 春江花月⁵⁵ could still be performed with wind and string accompaniment.

The ancient song texts for these pieces were in many cases several hundred words in length, but by empress Wu's time that for *Ming chün* only extended to some forty characters, while what is now transmitted

[This section gives table of contents, p. 21b, and full text of preface, pp. 21b-23a.]

107: 20b-21a	T'ang Chih-k'ang K'ai-an wu 唐治康凱安舞
107: 24b-25a	T'ang san ta wu 唐三大舞
107: 27b	T'ang Ching-yün ch'eng-t'ien yüeh wu 唐景雲承天樂舞
107: 28a-29a	T'ang pa wu 唐八舞
109: 11b	Chou chin tsou 周金奏
109: 39a	T'ang yü ch'ing 唐玉磬

⁴⁸The table of content of the three *chüan* as cited by *Yü hai* 105, p. 21a, is as follows:

Chüan shang ("The Origins of Music" 樂元): 1. Song 歌; 2. Poetry 詩; 3. Dance 舞; 4. Clapping 拊; 5. The pitch-pipes 律呂.

Chüan chung ("Standard Music" *Cheng yüeh* 正樂): 6. "Refined music" 雅樂; 7. The standing orchestra 立部伎; 8. The seated orchestra 坐部伎; 9. "Pure music" 清樂; 10. The music of Hsi-liang 西涼樂.

Chüan hsia ("Foreign Musics" 夷樂): 11. The Eastern I 東夷; 12. The Southern Man 南蠻; 13. The Western Jung 西戎; 14. The Northern Ti 北狄; 15. Variety music 散樂; 16. The measurement of music 樂量; 17. Formalities for presentation 陳儀; 18. Rise and Decline 興廢.

⁴⁹For example, *Yü hai* 107, p. 24b (ll. 8-9), is nearly identical with *CTS* 29, p. 1062 (l. 7); *Yü hai* 107, p. 27b (ll. 2-8), is nearly identical with *CTS* 29, p. 1061 (l. 4), and 1062 (l. 7); *Yü hai* 107, p. 27b (last l.), to 29a (first l.), is almost identical with *CTS* 29, p. 1059 (l. 1), to 1061 (ll. 3-4).

⁵⁰*CTS* 29, pp. 1062-63. ⁵¹*CTS* 29, p. 1066. ⁵²*CTS* 29, p. 1066

⁵³*CTS* 29, p. 1063. ⁵⁴*CTS* 29, pp. 1063, 1067.

⁵⁵Given as *Ch'un-chiang hua-yüeh ye* 春江花月夜, in *CTS* 29, p. 1067.

is only twenty-six characters, some of which are corrupt, and they have been greatly changed from their original forms in the music of Wu.

Liu K'uang considered that musicians should be obtained from Wu, who should be caused to transmit these pieces and to train musicians in their performance. He asked the singer (*ko-kung*) Li Lang-tzu 李郎子 about this. Li Lang-tzu was a northerner, and said that the true melodies were already lost, but claimed to have studied them with Yü Ts'ai-sheng, 俞才生 a man from Chiang-tu (that is, Yang-chou). But now Li Lang-tzu is gone, and the songs of the "Pure Music" repertory have been lost with him.⁵⁶

It is quite probable that here Liu K'uang was recording his own experience, and it seems certain that Li Lang-tzu's flight had happened not long before this event was written down. It is also likely that it was recorded while Liu K'uang was employed in the Music Office, some time before 721.

Liu K'uang was a remarkable scholar skilled not only in classical studies, but also in astronomy, calendrical science, mathematics, and medicine, as well as in music.⁵⁷ He was the eldest son of the great historian Liu Chih-chi 劉知幾, one of six exceptionally gifted brothers all of whom were noted scholars and achieved high official ranks. He was probably born in the early or mid-680s — his exact dates are unknown.⁵⁸ In 713 he held office as Remembrancer of the Left (*tso shih-i* 左拾遺),⁵⁹ at some point was promoted Chief Musician,⁶⁰ and by 721 was Director of the Office of Imperial Music (*T'ai-yüeh ling* 太樂令).⁶¹ It was almost certainly at this time that he wrote his wall inscription for the office, a type of writing then coming into vogue.⁶²

In 721 some offense committed in his official capacity, the nature of which is unknown, led to his own banishment, and also to the fall from office of his father, who had protested against his sentence.

