
THESES, SIS/LIBRARY
R.G. MENZIES BUILDING NO.2
Australian National University
Canberra ACT 0200 Australia

Telephone: +61 2 6125 4631
Facsimile: +61 2 6125 4063
Email: library.theses@anu.edu.au

USE OF THESES

**This copy is supplied for purposes
of private study and research only.
Passages from the thesis may not be
copied or closely paraphrased without the
written consent of the author.**

THE WESTERN SONGS (XIQU) OF THE SOUTHERN

DYNASTIES (420-589) - A CRITICAL STUDY

Chan Man Sing

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in The Australian National University.

August, 1984.



This thesis is based

entirely on my research.

Chan Man Sing.

Chan Man Sing

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is a pleasure to thank the teachers and friends who helped me prepare this thesis. Professor Liu Ts'un-yan patiently guided me through the process of research and provided valuable information and advice on many points. Dr. Rafe de Crespigny and Dr. K.H.J.Gardiner read the manuscript and enlightened me with their sensitive comments. To the latter, I am especially indebted for his kindness to allow me to use one of his translations of the Wu songs in the thesis. Dr. Jenny Holmgren was also kind enough to read my work carefully, and thanks to her critical eye, the errors are less than they would have been. Professor Wang Yunxi of Fudan University and Professor Liu Minglan of Shanghai Musical Academy (Shanghai Yinyue Xueyuan) gave long hours of their time to talk and write to me and offered me useful suggestions. To these, and to all others who share with me their knowledge and skills, I offer my thanks.

ABSTRACT

Though the Western songs or *Xiqu* 西曲 have been frequently anthologized alongside the Wu songs to represent the folk poetry of the Southern Dynasties (420-589 A.D.), there has been as yet no attempt to study the songs in depth. It is the purpose of this study to fill the gap.

The songs are viewed primarily as an orally delivered art, fostered by a particular social context and a regional folk tradition. The ethnic and musical backgrounds are discussed, then the lyrics are analysed in terms of themes, imagery, prosodic structures, formulaic language and puns. The emphasis is always on the distinctive features of the songs which may reflect a regional folk tradition and the peculiarities of oral delivery.

The result of this study points up the presence of regional folk tradition, which has, in matters of music, incorporated into itself some significant non-Han-Chinese elements, and was interactive with the literary tradition and other local song traditions. The finding should not only enrich our understanding of an important song repertory, but also reveal something of the Chinese folk literature in general. The work should, moreover, form part of the basis for a systematic investigation of the interaction between the folk and the literary traditions in the Chinese culture.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abbreviations

Chapter I	Introduction	
I.	What are <i>Xiqu</i> ?	1
II.	A Brief History of the Western Songs as Entertainment	3
III.	The Transmission and Study of the Lyrics	7
IV.	The Purpose and Approach of this Study	18
V.	Source of Material	21
Chapter II	The Prefaces and the Background	
I.	Introduction	23
II.	Prefaces to the Songs	24
III.	Time of Origin	63
IV.	Place of Origin	65
V.	Composers and Authors	68
VI.	Ethnic Groups in the Western Region	80
VII.	Life in the Western Region	86
VIII.	Conclusion	94
Chapter III	Music and the Performance	
I.	Introduction	96
II.	Three Types of Western Songs	97
III.	Musical Instruments	102
IV.	<i>Qingshang</i> and the Music	112
V.	Refrains and End-Refrains	122
VI.	The Performers and the Performance	129
VII.	Conclusion	141
Chapter IV	Themes and Imagery	
I.	Introduction	145
II.	Themes	146
III.	Imagery	178
IV.	Conclusion	199

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter V	Prosody and Language	
I.	Introduction	205
II.	Prosodic Structures	206
III.	Formulaic Language	214
IV.	Puns	232
V.	Conclusion	244
Chapter VI	Conclusion	247
Notes		255
Appendix A	Three Western Songs from <i>Wei shi yuepu</i>	326
Appendix B	Map: Jingzhou and its neighbourhood in Liu Song Times	332
Bibliography		335

ABBREVIATIONS

BIHP	Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊
GJYL	Gujin yuelu 古今樂錄
GSR	Grammata Serica Recensa
HJAS	Harvard Journal of Asian Studies
JTS	Jiu Tang shu 舊唐書
SBY	Sibu beiyao 四部備要
SBCK	Sibu congkan 四部叢刊
SoS	Song shu 宋書
SuS	Sui shu 隋書
TD	Tong dian 通典
TS	Taishō shinshū Daizoku kyō 大正新修大藏經
TZ	Tong zhi 通志
XTS	Xin Tang shu 新唐書
YFGTYJ	Yuefu guti yaojie 樂府古題要解
YFSJ	Yuefu shiji 樂府詩集
YTXY	Yutai xinyong 玉臺新詠

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I. WHAT ARE XIQU 西曲 ?

Over the course of Chinese history, the term "xiqu", or "Western songs", has been used to describe several types of songs. Songs coming from around Hubei, from Chinese Pamirs and from Shanxi 陝西, have all at one time fallen within the category of "Western songs".¹ But, as the topic of this discussion, "western songs" refers exclusively to the songs coming from the Jing-Chu region (around Hubei and Hunan) at about the time of the Southern Dynasties (420-589). Jing-Chu by that time was always referred to as "the west".² Such a conception of the "west" is, of course, very much tied up with the political reality of the time. After the collapse of the Western Jin dynasty 西晉 (265-316), the writ of the next few Han-Chinese governments (Eastern Jin 東晉, 317-420; Song 宋 420-479; Qi 齊, 470-502; Liang 梁, 502-557; and Chen 陳, 557-589) was more or less confined to the area south of the Yangzi; while the north, including the traditional centres of Changan and Luoyang, was overrun by non-Han groups such as Xiongnu 匈奴, Jie 羯, Qiang 羌, Di 氐 and Xianbei 鮮卑. These minorities set up various rival dynasties in what is known as the Sixteen-State Period (301-439). Eventually the north was united by the Toba Xianbei 拓跋鮮卑 who established the Wei dynasty (386-534). Nevertheless, the division with the south continued until 589, when the Sui dynasty 隋 (581-618) in the north at last unified the empire by defeating its southern rival Chen. The conquest ended a succession of dynasties in the south:

Eastern Jin, Song, Qi, Liang and Chen, the last four of which are sometimes collectively termed the "Southern Dynasties". It should be mentioned that in the later years of the Liang dynasty, a small regime, Hou Liang 後梁 (555-587) was founded in Jiangling 江陵 (in Hubei).³ It was no more than a puppet state in the control of the northern government, and was finally dissolved when Sui set about unifying China. The Eastern Jin and the Southern Dynasties all had their capital at Jiankang 建康 (Nanjing, 南京 Jiansu), to the west of which, upstream along the Yangzi, was the Jing-Chu region. It is for this reason that Jing-Chu was then considered the "west". "Western songs" were none other than those coming from that region.

By the time of the Chen dynasty, a Buddhist monk Zhijiang 智匠 (fl.568) gathered together the songs which arose from the Jing-Chu region and labelled them "Western songs" 西曲 in his collection of ancient and contemporary music - *GJYL*.⁴ The term did not, however, originate from the monk. Sometime before *GJYL* appeared on the scene, an anthology of poetry, *YTXY*, was already in compilation. The work contains a section entitled "*Jindai xiquge*" 近代西曲歌 (Western Songs of the Present Day), and comprising some Western songs also mentioned by Zhijiang.⁵

The term "Western songs" in this discussion refers to both the local songs from around Jing-Chu which became popular in the Southern Dynasties, and the imitations of them made by the literati of the day. It is worth noting that songs of the locality were also known by other names around that period - "*xiwu*" 西舞 (Western dance), "*yan*" 豔, "*xisheng*" 西聲 (Western music) and "*Wu ge*" 吳歌 (Songs of Wu).⁶ The term "*xiqu*" appeared to gain wide currency

only in the later half of the Southern Dynasties. *YTXY* was the earliest known source wherein the term was used; *SoS*, which was completed in 488, some fifty years earlier than *YTXY*, fails to mention the term even when some of the Western songs were discussed.

⁷ Nevertheless, from the Tang dynasty onward, probably because of the authority of such works as *YTXY* and *GJYL*, "xigu" became the standard term. In this discussion, the term "Western songs" is used when both the lyrics and music are mentioned. Two other related terms also come to be used: "Western lyrics" - when only the lyrics of the songs are indicated, and "Western tunes" - when only the tunes are indicated.

II. A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE WESTERN SONGS AS ENTERTAINMENT

The Western songs are by no means the earliest extant songs from the Jing-Chu region. The sections *Zhounan* 周南 and *Shaonan* 召南 in *Shi jing* 詩經 were claimed to contain songs from the Chu 楚 kingdom of the pre-Qin 先秦 period.⁸ Though there is some controversy about the claim, the two sections do contain songs about events around the Han river and the midstream of the Yangzi, such as *Han guang* 漢廣 (Mao 9) and *Jiang you si* 江有汜 (Mao 22). Later examples of the local songs are the Nine Songs in *Chu ci* 楚辭, which were, as Wang Yi 王逸 (fl. second century A.D.) tells us, sacrificial songs from around the lake Dongting 洞庭 (in Hunan), and reworked by Qu Yuan 屈原 (ca. 340-278 B.C.).⁹ From the Former Han dynasty (206 B.C.- 8 A.D.) onwards, contemporary songs and dances from around the Jing-Chu region were used for entertainment at the court and in the houses of powerful lords and wealthy men.¹⁰ Thus

Pei Ziye 裴子野 (469-530) describes the chief entertainments of Liu Song times:

Halls are always filled with music. Such items as "Fish and Dragon" which dazzle the eyes would be considered the most beautiful. When emperors and their ministers gathered, they would think the Wu songs and Chu dances to be the most charming entertainment for the occasion.¹¹

"Fish and Dragons" were magical spectacles in which "fish" and "dragons", in dazzling colours, danced to the delight of the audience. Many of the Western songs, as we shall see in later chapters, were dance songs, something markedly different from the Wu songs which were contemporaneous with the Western songs, but were not performed with dances.¹² The "Chu dances" 楚舞 in Pei's commentary were in fact the Western songs, and they became one of the chief entertainments in the Southern court. But their popularity was by no means confined to the south. The Treatise on Music in *Wei shu* 魏書, 109.2843 tells us how the Western songs and others came to circulate in the northern court:

Gaozu 高祖 (i.e. Emperor Xiaowen 孝文 [467-489] of the North-Wei dynasty) had once gone on a punitive expedition to the area around the Huai 淮 and Han 海 rivers. Shizong 世宗 (i.e. Emperor Xuanwu 宣武 [483-515] of the Northern Wei), in a later expedition, captured Shouyang. As a result of both conquests, some *ji* 伎 together with their music were captured. The music included some old pieces of Western Jin but still current in the south, such as *Mingjun* 明君, *Shengzhu* 聖主, *Gongmo* 公莫 and *Bai jiu* 白鳩. In addition there were the Wu songs from South China and the Western music from the Jing-Chu area.¹³ They were collectively named *Qingshang* 清商. Whenever feasts were held, the music would be performed.

Ji 伎 were musicians, singers, dancers or even acrobats. Most of them were female, and very often their bodies were offered in addition to their art for pleasure. Many of them were in the possession of the upper class and the wealthy merchants. We can deduce from what

is said in *Wei shu* that the Western songs were among the chief entertainments offered by the *ji*, and their popularity among the upper class was beyond doubt. In other words, the songs, which were originally the entertainment of the people in the Jing-Chu region, went on to achieve a popularity which spread quite beyond their original social level and their place of origin.

After the demise of the Chen dynasty, the music of the south was brought to the northern capital Changan. The Sui Emperor Wen (541-604), who had grown fond of the music, ordered the Bureau of *Qingshang* 清商署 to be established to take charge of this music.¹⁴ From the meagre description of the music found in *SuS* 隋書, we know that the Western songs were one of the responsibilities of the bureau.¹⁵ But as a court entertainment, the songs soon declined. Sui and the subsequent dynasty, Tang, were a time when music of non-Han minorities, particularly from Kucha 龜茲, became increasingly popular,¹⁶ whereas songs of old times were soon pushed out of the scene. Du You 杜佑 (735-812), the author of *TD*, observes that during the reign of Empress Wu (624-705), there were sixty-three songs left of the *Qingshang* music, but by his own time, the lyrics were only left of thirty-seven. During the era of Kaiyuan 開元 (713-741) a singer, Li Langzi 李郎子, claimed to know the songs. After Li had left the court, songs of *Qingshang* in general could be sung no more. Some of the songs were later modified to become part of the *Faqu* 法曲 repertory, a favourite of the celebrated Tang emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (685-762), but none of the Western songs are known to be among them.¹⁷ The only Western song which seemed to have been performed regularly throughout the Tang period, and perhaps even afterwards, was *Wu ye*

ti 烏夜啼 .¹⁸ It is true that *Qingshang* (or otherwise named *Qingyue* 清樂) was mentioned in Duan Anjie's 段安節 (fl. 894) *Yuefu zalu* 樂府雜錄 , which, generally speaking, reflects the state of music in late Tang.¹⁹ Yet not only were the musical instruments in Duan's record different from those in the earlier records, (a topic we shall come back to later,) but also the only item mentioned of *Qingshang*, *Nong gu da lie er* 弄管大擗兒 , never occurred in any earlier known records of the repertory. We may reasonably surmise that *Qingshang* of late Tang differed significantly from the earlier repertory. Duan's work is certainly not sufficient to prove the currency of the Western songs in the late ninth century.

Nevertheless, no Western song, with perhaps the exception of *Wu ye ti*, is known to have ever been performed after the Tang dynasty. Yet more than four centuries later, in the late Ming 明 (1368-1644) period, it seems that some Western lyrics, together with other long forgotten songs, were again set to music for performance. The Ming dynasty was a time when the literati constantly looked back to the past for literary models, and it should not surprise us if such literary interest should lead to a revival of some old well-known lyrics in the musical scene. Yet the only indication of such a revival is *Wei shi yuepu* 魏氏樂譜 (Japanese: *Geishi gakufu*), a collection of fifty song scores (including some Western songs) edited by Wei Hao 魏皓 (Japanese: *Gei Kō*, fl.1768); and this work was printed in 1768 in Japan rather than in China.²⁰ The revival, if there was any, could not have been very widespread, so far as China was concerned. One modern scholar has argued that the collection might have preserved important material on Tang and Song music,²¹ which

in turn might inform us of the musical tradition of even earlier times. But no strong evidence can be discovered to support him.

To conclude, it would be fair to say that the Western songs as popular entertainment were long dead by the end of the Tang dynasty. But as poetry, the songs continue to be read and enjoyed. Moreover, it was as a special genre of poetry that the songs first attracted scholarly attention, and they continue to do so today.

III. THE TRANSMISSION AND STUDY OF THE LYRICS

The first known record of the lyrics is found in *YTXY* which is compiled by Xu Ling 徐陵 (507-583) under the auspices of the Liang Emperor Jianwen 梁簡文帝 (503-551) when the latter was still crown prince.²² It is important to note that even in that early period the literati had developed an interest in the songs not only as casual musical entertainment, but also as pieces for reading. The lyrics, mostly anonymous, might have been known to Xu Ling and the literati mainly through the *ji*. However, as there were instances of contemporary songs being written down and circulated in that manner,²³ there is also the possibility that some written forms of the Western songs became the immediate source for Xu Ling's anthology.

Xu Ling has recorded only nine lyrics.²⁴ It is as late as the mid-sixth century that we came upon another important collection - *GJYL* which was compiled by the monk Zhijiang. We know nothing of this Buddhist monk except that he completed his collection in the year 568. The work itself is now lost. But it was widely cited in the encyclopedias of later times, and it is from these citations, collected by several scholars,²⁵ that we gain some knowledge of the work. We know

from these citations that the book was concerned with music from the pre-Qin period (Qin dynasty 221-206 B.C.) down to the Southern Dynasties,²⁶ that it explains the origin of various types of songs, and that it must have recorded the lyrics.²⁷ For the inclusion of Western songs, Zhijiang must have depended largely on the repertory of the *ji* as his source. For all the Western dance songs he specified the number of dancers as sixteen before and during the Qi dynasty, and eight only in the Liang dynasty.²⁸ This oddity suggests that Zhijiang is talking of performances in the court and not of performances among the lower classes. Moreover, his description of the songs are most detailed where the upper class were concerned.²⁹ We are therefore right to think that the Western songs in *GJYL* were, for the most part, court entertainments. Since *ji* in the court were not significantly different from those kept by the upper class,³⁰ we may assume that the recorded songs were common entertainments offered by *ji* to both the emperors and the upper class alike.

GJYL was an important source for Guo Maoqian 郭茂倩 (fl.1074) when he set about compiling *YFSJ*. So far as the Western songs are concerned, the numbers of song titles in the two works differ but slightly; and what is more important, the songs in both works are arranged in the same order.³¹ It is worthwhile comparing the arrangement with those in *TD*, *JTS* and Wu Jing's 吴兢 (670-749) *YFGTYJ*.³² Fewer song titles appear in the latter works and the arrangements are entirely different. *GJYL* surely survived to Guo's time, and Guo, as is evident in *YFSJ*, quotes from it profusely. Hence we would not be seriously mistaken to think even that, so far as the Western songs are concerned, *YFSJ* has preserved much of *GJYL*.

In the Tang and subsequent dynasties, much effort went into preserving and studying the songs of previous ages. Of the Tang scholars, the author of *YFGTYJ*, Wu Jing, was the first known to label the Western songs "yuefu" 樂府. "Yuefu" means literally "The Music Bureau". But the term also came to designate songs which have been collected or composed by the Bureau, as well as the literati compositions to the tune titles of these songs.³³ The Western songs, having been the responsibility of the Music Bureau for a long period, might have been considered part of the *yuefu* genre long before Wu's time.

No Tang collection of the Western songs has come down to us. The most comprehensive collection of the Western songs, and indeed of all *yuefu* songs ever known, appeared at the end of Northern Song (960-1127) when Guo Maoqian compiled *YFSJ*. Guo was the grandson of Guo Quan 郭勸 (?-1052), a well known statesman of his time; and the son of Guo Yuanming 郭源明 (1022-1076).³⁴ There is, however, no official biography of Guo Maoqian. He was said to have compiled another work, *Tang ci ji* 唐詞紀³⁵, but his authorship of the work is very doubtful. The only work of his extant today, other than *YFSJ*, is a poem *Shi qiao* 石橋 which is about Mount Tiantai 天台山 (in Zhejiang).³⁶ Guo's collection of *yuefu* poetry must have soon received recognition since it was widely cited in the Song bibliographies and discussions of poetry,³⁷ and it remains a work of authority to the present day.

Gu yuefu 古樂府 by Zuo Keming 左克明 of the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368) is the next extant collection of *yuefu* poems after *YFSJ*. It has been argued that Zuo compiled his book around 1346 independently of *YFSJ*, on the ground that copies of *YFSJ* were

exceptionally rare in his time. The argument points out that Zuo's compilation was done only six years after the reprinting of *YFSJ* by Peng Jingshu 彭敬叔 (fl.1340) in Jinan 濟南, and Jinan is a great distance from where Zuo was living - Jiangxi 江西. Zuo might not, therefore, have been able to see the reprint in time.³⁸ Yet despite much disorder and turmoil between Song and Yuan, some copies of Guo's work certainly survived the Song dynasty. Peng surely had a copy. The well-known book collector and publisher Mao Jin 毛晉 (1599-1659) had seen a copy.³⁹ At least one copy of the Song edition survives to our day.⁴⁰ Hence we cannot rule out entirely the possibility that Zuo had a copy when he undertook to compile his own collection of *yuefu* poems. Furthermore, the great similarities between Zuo's work and *YFSJ* strongly suggest this possibility. Take, for instance, the prefaces to the Western songs in the two works. We find that Guo and Zuo not only cited the same books on most occasions, but also cited them in the same order. At times some comments in *YFSJ*, which appear to be Guo's, are repeated verbatim in *Gu yuefu*. For example, in the preface to the song *Yulin lang* 羽林郎, Guo cited first from the Table of Official Posts and Ranks 百官公卿表 in *Han shu* 漢書, then the Treatise on Officials Posts 百官志 and the Treatise on Geography 地理志 in *Hou Han shu* 後漢書, and finally comments:

There is a song *Hu ji nian shiwu* 胡姬年十五 (The Barbarian Girl is Fifteen), which also originated from this song.⁴¹

Zuo not only cited the same works in the same order, but also gave the same concluding comments.⁴² Such examples are indeed numerous. It is reasonable, therefore, to think that Zuo's work, like many other collections of *yuefu* poetry that followed, relied heavily on *YFSJ*.

Later compilations of *yuefu* poetry such as Mei Dingzuo's 梅鼎祚 (1553-1619) *Gu yue yuan* 古樂苑, Gu Youxiao's 顧有孝 (1619-1689) *Yuefu yinghua* 樂府英華, and Zhu Qian's 朱乾 (?-1777) *Yuefu zhengyi* 樂府正義, depended in general on either *YFSJ* or *Gu yuefu* as their source. The source materials which were available to Guo and Zuo were mostly lost in the later periods. *GJYL*, for one, was perhaps lost in the Yuan dynasty, as nothing is known of its existence afterwards. So far as the western songs were concerned, the later works have neither gone beyond *YFSJ* in the collection, nor added significantly to *YFSJ* the background material. The importance of *YFSJ*, one might say, cannot be overemphasized.

The study of the songs might be said to begin with Zhijiang who directed much of his efforts to recording the origin of the songs and the features of the dances. His *GJYL* has in fact mapped out the main areas of interest for later scholars in the field of *yuefu* poetry. We have only to look at the titles of works by Tang scholars to know their main interests and how closely they followed the footsteps of Zhijiang: *YFGTYJ* 樂府古題要解 (Concise Exegesis of the Old *Yuefu* Titles, by Wu Jing), *Yuefu gujin tijie* 樂府古今題解 (Exegesis of Old and Contemporary *Yuefu* Titles, by Xi Ang 郝昂 fl.780) and *Yuefu guangti* 樂府廣題 (An Exposition on *Yuefu* Titles, by Shen Jiang 沈建).⁴³ Exegesis of song titles, which always involves discussions of origins, represents the main stream of scholarship.

Literary interest in the songs also starts early, as shown by *YTXY*, but it is only as late as the Ming that we begin to have a substantial amount of criticism concerning the literary characteris-

tics of the songs. Zhong Xing's 鍾惺 (1574-1624) *Gushi gui* 古詩歸, Chen Zuoming's 陳祚明 (fl. min-seventeenth century) *Caishu tang gushi xuan* 采菽堂古詩選, Chen Shu's 成書 (fl.1782) *Duosui tang gushi cun* 多歲堂古詩存, and Gu Youxiao's *Yuefu yinghua* were some of the important anthologies in which the Western songs are quite extensively dealt with in terms of literary criticism. The lyrics were noted for "successfully capturing human feeling" 有情, for "being straightforward" 直 and for "having an ancient flavour" 有古致.⁴⁴ These remarks, vague as they are, still reflect some of the qualities of the songs.

We can see, then, that traditional studies of the songs are mainly concerned with either their origin or their literary significance. It is important to note that the traditional critics always judged the songs on a par with the poetry of the literati. There is never any effort to consider seriously the likelihood that the songs, most of them anonymous, came from a tradition other than the literary one, and hence the critical tools require some adjustment. It should also be noted that the Western songs, were never singled^{out} as objects of study. They were anthologized along with other poetry, and commented upon as part of the collection.

No serious attempt, so far as I know, has ever been made to study the musical aspects of the songs. We will never know if the music of the songs has ever been recorded on paper, though notation systems for music surely were extant in the Southern Dynasties.⁴⁵ As we have seen, much of the music was already lost in late Tang, and any later attempt to discuss the music cannot but rely heavily on the meagre material from the treatises on music in dynastic histories. And yet

these treatises have never specifically accounted for the music of the Western songs. To discuss the music in a significant way, therefore, verges on the impossible. One curious work of the Ming dynasty, *Jiudai yuezhang* 九代樂章 did try to determine the musical modes of some Western songs, but with little evidence.⁴⁶ That which comes closest to constituting a study of the song music is the discussion of *Qingshang*, of which, as we have seen, the songs form a part. However these discussions, as found in Ling Tingkan's 凌廷堪 (1755-1809), *Yanyue kaoyuan* 燕樂考原 1.28-31, and Chen Li's 陳澧 (1810-1882) *Shenglü tongkao* 聲律通考 3.1a-14b etc., are concerned more with musical modes and scales than with melodies and structures which are vital to a useful knowledge of the songs.⁴⁷ Furthermore, these discussions never address themselves adequately to the question of whether or not the knowledge of *Qingshang* is fully applicable to the Western songs. *Qingshang*, it should be remembered, was originally the music of Han-Wei times,⁴⁸ and though Western songs were later made part of the *Qingshang* repertory, the musical link between the two has never been fully discussed, let alone established. Discussions of *Qingshang*, therefore, do not necessarily lead us to any better understanding of the Western songs .

It is only in this century that the Western songs and the contemporaneous Wu songs have been made a subject of scholarship in their own right. Short essays on the songs tend to deal with such aspects as the social, the thematic, and the phonological. But the few book-length studies which have been made are still chiefly concerned with traditional interests, though not without an eye to the social and historical context of the time. The most important is Wang Yunxi's 王運熙 *Liuchao yuefu yu mingge* 六朝樂府與民歌, which deals mainly

with the origin of the songs and a widely used figure - pun. Wang's book, well researched as it is, is very limited in scope. Even within that limited scope, there is still room for improvement, for he has not studied all the Western songs, and surely something can still be said of those he leaves out. On the subject of puns, Wang has compiled by far the most comprehensive concordance of puns that appeared in the Wu songs and the Western songs, and has done his readers great service by pointing out, with ample evidence, that punning was then very much a vogue in both writing and speech. But he has failed to note some of the curious features of the puns, such as their repetitiveness, and failed to comment on their aesthetic appeal.

The next major work is Marilyn J. Evans's unpublished Ph.D. thesis "Popular Songs of the Southern Dynasties: A study in Chinese Poetic Style," Yale University, 1966. It attempts to discover and describe some stylistic traits of the Wu songs and the Western songs by applying to them western techniques of close textual analysis - something not dissimilar to the "New Criticism". In spite of some minor errors, and a bibliography so insubstantial that it fails to even mention *YFSJ*,⁴⁹ the study is a useful one. Evans is sensitive enough to notice a few stylistic traits of the songs, such as the frequent use of personal pronouns and interjections, and the loosening of structure through inclusion of unnecessary elements.⁵⁰ There is, however, no attempt to fully appreciate the non-literary context of the songs; that the songs, set to music and intended for oral delivery, should be different from written poetry. One example is perhaps in order here to illustrate this inadequacy. Evans devotes a major section of her discussion to the verbal rhythmic patterns of the lyrics

and how they enhance the meaning of words, without ever considering the fact that the lyrics were set to music. An observation about songs by W.H. Auden and Chester Kallman is worth noting here:

Whenever verse is set to notes, its rhythm is distorted so that, however precise a singer's diction, a listener who is not already familiar with the words will at best catch half of them.⁵¹

Elsewhere, the same authors observe:

When, therefore, a line of verse in any language, no matter what its prosodic principle, is sung, the rhythm the ear perceives is based on differences in length.⁵²

And the differences in length are largely determined by the music. The truth in the comment can well be vindicated by our own experience. Therefore, though it may not be wrong-headed to choose to appreciate the songs as something written on the page, the poetic effect that such labours attempt to isolate and describe is certainly not what the song makers intended nor what their original audience perceived. The song makers were concerned with other problems, cultivating other effects, which are particular to their special medium of communication. To read the lyrics as written poetry is to miss much of their essence.

Another full length work, again an unpublished thesis, "Nanbeichao yuefushi yanjiu" 南北朝樂府詩研究 by Zhou Chengming 周誠明, attempts to discuss the full range of *yuefu* poetry of both the North and the South within 240 pages. The study is clearly of a cursory nature, and the result is little more than a collection of material which is already familiar to scholars and easily accessible elsewhere. There is yet another unpublished thesis, "The Folk Songs of the Southern Dynasties" by Hsieh Sheau-mann, University of California, Los Angeles, 1973. Within a mere 140 pages of text, the study addresses itself to a rich variety of topics concerning the Wu songs, the Western

songs and a minor type of religious songs *Shen xian ge* 神弦歌 .
 Apart from some inaccuracies ⁵³ and some cryptic statements such as
 the following:

Buddhism seems to have not much influenced the thinking of the
 people since some of its fundamental tenets were also found in
 Taoism of this time.⁵⁴

The study is also marred by the author's not infrequent failure to
 argue her points with intellectual rigor. It is said on her p.56, for
 instance, that in the songs "lovers' passions were depicted in an un-
 conventional way," but that which follows is a mere citation of three
 lyrics without the least explanation. As one more example, it is said
 on p.71 that the "folk songs of the Southern Dynasties are full of
 original and striking images, the people must have been very imagina-
 tive or no such images could have been conceivable." But her cited
 example provides us with the most hackneyed image in Chinese poetry
 - some creeping dodder entangling with a pine - which, so far as can
 be known, makes its first appearance in *Shi jing*, and is repeatedly
 exploited in later poetry even before the Southern Dynasties.⁵⁵ If
 she finds the image original and striking even after knowing the full
 history of the image (there is no indication that she did), then some
 vindication of her opinion, which she fails to provide, is very much
 in order.

General works on *yuefu* poetry and minor discussions peripheral
 to the *yuefu* poetry of the Southern Dynasties, may be left out of
 this brief review. It should be noted that the Western songs have
 never been studied in their own right: they are always studied along
 with other poetry, and most often with the Wu songs. Since Wu songs (a
 total of 353) greatly outnumber the Western songs (a total of 152), it

is always the case that the Wu songs receive far more attention, while the Western songs, in spite of their distinctive character, are treated as little more than an extension of the Wu songs.

It must also be noted that the songs have never been treated as what they originally were: a musical-verbal artifact intended for oral delivery rather than reading, an integral part of a live performance. To take the songs as written poetry is surely inadequate, since, in respect of communication medium, the two belong to completely different orders. The nature of oral delivery, the circumstances of performance, and the marriage with music, all impose demands on the lyrics different from those to which written poetry is subjected. Written poetry can be pondered upon and read repeatedly until one is satisfied with the message. But a song must be seized immediately, or it will vanish. This temporal nature of songs tend to work against comprehension, for it does not usually allow the audience to go back and deliberate, as when they are reading written text. The music also tends to work against verbal communication in songs, particularly when the songs are composed in tonal languages like Chinese. Music distorts the tone and other features of the pronunciation, so that the words in the lyrics became less readily recognizable. Since tones are one important distinctive features in the Chinese language, and since, in the case of Western songs, no obvious attempt had ever been made to accomodate the tones of words to the music,⁵⁶ one useful feature in verbal communication is eliminated by the music. Furthermore, in a performance, there are all sorts of distractions as well as the volatile nature of attention itself, to hamper efficient communication. All these factors could be ignored by makers of written poetry, but not by the song-

makers of ancient times. Sung lyrics appear to resemble written poetry in form, but in fact have very different demands to meet in order that they suit a different medium of communication. To treat sung lyrics as being not substantially different from written poetry is to miss many significant features of such lyrics.

The Western songs, therefore, still require further study if their essential nature is to be revealed. New scholarly efforts with a proper perspective are indeed very much in order.

IV. THE PURPOSE AND APPROACH OF THIS STUDY

The brief review in the previous section has already hinted at the purpose of this discussion. The focus is on the Western songs as specimens of oral communication, which I think, points to the basic nature of the songs. It is hoped that by studying the Western songs in this light, which has not been attempted before, we may ultimately know more about not only the essential character of the songs, but also about some basic characteristics of the oral tradition which was very much alive throughout the history of China and which is just as important as, if not more important than, the written tradition, since it concerned the majority of the Chinese people.

We have in the previous section mapped out some of the problems facing oral delivery. They are in fact the problems noted at length by scholars who study the songs of non-Chinese cultures with a full eye to their musicality and orality. It seems that these problems impose upon songs certain limitations which have ultimately affected their structure, rhetoric, diction and imagery. As some critics have observed, the elements of poetic vocabulary in songs tend to be those

which require the least reflection to be comprehensible. Complicated metaphors which take time to understand would be considered unsuitable. Images tend to be isolated from each other. They accumulate rather than develop, and rarely do they extend beyond two lines of verse so that the aural memory of the listener is not required to hold too much for too long.⁵⁷ But perhaps the most important and the most readily accessible resource for a song writer in solving the special problems inherent in oral delivery is "convention". Thus a scholar observes:

"Conventional" is not usually a favourable adjective, and poetry that is merely conventional is rarely interesting in any circumstances. But the conventions are functional in songs if they provide a familiar, comprehensible base for the listener while he centres his attention on what is novel or artfully expressed.⁵⁸

Another critic writing on Elizabethan lyrics comments similarly:

The familiarity of the convention materials gives the listener an immediately understandable key to the poem.⁵⁹

Much of this discussion will in fact deal with the conventions of the Western songs, which, I think, are fundamental both to the process of creation, and to the attempt at immediate comprehension. Since some conventions might have originated from the place of origin of the songs, the songs will therefore be viewed in close relation to their regional context. Admittedly, it is possible that some of the music and the lyrics were worked over by the *ji* and the upper class who took an interest in the songs as entertainment, and who might come from any region in South China. Yet the songs must have retained enough of their regional characteristics for the contemporary audience to distinguish them from the Wu songs and others. By constantly comparing the Western songs with the Wu songs and other poetry of the time, I hope to demonstrate both the distinguishing characteristics of the Western

songs and the inevitable interactions these songs have had with other sung poetry. It should be mentioned that the study of the songs as a basically regional repertory can itself afford much interest, since the songs represent the next important specimen of literature from the Jing-Chu region after *Chu ci* 楚辭, and *Chu ci* is considered, along with *Shi jing*, to be one of the two great sources of Chinese literature.

Our discussion will proceed as follows: the next chapter will deal with the origin and the background of the songs, so that the songs can be viewed in their proper historical, geographical and social context.

In the third chapter, I shall tackle the problem of music and performance. Though the account cannot be comprehensive because of the paucity of material, sufficient comment can still be made on the subject to point up some characteristics of the songs.

In the fourth chapter I turn to the themes and imagery of the lyrics. The discussion will, I hope, lead us to discover some conventions which can evidence the existence of a regional folk tradition.

The fifth chapter will deal with the formal stylistics - prosodic features, formulaic language and puns. They are to be examined in the light of oral communication and how they lend assistance to immediate comprehension of the lyrics in performance.

The emphasis, as we can see, is on the songs as an oral art. By appreciating the problems such art may encounter, and how they are overcome, it is hoped that some major elements of the Western songs, and of oral literature in general, can be discovered.

V. SOURCE OF MATERIAL

We shall in the main rely on *YFSJ* as the source of the Western songs. *YFSJ*, as valuable a work as it is, is, however, impaired by its perhaps over-ambitious compiler. As it is noted in *Siku quanshu zhongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要 :

Guo aims at a comprehensive illustration of the development of yuefu poetry, hence his collection is quite uncritical.⁶⁰

Consequently, there are included in Guo's work some poems which resemble yuefu poetry either in the title or in a few lines, but actually do not belong to the genre at all. Therefore, in order to make sure I do not use spurious songs as source material, I compare *YFSJ* with *GJYL* and exclude from consideration all those song titles and their lyrics which are not found in *GJYL*. *GJYL* was compiled in the Chen dynasty when the Western songs still enjoyed great popularity. We have therefore good reasons to trust *GJYL* rather than *YFSJ*. As a result we have excluded from the discussion several works by the literati and a song of dubious origin: *Wu qi qu* 烏棲曲, (to which Emperor Jianwen of Liang and other poets wrote some lyrics;) *Guke ci* 歌客詞 (by Yu Xin 庾信, 512-580),⁶¹ *Yongzhou qu* 雍州曲 (by Emperor Jianwen of Liang), *Bai fu jiu* 白浮鳩 (by Wu Jun 吳均, 469-520), and *Changlin huan* 長林歡. This last was first mentioned by Du You who thought that perhaps it occurred between Liu Song and Liang, but the only extant lyric of which was a Tang composition.⁶²

Editions of *YFSJ* from as early as the Song dynasty are still available today. The earliest extant edition (Song) was reproduced in fascimile in 1955 by Zhonghua shuju 中華書局. The next earliest extant edition dates from the Yuan dynasty, and was printed in 1340. A

good number of copies of this edition can be found in such prestigious libraries as Beijing National Library, Naikaku Bunko 内閣文庫 and Seikadō Bunko 靜嘉堂文庫. The Ming book collector Mao Jin reprinted this Yuan edition, but not without first collating the text with a Song edition available to him.⁶³ Mao's edition, which is collected in *SBBY* and *SBCK*, became the most influential of all editions until recently. In 1978, a punctuated edition of the work was produced by Zhonghua shuju, Beijing. It is by far the most useful, not only because an index of song titles and authors is appended to the end, but also because of the quite remarkable scholarship that has gone into the collation. All *YFSJ* textual references will accordingly be references to this edition. Other editions have, however, been consulted on various points.

Finally, a word about translation may be in order here. The translation aims at providing the literal sense of the original. No serious attempt is made to convey the poetic excellence of the songs. The transliteration, as it will have been noted already, is based on the *Pinyin* system.

CHAPTER II

THE PREFACES AND THE BACKGROUND

I. INTRODUCTION

To understand songs, particularly folk songs, we are usually required to perceive the supporting musical, social, and historical context. Songs are contextual. They exist in a specific place, at a specific time, and they are sung by specific people usually for some particular purposes. In this chapter, we shall enquire into when and where the Western songs were made, and into the people and their lives in that particular milieu.

Information on the origin of the songs and the life of common people is, however, hard to come by. Very few material survives. The Treatise on Bibliography in *SuS* has recorded some works which appear from the titles to deal with *yuefu* poetry of lowly origin. Unfortunately all are lost. Quotations from a few of them survive in works of later dates, and they become important sources for the present study. Other relevant materials are scattered among the treatises on music in dynastic histories and later works on *yuefu* poetry such as *YFGTYJ*. Fortunately for students of *yuefu* poetry, Guo Maoqian, who compiled the *YFSJ*, has gathered most of these materials in his prefaces to the songs, and they are the most important source on which any enquiry into the origin of the songs must be based. Hence in what follows, I shall give a full translation of the prefaces. After each translation, I shall provide a commentary. I shall give also the pre-Song (960-1279) sources where the same or similar versions of the origin are found.¹ Where a variant version differs significantly

from the one given in Guo's preface, I shall include that version in the translation. There are a number of songs for which Guo has not provided a preface. In such cases, whenever material is available, I shall furnish a supplement. It should be noted that Wang Yunxi has provided some very learned commentaries to a few of the prefaces in *Liuchao yuefu yu minge*, pp.93-101. Yet even on these few prefaces, I shall try to add to the discussion some new information which either strengthens an old opinion or sheds new light on a problem. The prefaces and commentaries will serve as a basis for the discussion of dates and places of origin which follows. Once the dates and places are determined, I shall proceed to examine the authorship of the lyrics, the people of the locality and their life, so far as they are relevant to the understanding of the song repertory.

II. PREFACES TO THE SONGS

1. *Shicheng yue* 石城樂

YFSJ 47.689:

It is said in *JTS*, Treatise on Music: "The song *Shicheng yue* was made by Zang Zhi 臧質 (400-454) in the Song dynasty (420-479). *Shicheng* was situated in Jingling 竟陵 (which had its capital at modern Zhongxiang 鍾祥 in Hubei). Zhuang Zhi was once a governor there. One day as he was gazing out over the city from the top of the citadel, he heard some youths singing in clear voices. Thereupon he made this song." Thus it is noted in *GJYL*: "Formerly *Shicheng yue* was performed by sixteen dancers."

Other sources: *TD* 145.758; *YFGTYJ* 1.10a; *JTS*, Treatise on Music, 29.1065.

Commentary:

According to his biography in *SoS*, 74.1910, Zang Zhi held

the post of Internal Officer 內史 for the Jingling kingdom before he was thirty. The song was probably created then. The biography, however, mentions nothing of his composing any songs. But it does mention that at the end of his life, when Zang raised a rebellion against the court and was defeated, he brought with him some *ji* and concubines 妓妾 on his flight. Since *ji* is mainly to perform music, we may infer that the man was not indifferent to the art.

2. *Wu ye ti* 烏夜啼

YFSJ 47.690:

It was said in the Treatise on Music of *JTS*: "*Wu ye ti* was the creation of Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403-444), the Song Prince of Linchuan 臨川王. In the seventeen year of Yuanjia 元嘉 (440), Liu Yikang 劉義康 (409-451), the Prince of Pancheng 彭城王, was transferred to the Yuzhang commandery 豫章郡 (around Nanchang 南昌, Jiangxi). Yiqing was at that time the military governor of Jiangzhou 江州刺史 (which had its capital at modern Jiujiang 九江, Jiangxi). When Yikang arrived at the city, he was greeted by Yiqing, and they both wept. When Emperor Wen 文帝 (407-453) came to hear of this, he was alarmed and hence summoned Yiqing to the capital. Yiqing was filled with great fear. One night his *ji* heard some crows cawing. Delighted, they knocked on others' chamber doors and said: 'Tomorrow our lord will be pardoned.' That year saw Yiqing transferred to the governorship of Nan Yanzhou 南兖州. He hence made this song. The refrain goes:

Every night I look forward to my love coming,
I try to push open the window, but it won't yield.

夜夜望郎來。
籠窗窗不開。

The extant lyric does not, however, seem to be what Yiqing wrote. *Jiaofang ji* 教坊記 [by Cui Lingqin 崔令欽 (fl. mid-eighth century)] provides another account of its origin: "The *Wu ye ti* came about as follows: in the twenty-eighth year of Yuanjia (451), Liu Yikang, the Prince of Pangcheng, was banished because of some offence. When he arrived at Xunyang 尋陽 (modern Jiujiang 九江), the military governor of Jiangzhou, Liu Yiji 劉義季 (415-447), who was also the Prince

of Hengyang 衡陽王, made him stay and held banquets in his honour. Ten days elapsed but there was still no sign of Yikang leaving. The Emperor on hearing of it flew to a rage and sent both of them to prison. Later, the Princess of Kuaiji 會稽 (fl.440), who was the elder sister to Yikang, found an opportunity to be at a banquet with the Emperor. During the banquet, she rose and knelt before the Emperor, who, not comprehending, tried to stop her. The Princess said in tears: 'By the end of this year, my lord would perhaps tolerate no more of Juzi 車子.' Juzi was the pet name of Yikang. Thereupon the Emperor pointed at Mount Jiang 蔣山 and replied, 'Surely there shall be nothing of this, or I will be unworthy of my sire in the Chunling tomb 初寧陵.' Emperor Wu 武帝 (father of Emperor Wen) was buried in Mount Jiang, hence Emperor Wen pointed at it to make an oath. The Emperor then gave orders to take away the remaining wine and to deliver it to Yikang with the following message: 'I had been drinking with our sister of Kuaiji. We were happy and missed you.' Yikang was thus pardoned. Before the courier arrived at Xunyang, those members of Yiji's household knocked on the prison wall behind which the two princes were kept, and said: 'Last night the crows cawed. The Emperor's pardon should be on its way.' Before long the courier arrived, and the princes were released. This is how we come to have this song." According to the dynastic histories, it is Yikang, the Prince of Linchuan, who governed Jingzhou. But here Cui claims that it is Yiji, the Prince of Hengyang. The mistake must have crept in during the course of transmission. It is said in *GJYL*: "Formerly *Wu ye ti* was performed by sixteen dancers." In *Yuefu jieti* 樂府解題 there is this remark: "There is also the song *Wu qi qu*. It is not known if it is the same as *Wu ye ti*."

YFSJ 60.872 (on lyrics to the *qin* 琴 music):

Li Mian 李勉 (717-788) thus says in *Qinshuo* 琴說, "*Wu ye ti* was created by the daughter of He Yan 何晏 (190-249). He Yan was once put into prison. At that time two crows were roosting on the roof of his house. His daughter, hearing their caw, said: 'The caw sounds auspicious. My sire will surely be pardoned.' Hence she made the music." There is among the Western songs of the *Qingshang* section another *Wu ye ti* which is the creation of the Song Prince of Linchuan. The origins of the two songs are different, but their themes are quite similar.

Xu Jian 徐堅 (659-729), *Chuxue ji* 初學記 16.386:

Liu Yiqing, the Prince of Linchuan was once the military governor of Jingzhou 荊州. When he was summoned by Emperor Wen, everyone in his household was seized with great fear. One night, his *ji* heard some crows cawing. Thereupon, with heavy anxiety, she made the song *Wu ye ti*.

Other sources: TD 145.758; YFGTYJ 1.9b-10a; Baishi liutie 白石六帖

13.216; *JTS*, Treatise on Music, 29.1065.

Commentary:

There seems to be two *Wu ye ti*. At least one modern scholar, Ren Na 任訥 (1894-), holds this view.² Li Mian's biography is found in *JTS* 131.3636 where he is described as "being adept in *qin* playing and fond of making poetry." 善鼓琴, 好屬詩. While we may acknowledge his expertise in *qin* music, there are, however, a few points in his account that raise our suspicion. I am unable to discover any earlier account about He Yan similar to Li's. Pei Songzhi 裴松之 (372-451), when commenting on the *Sanguo zhi* 三國志, quotes *Weimo zhuan* 魏末傳 as stating that a son was born to He Yan.³ But there is no mention of his having any daughter. Moreover, the music was not mentioned until the Southern Dynasties. The following are the earliest works that refer to *Wu ye ti* either directly or allusively: Yu Jianwu's 庾肩吾 (487-551) "On Dances" 詠舞,⁴ Yu Xin's 庾信 (513-581) "Playing the *qin*" 弄琴,⁵ Xiao Que's 蕭愨 (fl.550) "Listening to *qin* music" 聽琴,⁶ and Lu Qiong's 陸瓊 (537-586) "At a banquet in Xuanpu, each was to write a poem on an object, and I was assigned the *zheng*" 玄圃宴各詠一物得箏.⁷ All of them were written in the later half of the Southern Dynasties. We could perhaps dismiss Li's story and conclude from the other sources that the dance song and the *qin* music of the same title must be related.

The remaining three versions of the origin of *Wu ye ti* require further comments. The version in *Jiaofang ji* is inaccurate in a number of details. As Guo Maoqian has commented already, Yiji's

biographies in the dynastic histories (*SoS*, *juan* 61; *Nan shi*, *juan* 13) mention nothing of his ever assuming the governorship of Jiangzhou. Furthermore, he died in the twenty-fourth year of Yuanjia (447), at the age of twenty-three, four years before the story as told in *Jiaofang ji* is alleged to have happened. The other major character of the story, Yikang, was held in custody in Ancheng 安成 (near modern Anfu 安福, Jiangxi) from the twenty-second year of Yuanjia (445) for his involvement in an unsuccessful plot against the throne. In the first lunar month in the twenty-eighth year of Yuanjia (451) he was executed. Thus he could not have travelled that year to Xunyang and met either of his brothers: Yiji or Yiqing. For that matter, by 451 Yiqing had been dead for six years. The portion in the story about the Princess of Kuaiji is similar to another record found in Yikang's biography in *SoS*, 68.1795. But *SoS* puts the incident between 440 and 445, and *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 123.3888 puts it specifically under 440. According to the two histories, the princess's supplication was neither prompted by Yikang's imprisonment, nor resulted in his release. In view of these many inconsistencies with dynastic histories, we should consider the account in *Jiaofang ji* as unreliable.

On the other hand, the version in *JTS* agrees closely with other dynastic histories. According to the Annals of Emperor Wen in *SoS*, *juan* 5, Yiqing was appointed military governor of Jiangzhou in 439. By the tenth month of the next year, he was transferred to the military governorship of Nan Yanzhou. The same month also saw Yikang's new appointment as military governor of Jiangzhou and the execution of his political supporters. This happened barely

twenty days before Yiqing's transfer. According to Yikang's biography in *SoS*, before his new appointment, Yikang had been imperious and indiscreet. He had gained immense power at court and tended to treat the Emperor rather as a brother than the sovereign of the empire. Worse still, his henchmen had been making moves, without his knowledge, to place him on the throne. Hence the Emperor's move to demote Yikang and stamp out his supporters. Yikang's new appointment was in effect a banishment. The dynastic histories mention nothing of Yikang meeting Yiqing. But Yiqing, who was the military governor of Jiangzhou before Yikang's appointment, might still have been in Jiangzhou to welcome his brother. The record in *JTS* is highly possible, if not necessarily true.

One point about the story, however, creates some doubt about its authenticity: The association of crows' caw with amnesty did not appear in record until late in Tang dynasty.⁸ Zhang Ji 張籍 (768-830) in "A tune of crow cawing" 烏啼引,⁹ and Yuan Zhen 元稹 (779-831) in "On hearing Yu Jizhi playing *Wu ye ti* on the qin" 聽廣及之彈烏夜啼引,¹⁰ both refer specifically to the crow myth, and they are both poets of mid-Tang. It should be remembered that *Qin shuo*, *Jiaofang ji*, *YFGTYJ* and *TD* - wherein the superstition forms the backbone of the story - all belong more or less to the Mid-Tang period.¹¹ It is hence very likely that the superstition took shape only in the Tang dyansty, and somehow got into the story of *Wu ye ti*.