⁵⁶*CTS* 29, pp. 1067-68. *THY* 33, pp. 610-11; *TT* 146, p. 761b; *Yüeh-fu shih-chi* 樂府詩集 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1979) 44, p. 639, also have related texts describing Li Lang-tzu as the last possessor of the tradition. *THY* says, "After he fled, there was only one single piece of *Ch'ing yüeh* sung: its text was well ordered, and the music refined." It omits all mention of Liu K'uang.

⁵⁷See *CTS* 102, p. 3174.

⁵⁸His father lived from 661-721, and his own second son Liu Tz'u, who became a Chief Minister under Te-tsung, lived from 729-794. He was thus probably born in the 680s.

⁵⁹See *CTS* 136, p. 3751.

⁶⁰See *Wen-hsien P'ung-k'ao* 186, p. 1589c, citing *Ch'ung-wen tsung-mu*.

⁶¹See *CTS* 102, p. 3173; *HTS* 132, p. 4522.

⁶²On this genre, see my forthcoming book on T'ang official historiography and McMullen, *State and Scholars*, p. 185.

His father died in banishment, but Liu K'uang was recalled to court by Hsüan-tsung's orders some time in the early 720s.⁶³ He was appointed a Court Diarist (*ch'i-chü lang* 起居郎) and a compiler of the National History (*shih-kuan hsiu-chuan* 史館修撰) probably in the 730s,⁶⁴ when he must have worked with or under Wei Shu.

Two of his brothers were also historians. Liu Su 劉餗 was a scholar in the Chi-hsien Academy and in the late 730s or early 740s also became a compiler in the Historiographical Office, where he served during the T'ien-pao period (742–756).⁶⁵ Liu Chih 劉秩, Liu Chih-chi's fourth son, seems never to have served as an official historian, but was the most influential historian of them all, as the author of the *Cheng tien* 政典, the first great institutional encyclopedia.⁶⁶

Given these facts it is hardly surprising to discover links between the National History, which was being compiled under Wei Shu in the 730s, and Liu K'uang's work. Both he and later his brother were part of the team of compilers for the National History, and given his reputation as a musical expert, Liu K'uang was quite probably the person given the responsibility for writing its "Monograph on Music." The fact that the "Monograph" so very rarely deals with events after the K'ai-yüan period ended in 741 would add weight to this conjecture, making it unlikely that Wei Shu did very much further work to the monograph in his draft history after he ceased to be actively involved in the official compilation. It is even less likely that Liu Fang gave this monograph more than cursory attention when he completed his National History in the late 750s. What we have in *Chiu T'ang shu* is essentially the monograph from Wei Shu's history, perhaps actually written by Liu K'uang in the last years of K'ai-yüan, plus some random additional information added later. To describe it as a tenth-century source is quite mistaken.

⁶³ According to *HTS* 132, p. 4522, after Liu Chih-chi's death Hsüan-tsung issued an edict to seek out his descendants for employment, and subsequently Liu K'uang was appointed a Diarist.

⁶⁴ See *CTS* 102, p. 3174; *CTS* 136, p. 3751; *HTS* 132, p. 4522.

⁶⁵ See *CTS* 102, p. 3174; *HTS* 132, p. 4523.

⁶⁶ See *CTS* 102, p. 3174; *HTS* 132, p. 4524.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>CTS</i>	<i>Chiu T'ang shu</i> 舊唐書
<i>HTS</i>	<i>Hsin T'ang shu</i> 新唐書
<i>TFYK</i>	<i>Ts'e-fu yüan-kuei</i> 冊府元龜
<i>THY</i>	<i>T'ang hui-yao</i> 唐會要