In contrast, the version in *Chuxue ji* seems to be more reliable. It matches well with the mood of frustration and anxiety which marks the refrain of the song. It is, moreover, not entirely incom-

patible with the *JTS* version . Perhaps at the demotion of Yikang, Yiqing was summoned to the capital for a new appointment but without his knowing the reason. His household had good reasons to be anxious since they must have heard of the latest misfortune that befell Yikang and his supporters. In a spell of anxiety, a certain *ji* composed the music on a *qin*, and it must have been developed later into a dance song.

3. Mochou yue 莫愁樂

YFSJ 48.698:

It is thus said in the Treatise on Music of *JTS*: "Mochou yue derived from *Shicheng yue*. There was in Shicheng a woman named Mochou 莫愁 who was a superb singer. In the refrain of *Shicheng yue*, there are the words "wang chou" 忘愁 (forget the sorrow). For these reasons, the song was thus named." In *GJYL* it is thus noted: "Mochou yue is thought to be the music of the Man 蠻 people. Formerly, the music was performed by sixteen dancers, in Liang times, eight." The following remark is found in *Yuefu jieti* 樂府解題: "In an old lyric there is mentioned a Luoyang 洛陽 girl named Mochou. The two are not the same."

Other sources: *Chuxue ji* 15.378; *YFGTYJ* 1.10a; *JTS*, Treatise on Music, 29.1065.

Commentary:

GJYL is quoted in *Chuxue ji*, *Taiping yulan* 571.4a, Wu Shu's 吳淑 (947 -1002) *Shilei fu* 事類賦 11.3b and *Wuse xian* 五色線 2,22a, to give more or less the same story as found in *JTS*. The quotations, however, vary slightly from text to text.

Little is known of Mochou. *GJYL* is quoted in *Wuse xian* as stating the following:

Mochou yue came about because of a *ji* in Shicheng. There was at the west of the city a woman named Mochou who was superb at singing. And there are in *Shicheng yue* the words "I, Mochou" 妾莫愁 . For these two reasons the song was thus named.

It differs sharply from the quotations in all other sources on two points: first, Mochou is specifically identified as a *ji*; second, the lyric of *Shicheng yue* is said to contain the phrase "*jie Mochou*" 妾莫愁 rather than "*wang chou*". *Wuse xian* does not usually quote verbatim from its sources. The phrases "*jie Mochou*" is highly improbable, since "*jie*" referring to woman does not once occur in the anonymous Western lyrics. The woman persona usually refers to herself as "*nong*" 儂 or "*wo*" 我, pronouns which are also used by men and do not imply formality or subordination as "*jie*" does. It is an important stylistic distinction of the songs and should not be ignored. Yet despite these indications of unreliability, Wang Yunxi surmises on the basis of it that Mochou the *ji* must have sung *Shicheng yue* superbly, so either she or others remade the song to suit her voice even better, and the song is thus named after her.¹² Plausible as it is, the surmise lacks substantiation.

A lyric about another Mochou is mentioned in the song preface. The work is found in *YTXY* 9.1a-b, and is anonymous.¹³ This latter Mochou resides in Luoyang, and features often in the poetry of the Southern Dynasties. A poem titled "*Luoyang dao*" 洛陽道 by Cen Zhijing 岑之敬 (518-579) ends as follows:

We have, too, the one who can make our guests stay -
Mochou in her fresh beauty.

復有能留客，
莫愁嬌態新。

The two women must have been equally well known in the Southern Dynasties. Yet no relation has ever been discovered between them.

The music *Mochou yue* is said to derive from *Shicheng yue*. A lyric to the tune *Mochou yue* goes as follows:

Mochou, where is she?
She is at the west of Shicheng.¹⁴

莫愁在何處，
莫愁在城西。

Mochou yue, like *Shicheng yue*, arose from Shicheng. Some relation between them is hence possible. A lyric to the tune *Shicheng yue* goes:

Bend the fingers and dance to "wang chou" (forget the sorrow),
We are both in our prime.¹⁵

挽指踏忘愁，
相與及盛年。

The lines suggest that "wang chou" is a part of the song *Shicheng yue*. 某 (GSR 802a, Anc. Chin. *māk*) and 忘 (GSR 742i, Anc. Chin. *miwang*) are phonetically close enough to render substitution of one by the other possible. "Wang chou" might therefore be read as "Mochou". This supports further the claim of a derivative relationship between the two songs.

4. *Guke yue* 估客樂

YFSJ 48.699:

Thus it is said in *GJYL*, "*Guke yue* is the creation of the Qi Emperor Wu 齊武帝 (440-493). When he was still a commoner, the emperor once travelled to Fang and Deng. After he had come to the throne, he reminisced on the past and made this song. He then ordered Liu Yao 劉瑀, the Prefect of the Music Bureau, to arrange it for playing on strings and winds. But this was not successful. Then he was told of a Buddhist monk Baoyue 寶月 (fl.480), who was very proficient in music. So he asked this monk to arrange the song for performance. In ten days' time, the song was at last played harmoniously. The Emperor then gave orders to the singers that they should always repeat the words "gan yi" 常憶為感憶之聲.¹⁶ The song is still in circulation in the present day. Baoyue later submitted two more lyrics to the Emperor. The Emperor had several times travelled on a dragon boat

to Wucheng 五城 (near modern Nanjing 南京) ¹⁷ for sight-seeing. The sails were made of red Yue 越 cloth; the rigging, of green silk. The punt-poles were tipped with brass. All the pole holders and oarsmen put on light yellow trousers, which were made of cloth from Yulin 鬱林. They were to dress thus on the boat and line up in rows 使江中衣出 . ¹⁸ Presently, the Emperor's palace still stands at Wucheng. The dance was performed in the Qi dynasty by sixteen dancers; in Liang times, eight." The Treatise on Music in *Tangshu* contains this remark: "In Liang times the song was renamed 'Shanglü xing' 商旅行."

Other sources: TD 145.758; JTS, Treatise on Music, 29.1066.

Commentary:

The Emperor came to the throne in 483 at the age of forty-four. It was only four years ago that his father Xiao Daocheng 蕭道成 (427-482) had usurped the throne of the Liu Song family. Before that, Xiao Daocheng, who was of humble origin, had served mainly in the army. As he rose to power through a number of military success, his son began to take some minor offices in the government.. At one time he was the Gentleman in Attendance in the kingdom of Xunyang 尋陽國侍郎, and later became the magistrate of Gan (near modern Gan xian 贛縣, Jiangxi) 贛令. One of his lyrics to the tune *Guke yue* goes as follows: (YFSJ 48.699)

Once, after an errand to Fan and Deng,
The ebb caused me to stay at Meigen Bank.
The heart quivers when this I recall,
Feelings swell, words fail.

昔經樊鄧役。
阻潮梅根渚。
感憶追往事。
意滿辭不敘。

Fan, Deng and Meigen 梅根 (west of modern Guici 貴池, Anhui) all lie in the vicinity of Xunyang and Gan. The Annals of Qi in *Nan shi* 南史, 4.126, describes the Emperor as being "quite given to travels, feasting and other luxuries." 頗喜遊宴雕綺之事 ¹⁹
Several instances recorded in Xiao Yi's 蕭繹 (508-554) *Jin-*

louzi 金樓子 , 1.25b-26a, demonstrates beyond doubt his extreme fondness for folk music:

Emperor Wu of Qi once visited Fenghuolou 烽火樓 with his ministers and princes. The building was at Shitou 石頭 (in Nanjing). There he asked the Prince of Changsha 長沙王 , Xiao Huang 蕭晃 , to sing him the songs of Ziye 子夜 . At the end of each song, he was so moved that he hit the couch with a ruyi 如意 sceptre (which was made of rhinocero horn), till it broke into pieces. That day he broke several sceptres.

When his much beloved concubine the Beauty He 何美人 died, Emperor Wu of Qi was deeply sorrowful. Later, while hunting pheasants, it happened that he climbed up some rocks and saw her tomb. Thereupon, he gave orders to have the mats spread for a musical performance, and asked the singer Chen Shang 陳尚 to sing. Chen sang some popular Wu songs. The Emperor, on hearing the songs, covered his face with both hands and sighed for a long while. He then bestowed on the performers thirty thousand coins and twenty rolls of silk.

Of the monk Baoyue we know next to nothing. The following is taken from *Nan Qi shu*, Treatise on Music, 11.196:

The song *Yongping yue* 永平樂 was created by Xiao Ziliang 蕭子良 , the Prince of Jingling 竟陵王 , and some members of the literati. Each of them wrote ten lyrics to the tune. Among them, those by the monk Baoyue were the most exquisite. The Emperor used to have them performed with an orchestra.

The monk appears to possess exceptional poetic skill. The Emperor here is none other than Emperor Wu of Qi. In Zhong Rong's 鍾嶸 (469-518) *Shipin* 詩品 , there is another record of the monk:

The Reverend Huixiu 惠休上人 , the Reverend Daoyu 道猷上人 , the monk Baoyue:

The two foreigners Yu and Bai have written some lines of exceptional beauty. As to *Xinglu nan* 行路難 , it was originally the work of Chai Kuo 柴廓 from Tongyang 東陽 . Baoyue once stayed in his house. It so happened that Chai Kuo died then. Baoyue availed himself of the chance to steal the work and claimed it as his own. Later Chai Kuo's son brought his father's written script to the capital with the intention of suing Baoyue. But Baoyue made him a great gift and stopped him.²⁰

Yu and Bai were usually taken to be the surnames of Baoyue and Daoyu respectively. A modern scholar, Chen Yanjie 陳延傑 ,

however, suggests otherwise:

Quan Deyu's 權德輿 (759-818) "Farewell to the Reverend Qingjiao" 送清道上人詩 contains this line: "Your excellent poetry is now on a par with Kang Baoyue's." 佳句已齊康寶月 Thus Baoyue was not surnamed Yu. The graph 康 and 康 are alike, hence the corruption.²¹

Quan's poem goes on to heap praises on Qingjiao:

Your "pure talk" approaches Xie Linchuan's of the early time.²²

清談遠指謝臨川

The two lines make a couplet. Xie is the renowned poet Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385-433) whose last office was Inner Officer of Linchuan 臨川內史. There is little doubt that Kang Baoyue is our Baoyue, who, like Xie Lingyun, lived in the time of the Southern Dynasties. Since Baoyue was not a Han-Chinese, he was more likely surnamed Kang 康. Foreign monks of the time used to assume the name of their native countries as surnames. Baoyue probably came from Samarkand, or Kangguo 康國 as it was then called in China.

That Baoyue was a foreigner may help to unravel a mystery in the song preface: in spite of their expertise, the musicians in the Music Bureau failed to provide the appropriate accompaniment to the song, and it was left to a monk to accomplish the task. We shall in the next chapter examine the strong influence of foreign music on the local songs of the Jing-Chu region. It is possible that Emperor Wu might have picked up the tune *Guke yue* during his stay in Xunyang, or that he composed his tune in imitation of the local songs there. Since the local music was much coloured by foreign influence, a foreigner like Baoyue might be therefore better equipped than the court musicians to arrange the song for orchestral playing.

There are, however, some more problems concerning the song pre-

face. It is not known why the song about the Emperor's private reminiscence should be titled "Guke yue" (Song of Merchants). One may wonder further what the latter part of the passage has to do with the song at all. A line in the record " 使江中夜出 " in fact make little sense. A Ming scholar Yang Shen (1488-1559) seems to have seen a different version of the record. He is discussing Guke yue in *Danyan zhonglu* 丹鉛總錄, 21.15b, when he says:

The pole holders and oarsmen put on light yellow trousers, which were made of cloth from Yulin, and danced.

篙榜者悉著鬱林布作淡黃袴舞

Perhaps 齋 is a corruption of another character 舞 (dance).

The song might be about the emperor's experience when he travelled from Fang-Deng to Meigen in the company of some merchants. As we shall see in the discussion of *Sanzhou ge*, merchants of the time used to sing on board.

5. Xiangyang yue 襄陽樂

YFSJ 48.703:

It is said in *GJYL*: "Xiangyang yue was created by Liu Dan 劉誕 (433-459), the Prince of Sui 隋王, in the Song dynasty. Liu Dan in his early career was once the governor of the Xiangyang commandery (of which the capital is the modern Xiangyang, Hubei). In the twenty-sixth year of Yuanjia (449), he was made military governor of Yongzhou 雍州刺史 (of which Xiangyang was the capital). Once at night, he heard some girls singing. Thereupon he made this song. The refrain goes like this:

Oh Xiangyang, it is joyous at night.

襄陽來夜來

Formerly it was performed by sixteen dancers; in Liang times, eight." There is another song *Dadi qu* 大堤曲 (Song of the Great Dyke), which derived from this song. Furthermore, Emperor Jianwen of Liang 簡文帝 (503-551) has written ten songs on Yongzhou which include *Dadi*, *Nanhu*, 南湖 and *Beizhu* 北渚 etc. Another Xiangyang yue is mentioned in *TD*: "It is recorded in Pei Ziye's 裴子野 (469-530) *Song lue* 宋畧 (A Brief

History of Song) that when Liu Daochan 劉道產 (fl.430), Marquis of Jin'an 晉安侯, was the Grand Administrator of Xiangyang, the place was very well governed. People enjoyed their work and the place was packed with households. Even the barbarians submitted to his rule, and they all settled along the Mian 潁 river. The people made a song about all this and it was titled 'Xiangyang yue'." But this last is different from the one of our concern.

Other sources: *SoS*, Treatise on Music, 19.552; *TD* 145.758; *YFGTYJ* 1.10a; *JTS*, Treatise on Music, 29.1065; *XTS*, Treatise on Rituals and Music, 22.474.

Commentary:

The relation of the two *Xiangyang yue* has been a matter of much contention. *TD* gives first an account of the government of Liu Daochan and the circumstances that brought about the first *Xiangyang yue*, then proceeds to describe the second, without making explicit whether there was a connection between the two songs. While Wu Jing, Guo Maoqian and the compilers of *JTS* tend to deny any relation, modern scholars such as Wang Yunxi hold quite the contrary. Wang holds that in the time of Liu Daochan, the song was merely a vocal piece. Liu Dan came to hear of it when he was governor of Yongzhou, and rearranged it for performance by orchestra.²³ Wang's view is plausible. It appears from the account of *GJYL* that Liu Dan made his song on the basis of what he had heard. He was governor of Yongzhou seven years after Liu Daochan, so the song he came to hear might perhaps have been the *Xiangyang yue* of Liu Daochan's time. *SoS*, Biography of Liu Daochan, 65.1719, seems to be implying such a connection too:

Liu Daochan's achievement as governor of Yongzhou was all the more spectacular. The Man barbarians, who had been refractory were now all submissive. They moved out of the mountains and settled along the Mian river. People found enjoyment in their work, and the place was packed with household. Hence arose the song *Xiangyang yue*. It originated in the time of Daochan.

The author Shen Yue 沈約 (441-513), who had lived through the period, was perhaps writing the last sentence with the later and more popular *Xiangyang yue* in mind.

According to *SoS*, *Treatise on Provinces and Commanderies* 州郡, 37.1135, it was in the year 449 that Xiangyang, Nanyang 南陽, Xinye 新野, Shunyang 順陽 and Sui were formally incorporated into Yongzhou. Xiangyang became the administration centre. Hence Liu Dan in his capacity as military governor of Yongzhou should have been stationed in Xiangyang. His biography in *Sos*, 79.2025-2037, mentions his appointment as governor of Yongzhou in 449, but nowhere is it recorded that he held office in Xiangyang or Yongzhou before that time. According to *SoS*, *Annals of Emperor Wen*, 5.100, Liu Dan was made military governor of Guangzhou 廣州 in the twenty-eighth year of Yuanjia (451). Therefore his government in Yongzhou spanned two years only (449-451), when he was between seventeen and nineteen.

6. *Sanzhou ge* 三洲歌

YFSJ 48.707:

Thus it is noted in the *Treatise on Music* of *JTS*: "*Sanzhou* is a song of merchants." *GJYL* gives the following: "*Sanzhou ge* - Traders travelling to and from Sanjiang kou 三江口 at Baling 巴陵 (modern Yueyang 岳陽, Hunan) created this song together. A line from the lyric is as follows: 'Weeping and parting come together.' 啼將別共來. On one occasion, in the eleventh year of Tianjian (512), Emperor Wu 武帝 (464-549) of the Liang dynasty finished expounding Buddhist teachings in Leshou Hall 樂壽縣. He made the ten *Bhadanta* 大德法師 (Reverend Priests of Great Virtues) stay, and gave orders to have music performed. Furthermore he asked everyone to put questions to him and he would respond with quotations from the *sutra*. Next he asked Fayun 法雲 (467-529): 'It is known that Your Reverence is gifted in music. What do you think of the song?' Fayun respectfully replied: 'The heavenly music is sublime. One with superficial knowledge would not have heard of it. However

your humble servant does find it somewhat too plain and wonder if it could be modified.' The Emperor thereon decreed, 'It should be modified as Your Reverence wishes.' Fayun henceforth said: 'Joyous union should precede parting. "Weeping and parting" 帝將別 might as well be changed into "happiness and joy" 歡將來 .'. Hence the song now. The refrain goes:

Three islets divide the river mouth,
Water flows along the deep winding bank.
Happiness and joy come together,
Long my thoughts of you.

三洲斷江口，
水從窮寇河傍流，
歡將樂共來
長相思。

Formerly it was performed by sixteen dancers; in Liang times, eight."

Other sources: TD 145.758; JTS, Treatise on Music, 29.1067.

Commentary:

According to Yue Shi's 樂史 (930-1107) *Taiping huanyu ji* 太平寰宇記, 14b.12b, Sanzhou (Three Islets) were among the largest islets in the Yangzi river. They laid close to Zhijiang county 枝江縣, which is in the proximity of Baling.

The biography of Fayun is found in Xu Gaoseng zhuan 續高僧傳 6.15a where he is claimed to be descended from the renowned general of Western Jin, Zhou Chu 周處 (240-299). Yet nothing is mentioned of his expertise or interest in folk music. It seems true, however, that at one time the lyric read "weeping and parting". Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501-531) thus closes his poem "On the Zheng-player" 詠彈琴人:

She played, furthermore, the song *Sanzhou*,
Who would think any more of the springs in Jiuyuan ?²⁴

還作三洲曲，
誰念九原泉。

His brother Xiao Yi 蕭繹 (508-554), who later became Emperor Yuan of Liang, writes a poem in reply. The last two lines read:

Regretful that I ever spoke of weeping and parting,
Hence this sorrow of today!²⁵

悔道啼將別。
教成今日悲。

He is undoubtedly alluding to the original lyric of *Sanzhou ge*.

Sanzhou ge is the only song for which communal authorship is claimed. How it actually happened is, however, not known.

7. *Xiangyang baitongti* 襄陽白銅蹄

YFSJ 48.708:

Thus it is said in the Treatise on Music of SuS: "When Emperor Wu of Liang was still a governor in Yongzhou, there was a children's song which runs:

White copper hoofs of Xiangyang,
Bound are the people in Yangzhou.

襄陽白銅蹄。
反縛揚州兒。

Those who understood explained: "White copper hoofs" means "golden hoofs". That is "horse". "White" is the colour of gold.' When the army of Emperor Wu gathered for war, the force was strengthened with a number of stalwart horses. People in Yangzhou were in the end bound up, just as the song had predicted. As the Emperor came to the throne, he created a new tune. He himself wrote three lyrics to it, and ordered Shen Yue to write another three, all of which were to be performed with strings and winds." GJYL gives more details: "*Xiangyang da tongti* 襄陽踏銅蹄 (Copper Hoofs Treading on Xiangyang) was created by Emperor Wu when he set out for the east. Shen Yue wrote the refrain which goes:

White copper hoofs of Xiangyang,
Come The Sagacious Lord in accordance with Qian.

襄陽白銅蹄。
聖德應乾來。

In the beginning of the Tianjian era 天監 (502-519), it was performed by sixteen dancers; but later by eight only."

Other sources: SuS, Treatise on Music, 13.305; TD 145.758.

Commentary:

YTXY 10.8b, *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 43.8a, *SuS* 13.305, *Chuxue ji* 15.377 (citing *GJYL*), *Wenyuan yinghua* 文苑英華 201.9a and *Taiping yulan* 573.6a (citing *GJYL*), all give the title as "Xiangyang baitongti" (White Copper Hoofs of Xiangyang). *TD* 145.758 and *YFSJ* (citing *GJYL*) give a different title: "Xiangyang da tongti" (Copper Hoofs Treading on Xiangyang). In view of the refrain, the former title seems more correct.

The children's song has a history which goes back to the Liu Song period. Thus it is recorded in *Nan Qi Shu*, Treatise on the Five elements, 19.381:

During the years of Yuanhui 元徽 (474-477), a children's song went as follows:

White copper hoofs of Xiangyang,
Slain are the sons of Jingzhou.

襄陽白銅蹄。
郎殺荊州兒。

Later, when Shen Youzhi 沈攸之 (?-478) rebelled against the court, the governor of Yongzhou, Zhang Jinger 張敬兒 (?-483) attacked Jiangling 江陵 (in Hubei), and slew the sons of Shen - Yuanyan 元瑛 and others.

Children's songs have long been considered as a kind of prophesy.

The following from *Zuo zhuan* 左傳, Duke Xi 僖公, year V (B.C. 655), which has been translated by James Legge, may further illustrate the superstition:

In the eighth month, on K'eah-woo 甲午, the marquis of Tsin 晉 laid siege to Shangyang 上陽 (the chief city of Kwok 虢) and asked the diviner Yen 偃 whether he should succeed in the enterprise. Yen replied that he should, and he asked when. Yen said: "the children have a song which says:
Toward daybreak of Ping 丙,
Wei 尾 of the Dragon lies hid in the conjunction of the sun and moon.

With combined energy and grand display,
 Are advanced the flags to capture Kwok.
 Grandly appears the *Shun* 鶉 star,
 And the *T'ëen-ts'ih* 天策 is dim.

When *Ho* 火 culminates, the enterprise will be completed.
 And the duke of Kwok will flee.

According to this, you will succeed at the meeting of the 9th and 10th month. In the morning of *Ping-tsze* 丙子, the sun will be in *Wei*, and the moon in *Ts'ih* 策, the *shun-ho* 鶉火 will be exactly in the south: - this is sure to be the time."²⁶

The treatises on the Five Elements and Astrology in dynastic histories from Han to Tang provide several other instances of the superstition. It is even claimed in *Jin shu* 晉書 12.320 that the planet Mars, or *Yinghuo* 熒惑, when in a state of abnormality, might come down to Earth as children, who then sang and prophesied. The superstition, as might be expected, could easily lend itself to use by cunning politicians, who, by creating and interpreting children's songs themselves, might hope to achieve political gains. *Zu Ting* 祖珽 (fl.560) and *Bian Bin* 卞彬 (445-500) were notorious examples.²⁷ One may wonder in the case of Emperor Wu whether he might not have made up the song himself. It would serve both to undermine his enemy and to add legitimacy to his claim to the throne (the will of Heaven working in his favour).

Though the prophesying power of children's songs may strain our credibility a little, the account in *SuS* is on the whole accurate in historical details. At the end of the Qi dynasty, when the empire was so misruled by the boy emperor *Xiao Baojuan* 蕭寶卷 (483-501) (later demoted to become Lord *Donghun* 東昏侯), Emperor Wu of Liang, who was then the military governor of *Yongzhou*, decided to make a bid for the throne. We know from *Nan shi*, *Annals of Liang*, 6.172, that Emperor Wu did acquire five thousand

stout steeds at the outset of his rebellion; and from *Nan Qi shu*, The Treatise of the Five Elements, 19.373, that at the end people in Yangzhou bound themselves up and surrender. In a letter to Yuan Ang 袁昂 (461-540), while he had yet to conquer the capital Jiankang, Emperor Wu wrote:

My fierce soldiers are ten thousand in number. My stalwart horses amount to ten herds. Who could ever resist them when they are put to war? Furthermore, Jiankang is now in isolation, and nothing could stop what all the people are now wishing for. Day and night before the gate of our army camps come those who bind themselves up and surrender.²⁸

Emperor Wu came to the throne in 502. The song was presumably created soon after his accession. How far the imperial product is related to the humble tune is difficult to know. The former is, however, explicitly harking back to the old tune in the refrain:

White copper hoofs of Xiangyang,
Comes the Sagacious Lord in accord with Qian.

Qian 乾, one of the Eight Diagrams 八卦, is the symbol of both the sovereign and the horse.

8. Caisang du 採桑度

YFSJ 48.709:

Caisang du is otherwise titled "Caisang" 採桑. Thus it is remarked in *JTS*, Treatise on Music: "The tune Caisang derived from another song, *Sanzhou qu* 三洲曲. It was created in Liang times." *Sui jing* 水經 tells us the following of Caisang: "The Yellow river runs past Chu county 辰縣, at the southwest of which is the ford Caisang 採桑津. According to *Chunqiu* 春秋, Duke Xi 僖公, year VIII, Li Ke 李克 of Jin 晉 defeated the Di 狄 people at a place named Caisang. Here is the place." Part of *Wu qi qu*, by the Emperor Jianwen of Liang, runs:

At the ford Caisang, the Yellow river blocks his way,
He is about to cross, yet seized with fear of waves and wind.

採桑渡頭礙黃河。
郎今欲渡畏風波。

In *GJYL* it is said: "Caisang du was formerly performed by sixteen dancers; in Liang times, eight." It seems that the song was not created in the Liang dynasty at all.

Other sources: *TD* 145.758; *JTS*, Treatise on Music, 29.1067;
XTS, Treatise on Rituals and Music, 22.474; *TZ*
 49.630.

Commentary:

All the extant editions of *JTS* are without the line "it was created in Liang times." 採桑度梁時作 Guo Maoqian must be right to go along with *GJYL* in matters of date. But he seems to be mistaken when he suggests that the title refers to a place which is otherwise named "Caisang jin" (Ford of Picking Mulberry Leaves)

採桑津 . Guo, for one thing, has misquoted *Wu qi qu*.

The song, as it appears in *YFSJ* 48.695 and *Yiwen leiju* 42.762, reads:

At the Ford of Picking Lotus, the Yellow river blocks his way,
 He is about to cross, yet seized with fear of waves and wind.

採蓮渡頭礙黃河。
 郎今欲渡畏風波。

The very much abridged quotation from *Shui jing zhu* is not very accurate either. According to the original text, Caisang jin is in the southwest of Bei qu county 北屈縣 (not Qu county) (near modern Ji county 吉縣, Shanxi 山西).³⁰ It is very far from Baling, whence the song *Sanzhou ge* arose. Ever since the collapse of the Western Jin empire, the ford was in the hands of non-Han rulers. If *Sanzhou ge* arose after the demise of Western Jin, as most of the Western songs did, the immense distance plus the political difficulty of travelling across the border, would suggest that the song is unlikely to have travelled from

Baling to far north, let alone the further possibility of its engendering another popular song there which would later spread south again.

"Du" 度 is more likely another term for song. The word has the meaning of "pitch" or "tone" in music. For that matter, "du" also occurs in the title of another Western song, *Qingyang du*, which is renamed *Qingyang gequ* 青陽歌曲 (Qingyang song) in YTX 10.6b. The "Caisang" of the title perhaps refers to picking mulberry leaves rather than a place. Indeed, all the seven lyrics to the tune are concerned with the rural activity. It is thus recorded in Sheng Hongzhi's 盛弘之 (fl.420) *Jingzhou ji*:

The administrative centre for Jinxiang county 津鄉縣 (near modern Zhijiang, Hubei) was previously in Juzhong 沮中, but later it was moved to the west of Balizhou 百里洲 (Islet of Hundred Li), a hundred and sixty li from the commandery centre. Close to the county are some scores of islets in the Yangzi river. Balizhou is the largest of all. All over the islet are mulberry fields and sweet fruits, which are mirrored in the water. Starting from Shangming 上明 in the west, to Jiangjin 江津 in the east, there are altogether ninety-nine islets. An old saying of the Chu region goes:

The islets are still short of a hundred,
Hence no emperor will come out of the place.³¹

洲不滿百。
故不出王。

Sanzhou, as we have noticed before, are among these islets. We may assume agriculture was practised on many large islets other than Balizhou. It is hence reasonable to think that some farm workers on the islets must have come to hear of *Sanzhou ge*, and adapted the tune to new lyrics which more fittingly described their life.

9. *Jiangling yue* 江陵樂

YFSJ 49.710:

It is thus said in *GJYL*: "Formerly *Jiangling yue* was performed by sixteen dancers; in Liang times, eight." *Jiangling* the city is described in *TD* as follows: "*Jiangling* (in Hubei) was in ancient times within the territory of *Jingzhou*. During the *Chunqiu* period 春秋 (770-476 B.C.), it became *Ying* 郢 of the *Chu* 楚 state. Later the *Qin* 秦 government established the *Nan* commandery there. In *Jin* times, a province, *Jingzhou* 荊州 was created around it. In the subsequent dynasties - *Eastern Jin*, *Song* and *Qi* - it grew into an important city. And at one time, during the reign of the *Liang* Emperor *Yuan*, it was even made the capital of the empire. Inside the city is the castle *Jinan* 紀南城 wherein the *Zhu* palace once stood.

Commentary:

In the Southern Dynasties, *Jiangling* was arguably the most important city after the capital *Jiankang*. It became the capital for the *Liang* empire after *Jiankang* was devastated during the rebellion of *Hou Jing* 侯景 (?-552), a former general of the *Eastern Wei* (534-550), who had surrendered to the *Liang* authority.

The preface to another song, *Jingzhou yue* 荊州樂 (*YFSJ* 72.1028) informs us further of the Western song:

Jingzhou yue derived from *Jiangling yue* of the *Qingshang* section.³²

The earliest known lyric to the tune *Jingzhou yue* is by *Zong Guai*

宗夫 (456-504) of the *Liang* dynasty.³³ This, together with the comment in *GJYL*, help us to date *Jiangling yue* before *Liang*.

10. *Qingyang du* 青陽度

YFSJ 49.710:

It is said in *GJYL*: "*Qingyang du* is one of the *yige* 倚歌 (songs not performed with dance). All such songs are performed with bells, drums and winds, but without any string instruments.

Commentary:

The song, as has been noted before, is titled *Qingyang gequ*
 青陽歌曲 (Songs of Qingyang) in YTXY. Zhu Qian 朱乾 (fl.1764)
 records yet another title: (See *Yuefu zhengyi* 樂府正義 10.20a.)

Qingyang du is otherwise titled *Qingyang yue* 青陽樂 (Music of
 Qingyang). It is claimed in *Yue lue* 樂略 that "Qingyang"
 of the title refers to the present Qingzhou 青州 .

His source is unknown. Nevertheless, "du" 度 in both cases
 is replaced by musical terms: "gequ" 歌曲 (song) and "yue"
 樂 (music).

Other scholars such as Burton Watson are inclined to consider
 "du" as meaning "ford".³⁴ They may find support in *Han shu*,
 Biography of Zhou Yang 鄒陽 , 51.2338, wherein Qingyang is
 implied to be a place very close to water:

The Southern Barbarians would come to Changsha 長沙 by water-
 ways. Their boats would berth at Qingyang.

But "Qingyang" also happens to be the title of a Han sacrificial
 song which celebrates spring.³⁵ *Erya* 爾雅 6.3b gives "Qing-
 yang" as another name for spring:

Spring is called "Qingyang".

For this reason, "qingyang" sometimes signifies life and activity,
 which is the theme of the Han lyric. Yet the nature of the Han
 lyric, as well as the immense time span, make it unlikely that the
 old music should bear any significant relation with the Western
 song. "Qingyang" meaning "spring" is after all a learned metonymy.³⁶

Nevertheless I am still inclined to think of "du" as a musical
 term, and "Qingyang" as a place name. The alternate titles
 strongly suggest this reading. Furthermore, it is consistent with
 the manner in which some other song titles, such as *Shicheng*

yue, Xiangyang yue and Shouyang yue 壽陽樂 were coined.

11. *Qingcong baima* 青驄白馬

YFSJ 49.711:

It is said in *GJYL*: "*Qingcong baima* was formerly performed by sixteen dancers."

Commentary:

Xiao Yi's 蕭繹 (i.e. Liang Emperor Yuan) poem, titled "On the Titles of Songs", 歌曲名詩 consists of the following:

The piebald horse may be borrowed for a short while,
To see off the ox-cart.³⁷

暫借青驄馬，
來送黃牛車。

It was the fashion of the time to write poems by assembling names of medicine or places or whatever, the main purpose of which was little more than displaying literary craftsmanship. "*Qingcong ma*" or "piebald horse" in the poem probably refers to the song. The song might therefore have existed before Xiao's time. Nevertheless, since dances were usually performed by sixteen dancers before the Liang, it will be safe to conclude that the song occurred before the Liang dynasty.

12. *Gong xi yue* 共戲樂

YFSJ 49.712:

It is said in *GJYL*: "*Gong xi yue* was formerly performed by sixteen dancers; in Liang times, eight."

Commentary:

The first of the extant lyrics goes: (YFSJ 49.712)

The Qi dynasty is flourishing,
Written graphs and cart ruts are regularized,

Music from all over the empire was presented to the court,
The Airs of States are set in order.

齊世方冒書軌同。
萬守獻樂列國風。

There should be little doubt then that the music dates from the Qi
dyansty or before.

13. An Dongping 安東平

YFSJ 49.712:

It is said in *GJYL*: "An Dongping was formerly performed by
sixteen dancers; in Liang times, eight."

Commentary:

There are at least two other songs having "Dongping" 東平
as part of their titles. A work of the third century, *Shuwang
benji* 蜀王本紀 is cited in *Beitang shuchao* 北堂書鈔 ,
106.7a as saying:

There was a man from Wudu 武都 who brought with him his wife
and children to Shu 蜀 . After sometime, they found them-
selves not quite acclimatized, and thought of leaving. The King
of Shu, who had become very fond of the daughter, made them
stay. To amuse the daughter, he composed a song titled "Song
of Dongping"

The other song is found among the so called "Lyrics to the Music
of Drums, Horns and Transverse Flutes of the Liang dynasty" 梁鼓角
橫吹曲辭 , and titled "Dongping Liusheng ge" 東平劉生歌 (The
Song of Master Liu of Dongping).³⁸ Only one lyric is left of the
tune:

Master Liu of Dongping, the son of Andong,
See how sparse are the trees;
Nobody is in the house, who could you be looking for ?

東平劉生安東子。
樹木稀。
屋裏無人看阿誰。

An Dongping seems to be related to the latter, since one of its

lyrics goes:

"Master Liu of Dongping",
Truly it is moving.
My love and I love each other,
It will last a thousand years.

東平劉生，
復覓人情，
與郎相知，
當解千齡。

The first line probably refers to the song *Dongping Liusheng ge*. The identity of Liusheng is unknown. "The Music of Drums, Horns and Transverse Flutes" is believed to be music of the North.³⁹ Dongping, for that matter, is in present Shandong province, which was held by the northern rulers for most of the time during the Southern Dynasties. This tends to suggest some northern influence on the southern songs. As least one scholar, Wang Yunxi, thinks so.⁴⁰ However likely it might be, the obvious relation between the two songs is so far restricted to a matter of a few words. There is still a wide range of possibility as to how the Western song came about.

14. *Nüerzi* 女兒子

YFSJ 49.713:

It is said in *GJYL*: "*Nüerzi* is one of the *yige*."

Commentary:

Nan Qi shu, Annals of Lord Donghun 東昏侯, 7.106:

The Emperor (i.e. Lord Donghun) was in Hande Hall 含德殿 playing the song *Nuerzi* on a *sheng* 笙 (musical instrument).

The song may hence be dated before the year 500 when Lord Donghun died.

The first lyric to the tune is as follows: (YFSJ 49.713)

In the Three Gorges at Badong, sorrowful are the cries of monkeys,

Three cries at night, our clothes become wet with tears.

巴東三峽猿鳴悲，
夜鳴三聲淚沾衣。

Close variants are found in Yuan Shansong's 袁山松 (?-401)

Yidu shanchuan ji 宜都山川記 :

One usually hears monkeys cry in the gorges. It rings clear and fills the valleys. The sound is chilling and it reverberates long before it dies away. So the travellers sing:

In the Three Gorges of Badong, sorrowful are the cries of monkeys,

Three cries they make, and our clothes become wet with tears.⁴¹

巴東三峽猿鳴悲，
猿鳴三聲淚沾衣。

and in Shen Hongzhi's *Jingzhou ji*:

Whenever morning breaks and there is a frost, the forests turn chilly and the streams sombre, there are always some monkeys in high places making long strange cries. The empty mountains are filled with the sorrowful sound which meanders and lingers long in the air. Hence the fishermen sing:

Of the Three Gorges, Wu is the longest,

Monkeys make three cries, and our clothes become wet with tears.⁴²

巴東三峽巫峽長，
猿鳴三聲淚沾裳。

In view of the similarities, it would be reasonable to think that they are all variants of one song from the gorges of the Yangzi river.

Guo Maoqian has made two entries about the song. The other one is found in YFSJ 86.1208 under the section heading of "Miscellaneous Songs and Rhymes" 雜歌謠辭 (Zage yaoci). Here Guo cites from *Shui jing zhu* and gives the song title as "Badong sanxia ge" 巴東三峽歌. The lyric differs but slightly with *Nuerzi* no.1. The main reason for making two entries is perhaps that Guo draws from two different sources: one from *GJYL*, which

usually makes known the nature of the songs; and the other from *Shui jing zhu* which gives no clues as to which type of song the lyric might belong. Indeed the section "Miscellaneous Song and Rhymes" is to accommodate songs from miscellaneous sources but which cannot be classified in any of the other sections. It should be added that despite their similarities, *Nüerzi* no.1 was, at least in the later stage, played to the upper class, whereas *Badong sanxia ge* represented a popular song.

As regard to its origin, in one version it is claimed to be a travellers' song; and in another, a fishermen's. Whoever created the song, it must have become so popular that people of any profession who chanced to pass the gorges might pick it up for their amusement, hence the different records by different persons at various times. But all records indicate a humble origin despite the fact that the song later become an item of the imperial entertainment.

Sheng Hongzhi wrote *Jingzhou ji* when the Song Emperor Wen was reigning (424-453).⁴³ The song must have come into being before then.

15. *Lai luo* 采羅

YFSJ 49.713:

It is said in *GJYL*: "*Lai luo* is one of the *yige*."

Commentary:

Fang Yizhi 方以智 (d. ca. 1671) claims in *Tongya* 通雅 29.20b-21a that a Tang song *Luohong* 羅頌 was the same as

Lai luo, and that a Jin lyric "*Chong luo lai*" 重羅黎 44

was part of the song. Since he provides no evidence, his speculation seems to be founded on nothing more than some accidental similarities in the pronunciation of certain words.

One lyric to the tune mentions the time Taishi 泰始 :

My head has turned white, yet I refuse to die,
All worries burn and scorch.
But let's make merry in this time of Grand Beginning (Taishi),
A day is worth a thousand years.⁴⁵

白頭不死。
心愁皆熬然。
遊戲泰始世。
一日當千年。

Thrice in the recorded history of China has "Taishi" been used as an era name: first, during the reign of Emperor Wu of Jin 晉武帝 (265-274); second, in 432, when a rebel Zhao Guang 趙廣 made himself King of Shu 蜀 and therewith named his reign;⁴⁶ and third, in the reign of Emperor Ming of Liu Song 宋明帝, (465-471). Since all the datable Western songs come from after the Western Jin dyansty, the first of these alternatives can be dismissed. The second also seems unlikely; a song of a rebel reign is unlikely to have been performed in court. Hence "Taishi" in the lyric must be referring to the reign era of Song Emperor Ming. According to the Treatise on Music, SoS 22.637-640, Emperor Ming and his minister Yu He 庾龢 (fl.466) had together created twelve lyrics titled "*Song Taishi gewu quci*" 宋泰始歌舞曲詞 (Lyrics to the Dance Music of Taishi). They were eulogies of his reign during the Taishi era. The Western lyric must have been created about the same time.

16. *Neihe tan* 那呵灘

YFSJ 49.713:

It is said in *GJYL*: "*Neihe tan* was formerly performed by sixteen dancers; in Liang times, eight. The refrain goes as follows:

My love is gone, when will he be back ?

郎去何當還

Most of the lyrics are concerned with Jiangling and Yangzhou. "*Neihe*" is perhaps the name of a shoal 灘 on the water course between the two places.

Commentary:

Wang Yunxi thus comments on the title:

"*Neihe*" 那呵 and "*neihe*" 奈何 (signifying a sense of helplessness: what can I do about it?) resemble each other in sound. They might hence have the same meaning. One of the lyrics goes:

May the poles and oars be broken,
So that you are made to return.
Because the shoal makes it so perilous to travel, it is hence given this name.⁴⁷

The full lyric is as follows: (YFSJ 49.714)

You are going to Yangzhou, so I have heard,
I come to see you off at the Jiangjin Bay.
May the poles and oars be broken,
So that you are made to return.

聞歡下揚州，
相送江津灣，
願得篙櫓折，
支郎到頭還。

which does not necessarily imply a dangerous water course.

Yet to take "*neihe*" 那呵 as "*neihe*" 奈何 might be supported by citing from *Zuo zhuan* 左傳, Duke Xuan 宣公, year III:

Bulls still have skins, rhinoceroses and wild bulls still are many. The throwing away the buff-coat was not such a great thing.⁴⁸

牛則有皮，犀兕尚多，棄甲則那。

Du You 杜佑 (222-284)'s commentary reads: "Nei"那 here is the same as he."49 那猶何也 Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 (1613-1682) comments on the same passage saying:

When it is said in a straightforward manner, it sounds as "nei". When prolonged, it sounds like "neihe".50

直言之曰那，長言之曰奈何也。

Wang 's suggestion is plausible, if not necessarily true.

17. Mengzhu 孟珠

YFSJ 49.714:

The song is otherwise named "Dan yang Mengzhu ge"丹陽孟珠歌。 It is thus noted in GJYL: "There are ten lyrics to the tune Mengzhu. Two of them are yige, eight lyrics 二曲倚歌八曲。 51 It was performed by sixteen dancers; in Liang times, eight."

Commentary:

One lyric to the tune is recorded in YTXY, 10.7a, under the title "Dan yang Mengzhu ge". Dan yang was the area around Jiankang. The song appears to be related to the area. For that matter, several spots in Jiankang, such as Houhu 後湖 (modern Xuanwu hu 玄武湖) and Jingyang shan 景陽山, 52 became the setting for a number of lyrics to the tune. The song must have been very popular in the imperial capital, though it did not necessarily originate from the place.

18. Yi yue 翳樂

YFSJ 49.715:

Thus it is said in GJYL: "One lyric to the tune Yiyue belongs to the type yige. Two lyrics 翳樂一曲倚歌二曲。 53 It was formerly performed by sixteen dancers, in Liang times, eight."

19. Ye huang 夜黃

YFSJ 49.716:

It is said in GJYL: "Ye huang is one of the yige."

20. Ye du niang 夜度娘

YFSJ 49.716:

It is said in GJYL: "Ye du niang is one of the yige."

21. Chang song biao 長松標

YFSJ 49.716:

It is said in GJYL: "Chang song biao is one of the yige."

22. Shuang xingchan 雙行纏

YFSJ 49.716:

It is said in GJYL: "Shuang xingchan is one of the yige."

23. Huang du 黃督

YFSJ 49.717:

It is said in GJYL: "Huang du is one of the yige."

24. Ping xi yue 平西樂

YFSJ 49.717:

It is said in GJYL: "Ping xi yue is one of the yige."

25. Pan yangzhi 攀楊枝

YFSJ 49.717:

It is said in GJYL: "Pan yangzhi is one of the yige."
Yueyuan 樂苑 contains the following remark: "Pan yangzhi was made in the Liang dynasty."

26. Xunyang yue 尋陽樂

YFSJ 49.718:

It is said in GJYL: "Xunyang yue is one of the yige."

27. Bai fu jiu 白附鳩

YFSJ 49.718:

It is said in *GJYL*: "*Bai fu jiu* is one of the *yige*." The song is otherwise titled "*Bai f u jiu*" 白浮鳩 . It was originally a tune for the *Fu* dance 拂舞 .54

Commentary:

In *SoS*, *Treatise on Music*, 19.551-552, *Fu* dance is explained as follows:

In the early years of Eastern Jin (317-420), there was the *Fu* dance. It is said to be a dance of Wu 吳 . But an examination of the lyrics reveals otherwise: some of them have nothing to do with Wu at all. Nevertheless, they are all incorporated into the court music repertoire. Thus Yang Hong 楊弘 (fl.265) writes in his "Preface to Dances" 舞序 : "When I arrived in the south, I had the opportunity to watch a performance of the *Baifu* 白符 dance which is also named *Bai f u jiu* dance 白鳥鳩舞 . It is said to have a history of several decades. The lyrics are about the Wu people being aggrieved by the ill government of Sun Hao 孫皓 (242-283) and thus hoping to be united with Jin."

At least one lyric to the *Fu* dance, *Jieshi* 碣石 , was adapted from Cao Cao's 曹操 (155-220) work.⁵⁵ Hence Shen Yue's comment. But another lyric *Bai jiu* appears to match well the description by Yang Hong.⁵⁶ The present Western lyric *Bai fu jiu* differs from the earlier lyric *Bai jiu* in two significant ways. First, it is made up of five syllable lines, whereas the earlier one is made up of four-syllable lines.⁵⁷ Second, as *GJYL* informs us, it was not performed with dance, whereas the earlier lyric was. The original music must have been greatly modified to produce the Western songs.

28. *Ba pu* 拔蒲

YFSJ 49.719:

It is said in *GJYL*: "*Ba pu* is one of the *yige*."

29. *Shouyang yue* 壽陽樂

YFSJ 49.719:

It is said in *GJYL*: "Shouyang yue was created by the Song Prince Mu of Nanping 南平穆王, when he was governing Yuzhou 豫州 (the capital of which was at modern Shou county 壽縣, Anhui). It was formerly performed by sixteen daners; in Liang times, eight." The lyrics are about sorrow at parting and the longing to return home."

Other sources: *SoS*, Treatise on Music, 19.552; *TD* 145.758.

Commentary:

According to his biography in *SoS* 72.1857, Liu Shuo 劉鑠 (431-453), Prince Mu of Nanping, was governor of Yuzhou from 445 to 451. Hence the song must have been created when he was in his youth.

30. Zuo cansi 作蠶絲

YFSJ 49.720:

It is said in *GJYL*: "Zuo cansi is one of the yige."

34. Yangpaner 楊叛兒

YFSJ 49.720:

Thus it is said in *JTS*, The Treatise on Music: "Yangpaner was originally a children's song. In the Longchang 隆昌 era (494) of the Qi dyansty, a certain Yang Min 楊珉, the son of a witch, lived with his mother in the palace. When he grew up, the Empress He 何后 (fl.493) was seized with love for him. Hence the children's song:

Son of Granny Yang,
Let's go and frolic, dear love.

楊婆兒
共戲來所歡

The phrase 'Yangpo er' 楊婆兒 (son of Granny Yang) was later corrupted to become 'Yangpaner'." *GJYL* contains this additional information: "The end refrain of Yangpaner is as follows:

Paner makes me think no more of others."

叛兒教懷不復相思

Other sources: *Chuxue ji* 15.376; *TD* 145.758; *JTS*, Treatise on Music, 29.1066.

Commentary:

GJYL as quoted in *Taiping yulan* 573.6a and *Chuxue ji* 15.376 gives similar stories. Wang Yunxi has made an excellent discussion of the song,⁵⁸ and I am indebted to him for the following comments.

Contrary to the accounts in *JTS* and *GJYL*, some earlier records tend to suggest an earlier date of the song. In *Wei shu* 魏書, Biography of Xiao Daocheng, 98.2166, the song is mentioned along with the story of the witch and her son:

Since the time of the Lius 劉氏 (i.e. Liu Song), there was a song *Yangpo er* circulating outside the court.

A similar record is found in *Nan shi*, Annals of Qi, 5.136 :

Since the time of Song, there was a song *Yangpo er* circulating outside the court.

The song became an entertainment piece for the upper class sometime before the Longchang era. It is recorded in *Nan shi*, Biography of Yuan Zhan 袁湛, 26.709, that a certain He Jian 何闢 composed some lyrics to the tune *Yangpaner* 楊畔兒. The lyrics, it is said, found great favour with the Crown Prince Wenhui 文惠太子 (458-493). With all the weight of these earlier records on one side, it is perhaps more correct to date the song from Liu Song times.

The title has undergone a number of changes: *Yangpo er* 楊婆兒, *Yangpaner* 楊畔兒, *Yangpaner* 楊叛兒. We have seen in the instance of "Mochou" that a nasal ending syllable could in fact interchange with a non-nasal ending syllable, provided the rest of the phonemes were close enough. The change from 婆 (*GSR* 25q, Anc.Chin. *b'uâ*) to 叛 (*GSR* 1811, Anc.Chin. *b'uân-*) should not therefore surprise us.

SuS 15.378 has given yet another title: Yangban 陽伴 .
 A modern scholar, Zhang Liangcai 張亮采 in his *Zhongguo fengsu shi* 中國風俗史, p.115, discusses the tune title Yangpaner and says:

Nowadays in Jiangxi and Hunan, people call skittishness of either sex "yangban" 陽畔 . Meretricious things are called "yangbanhuo" 陽畔貨 .

Wang Yunxi supports his argument by citing a line from a lyric:

Yangpan is the song of Xisui.⁵⁹ 楊畔西隨曲

Xisui is at Anlu 安陸 (in Hubei),⁶⁰ which lies very close to Hunan province.

32. Xiwu yefei 西烏夜飛

YFSJ 49.722:

It is said in GYYL: "Xiwu yefei was created by Shen Youzhi 沈攸之 (?-478), governor of Jingzhou 荊州, in the fifth year of Yuanhui 元徽 (477). That year he led a rebellion against the court and marched his soldiers from Jingzhou eastward. Before his defeat, he was seized with a longing to return to the imperial capital, hence he made the song. The refrain goes:

The bright sun has dropped behind the western hills,
 Let's return.

白日落西山。
 還去來。

The end-refrain 送聲 is as follows:

A crow with broken wings,
 Where is it flying to?
 It is shot, heading home."

折翅烏
 飛何處
 被彈歸

Other sources: SoS 19.552; Chuxue ji 15.376, TD 145.758;
 JTS, Treatise on Music, 29.1066.

Commentary:

Shen Youzhi, whose loyalty remained with the Liu Song Emperors, took arms against Xiao Daocheng 蕭道成, the military strong man, when Xiao was manoeuvring to make himself emperor. Shen's ill fated campaign ended with his death in the first month of the second year of Shengming 升明 (478).

The song must have been known by a number of titles since the Southern Dynasties. *Taiping yulan* citing *GJYL* in several places gives altogether three titles: *Bairi luoxishan ge* 白日落西山歌, *Bairi ge* 白日歌, and *Luori ge* 落日歌.⁶¹ *TD* furnishes yet another title: *Qiwu yefei* 棲鳥夜飛. "Qi" 棲 and "xi" 西 are homophones in Middle Chinese.⁶² It is likely that "qi" is a corruption of "xi".

33. *Yuejie zhe yangliu* 月節折楊柳

Guo Zhizhang 郭子章 (1542-1618), *Yao yu* 譚語, 3.5b:

At the end of the Taikang era 太康 (280-289), there was a song called *Zhe yangliu* 折楊柳 circulating in the capital Luoyang. It goes:

The wind of spring is yet too feeble,
The old is discarded to make room for the new.
The hardship persists day after day.
Break the willow branch,
I am filled with sorrowful thoughts,
So disorderly they are, and innumerable.

春風尚蕭條，
去故來入新。
若辛非一朝，
折楊柳。
愁思滿腹中，
歷亂不可數。

The song begins with mentions of hardship and war, and ends with something about being captured and broken. The Three Yang 三楊 were once so illustrious and powerful, but ultimately the whole clan was stamped out. The Empress Dowager was robbed of her title, and she died in enforced seclusion.

Commentary:

The Three Yang were Yang Jun 楊駿 (?-291), Yang Yao 楊瑤 (?-291) and Yang Ji 楊濟 (?-291). The Empress Dowager was Yang Nanyin 楊男胤 (fl.291) who was married to the Jin Emperor Wu. Understandably the Yang family was among the most powerful in the early court of Western Jin. Yang Shen 楊慎 (1488-1559) in *Gujin fengyao* 古今風謠 quotes the same lyric and comments similarly:

The Three Yang were once so illustrious and powerful, but ultimately the whole family was put to death. The Empress Dowager died in enforced seclusion. Such was the fulfilment of "Break the willow branches".⁶³

The song was thought to be portending the fall of the Yang family largely because willow and the family name Yang share the same Chinese character 楊 .

There is a similar account in Wang Yin's 王隱 (fl.318)

Jin shu:

At the end of the Taikang era, there was a song called "Zhe yangliu" circulating in the capital Luoyang. The song begins with laments of hardship and war, and ends with something being captured and broken. The Three Yang were once so illustrious and powerful, but ultimately the whole clan was stamped out. The Empress Dowager died in enforced seclusion. Such was the fulfilment of "Breaking the willow branches".⁶⁴

which Guo Zizhang and Yang Shen might have taken as a source either directly or indirectly.⁶⁵ There were, however, other songs of *Zhe yangliu* by that time,⁶⁶ and Wang Yin might not be referring to the western lyric. Moreover, the quoted lyric does not contain the slightest hint of war and capture.

III. TIME OF ORIGIN

As it is obvious in the prefaces, most of the Western tunes datable to some accuracy can be attributed to the period between Song and Liang. But a large number of the tunes are without obvious dates. Among them, the dance tunes - *Mochou yue*, *Sanzhou ge*, *Caisang du*, *Jiangling yue*, *Qingcong baima*, *Gong xi yue*, *An Dongping*, *Neihe tan*, *Mengzhu*, and *Yi yue* - appear to have come into being in the Song dynasty or before. *GJYL* as cited in *YFSJ* describes them all with more or less the same formula:

It was formerly performed by sixteen dancers; in Liang times, eight.

The same formula also applies to all dance tunes of Liu Song times (i.e. *Shicheng yue*, *Xiangyang yue* and *Shouyang yue*). But for those known to occur in later dates, the formula is always altered to give the dynasty or the reign era in place of "jiu" 舊 (formerly): *Guke yue* and *Xiangyang baitongti* are specifically dated to Qi and Liang respectively. It is hence possible to think that what *GJYL* refers to as "jiu" 舊 (formerly) is the Song dynasty or some earlier period.

For the rest of the Western songs, there is hardly any clue to their dates. Yet since *GJYL* has recorded them all, the tunes must have been composed in the Chen dyansty or before. Modern scholars like Lu Kanru 陸侃如 (1903-), Xiao Difei 蕭祿非 and Wang Yunxi all try to fix the time of occurence between Jin and Liang.⁶⁷ Though they provide no substantial evidence, their claim appears true for most of the tunes. Not only were the earliest datable Western tunes found in the Song dynasty, but also , as we shall see in the next section, the

Western lyrics mention most of the important cities along the Yangzi river, but not one place along the Yellow river, in spite of the easy access from Xiangyang to Luoyang. Indeed all places mentioned in the lyrics fall within the usual domain of the Eastern Jin and the Southern Dynasties. The best answer to such peculiarity is of course that most lyrics were composed in the Eastern Jin dynasty or later when the Han-Chinese empires for most of the time stopped short at the northern bank of the Yangzi river.

Lyrics usually appear later than the tune. Once a tune becomes popular, new lyrics will be fitted to it. At least such is the case in the Chinese musical tradition. Hence, to one Western tune, there are usually a number of lyrics composed at different times, separated in subject matter, and without any necessary sequential relation. Thus a critic Chen Zuoming 陳祚明 (fl. mid-seventeenth century) comments on the Western songs:

The subject matter of the lyrics on the whole does not agree with what is suggested in the tune titles. It might be due to the fact that while tune titles are based on the origins of the songs, the lyrics are not the original ones.⁶⁸

He is in fact suggesting that many of the lyrics were fitted to the tunes later.

Occasionally, though much less often, lyrics of old tunes may be set to new ones. The following lyric from a Western song *Lai luo*

:

A gentlemen is wary of what is to come,
He would keep away from even the pale of suspicion.
Never would he pull on his shoes in a melon patch,
Nor set aright his cap when under a plum tree.

君子防未然，莫近嫌疑邊。
瓜田不躡履，李下不正冠。

is in fact taken from an older and much longer lyric attributed to Cao Zhi 曹植 (192-232) and sung to the tune *Junzi xing* 君子行 .

⁶⁹ Such examples are, however, rare.

But however varied the dates of the lyrics might be, it should be reasonable to limit the time span to between Eastern Jin and the Chen dynasty. Guo Maoqian, as we have seen, depends heavily on *GJYL* for his collection of Western songs. We may hence infer from it that most lyrics came into being before the Chen dynasty. On the other hand, the point about place names aforementioned should set the upper limit at the beginning of Eastern Jin.

IV. PLACE OF ORIGIN

Thus it is said in *YFSJ* 47.689:

The Western songs arose in the area around Jing 荆 (approximately Hubei and Hunan), Ying 郢 (approximately the eastern part of Hubei and the western part of Hunan), Fan and Deng.

Accordingly, the songs arose from an area with modern Hubei and Hunan as their centre. A closer look at the song prefaces reveals more details. The findings, as tabulated below, are based on the prefaces, and sometimes the lyrics:

Songs	Place of Origin	Modern Equivalent or Approximate location
<i>Shicheng yue</i>	Shicheng	Zhongxiang 鍾祥 , Hubei.
<i>Wu ye ti</i>	Xunyang 尋陽	Jiujiang 九江 , Jiangxi.
<i>Mochou</i>	Shicheng	Zhongxiang, Hubei.
<i>Guke yue</i>	Jiankang	Nanjing 南京 , Jiangsu.
<i>Xiangyang yue</i>	Xiangyang	Xiangyang, Hubei.
<i>Sanzhou ge</i>	Baling 巴陵	Yueyang 岳陽 , Jiangxi.

<i>Xaingyang bai tongti</i>	Jiankang	Nanjing, Jiangsu.
<i>Caisang du</i>	near Baling	Yueyang, Jiangxi.
<i>Jiangling yue</i>	Jiangling	Jiangling, Hubei.
<i>Nuerzi</i>	Sanxia (The Three Gorges)	Between Wushan 巫山 in Sichuan and Badong 巴東 in Hubei.
<i>Xunyang yue</i>	Xunyang	Jiujiang, Jiangxi.
<i>Shouyang yue</i>	Shouyang	Shou xian 壽縣, Anhui.
<i>Yangpaner</i>	Xisui 西隴	near Anlu 安陸, Hubei.
<i>Xiwu yefei</i>	Jingzhou	

Two songs - *Guke yue* and *Xiangyang baitong ti* - though created in the imperial capital Jiankang, are in fact about people and happening in Xiangyang, Fan and Deng. The fact that they are incorporated into the Western song repertory indicates sufficiently that they must bear more affinity with other Western songs than with the Wu songs, which originated from Jiankang and its neighbourhood.⁷⁰ Jiankang happened to be the place where the two songs were made, but it must be the musical and lyrical tradition of the Jing-Chu area that informs them with their very quality. The rest of the places fall within Hubei, the north of Hunan and Jiangxi, the western part of Anhui and the eastern part of Sichuan. Hubei is definitely the most important since it gave rise to more songs than others. For the sake of convenience, the whole area is hereafter referred to as "the western region."

The lyrics also provide some scores of place names. They are indicative of the spread of the songs and very often, though not necessarily, the places of origin of the lyrics. The following table

gives the places where happenings in the lyrics took place (only those of which the approximate locations are known are given):

Place Names		Modern Equivalent or Approximate Location
Shicheng		Zhongxiang, Hubei.
Jiangjin	江津	south of Jiangling, Hubei.71
Baling		Yueyang, Jiangxi.
Chu shan	茨山	southwest of Xiangyang, Hubei.
Fan		north of Xiangyang, Hubei.
Deng		north of Xiangyang, Hubei.
Meigen		west of Guici 蕪池, Anhui.
Yangzhou		Nanjing, Jiangsu.72
Xiangyang		Xiangyang, Hubei.
Dadi		near Yicheng 宜城, Hubei.
Xisai	西塞	east of Daye 大冶, Hubei.
Banqiao wan	板橋灣	south of Nanjing, Jiangsu.
Sanshan	三山	southeast of Nanjing.
Taolin	桃林	south of Xiangyang, Hubei.
Xianshan	岷山	south of Xinyang 信陽, Henan.
Yuanshui	苑水	flows past Xinye xian 新野縣, Henan to Deng.
Hanshui	漢水	originates from the north of Ningjiang xian 寧羆縣, Shanxi 陝西, and flows past Yicheng, Xiangyang, before reaching Yangzi.
Wuhu	五湖	Dongting hu 洞庭湖, Hunan.
Sanxia		between Wuhan in Sichuan and Badong in Hubei.
Shu		Sichuan.
Jiangling		Jiangling, Hubei.
Houhu		Xuanwu hu 玄武湖 in Nanjing, Jiangsu.
Jingyangshan		in Nanjing.

Shitou	石頭	in Nanjing.
Xinting	新亭	south of Nanjing.
Bagongshan	八公山	in Shouxian, Anhui.
Shouyang		Shou xian, Anhui.
Huai	淮	originates from Tongpashan 桐柏山, Hunan, and flows eastward, passing through Anhui, enters the sea in Jiangsu.
Baimen	白門	one of the palace gates in Nanjing.
Xisui	西隴	near Anlu, Hubei.

Though most places fall within the western region, there are several references to places in or around Jiankang (Nanjing), which should not surprise us at all. Songs travel with people if they are popular enough, and new lyrics may continue to be set to the tunes. Consequently some of the Western lyrics might be composed outside the western region. It should be stressed, however, that such lyrics are not many.

V. COMPOSERS AND AUTHORS

Little can be said about how the tunes were developed, since all the music is lost and the details of the composition process are hardly known. According to the prefaces, *Sanzhou* arose from travelling merchants; *Yangpaner* from children; *Shouyang yue* and *Xiwu yefei* from military governors. *Shicheng yue*, *Xiangyang yue* and *Xiangyang baitongti* were also attributed to members of the upper class, but they composed the songs only after they had heard some local songs of lowly origin. Hence it is very probable that the three songs might begin life as tunes sung by the lower classes, and members

of the upper class only reworked them to better suit their taste.

There remains a large quantity of songs of which the prefaces tell us nothing of their makers. Their anonymity and the local colour of the titles (such as *Jiangling yue* and *Xunyang yue*) tend to suggest a folk origin. It is thus remarked in the Treatise on Music, *JTS* 29.1062:

In respect of folk music 人謠 and local custom, new songs arose in successive generations.

The subject in concern is a portion of the *Qingshang* music 清商 : the Wu songs and the Western songs. Hence, even in very early times, the Western songs were generally ascribed to folk origin, and we have no serious reason to doubt the wisdom of it.

Professional musicians might be responsible for some tunes. According to *TD* 145.757, two court musicians Wu Antai 吳安泰 and Wang Jingzhu 王金珠 (both of the Liang dynasty) remade some Western songs into two song sequences: *Jiangnan nong* 江南弄 (Songs of the South) and *Shangyun yue* 上雲樂 (Music of Shangyun). It is reasonable to think that some professional musicians might go even further to create songs themselves. Yet in the case of Western songs, no evidence could be found to support this conjecture.

As to the authorship of the lyrics, the discussion is on a surer footing since numerous lyrics exist. It will be useful to distinguish two kinds of authorship and discuss them separately:

1. Known authorship

Not many lyrics are by known authors, as is evident in the following table:

	Wu ye ti	Guke yue	Sanzhou ge	Xiangyang bai tong ti	Bai fu jiu	Yangpan- er
Liang Emperor Jianwen	1					
Liu Xiaozhuo 劉孝綽 (481-539)	173					
Yu Xin	2					
Qi Emperor Wu		1				
Monk Baoyue		2				
Chen Houzhu		1	1			1
Shen Yue				3		
Wu Jun 吳均 (469-520)					1	
Liang Emperor Wu				3		1

It is worth noting that, first, these known authors belonged to the upper class of scholar-officials or moved in their circles; and second, most of them rose to literary prominence in the Liang dynasty or later. It is meaningful to compare this latter point with the case of Wu songs which, generally speaking, share the same kind of lowly origin with the Western songs:⁷⁴

Ziye	Ziye	Shang	Huan	Huan	Qian	Azi	Ding	Tuan-
si-	bian	sheng	wen	wen	xi		duhu	shan
shi ge				bian				lang
子夜四時歌	子夜變	上聲	歡聞	歡聞變	前溪	阿子	丁督護	團扇郎

Liang Emperor Wu	7							1
Wang Jingzhu	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Bao Mingyue 包明月 (Liang dynasty)						1		

In addition, the Liu Song Emperors Wu 宋武帝 (356-422) and Shao 少帝 (406-424) were said to have created some lyrics to the tunes of *Ding duhu* and *Aonong ge* 懊惱歌.⁷⁵ Emperor Wu was well known for his very humble origin.⁷⁶ His son, Emperor Shao, was an unruly youth who had gone as far as building a market place in his palace so that he might tour it for pleasure.⁷⁷ Wang and Bao were musicians of the Liang court.⁷⁸ None of the four could claim any literary reputation. Hence, both in the Wu songs and the Western songs, most lyrics by known authors of some literary repute appear to date from the Liang dynasty and after.

Yet it is certainly false to say that no one of some literary repute had ever written a Western lyric before Liang. Liu Shuo, the alleged composer of *Shouyang yue*, was respectable enough a poet to be included in Zhong Rong's *Shi pin*. (See *Shi pin*, p.44.) He was likely to have written some lyrics to the tune, though none of the extant lyrics were ascribed to him. Furthermore, we know from the biography of Yuan Tuan 袁象 (Nan shi 26.709) that He Jian 何憫 (fl. late fifth century) wrote some lyrics to *Yangpaner*. This last is worth more attention. He Jian's lyrics at first met the approval of the Crown Prince Wenhui 文惠太子 (458-493), but the Prince soon changed his mind when the more Confucian Yuan Guozhi 袁廓之 (fl.480) condemned the songs thus:

The song *Yangpaner* is far too indecorous, and the music too melancholic. Your Highness should give ear to better things like *Xiaoshao* 蕭韶 (allegedly composed by the legendary Sage-King Shun 舜). Why should you care at all for these sounds of crumbling nations 亡國之響 ?⁷⁹

Shen Yue, an important literary figure of his time, was also contemptuous of the Western songs. His comment on the lyrics has the same

Confucian strain as Yuan's:

The song lyrics are mostly lewd and indecorous 淫哇不典正 .80 Shen Yue has himself written three lyrics to a Western song Xiangyang baitongti, but only at the command of the Liang Emperor Wu. And the song was, after all, supposed to have been the creation of the Emperor. Yuan and Shen were representative of the more conservative sector of the literati which was still much respected. Western songs undoubtedly enjoyed but low reputation before Liang, and lyrics by established writers could not be many. Even if some of these writers might at times try their hands at the genre, the authors' names would understandably be suppressed.

The Liang dynasty saw a significant change of attitude. It was the time when the so called "palace style" poetry 宮體 grew into prominence. The poetry specializes in describing female beauty and its associated objects such as the bed chamber, hair-pins and mirror-stands etc. It was also the time when Emperor Jianwen remonstrated with his son Daxin 大心 (523-551) with these words:

The foremost thing in conducting ourselves is to be discreet and staid. But in matters of literature, we can afford some dissipation .81

立身先須謹重，文章且須放蕩。

The dynasty in fact saw the rise of a new sensibility which admitted descriptions of women with a sexual tint as a legitimate subject of literature. What is equally important in the social scene, the dynasty saw the increasing appointments of the southern natives and members of the lower classes to high offices in the government.⁸² It was in such a milieu that Xu Ling found it permissible to include in YTXY several Wu songs and Western songs which were of folk origin

and which dealt mainly with the female world. For the first time, the anonymous Western lyrics were treated as works of art independent of the music. It is also the first time that the lyrics were anthologised alongside other poetic works by reputable poets such as Cao Zhi, Ruan Ji 阮籍 (210-263), Lu Ji 陸機 (261-303) and Xie Tiao 謝朓 (464-494). The increasing number of renowned poets writing in the popular genre is understandable only when changes in both the literary and the social scenes are kept in view.

2. Unknown authorship

It is very easy to attribute categorically all anonymous lyrics to the common people. Yet for these songs, at least two kinds of authors could be distinguished: professional musicians and ordinary men and women.

The Western songs, whatever their origin, were in the later stage of development mainly performed by professional musicians for the amusement of the upper class. Given their familiarity with the music and the need of new lyrics for special occasions, it must be common for musicians to make lyrics themselves. A work of the third century, *Xiaolin* 笑林, contains the following story:

A certain person was made an assistant officer in a principality. This man was an absolute dolt. He never missed any gathering with musical entertainments. Yet he knew nothing of music and felt somewhat ashamed of it. Once when the *ji* played a song in praise of him, he sang with others in full respect.⁸³

The story may not be true. But it must have been quite usual for songs to be made for special occasions. The authors in such cases were most likely the musicians who had the necessary expertise. A poem

"Fenghe ye ting jisheng" 夔和夜聽妓聲 (On Attending a Ji Performance at Night, Written in Reply to His Highness) by Deng Keng 鄧鏗 (fl. 523) mentions some professional musicians making new songs:

New songs are their own making,
Old zithers require no tuning.⁸⁴

新歌自作曲。
舊瑟不須調。

Indeed, we have seen only a few pages before that a court musician, Wang Jinzhu, had herself composed six lyrics to six different tunes. In the case of Western lyrics, it is possible that professional musicians were responsible for some of them. The following song sequence is a case in point:

Gong xi yue

The Qi dynasty was flourishing.
Written graphs and carriage ruts are standardized.
Music from all over the empire were presented to the court,
"The Airs of States" are set in order.

It is a prosperous and peaceful era,
Talents are plenty.
Slender waist-drums and *lingpan* (a kind of cymbal),
Compete with one another.

Long sleeves are fluttering
Like startled swans.
Slender waists bend and turn,
Just as one would have it.

Folk customs are examined and folk songs collected,
May the salutary influence of good government spreads wide.
May the Sagacious Emperor live myriads of years,
His happiness be without end!⁸⁵

齊世方昌書軌同。萬宇獻樂列國風。
時泰民康人物盛。腰鼓鈔祥各相競。
長袖翩翩若鴻驚。纖腰嫋嫋會人情。
觀風采樂德化昌。聖皇萬壽樂未央。

The four lyrics form one sequence. The lavish eulogy for the imperial government is something too far removed from what is normally expected of folk songs. The diction, moreover, betrays a familiarity with court music. An old court lyric to the tune *Baizhu wu* 白紵舞 (Dance of White Ramie) contains this line:

Jin is flourishing,
Happiness without end.⁸⁶

晉世方昌樂未央。

A Song court lyric to the same tune runs similarly:

Song is flourishing,
Happiness is without end.⁸⁷

宋世方昌樂未央。

These lines resemble closely the beginning and the end of the *Qi* song sequence. Court panegyrics mostly end on the stock theme of longevity. One of the court lyrics. *Qi shi chang* 齊世昌 (Qi is flourishing) ends thus:

May life be long,
Be it strong and enduring;
May we ripe to old age,
And live myriads of years.⁸⁸

人命長。
當結久。
千秋萬歲皆老壽。

Another lyric *Mingjun daya* 明君大雅 (The Illustrious Lord, a Major Elegantiae), by Yu He, ends similarly:

May his life endure myriads of years like Heaven.⁸⁹

萬壽永齊天

Still another song *San qu* 散曲 (A Song), by Wang Rong 王融 (467-493), ends with the same theme:

May He the Sagacious and Illustrious Lord,
Live myriads of years.⁹⁰

言願聖明主，永壽萬斯年。

As for *Gong xi yue*, the ending harps on the same theme :

May the Sagacious Emperor live myriads of years,
His happiness be without end.

The author of the song sequence hence appears to be quite well versed in court panegyrics. He, moreover seems to have received a fair amount of education. The line:

The Qi dynasty is flourishing,
Written graphs and carriage ruts are standardized.

alludes to the political unification of China under Qin Shihuang (259-210 B.C.). The phrase "*Guofeng*" 國風 (Airs of States) in the same lyric refers to a section of songs in *Shi jing* 詩經 .

Another line:

Folk customs are examined and folk songs collected,
May the salutary influence of good government spread wide.

is based on the Confucian thought that a ruler should have popular songs collected and popular customs examined so that he may know the temper and the grievances of his people and adjust his government accordingly.⁹¹ It is possible to argue on the basis of these allusions for a literati authorship. Indeed many reputable poets are known to have written panegyrics for emperors. It is, however, unusual for such works to be anonymous. On the other hand, professional musicians were used to having their songs circulating without their name. Their life in court should have enabled them to pick up plenty of the panegyric cliches and well-worn allusions such as those mentioned above. *Gong xi yue* is therefore more likely the work of court musicians than of the literati.

Ordinary men and women from the lower class - those either illiterate or with only minimum literacy, whose experience of written literature was either nil or negligible - must be responsible for many

of the lyrics. The Western songs, as we have seen, are mostly of folk origin. So are the lyrics. To prove the point, it will perhaps suffice to mention two stylistic markers which are indicative of popular authorship. One is the predominant usage of two dialectal words:

"nong" 儂 (I or a person) and "huan" 歡 (lover).⁹²

"Nong" has somehow found its way into the speech of some part of the upper class. For instance, in *Jin shu*, Sima Daozi 司馬道子 (364-402), Prince of Kuaiji 會稽, is reported to say:

I know, I know. 儂知. 儂知 93

Yet "nong" hardly occurs in the high poetry of the Southern Dynasties. It appears twice in the "Wu Songs" by Bao Zhao 鮑照 (?-466)⁹⁴, and twice in a Western lyric by Baoyue.⁹⁵ In both cases, it could be argued that the poets were consciously imitating folk songs. But for others, even when they were writing in the genre of folk lyrics, they opted for "wo" 我 (I) of which the usage could be dated to the pre-Qin 先秦 period, and which is acceptable to both high poetry and folk songs. "Huan" referring to lover is never used by any known writer of the time. On the whole, the literati avoided the use of dialects. Hence the wide usage of "nong" and "huan" in the Western lyrics should be taken as indicative of their folk origin.

The other stylistic marker is recurrent lines and phrases - formulaic language. The subject deserves serious attention in its own right, and will be discussed in some detail in Chapter V. Meanwhile, the discussion will be restricted to matters of authorship, and one example of formulaic language should suffice for illustration: "The second and the third month of sunny spring" 陽春二三月 appears in *Jiangling yue* no.3, and recurs in *Mengzhu* no.2, 5,7; *Yi yue*

no.2 and *Xiwu yefei* no.4.96 Zhu Ziqing 朱自清 (1898-1948)

thus writes in *Zhongguo geyao* 中國歌謠 , p.194:

Though songs are made by individuals, they do not show any distinctive personality. A folk song maker always uses the kind of phrases and lines commonly known to the people and employed by them, to express the thoughts and feelings which he shares with them. Hence formulaic lines (*taoju* 套曲) abound.

Zhu is certainly right to think that formulaic lines abound in folk songs. For that matter, western scholars, such as Milman Parry and Albert B. Lord, have discovered in the folk poetry of other cultures than Chinese a considerable amount of recurrent lines and phrases which they have termed "formulaic language". While we may be wary of their theory which attempts to link formulaic language with oral composition,⁹⁷ their studies at least established the fact that formulaic language is an important feature of folk poetry. On the other hand, formulaic language hardly occurs in the literary works of the Southern Dynasties.⁹⁸ (One may wish to argue that some kind of allusion may be considered formulaic language. But while these allusions are taken from old written text of established reputation, formulaic language - as scholars generally understand it - is not.) Even in the Western lyrics allegedly by the literati, there is not a single line which recurs in another Western lyric. Hence it should be safe to conclude that the fair amount of recurrent lines or "formulaic language" in the Western lyrics is indicative of their folk origin.⁹⁹

So far we have distinguished three major types of authorship:

1. the upper class, including the literati.
2. the professional musicians.
3. the common people.

We should add that at times more than one type of author was responsi-

ble for a single lyric. Folk lyrics may appear too coarse for the liking of the literati. But if the music is sufficiently appealing, the literati may rework the lyrics to suit their particular taste.

One such instance is found in Wang Yin's *Jin shu*:

Yuan Shansong 袁山松 (?-401) was very competent in music. It happened that the lyrics to one of the old tunes, *Xinglu nan* 行路難 (Difficult is the Way), was too plain and loose. Yuan hence refined the wording and elaborated the music. He would sing it whenever he had his fill of wine. Those who listened were usually moved to tears.¹⁰⁰

Professional musicians too may have a hand in modifying lyrics.

Lyrics were sometimes created independently of the music. Consequently it may become necessary to alter the lyric even to a significant degree when it is fitted to a tune. Feng Ban 馮班 (1602-1671) in *Dun-yin za lu* 鈍吟雜錄, p.3a, makes the following observation of the Wei 魏 (220-265)-Jin 晉 (265-420) songs:

In the time of Wei and Jin, it was the musician who set the lyrics (already made) to music. The music varied in length and degree of elaboration. Therefore when lyrics were set to it, very often two lyrics might have to be made into one piece, but without any continuity of sense at all.

The adaptation process might have been far more complex than constructing two pieces into one. The complexity should be obvious to anyone who attempt to compare the original lyrics by the Wei people and the lyrics as they were performed in the Jin court.¹⁰¹ The subject, however interesting, is beyond the scope of this discussion. It should suffice here to say once more that professional musicians were at times obliged to reshape the lyrics.

Reshaping, either by professional musicians or otherwise, is quite evident in some Western lyrics. The lyric "A gentleman should be wary of what's to come" 君子防未然, is sung to the tune *Lai luo*,

but is taken from an older and much longer lyric attributed to Cao Zhi. This old lyric is itself sung to another tune *Junzi xing* 君子行 . It is an example of reshaping, even though verbal changes are slight.¹⁰² Another instance is found in the preface to *Sanzhou ge* wherein the monk Fayun is said to have changed the wording of the original lyric. This latter case requires no further comment since it has been discussed in some detail before. Multiple authorship, as we may conclude, certainly exists in the Western songs.

VI. ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE WESTERN REGION

Songs are always sung by specific people, and for particular purposes. In this section we shall examine the people of the western region and their life. This exercise, we hope, may lead us to know better the social milieu which gives shape to the songs.

The western region was populous with both Han-Chinese and non-Han minorities. Han-Chinese could be broadly distinguished into two groups. One is the native which dynastic histories often refer to as "Chu" 楚 .¹⁰³ The Chu natives were well-known for their fierceness and bravery since ancient times.¹⁰⁴ The men made good fighters and were widely prized for that reason.¹⁰⁵ By the time of the Southern Dynasties, it seems that a long history of racial conflicts and wars deepened this character of the Chu people even further. Thus it is said in *TD* 183.976:

The local people of the Jing-Chu area used to mingle with Man 蠻 and Liao 獠 . They were generally fierce and tough.

The western region, as we shall soon see, was inhabited since very early times by the Man and Liao minorities. Conflicts between them and

the Han-Chinese were amply recorded in dynastic histories.¹⁰⁶ While it may not be necessary to go into details of the conflict, we should note that the conflict must have intensified since the end of the Western Jin. The fall of the dynasty and the subsequent weakening of the Han-Chinese power encouraged further spread of the Man people. Thus it is said in *Wei shu* 魏書, The Account of Man, 101.2246:

Toward the end of Western Jin, the number of Man increased steadily. They started plundering Han-Chinese settlements. When the rebellions led by Liu Yuan 劉淵 (?-310) and Shi Le 石勒 (274-?) broke out, Man had even less to fear. Hence they spread further north.

On the other hand, Han-Chinese from the Yellow river basin flocked in great numbers to the western region as the north was continuously ravaged by wars and bloodshed that followed the Liu and Shi rebellions. With the increasing presence of different races, the racial conflict, understandably, surged to a new height of intensity. It continued and did not seem to lessen throughout Eastern Jin and the subsequent dynasties. The hostility in the voices of the Han-Chinese historians of the time may give some idea of the intense conflict. Shen Yue thus describes the Man people in *SoS*, The Account of Yi and Man 夷蠻, 97.2399:

They looted and took our land. The looting became increasingly serious as years went by. From about the mid-Yuanjia 元嘉 era (Yuanjia era: 424-453) onwards, the invasion became very widespread.

Another historian, Xiao Zixian 蕭子顯 (489-537), thus remarks in *Nan Qi shu*, The Account of Man, 58.1009:

Man are all savage and brutal, with an inclination to loot. The ever present conflict surely accounts for much of the well known fierce character of the Chu people.

On the other hand, we must not ignore the effect of a long series of armed rebellions and frontier wars during the Eastern Jin dynasty. Many rebellions broke out in the western region and were led by powerful governors of the place. Wang Dun 王敦 (266-324) raised arm in Wuchang 武昌 (in Hubei). Zu Yue 祖約 (?- ca. 329) and Su Jun 蘇峻 (?-328) started their rebellions at Shouyang and Liyang 歷陽 (in Anhui). Huan Xian 桓玄 (369-404) based his army in the western region, and successfully overthrew the Eastern Jin regime for a short period. And it is in the west that many of the frontier wars were fought. Invasions from the north often made the onslaught at the northern outskirts of the west. For that matter, the famous battle at the Fei river 淝水, in which the Eastern Jin army successfully thwarted a major attempt by a northern regime to conquer the south, was fought at the outskirts of Shouyang, the city which has given rise to a Western song - *Shouyang yue*. As a result of this long series of rebellions and wars, the western region was very much devastated and poverty-stricken at the beginning of the Liu Song dynasty. Thus it is said of the area around Shouyang in the Biography of Liu Yixin 劉義欣 (404-439), SoS 51.1464:

By the earlier years of Yuanjia, the region was still desolate and much in ruin. Most of the people had either died or left. The city walls stood dilapidated. Robbers ran the city without fear.

Jiangzhou 江州, in which Xunyang 尋陽 is situated, was no better. Liu Yi's 劉毅 (?-412) memorial painted a bleak picture of the region in the early years of the Liu Song dynasty:

Since the time of Huan Xian, the people were so much oppressed and the place so devastated that even male children were not reared, and women could find no men for marriage. People fled to other places regardless of how remote and isolated these places might be.¹⁰⁷

As to the Chu region in general, Wang Jian 王儉 (452-489) of the Qi dyansty thus writes:

In the past the Chu area was extremely desolate. Year after year it was ridden by fearsome happenings. Consequently the stricken people dispersed and fled. The place was then surely in need of some rehabilitation.¹⁰⁸

It is true that prosperity was soon restored in the reign era of Yuanjia which saw the best government of the Southern Dynasties, but the extensive period of frequent wars and hardship must have helped to mold the tough and fierce character of the people in the Western region. Surely, I think, women must have felt the effect as the men did. In the Biography of Xiao Xiu 蕭秀 in *Liang shu* 梁書, 22.344, we are told that around Dangtu 當塗 (north of Nanling 南陵, Anhui) of Yingzhou 鄧州, the place was so poverty-stricken that even women were levied to do government duties which traditionally fell on men. It is not known how widespread the practice was, but certainly war and poverty hit all regardless of sex, and it is only to be expected that women of the western region should share to some extent the tough and fierce character of the men. Much later in Zhao Song dynasty (960-1279), it was remarked thus:

Women in the west of the Yangzi river are all used to men's work. They collect firewood and carry heavy loads. Their strength may sometimes even excel a man's. If someone fails in her work, she will be secretly scorned.¹⁰⁹

The toughness of the women might have by then become a traditional character. Since many of the Western songs adopt a female perspective, this general character of women in the west is worth noting.

The other group of Han-Chinese was migrants from the north who moved south upon the collapse of the Western Jin empire (301-317). There were altogether four large scale migrations to the South from the

Yongjia 永嘉 era onward up to the beginning of the Southern Dynasties.

110 Many of the new comers settled in the western region. It is thus said in a treatise on provinces and commanderies 州郡 (SOS 37.1121):

As the kingdoms of the barbarians collapsed, and the Di 狄 people broke into rebellion, most people from Yong 雍 (of which the capital was Changan 長安, Shanxi 陝西) and Qin 秦 (of which the capital was near Tianshui xian 天水縣, Gansu) moved south to settle around Fan and Mian 函 (i.e. Han river). For their sake, Emperor Xiaowu 孝武 (362-396) of the Jin dyansty ordered Yongzhou and other commanderies to be instituted around Xiangyang.

In the same treatise (p.1142 and 1135), we are further told that some migrants from Sanfu 三輔 (central Shanxi 陝西) settled in Pingyi 馮翊 and Xi Jingzhao 西京兆, both within the administrative territory of Yongzhou. It is important to note that most of the new settlers were from Shanxi 陝西. When the Liang Emperor Jianwen writes of the customs in Yongzhou, he rightly classifies the people into two groups and thus observes:

The gentry class is upright in character and retains some of the old customs of Guanfu 關輔 (central Shanxi 陝西). The common people are tough and strong, they know nothing but to prize a sword and think lightly of death.¹¹¹

Another noteworthy feature of the migrants is that there were quite a number of court musicians among them.¹¹² This should not be surprising since the shortest route from the old captial of Luoyang to the south would be via Xiangyang. The musicians might have brought an active musical life to the locality, and some interaction between the local and the court music was hence quite expected.

Of the non-Han minorities, the Man and Liao were the most numerous. The term "Man" has been applied liberally to all ethnic minorities in South China. Yet in a stricter sense, (as it is used in

this discussion,) the term refers only to the ethnic group which, as dynastic histories have it, were descended from the mythical figures Panhu 盤瓠 and Linjun 廩君 ,113 and, by the time of the Southern Dynasties, they lived mainly in the provinces of Jing 荆 , Xiang 湘 (of which the capital was at modern Changsha, Hunan), Yong 雍 , Ying 郢 and Si 司 (of which the capital was near Xinyang 信陽 , Hunan). 114 All major cities in the Western region - Jingling, Xiangyang, Xunyang and Jiangling - fell within these provinces and must have seen some presence of the Man. Some of them lived with Han-Chinese and were sinicized, but others still inhabited hills and valleys and spoke a different language from the Chinese. 115 It seems that the Man people made dog their totem, 116 and their society was organized in units called "feng" 封 , headed by a chief.117 Of their customs, it is thus observed in *Nan Qi shu*, Account of Man, 58.1009:

It is the customs of Man that they wear clothes made of ordinary cloth and no footwear. The hair is done into a bun in the shape of an awl, or it is closely cut. Their weapons were decorated with gold and silver. Their shields were covered with hides of tigers They are adept in archery, but ^{are} savage and brutal, with an inclination to loot.

The other major minority is Liao 獠 , which was said to be a sub-group of the Man.118 By the time of the Southern Dynasties, their numbers tended to concentrate in Sichuan 四川 .119 According to *Jin shu*, Biography of Li Shi 李勢 , 121.3047, there were some hundred thousand settlements (luo 落) of them in the area. If a settlement is about the size of a village, then the sheer size of the Liao population is indeed gigantic.

Apart from Man and Liao, there were some other minorities

scattered about the region in small settlements. According to the dynastic histories, Hu 胡 and Xirong 西戎, whose identity the histories fail to specify further, moved in from the north and northwest probably to flee wars and chaos, and settled in Huashan 華山, Nan Tianshui 南天水 and Xiangyang, all of which fell within the administrative territory of Yongzhou.¹²⁰ The population might not be very large, but large enough to demand the institution of new commanderies and counties for its sake. The Southern Dynasties was a time when music of the Qiang barbarians 羌胡伎 gained increasing popularity,¹²¹ Qiang 羌 was the minority that set up four small kingdoms bordering on the northwestern territory of the southern empire - Henan 河南, Dangchang 宕昌, Dengzhi 鄧至 and Wuxing 武興, and they were sometimes collectively called Xirong.¹²² The presence of these minorities in the Western region might contribute to the propagation of their music. Indeed, as we shall see in the next chapter, some musical instruments to accompany the western songs were of foreign origin and were probably made popular, if not imported, by these minorities.

VII. LIFE IN THE WESTERN REGION

In spite of the ethnic complexity in the region, historical records of life there always focus on the Han-Chinese. After all, it is the Han Chinese who made up the majority of the regional population. Since all Western lyrics, as we know them, were in the Chinese language, we may assume that the lyrics reflect primarily the life and attitudes of Han-Chinese. It is therefore worthwhile to look into these records and draw a general picture of life out there

even though it could not be comprehensive.

The western region falls within the domain of the Southern Dynasties. The Southern empire, vast as it might seem to a western eye, consisted of only two areas of vital economic and political value: Yangzhou, where the imperial capital Jiankang was seated, and Jingzhou, which made up most of our western region. According to Shen Yue, they were the two areas which produced significant taxes that gave substance to the imperial treasury.¹²³ Jingzhou, understandably, was an area of immense economic value in times of peace. War had wrecked temporarily some parts of the region, but with huge economic resources, it recovered rapidly in periods of relative calm, particularly in the early years of the Southern Dynasties. Land was extensive, fields fertile, and people, primarily engaged in agriculture, were industrious.¹²⁴ Even the Man minority had become by then agrarian.¹²⁵ Crops in good years were plentiful: rice, soya bean, red bean, wheat and sesame.¹²⁶ Cocoon rearing and consequently spinning and weaving were particularly intensive. It is claimed that in Yuzhang commandery 豫章郡 there were four to five crops of cocoons in a year. The women washed yarn at night, and by morning it was already woven into cloth.¹²⁷ Mulberry trees, the leaves of which were fed to cocoons, were usual sights. Around Xiangyang, it was the custom to plant mulberry trees on the boundaries to mark out one homestead from the other.¹²⁸ A saying of the time went thus:

Ask your man-slaves on matters of farming,
But ask your woman-slaves on matters of weaving.¹²⁹

耕當問奴，織當問婢。

The division of agrarian labour between sex was traditional. Since most

of the western songs reflect a female perspective, it is therefore understandable that images of weaving, spinning, cocoon rearing, and picking mulberry leaves dominate the agricultural imagery, whereas male activities in the fields were almost absent from the lyrics.

Other than field labour, a great variety of economic activities flourished, ranging from the most familiar, like fishing, goat-herding, fire-wood collecting, wine brewing, geese-hunting, to the less usual such as smelting iron and paper industry.¹³⁰ With these bustling activities, it is only natural that commerce should prosper. For that matter, commercial activities on the whole did gain momentum in the Southern Dynasties, as many agrarian workers turned traders to escape the burden of land taxes.¹³¹ Many bureaucrats and aristocrats, too, tempted by the huge profit in commerce, were only too willing to stoop a little to gain a share in this "occupation of the least worth" 末業 .
¹³² Merchants flocked to Yangzhou in the east, Jingzhou in the west, and Shu 蜀 (Sichuan) in the further west. The three areas were joined by a water course - the Yangzi river. Hence in the western region, which is flanked by two major trading regions, many of the cities - Xiangyang, Shouyang and Jiangling etc. - grew into mercantile ports.¹³³ Boats plying to and fro were a daily sight. These cities were also important centres of Western songs. Consequently a large number of the songs deal with merchants, boatmen, boat-trackers, travellers as well as painful partings and reunions. The figure of the merchant in the Western lyrics is in fact one of the most noted features of the repertory.¹³⁴

Besides the economic aspect, we may also concentrate on the religious and the musical aspects, since some knowledge of them will

be conducive to a better understanding of the Western songs. Chu people were generally known to be religious. Temples for all kinds of deities could be seen almost everywhere.¹³⁵ As primitive worship always involves dance and song, it is possible that some Western songs might have been originally composed for religious purposes. The following passage from Du Taiqing's 杜臺卿 (?- ca. 596) *Yuzhu baodian* 玉燭寶典, 10.13a-b, is illuminating:

In Han times, on the fifteenth day of the tenth month, people made offerings of wine and pigs to the Temple of the Divine Lady 靈女廟. The Music of Shangxian 上玄之曲 was played on the *zhu* 筑 (a zither-like instrument), as people joined hands, stamped the ground (*dadi* 踏地) and sang the song "Come the Scarlet Phoenix" 赤鳳凰來. This is in fact a sorcerous practice. "Dadi" is nowadays called "*dadi*" 踏蹠 (stamping). *Yu jie you yue ye* 餘節有月夜 (?). The dance became very popular during the reign of the Han Emperor Ping 漢平帝 (10 B.C. - 5.A.D.). A Wu song goes as follows:

No more would I stamp my feet,
As we do stamping, the floor seems about to crack.

These lines describe the same practice.¹³⁶

The two lines from the so called "Wu song" are in fact taken from a Western lyric *Jiangling yue* 江陵樂 no.1, which goes in full as follow:

No more would I stamp my feet,
As we do stamping, the floor seems about to crack,
The place is too cramped, and my love's string is broken,
The stamping has ruined her scarlet silk dress.¹³⁷

不復蹠蹠人。
蹠地地欲穿。
盆隘歡繩斷。
蹠壞紫羅裙。

It is about a communal dance. The third line appears corrupted, and the details of the dance cannot be known. Yet judging from the record in *Yuzhu baodian*, it is possible to think that the dance and the music might derive from the religious rituals. Even as late as in the

Zhao Song dynasty, Fan Zhiming 范致明 (fl.1100) reports of similar religious practice in his *Yueyang fengtu ji* 岳陽風土記, p.13a:

According to the folk custom in Jing-Hu 荆湖 (approximately Hubei and Hunan), when people gather and pay worship to the deities, they usually stamp and dance, and sing to the accompaniment of drums. Such practice is called "Song Square" 歌場.

Another song *Nuerzi* also appears to have a religious function. The song is widely acknowledged to be related to a Tang song *Zuzhi* 竹枝, 138 which, according to the Biography of Liu Yushi 劉禹錫 (772-842) in *XTS* 168.5129, was performed in religious occasions. There should be little doubt about the relation of local religious practice and some Western songs.

By the time of the Southern Dynasties, the local religion was seriously rivalled by Buddhism. The spread of Buddhism is reflected in the use of Buddhist terms in some Western lyrics, as the following may illustrate:

Clothes-pounding stone made of green jade,
Golden lotus pestles set with seven jewels.

碧玉擣衣石。
七寶金蓮杵。

(*Qingyang du* 青陽度 no.2)139

"Seven jewels" 七寶 (Sanskrit: *saptaratnāni*) is a term of Buddhist origin. In another Western lyric, the Buddha himself is mentioned:

The lotus is budding,
Where could I find two sharing one heart,
That would bloom before the *Bhagavat* (Buddha)?

芙蓉始懷蓮。
何處見同心。
俱生世尊前。

(*Yuejie zhe yangliu* 月節折楊柳 no.4)140

The reference is by no means incidental. The lyric is the fourth in a

sequence of thirteen which covers all the months of the year (twelve months plus an intercalary month). Each lyric describes some particulars of the month. Hence, for instance, the sixth-month lyric tells of collecting honey:

The copper vessel is to hold honey,
There is no need to wash it with water.¹⁴¹

銅甔貯蜜漿。
不用水洗滌。

and, according to Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385-433), it was then the practice to collect honey in the sixth month.¹⁴² The seventh-month lyric begins with the reference to the well-known folk myth about the Weaver-girl 織女 and the Herd-boy 牛郎, who, being separated by the Han river in Heaven, could only meet once a year on the seventh day of the seventh month:

The Weaver-girl saunters by the river,
The Herdboy watches and sighs.¹⁴³

織女遊河邊。
牽牛顧自歎。

In regard to the fourth-month lyric, the Buddha-lotus motif is in fact based on a Buddhist ceremony held on the eighth day of the month, which was believed to be the birthday of the Buddha. Thus says Han E

韓鄂 (798-?) in *Suihua jili* 歲華紀麗 :144

It is a long standing practice in Jing-Chu 荆楚 that on the eighth day of the fourth month, people would welcome the Buddha of Eight Characters at the Golden City. There couches, pendant streamers and drums were prepared for the Annual Lecture of the *Saddharmapundarika sutra* (True Teachings of the White Lotus)

法華會 .¹⁴⁵

Even as recently as this century, songs on the twelve months often refer to the Buddhist worship when they come upon the fourth month.

Part of a modern folk song from Gansu, for example, goes:

In the fourth month, the eighth day of the fourth month,
The woman offers incense in the temple.¹⁴⁶

四月豪華四月八，
娘娘廟上把香種。

Regarding our Western lyric, there should be little doubt that the the Buddhist motif arises from the religious significance of that particular month. It must be emphasized, however, that the motif is made here to serve a love theme. "Tongxin" 同心 (sharing one heart or stem) refers to both the lotus blossoms and the lovers.

Besides religion, folk musical activity is one more factor to be reckoned with if we try to understand the songs. The first half of the Southern Dynasties saw two prosperous eras in which musical activities flourished. One is the reign era of Yuanjia, on which Shen Yue comments:

In every village of more than a hundred households, in any town with a market-place, singing and dancing met the eye. Such was the heyday of the Song Dynasty.¹⁴⁷

The other is the Yongming 永明 era (483-493) of the Qi dynasty.

Thus Xiao Zixian observes:

In the era of Yongming, which spanned over ten or so years, people had hardly experienced any alarm of dogs' barking or roosters' crowing 雞鳴犬吠之警. Cities and towns were blessed with prosperity. People lived leisurely and were generally well off. Beside plum blossoms and green water, in the spring winds or autumn moonshine, there were always songs and dance, and the sight of sumptuous dress and beautiful make-up.¹⁴⁸

Several Western songs by known makers - *Shicheng yue*, *Xiangyang yue* and *Shouyang yue* - arose in the time of Yuanjia. The only song from the Qi dynasty - *Guke yue* - dated from the Yongming era. Many of the Western songs are, as we shall see in the next chapter, dance songs, which should develop best in times of peace and prosperity.

Many kinds of occasions call for songs. A few song prefaces

mention singing by local youths and girls, which seem to be a usual and casual affair. On other occasions, singing formed part of the communal festivals. It is thus recorded in *SuS*, *Treatise on Geography*, 31.897:

People of the locality kept the practice of boat racing which was handed down over generations. In the course of the race, swift oars swept past in unison; boat song broke out, singing resounded over land and water. The spectators gathered like thick clouds. It happened in all commanderies, and was especially popular in Nanjun 南郡 and Xiangyang. In these two commanderies, there was also the game tug-of-war 牽鈎. The game is claimed to originate from martial training. When Chu was about to fight Wu 吳 [in the Spring and Autumn Period, 770-476 B.C.], it was taught to the soldiers as kind of battle training. Thereafter the game was handed down over generations without much change. It always started with a roll of drums, people broke into songs or yelled. The noise was enough to shake even far off places. Folklores had it that the game was for exorcising the evil and inducing a good harvest.

The religious dimension of the games is worth noting.

Such records of folk musical activities are, however, hard to come by. Yet with these few fragments of information, we may still be able to reach this conclusion: communal musical activities played an important role in the life of the local community. Indeed, as we shall see soon, many Western songs were designed for communal singing rather than for solo performance.

The musical activities of the two major minorities - the Man and the Liao - deserve some more attention. A Man custom, which involves singing, is mentioned in *SuS* *Treatise on Geography*, 31.898:

Soon after a person is dead, his corpse will be laid in the hall. Youths from the neighbourhood, carrying bows and arrows, will sing as they move around the body, bows knocking on the arrows to give the rhythm. The lyrics are about those joyous moments in one's life, right down to the time of death. In the main, the songs are similar to our dirges 挽歌.

Of the Liao people, we are given a brief description of their musical instruments in *Wei shu*, *Account of Liao*, 101.2248-2249:

Each of the Liao chief has a drum and a horn which he will at times ask his juniors to play. The reed instruments are made of bamboo 用竹為簧. It provides music whenever there is a gathering.

"Huang" 簧 is a general term for reed instruments, and in most cases, it refers to "sheng" 笙 (mouth-organ). It is important to note that only percussion and wind instruments were ever mentioned. This peculiarity should call to mind a section of the Western songs - *yige* - for which the musical accompaniment also consisted of percussion and winds but no strings. Whether there is the possibility of one influencing the other will be examined in detail in the next chapter.

VIII. CONCLUSION

To summarize it may be useful to recapitulate a few points of the preceding discussion.

We have discussed the song prefaces individually, and conclude from them that many Western songs were composed during the Southern Dynasties, and originated from a vast area around Hubei which we have termed the "western region".

Three types of authorship for the lyrics are distinguished: the upperclass, including the literati; the professional musicians and the common people. So far as it is known, the upper class created but a few of the lyrics. Professional musicians, who mostly came from the lower class (a topic to be discussed later), and the lower class itself appear to be responsible for most of rest.

We have also examined the ethnic composition in the region. Other than Han-Chinese, Man and Liao were the two most important groups. People in general were engaged in agriculture and commerce as they were elsewhere in China of the time. Religion and communal music-

al activities constituted an important part of their life, and the two have been shown in the prefaces and in the discussion to have contributed to the formation of the Western songs.

The songs, as we have demonstrated in the section on place of origin and elsewhere, were essentially a regional repertory. It is hence legitimate to ask if a regional song tradition existed, how far the repertory is distinguishable from other repertories, and how the tradition, if any, is related to the people and life of the place. We have discussed the character of the native people, and suggested the possibility of some influence of non-Han music on the Western songs. In the subsequent chapters, we shall look into these matters further.

CHAPTER THREE

MUSIC AND THE PERFORMANCE

I. INTRODUCTION

Though modern interest in the Western lyrics of the Southern Dynasties has been for the most part literary, the lyrics were originally intended for singing rather than reading. A lyric in its totality could only be realised in live performance, and any discussion of the lyrics cannot be but an emasculated business if the music is not taken into account. However, the music of the Western songs has been utterly lost, and only bits and pieces of information come down to us. Yet a better understanding will certainly be gained if such information is gathered and rendered intelligible. This is one purpose of the present chapter.

There are other purposes too. Most discussions of *yuefu* poetry tend to emphasize the similarities between the Western songs and the roughly contemporaneous Wu songs,¹ and as a result fail to give due recognition to the distinctive character of the Western songs. The impression one may have after reading these discussions is that the Western songs are nothing more than an extension of the Wu songs. Such a lopsided approach is inadequate. It is true that the Western songs bear great affinity with the Wu songs; yet, as we shall see, the Western songs are rooted in a very different musical tradition.

YFSJ 47.689 comments:

The music, rhythm, song 送 (end refrain) and he 和 (refrain) of the Western songs are not the same as those of the Wu songs.

The text does not elaborate further. But it will certainly be worthwhile to approach the songs from the angle of their music in order to appreciate their distinctiveness. Hence the purpose of this chapter will be more to reveal the distinctive musical character of the songs as far as our sources allow, than to attempt a comprehensive account of their music. The different types of Western songs in terms of their musical characteristics will be discussed. This will be followed by an investigation of the musical instruments, the music and its structure. Finally, we shall give a general account of the performers and the performances.

II. THREE TYPES OF WESTERN SONGS

GJYL has the songs classified into two types:

Shicheng yue, Wu ye ti, Mochou yue, Guke yue, Xiangyang yue, Sanzhou, Xiangyang da tong ti, Caisang du, Jiangling yue, Qingcong baima, Gong xi yue, An Dongping, Neihe tan, Mengzhu, Yi yue, and Shouyang yue - these are all dance songs.
Qingyang du, Nuerzi, Lai luo, Ye huang, Ye du niang, Chang song biao, Shuang xingchan, Huang du, Huang ying, Ping xi yue, Pang yangzhi, Xunyang yue, Bai fu jiu, Ba pu and *Zuo cansi* - these are *yige* 倚歌. *Mengzhu* and *Yi yue* are *yige* too.²

We have seen in the prefaces to *Mengzhu* and *Yi yue* that some lyrics to the tunes belong to the type of *yige*, and the rest are presumably dance songs. In the prefaces to individual tunes, *GJYL* has without fail given the number of dancers for all known dance songs. Since nothing about dance is mentioned for all *yige*, it is quite certain that *yige* is a kind of song without dance.

Three songs do not appear in the list: *Yangpaner, Xiwu yefei* and *Yuejie zhe yangliu*. Unlike the prefaces to other songs, the prefaces to the three songs in *YFSJ* neither mention dancers, nor

specify that they are *yige*. They appear to constitute a group of their own. They are songs without dances. *SuS*, Treatise on Music, 15.378 says:

As for songs, there is *Yangpan* 陽伴. As for dance songs, there are *Mingjun* 明君 and *Bing qi* 枿契.

It is clear that *Yangpan* (or *Yangpaner*) is not performed with dances. In view of what the prefaces have said, this must be the cases with the other two songs too. But they are not *yige* either. *Yige* is performed to the accompaniment of a particular ensemble of instruments:

All *yige* are performed with bells, drums and winds, but without any string instruments.³

Strings are traditionally a major section in the instrumental accompaniment to Han-Chinese songs. Accompaniment without strings is therefore quite extraordinary. Since the three songs are not considered as *yige*, they are most probably performed with strings, and hence distinguishable from *yige*.

What *yige* really means remains uncertain. Wang Yunxi attempts the following explanation:

The Biography of Zhang Shizhi 張釋之 (?-156/155 B.C.) in *Han shu* 漢書 recorded the following: "Once Emperor Wen (180 B.C.-157 B.C.) honoured the place Baling 霸陵 with his presence. He made Madam Shen 慎夫人 play the *se* 瑟 (a lute-like instrument); while he himself sang to the *se* music. 倚瑟而歌." Yan Shigu 顏師古 (581-645) comments, "*Yi* 倚 is the same as our practice of singing songs in accord with the instrumental music 即今之以歌合曲也." "To sing a song in accord with the music" 以歌合曲 must be what *yige* means.⁴

One objection to Wang's assertion is that "*yi se er ge*" 倚瑟而歌 is not quite the same as *yige*, hence further explication is necessary. *Yige* occurs once in Wu Jun's 吳均 (469-520) *Xu Qixie ji* 續齊諧記:

She asked her maid to sing "Fan shuang" 繁霜 (Heavy Frost) while she herself loosened her sash and tied it onto the kong-hou 箜篌 (a harp-like instrument). Thereupon she played the instrument in accord with the song 叩之以倚歌⁵.

But even here "yi ge" are two words. Yi is a verb primarily meaning "lean upon", and ge 歌, the song, is its object. (Hence the translation "in accord with the song".) The grammatical and semantic structure is quite different from "yige" which is a noun phrase referring to a particular type of song. Therefore it is unconvincing, if not necessarily erroneous, to equate "yi ge" with "yige".

It is worth noting that "yige" as used in *GJYL* occurs in that work only and nowhere else. *YTXY* records three of the yige under the section title of "Jindai zage" 近代雜歌 (Miscellaneous songs of modern times) but without ever mentioning the term.⁶ Yige is obviously of very limited currency, and perhaps a dialectal word of the western region. Yang Xiong 楊雄 (53 B.C.-18 A.D.)'s *Fangyan* 方言 (Dialects) explains yi 倚 and some other related words:

From the Pass (i.e. Hangu Pass 函谷關) to the west, between Qin 秦 and Jin 晉, when a body has its trunk whole but the limbs incomplete, such a state is called yi 倚 (GSR 1f' Arch.Chin.: ia). In the area between Liang 梁 and Chu 楚, it is called yi 踣 (GSR 1c' Arch. Chin.: k'ia). At the western border of Yong 雍 and Liang 梁, when an animal is without any part of its limbs, it is called yi 踣.⁷

We have seen in the previous chapter that *Bai fu jiu* was originally a dance song, but later became one of the yige, a song without dance. We have seen too that under the tune titles of *Mengzhu* and *Yi yue*, there are both dance songs and yige. One type must have developed from the other.

I am inclined to think that it is the *yige* which developed from the dance song. For that matter, most Western songs were perhaps originally dance songs:

There is moreover the dance music of the Qiang 羌 barbarians and the vulgar of the west. When Liu Dan 劉誕, the Prince of Sui 隨 was in Xiangyang, he created *Xiangyang yue*. Prince Mu of Nanping 南平穆王 created *Shouyang yue* when he was governing Yuzhou 豫州. The military governor of Jingzhou 荊州, Shen Youzhi 沈攸之, created yet another song *Xi wu fei gequ* 西烏飛歌曲. All are incorporated into the court repertoire.

So says SoS, *Treatise on Music*, 19.522. Only dance music is mentioned as belonging to "the vulgar of the west" 西儂. Furthermore, one of the *yige*, *Nüerzi*, for which no dance is mentioned in *GJYL*, might have been a dance song, at least in its place of origin. A Tang poet, Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫 (772-842), writes on the performance of *Zuzhi ci* 竹枝詞:

The first month this year, I arrived at Jianping 建平, (around Wushan 巫山, Sichuan). Children of the village used to sing together a song called *Zhuzhi* 竹枝. Someone played a short flute 短笛, and others hit the drum to give the rhythm. The singer raised his/her sleeves and danced. The more lyrics he/she could sing, the more highly was he/she esteemed.⁸

Zuzhi ci was considered to be related to *Nüerzi*,⁹ and its performance followed the tradition of *yige* which admits of no string accompaniment. It is hence reasonable to think that *Nuerzi*, like *Zuzhi ci*, was for a time a dance song. One more factor lends support to our conjecture about *yige*: a drum is among the instruments used in its performance. Drums are primarily used to guide dances or any concerted movement. It is very probable that most *yige*, if not all, were originally dance songs. By way of contrast, it should be mentioned that prior to Sui, neither drums nor indeed any percussion

instruments were used in the performance of Wu songs which were contemporaneous with the Western songs, and which appear to have been without dance accompaniment from the beginning.¹⁰

To summarize, we have in this section distinguished between three types of Western songs: dance songs, *yige*, and three other songs which make a type of their own. While the nature of the dance songs is fairly clear to us, the proper meaning of *yige* poses some problems. From all the evidence we have, it appears appropriate to take *yige* as meaning "songs with the dance section lopped off." The change might have effected some restructuring of the original tunes, since in the case of *Mengzhu* and *Yi yue*, the lyrics of *yige* and those of the dance tunes are clearly set apart, a feature which seems to suggest that the tunes for the two types of lyrics are distinguishable from each other. It is not clear why the dances were lopped off. It is possible that the term *yige* might in the later period have come to embrace some Western songs originally without dance. As to the last type of the Western songs, they stand out from the rest of the repertory not only in that they belong to neither of the two major types, but also, as we shall soon see in the later sections, they share a very distinctive musical structure. For that matter, it is the different structures of the songs and the different instruments to accompany them that help to distinguish further one type of song from the other. To these two aspects of the songs, we shall turn to immediately.

III. MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Though no comprehensive account is available on the musical

whereas lesser ones are made of wood. The two ends are broad, and the middle part appears slender in comparison. It is originally a barbarian instrument.

The drum is, in other words, in the shape of an hour-glass. Chen Yang 陳陽 (fl. early twelfth century) 's *Yue shu* 樂書 127.19b claims that its use in China is to be dated from Han and Wei times. This is not, however, borne out by the evidence. According to my reading, the term was first used in the Eastern Jin translations of *Mādhymāgama* 中阿含經 and *Ekottarāgama* 增一阿含經 .14 Both Buddhist *sutra* give lists of various sounds, which include "the sound of slender waist-drum" 細腰鼓聲 . The fact that it is first mentioned in Buddhist *sutra* testifies to its non-Chinese origin. This drum was never used in ceremonial and sacrificial music at court, *xianghe* songs, Wu songs, or, indeed, any type of songs, allegedly of Han-Chinese origin, at least until Sui times. Even under the Sui and Tang, the instrument featured only in the music imported from non-Han-Chinese kingdoms such as Kucha 龜茲 , Xiliang 西涼 , Kashgar 疏勒 , Koguryo 高麗 and Karakheja 高昌 .15 It definitely did not occur in *Qingyue*, which was then considered the "proper music of China" 華夏正聲 .16

The instrument was, however, widely known in the Southern Dynasties.¹⁷ And in spite of its foreign origin, it somehow became widely used even at the popular level in the western region. Zhong Lin (d.ca.563) 's *Jingchu suishi ji* 荆楚歲時記 tells of a rural ritual of exorcism:

The eighth day of the twelfth month is called the day of La 臘 (Winter Sacrifice) An old saying goes:
When the drum of La is rolling,
Grass of spring starts to grow.

On that day, people of the village will play waist-drums, some of them will put on masks in the likeness of barbarians, and others will make up as *Vajrapāṇibalin* 金剛力士. The ritual is to dispel plagues.¹⁸

Waist-drums were certainly not confined to the performance of *Gong xi yue*. In view of its popularity in the western region, it should be reasonable to suppose that the drum could have provided the usual accompaniment when Western songs were sung.

The other instrument, "lingpan" 鈴柈, is somewhat obscure. The graph 柈 is the same as two other graphs 盤 and 槃. The term *lingpan* 鈴盤 occurs a few times in pre-Tang texts. The Liang Emperor Yuan mentions the instrument together with the dance of barbarians in the poem *Xi chu Tongbo ge xia guanji* 夕出通波閣下觀妓 (I went out in the evening to the Tongbo pavilion and watched the *ji* perform) :

The dance of barbarians fills the Hall of Spring,
Lingpan emerge from the corridor.¹⁹

胡舞開春閣。
鈴盤出步廊。

In a Liang translation of the Buddhist *sutra Mañjuśrī wen jin* 文殊師利問經, the term occurs with names of other rather exotic instruments such as shell-drum 螺鼓 and waist-drum.²⁰ It is, as we may gather, another instrument of non-Han-Chinese origin.

No detailed description of the instrument is available. Huilin 慧琳 (737-820) 's *Yiqie jing yinyi* 一切經音義 58.693b has amongst its entries a phrase "qiao pan" 敲槃. "Qiao" is explained as meaning "striking each other" 相擊打也, while "pan" is specified as "lingpan" 謂鈴槃也.²¹ The manner of playing suggests that *lingpan* is perhaps a kind of cymbal.²² TD 144.752

records a certain instrument called *tongbo* 銅鈸 (copper cymbal):

Tongbo is also named *tongpan*. 銅盤 The instrument originally came from the frontier tribes of the west and the Man of the south. The circumference measures a few inches. Its middle part rises slightly like a bubble, with a leather strip running through it. The two pieces hit each other as a kind of musical accompaniment.

Pan 盤 might be used to refer to a cymbal-like instrument like *bo*. *Ling* 鈴, which usually refers to "bells", is in fact a generic name wide enough to include cymbals too. *Yu pian* 玉篇 18. 405 explains *bo* 鈸 as follows:

Bo is a kind of *ling* (bell).

鈸，鈴也。

Hence *lingpan* is very likely a kind of cymbal. In *XTS*, Account of the Southern Barbarians 南蠻傳, 222.6312 where the music of the kingdom *Pyū* 驃 (in Upper Burma) is described in great detail, there is mention of an instrument called *lingbo* 鈴鈸:

Four *lingbo*. Their shape come close to that used in Kucha 龜茲 music. The circumference measures three inches. A leather strip passes through the instruments. They are struck against each other to give the beat.

The close similarity between *lingbo* and *tongbo* is quite evident. For that matter, there is no *lingbo* in Kucha music as found in the Kingdom of *Pyū*, and the only instrument of the Kucha music that could resemble a *lingbo* in shape is the "big copper cymbal" 大銅鈸 .23 Since *lingbo* is otherwise known as *tongpan*, it becomes highly probable that *lingbo* and *lingpan* are the same. Drawing the threads together, there can be little doubt that *lingpan* is a kind of cymbal 鈸 .

The use of waist-drum and *lingpan* is a significant indication of non-Han-Chinese influence on the Western songs, which should be quite expected, given the dominance of Buddhism and the ethnic complexity of the western region. As we turn from individual instruments to examine instrumental ensembles, the influence becomes even more striking. The Western songs were sung to the accompaniment of instrumental ensembles rather than a single instrument. Little is known of the instrumental ensemble for the song types other than *yige*. Certain string instruments, as we have previously noted, feature in the performance of *Wu ye ti* and *Sanzhou ge*. *Xiangyang baitongti* and *Guke yue* were, as the prefaces inform us, intended for playing by strings and winds. Since all these songs are dance songs, we may reasonably surmise that a small orchestra of strings and winds was the usual accompaniment to the dance songs. In contrast, *yige* requires a very different type of ensemble wherein bells, drums and winds figure, but not the strings. Strings are almost indispensable in the performance of any major types of Han-Chinese folk songs since the Han Dynasty, if these songs are to be accompanied by any instruments at all.²⁴ Therefore the peculiar character of the ensemble for *yige* tends to suggest some influence from non-Han-Chinese music. Indeed, if we consider the ethnic components of the Western region and the music of Man and Liao, we have good reason to think that *yige* must be in some ways influenced by, if not originate from, the music of the two minorities. We have seen in Chapter II that in the Southern Dynasties the western region was populous with the Man and Liao people, and that no string instrument was ever mentioned in relation to their music culture.

In the Tang and Song dynasties, ethnic minorities, living in south-western China and allegedly related to the Man and Liao people of our concern, exhibited the same peculiarity in their music. *Yudi jisheng* 輿地紀勝 quotes a work of unknown date *Tujing* 圖經 saying:

Man are all descendants of Panhu 槃瓠, and the people are sometimes known as Jiling 狃伶 or Jiliao 狃獠. Their musical instruments consist of the "sad flute" 愁笛 and gourd-made mouth-organ 壺笙 .25

Here only wind instruments are mentioned. Another work, Fan Zuo 樊綽 (fl.864) 's *Man shu* 蠻書 8.210, describes a nightly scene in Nanzhao 南詔 (in Yunan 雲南), the inhabitants of which were labelled "Man":

Youth used to walk the streets and alleys at night, playing either gourd-made mouth-organs 壺蘆笙 or instruments made from leaves. The music consisted of serenades. It was by such means that they called to each other.

Throughout *Man shu* no string instrument is ever mentioned. Zhou Qufei 周去非 (fl.1163) 's *Lingwai daida* 嶺外代答 7.73 contains an account of the music of the Yao 徭 whose cultural sphere spread over southern Hunan and Guangxi:

As to the music of the Yao, their instruments consist of *lusha*, 蘆沙 tong-drums 鈺鼓, and gourd-made mouth-organ.

We are told soon afterwards that the *lusha* 蘆沙 is a kind of panpipe, and the *tong-drum* 鈺鼓 is a huge, long waist-drum. Still another work, *Yue shu* 樂書 174.4b, records a native dance by the Man minority from Sichuan:

Some of them played the gourd-made mouth-organ 瓢笙, while others, a total of several scores, joined hands and danced, stamping the floor to give the rhythm. The music is what we called "Water Music" 水曲.

Again in the above two works, there is no mention of string instruments for the two minorities. Zhu Fu 朱輔 (fl. mid-thirteenth cen-

tury)'s *Ximan congxiao* 溪蠻叢笑, which concerns itself with the Man minority of Wuxi 五溪 (in Hunan), takes note of two instruments: the gourd-made mouth-organ and dance-spade 舞杵, which is a kind of spade with a long shaft, presumably to give rhythm in dancing.²⁶ String instruments are again absent. Taking all these records together, one would be hard put to argue that the absence in records of any string instrument is due to oversight. Rather, their absence seems to be a significant feature of the music of the minorities in south-western China. At the very least, strings were dispensed with in most performances. On the other hand, the gourd-made mouth-organ was almost invariably present. It is mentioned in almost every record of the music of these minorities. It is important to recall here that the mouth-organ was also one of the few known instruments of the Liao people in the Southern Dynasties, and that Lord Donghun 東昏侯 of Southern Qi had once played on it *Nüerzi*, one of the *yige*.

The evidence, I think, is strong enough to make us conclude that *yige* was influenced by the Man and Liao music. Indeed it would be strange if in the song repertory of a region so populous with the minorities, there was no mark of their presence. For that matter, *Mochou* is said to be Man music in the preface. In other words, the music of the minorities actually made its influence felt in the local musical scene; hence, the peculiar affinity between *yige* and Man-Liao music is best interpreted as the former being subjected to the influence of the latter. The fact that bells also feature in the performance of *yige* agrees with our conclusion. *Man shu* 10.26 quotes a work of unknown date, *Kuizhou tujing* 夔州圖經, when

discussing the customs of the Ba people 巴人 who are considered in *Man shu* a branch of the Man and descendants of Linjun 廩君 :

According to their custom, the eighth day of the third month marks a significant festival in which sacrificial ceremonies are held. Bells 鐸 ring and drums 鼓 roll, and a lion dance is performed as part of the worshipping the deities.

The *duo* 鐸 is a large bell with a clapper. Bells and drums are not unusual instruments, but their use in both Man music and *yige* fits in with the foregoing argument that the two are related.

So far we have discussed the instruments employed in the Western song performances during the Southern Dynasties. Though the components of the instrumental ensemble for *yige* is fairly clear to us, those for dance songs and others remain obscure. In the subsequent dynasties of Sui and Tang, the Western songs were incorporated with the much older Han-Wei songs and the contemporaneous Wu songs to form a section of the court entertainment, namely *Qingshang yue* or *Qingyue*. The following are the lists of instruments for a court performance of *Qingyue* given by different sources:²⁷

a. *SuS*, Treatise on Music, 15.378:

<i>zhong</i> 鐘 (bell chimes)	<i>qing</i> 磬 (stone chimes)
<i>qin</i> 琴 (seven-string zither)	<i>se</i> 瑟 (zither with chromatically tuned strings)
<i>jiqing</i> 擊琴 (zither played by hitting the strings with bamboo strips)	<i>pipa</i> 琵琶 (lute)
<i>konghou</i> 壺篪 (harp)	<i>zheng</i> 箏 (zither with movable bridges)
<i>zhu</i> 筑 (zheng like instrument, played by striking the strings with bamboo strips)	<i>jiegu</i> 鼗鼓 (barrel drum)

<i>sheng</i> 笙	(mouth-organ)	<i>di</i> 笛	(transverse flute)
<i>xiao</i> 簫	(panpipe)	<i>chi</i> 篪	(a small bamboo transverse flute with a notched mouth piece inserted into the blow-hole)
<i>xun</i> 埴	(a globular flute of baked clay with a blow-hole at the apex and a number of finger holes)		

b. *Tang liudian* 唐六典 (compiled between 722-739), 14.16a:

<i>bianzhong</i> 編鐘	(a set of bell chimes)	<i>bianqing</i> 編磬	(a set of stone chimes)
<i>se</i>		<i>tanqin</i> 彈琴	(zither)
<i>jiqin</i>		<i>pipa</i>	
<i>konghou</i>		<i>zheng</i>	
<i>zhu</i>		<i>jiegu</i>	
<i>sheng</i>		<i>chang di</i> 長笛	(long transverse flute)
<i>xiao</i>		<i>chi</i>	
<i>chui ye</i> 吹葉	(blowing leaves) ²⁸		

c. *TD* 146.761:

<i>zhong</i>		<i>qing</i>	
<i>qin</i>		<i>yi xian qin</i> - 絃琴	(one-string zither)
<i>se</i>		<i>Qin pipa</i>	(lute with a circular table and long straight neck)
		秦琵琶	
<i>wo konghou</i>	(recumbent <i>zhu</i> harp)	<i>jiegu</i>	
臥鐘磬		<i>di</i>	
<i>zheng</i>		<i>chi</i>	
<i>sheng</i>			
<i>xiao</i>			
<i>ye</i> 葉	(leaves)		

d. *JTS*, treatise on Music, 29.1067:

<i>zhong</i>		<i>qing</i>	
<i>qin</i>		<i>yi xian qin</i> ²⁹	
<i>jiqin</i>		<i>se</i>	
<i>Qin pipa</i>		<i>wo konghou</i>	
<i>zhu</i>		<i>zheng</i>	
<i>jiegu</i>		<i>sheng</i>	
<i>di</i>		<i>xiao</i>	
<i>chi</i>		<i>ye</i>	

e. *XTS*, Treatise on Music, 21.469-470:

<i>bianzhong</i>	<i>bianqing</i>
------------------	-----------------

<i>du xian qin</i> 獨絃琴	(one- string zither)	<i>jiqin</i>	
<i>se</i>		<i>qin pipa</i>	
<i>wo konghou</i>		<i>zhu</i>	
<i>zheng</i>		<i>jiegu</i>	
<i>sheng</i>		<i>di</i>	
<i>xiao</i>		<i>chi</i>	
<i>fang xiang</i> 方響	(chimes of percussion plaques of iron)	<i>baxi</i> 跋膝	(a short transverse flute with seven finger holes)
<i>chui ye</i>			
f. Yuefu zalu 樂府雜錄 p.9:			
<i>qin</i>		<i>se</i>	
<i>yunhe zheng</i> 雲和琴	(zheng with the head sect- ion in the shape of a cloud)	<i>sheng</i>	
<i>yu</i> 箏	(large mouth- organ)	<i>zheng</i>	
<i>fang xiang</i>		<i>chi</i>	
<i>baxi</i>		<i>paban</i> 柏板	(clapper)

The properties of the various instruments, as well as their structure and origin, have been competently discussed elsewhere.³⁰ There are, however, other points of interest which are related to our concern of foreign influence in the Western songs. Judging from the instruments, *Qingyue* in the Sui dynasty was meant to designate "the proper music of China". Bell-chimes, stone-chimes, *qin* and *se* etc., whatever their origin, had a long standing history in the Han-Chinese musical culture. The use of the *xun* in particular could date from as much as 6700 years ago.³¹ That it was included in the ensemble is significant since it was not known to have ever been used in any performance of *xianghe*, Wu songs and Western songs. It seems that the *Qingyue* of Sui and early Tang (as evidenced by the records

of *Tang liudian* and *TD*) was formed with a conscious emphasis on its being "the proper music China". So, understandably, the non-Han-Chinese elements in the Western songs, so far as instruments are concerned, were left out.

We have seen in Chapter I that the popularity of the songs soon vanished during the Tang dynasty. According to *TD* 146.761, in the time of Empress Wu (624-705), only sixty-three songs survived of the *Qingshang* music, and by the time of Du You 杜佑 (735-812), the only Western songs that survived with lyrics were: *Wu ye ti*, *Shi-cheng yue*, *Mochou*, *Xiangyang*, *Xiwu yefei*, *Guke*, *Yangpaner*, *Sanzhou* and *Caisang*. None of these is *yige*. Perhaps *TD* has failed to record the songs that survived without lyrics. But since *yige* are meant primarily to be sung, we can reasonably surmise that few, if any, would have been among such works. The songs that survived were mostly creations and products reshaped by the upper class, or else derived from them. Such songs certainly survived more successfully, when Sui and Tang musicians undertook to reshape the music with the idea of "proper music" in mind. *Yige*, with more obvious affinities with Man and Liao music, were either abandoned in the reshaping process or transformed so inadequately that they soon disappeared from the court repertory.

IV. QINGSHANG AND THE MUSIC

If the instruments show unmistakable signs of non-Han-Chinese influence, it is certainly worthwhile to examine the music to see to what extent the Western songs belong to the Han musical tradition. Discussion of the music should start with *Qingshang*. The meaning of

"Qingshang" has attracted much controversy and will be discussed later. For the moment, it may suffice to say that in early Jin, the term refers to a body of Han-Wei songs which were of popular origin and many of which were composed in three musical modes (*san diao* 三調): *ping* 平, *qing* 清 and *se* 瑟. Before the Sui dynasty, the Western songs had already been incorporated in the *Qingshang* repertory which then provided entertainment at feast. We may cite again *Wei shu*, Treatise on Music, 109.2843:

Gaozu 高祖 (i.e. Emperor Xiaowen 孝文 of the Northern Wei dynasty, 467-499) once went on a punitive expedition to the area around the Huai 淮 and Han 漢 rivers. Shizong 世宗 (i.e. Emperor Xuanwu 宣武 of the same dynasty, 483-515), in a later expedition, captured Shouyang 壽陽. As a result of both conquests, some *ji* together with their music were captured. The music included some old pieces of Western Jin but still current in the south, such as *Mingjun* 明君, *Shengzhu* 聖主, *Gongmo* 公莫 and *Bai jiu* 白九. In addition, there were the Wu songs from South China and the Western songs from the Jing-Chu area 荆楚西聲.³² They were collectively named *Qingshang*. Whenever feast were held, the music would be performed.

This is the first known reference to the Western songs being made part of the *Qingshang* repertory. Though it happened in the court of non-Han-Chinese rulers, it can hardly have been a barbaric invention since *GJYL* makes reference to "the Western songs of *Qingshang*" 清商西曲.

³³ It is true that *GJYL* was written fourteen years later than *Wei shu*.³⁴ Yet the southern Chinese, always proud of their cultural supremacy, were unlikely to follow a northern barbarian fashion in naming their own music. The term "*Qingshang*" must have for long been used to include the Western songs, and most likely the Wu songs too, so that the northern emperors were simply following a southern fashion to call the songs by the term. A scholar of Liu Song times, Wang Sengqian 王僧虔 (426-485), comments on the fate of the

Qingshang music:

The *Qingshang* music of nowadays originated from the time of the Bronze Bird 銅雀 (i.e. the time of Cao Cao 曹操, 155-220). The fashion initiated by the Three Rulers 三祖 of the Wei kingdom (i.e. Cao Cao, Cao Pi 曹丕 187-226, and Cao Rui 曹叡 204-239) was indeed memorable. Their music was highly regarded in the capital Luoyang (i.e. during the Western Jin dynasty, which made the city its capital), and all the more so when the court moved to south. But then such things as bell chimes 金懸 and Dances of Shields and Battle-Axes 千戚 were lost. Fashion changes, and what used to be appealing to the ear may not be so any longer. So some of the old music was lost over the years. In a matter of ten years or so, only little more than half survived. But in the meantime, people competed with one another in singing new tunes. Everyone set great store by vulgar songs. The sound of such songs is made to be shrill and terse. No longer is the musical decorum observed. Their popularity grows, and there is no end in sight. Indeed people reject music which is proper, and set their hearts on what is sophisticated and excessive.³⁵

The "new tunes" and "popular songs" included the Wu songs and the Western songs which were the dominant "popular songs" of the time. "Qingshang of nowadays" is, however, ambiguous. It is debatable whether the term covers the "new tunes and popular songs"³⁶ Yet when viewed together with what GJYL has said of the Western songs, it would seem that the phrase here must include the new popular songs as one of its referents. Moreover, it seems another term, "zheng sheng" 正聲 (proper music), was more popular than "*Qingshang*" in the Southern Dynasties to refer specifically to Han-Wei music. *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍 2.44 remarks on the works of Cao Cao and his sons:

Though they are called "Proper Music of the Three Modes" 三調之正聲, yet in truth, they are a debased kind of music when compared with Shao 韶 and Xia 夏.³⁷

Zhang Yong 張永 (410-475) of the Liu Song dynasty wrote a monograph, *Yuanjia zhengsheng ji lu* 元嘉正聲技錄, which, according to what we know of it in *YFSJ*, contained *xianghe* songs, songs of the Three

Modes and other popular songs of the Han-Wei times, but nothing else. We can easily infer from its content what *zhengsheng* or "proper music" refers to. SoS, Biography of Dai Yong 戴顒, 93.2277 tells of a hermit Dai Yong (378-441) who, because of his enthusiasm for music, was given "a troupe of Proper Music performers" 正聲伎 by the Emperor Wu of Liu Song 宋武帝. Dai Yong was an accomplished *qin* player. He was known to have played *Sandiao youxian* 三調遊絃, *Guangling zhishi* 廣陵止息, *Hechang* 何嘗 and *Baihu* 白鶴, all of which were Han-Wei music. The so called "Proper Music performers" must have specialized in the Han-Wei music too. *Nan Qi shu*, Biography of Xiao Huiji 蕭惠基, 46.811 also mentions *zhengsheng* which evidently refers to the Han-Wei music:

Since the Daming 大明 period (457-464) of Song, the kind of music that became the vogue was in the main vulgar and corrupt like the Zheng 鄭 and Wei 衛 music. As to the music which is elegant and proper 雅樂正聲, hardly anyone would take a liking to it. Xiao Huiji (430-488) well understood the musical temperament. He was particularly fond of the songs by the Three Rulers of Wei and other *xianghe* songs. Whenever they were played, he would be quite beside himself with pleasure.

The "yayue zhengsheng" 雅樂正聲 (music which was elegant and proper) was what Xiao Huiji felt a fondness for, i.e. the Han-Wei music. The above instances have demonstrated sufficiently that the Han-Wei music was often referred to in the Southern Dynasties by the term "*zhengsheng*" which rarely occurred in the Western Jin writings with that particular sense.³⁸ The growing popularity of the term is, I think, an indirect indication of the new meaning of "*Qingshang*" which now came to encompass the Wu songs and the Western songs, and hence became inadequate when only the Han-Wei music was meant. The word "*zheng*" 正 is telling. It implies that popular songs outside

the Han-Wei repertory were considered improper. Hence, as already seen, such popular songs were once again juxtaposed with the supposedly more worthy Han-Wei songs. The latter were considered proper and elegant, the former as sheer poor taste. Clearly a demarcation between the two was necessary, which called into existence a new term when the older one, *Qingshang*, became too comprehensive.

In the Southern Dynasties then *Qingshang* was a term comprehensive enough to cover both the Han-Wei music and the more recent Western songs and Wu songs. The exact meaning of *Qingshang* has been discussed at length by modern scholars such as Liang Qichao 梁啟超, Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸, Wang Yunxi, Yin Falu 陰法魯, Rao Zongyi 饒宗頤, Masuda Kiyohide 增田清秀, Suzuki Shūji 鈴木修次 and many others.³⁹ However, up to now, consensus has still not been reached. But since the exact meaning of the term is so peripheral to this discussion, the question will be treated only briefly here. Masuda Kiyohide, who has offered by far the most succinct account, distinguishes between two meanings of the term:⁴⁰

1. The name of a type of tune which adopts as its fundamental note the second degree of the Chinese basic pentatonic scale (*gong* 宮, *shang* 商, *jue* 角, *zhi* 徵, *yue* 羽). In other words, they are tunes in the *shang* mode. *Qing* 清 (clear) is the opposite of *zhu* 濁 (turbid).⁴¹
2. The name of a special body of songs. They were in the main folk songs of the Han-Wei period, and were named "Songs in the Three Modes of *Qingshang*" 清商三調歌詩 by Xun Yu 荀勗 (?-289). The songs, as it turns out, were not all in the *shang* mode. But those in the *shang* mode made up the main portion of the repertory,

hence the whole body of songs was called *Qingshang yue*.⁴²

The Three Modes 三調 are the major features of the *Qingshang* music.

They, as *SoS*, *juan 21* reveals, consist of the *ping* mode, *qing* mode, and *se* mode. According to *Wei shu*, *Treatise on Music*, 109.

2835-2836, *jue* 角, *shang* 商, and *gong* 宮 are respectively the three fundamental notes of the *se*, *qing* and *ping* modes.⁴³

If we take *gong* as "c" and adopt, for the sake of simplicity, a Chinese pentatonic scale, the three modes are as follows:

<i>ping</i> mode:	e	g	a	c	d	(western notation)
	<i>jue</i>	<i>zhi</i>	<i>yu</i>	<i>gong</i>	<i>shang</i>	(Chinese notation)
<i>qing</i> mode:	d	e	g	a	c	
	<i>shang</i>	<i>jue</i>	<i>zhi</i>	<i>yu</i>	<i>gong</i>	
<i>se</i> mode	c	d	e	g	a	
	<i>gong</i>	<i>shang</i>	<i>jue</i>	<i>zhi</i>	<i>yu</i>	⁴⁴

The Three Modes in fact could not account for all the Han-Wei songs.

One more mode features in *SoS*, *juan 21*, *Treatise on Music*: the *Chu* mode 楚調, the exact nature of which is unknown.⁴⁵

The fact that Western songs are a part of the *Qingshang* repertory seems to suggest that the songs might be musically related to the Han-Wei music. Wang Yunxi surely holds this view when he says:

Since time, place and taste had changed, there gradually developed from the old *Qingshang* a new kind of music suitable for rendering the folk lyrics of south China (i.e. the Wu songs and the Western songs).⁴⁶

One Qing scholar even claims that the three modes formed the basis of the folk music in south China.⁴⁷ In the absence of the original music, we might perhaps turn to both the ancient music and the modern folk songs of the Hubei province for some clues. According to Yang Tingmin 楊廷民, the present situation with regard to folk songs seems to be different:

In respect of modes 調式, tunes in all the five modes - *gong*, *shang*, *jue*, *zhi* and *yu* - exist in all the five areas of Hubei. Yet not only are the tunes in the *jue* mode very few, but moreover the mode is usually not typical of the tunes in which it occurs.⁴⁸

This state of affairs is not at all unique to Hubei folk songs. Modern Chinese folk songs in general bear the same trait. According to the estimate of another musicologist, Muramatsu Kazuya 村松一彌, the quantitative relation of modern Chinese folk songs in the five modes is as follows:

<i>zhi</i> mode	51%
<i>yu</i> mode	20%
<i>shang</i> mode	14%
<i>gong</i> mode	13%
<i>jue</i> mode	2% 49

The three modes of *Qingshang* are at the bottom of the list; the *jue* mode is almost negligible. This indicates that, in terms of musical modes, modern folk songs do not correspond to what are said to have been the characteristics of their medieval counterparts. Yet another observation by Yang Tingmin on the modern Hubei folk songs is worth noting:

What deserves particular attention here is the kind of melodies in the *shang* mode with 2,5,6 (i.e. the second, the fifth and the sixth of a western diatonic scale) as the basic structure. In Hubei province, such melodies abound. Moreover they exert great influence on other types of melodies.⁵⁰

The *shang* mode in other words, is a major feature of the local music. Yang then draws our attention to the studies of the bell chimes unearthed from the tombs of Zeng Houyi 曾侯乙 (fl. mid-fifth century B.C.) in Sui xian 隨縣 of Hubei. The place was once the site of a small kingdom Zeng 曾. According to Huang Xianpeng 黃翔鵬,

Among the tones that begin and end the various groups of Zeng Houyi bell chimes, *shang* of the "New scale" appears most

prominent. The phenomena is unique among the scale structures of all known ancient bell chimes.⁵¹

The chimes, in other words, were so designed that it became most convenient to play music in the *shang* mode. (The "New Scale" will be discussed below.) A more recent study on the stone chimes 磬 from the same tomb by Li Chengyu 李成渝 concludes that the stone chimes were arranged in such an order that *shang* was the fundamental note, and therefore the chime set was, like the bell chimes, most suitable for playing music in the *shang* mode.⁵² It seems that the *shang* mode enjoyed much popularity throughout the musical history of the western region. In view of the fact that the Western songs fall within the *Qingshang* repertory, we must be right to believe that many of the Western songs were composed in the *shang* mode.

The association with *Qingshang* also tell us something of the musical scale. Both Zheng Yi 鄭譯 (540-590) and Su Kui 蘇夔 (fl. late sixth century) are reported as having criticized *Qingyue* in *SuS*, Treatise on Music, 14.347:

In *Qingyue* when *huangzhong* is the *gong*, *xiaolü* 小呂 is the *bianzhi* 變徵. This is contrary to the "principle of generation" 相生之道. We request that from now on, as regard to *Qingyue*, *xiaolü* should be replaced by *ruibin* 蕤賓 as *bianzhi*.

The criticism demands some explanation. Within the interval of an octave, the Chinese were able to distinguish twelve tones or *lu* more or less equidistant from each other, hence each tone roughly corresponds to a half tone in modern European music. Each tone (hereafter "tone" is used as equivalent to the Chinese *lü*) is assigned a name, such as *huangzhong* 黃鍾, *dalü* 大呂, and *taicu* 太簇 etc., each representing an absolute pitch like the Western notations C, C# and D etc.. The traditional Chinese septitonic scale used in

ceremonial music is on the whole similar to the European diatonic scale except that the Chinese fourth degree (i.e. *bianzhi* 變徵) is an augmented fourth. Hence, with *huangzhong* as *gong*, and taking *huangzhong* as equivalent to "c", a Chinese septitonic scale is as follows: (the twelve tones: *huangzhong*, *dalü*, *taicu*, *jiazhong* 夾鍾, *guxian* 姑洗, *zhonglü* 仲呂, *ruibin* 蕤賓, *linzhong* 林鍾, *yize* 夷則, *nanlü* 南呂, *wuyi* 無射, *yingzhong* 應鍾 are abbreviated as *hz*, *dl*, *tc*, *jz*, *gx*, *zl*, *rb*, *lz*, *yz*, *nl*, *wy*, *yzh* respectively)

<i>hz</i>	<i>dl</i>	<i>tc</i>	<i>jz</i>	<i>gx</i>	<i>zl</i>	<i>rb</i>	<i>lz</i>	<i>yz</i>	<i>nl</i>	<i>wy</i>	<i>yzh</i>
c	c#	d	d#	e	f	f#	g	g#	a	a#	b
<i>gong</i>	<i>shang</i>	<i>jue</i>	<i>bian-</i> <i>zhi</i> 變徵	<i>yu</i>	<i>bian-</i> <i>gong</i> 變宮						

But according to Zheng Yi, the actual scale of *Qingyue* has *bianzhi* at *xiaolü* (i.e. *zhonglü*), hence it is in fact a new scale of quite different character:

<i>hz</i>	<i>dl</i>	<i>tc</i>	<i>jz</i>	<i>gx</i>	<i>zl</i>	<i>rb</i>	<i>lz</i>	<i>yz</i>	<i>nl</i>	<i>wy</i>	<i>yzh</i>
c		d		e	f		g		a		b
<i>gong</i>	<i>shang</i>	<i>jue</i>	<i>bian-</i> <i>zhi</i>	<i>yu</i>	<i>bian-</i> <i>gong</i>						

It is named "New Scale" by some Chinese musicologists, in contrast with the "Old Scale" which was mostly used in ceremonial music.⁵³

This new scale is in fact not much different from a European diatonic scale in the major mode. Whether Zheng Yi ultimately succeeded in rectifying the scale is not our immediate interest. Zheng Yi made it

clear that the "New Scale" was in use in *Qingyue*. Were the Western songs which form part of the *Qingyue* repertory composed in the New Scale? Scholars have argued that the New Scale had been used in folk music from Han to Chen on the basis of Zheng Yi's comment, as well as on Xun Yu's illustration of a musical mode, *xiazhi* 下徵, which was in use in the folk music and which could be taken as an example of the New Scale.⁵⁴ For further support, we may turn to a work of Song (960-1279), Tian Zhiweng 田芝翁's *Taigu yiyin* 太古遺音, 4.76, wherein Zhao Weize 趙惟則⁵⁵ discusses the modes of songs and describes *Youlan* 幽蘭, a piece of *qin* music, as follows:

As for *Youlan* and *Yishui* 易水, the music has some of the Wu 吳 and Chu 楚 elements.

The present score of *Youlan* has been transmitted from as early as the Tang dynasty. The work was attributed to Qiu Ming 丘明 (479-590) of the Liang dynasty.⁵⁶ The music is on the whole in the Old Scale, but at several points *bianzhi* comes two whole tones below *zhi*,⁵⁷ signifying the shadowy presence of the New Scale. It is not clear what the "Wu and Chu elements" are. But then Zhao Weize was discussing the modes of various *qin* pieces. Since discussions of modes depends upon the character of scale, and the so called "Wu and Chu elements" are implied to be not dominant in the music, it is quite likely that such elements must be ultimately related to the New Scale. The music of Wu and Chu, we may surmise then, must have been using the New Scale. Furthermore, such a scale was not new to the western region in the Southern Dynasties, since the bell chimes from the tomb of Zeng Houyi which is situated in Sui xian, Hubei, were designed to play in the New scale too.⁵⁸ Drawing the threads together, it cannot be far from the

truth to conclude that the New Scale must be a significant feature of the Western songs.

V. REFRAINS AND END-REFRAINS

So far we have examined the instruments and some basics of the music. While the instrumentation of the songs definitely reveals non-Han-Chinese influences, the findings in the discussion of scales and modes lead us to the conclusion that the songs are nevertheless very much in the tradition of old Chinese music. It will be useful to investigate in this section the musical structure of the songs in order to see how much more can be revealed of the nature of the songs and how far we can regard the songs as products of cultural interaction.

Concerning the musical structure, we gather from the prefaces to the songs that both *hesheng* 和聲 or *he* 和 (refrain) and *songsheng* 送聲 or *song* 送 (end-refrain) were used. In YFSJ 26.377, Guo Maoqian, when explaining the structure of *Daqu* 大曲 (Music of Grand Structure) which comprises of such movements as *yan*, *qu* 趨, and *luan* 亂, gives hints about what *hesheng* and *songsheng* are like:

Yan precedes the song, whereas *luan* comes after it. The structure is similar to the Wu songs and the Western songs wherein refrains (*he*) come in front, and the end-refrains (*song*) bring up the rear.

Since modern scholars have come to agree on the position of *yan* and *qu*,⁵⁹ Guo's comment may serve as a starting point for investigating *he* and *song*.

The position of end refrain or "*songsheng*" is quite obvious.

"Song" 送, meaning "seeing off", suggest a sense of ending. *Qu* 趨, as it is demonstrated in *SoS*, *Treatise on Music*, 21.616-622, invariably occurs at the end of the songs. If *song* is comparable to *qu* as Guo has suggested, then it must be positioned at the end of a song very much like the envoi of European ballads. Indeed this is what *GJYL* suggests when it remarks on *songsheng* in the preface to a Wu song *Ziye*:

When a song ends, there is always a *songsheng*.⁶⁰

The *hesheng* or "refrain" is less straightforward, partly because of the extensive semantic compass that the term has acquired in its long history of usage, and partly because of Guo's somewhat misleading comparison with *yan* 豔. "He" in some usages is extensive enough to cover *songsheng*. Modern writers, such as Zhu Ziqing 朱自清 and Yin Falu 陰法興, sometimes use *hesheng* and *he* when in fact *songsheng* is intended.⁶¹ Yet, it must be some point in distinguishing between *hesheng* and *songsheng* in this discussion, since, as we can see from the remark cited from *GJYL* and the prefaces to the Western songs, the two terms have distinct usages.

Yan, as indicated in *SoS*, *juan* 21, refers to the beginning portion of the song. Guo's comparison could not be more misleading since *he*, primarily meaning "response",⁶² presupposes something going before it. Unfortunately, some scholars have been misled by this comparison.⁶³ While the *hesheng* comes before the *songsheng*, it can only be rarely that the *hesheng* precedes the main body of the song. We may look at some Tang examples for a clearer conception of the term. Hu Zhengheng 胡震亨 (1569-1644/1645)'s *Tangyin quiqian* 唐音癸籤 13,111 comments on a Tang melody titled *Cai lianzi* 采蓮子 :

Among the Liang (502-557) songs of *Jiangnan nong* 江南弄 in the *Qingshang* section, there is the song *Cai lianqu* 采蓮曲 from which the Tang song originated. The *hesheng* is "ju zhao 舉棹 (lift the oars!), nianshao 年少 (so young!)."

This claim about the origin of *Cai lianzi* lacks proof, but this does not make it any less instructive to see where the *hesheng* is placed.

Huajian ji 花間集, a collection of *ci* poetry compiled by Zhao Chongzuo 趙崇祚 in 940, records two lyrics to the tune by Huangfu Song 皇甫松 (fl. late ninth century), one of which goes:

Fragrance of water lilies,
Fills the pond of hundred acres. - ju zhao
Because of too much frolicking,
The girl is late picking lotus seeds. - nianshao
As evening comes, still she plays with water,
The prow is all wet. - ju zhao
What's more, she takes off her red skirt
To wrap the duckling in. - nianshao⁶⁴

菡萏香蓮十頃陂	舉棹
小姑貪戲采蓮遲	年少
晚來弄水船頭濕	舉棹
更脫紅裙裹鴨兒	年少

Here the *hesheng* comes at the end of each line, hence clearly differs from the *songsheng*. *Zuzhi*, related to *Nüerzi* (one of the Western songs), has the *hesheng* placed somewhat differently, as the following lyric by Huangfu Song shows:

Flowers of kapok are no more, - zuzhi
Fruits of lychee still hanging heavily - nüer 女兒 (maiden)
Thousands and millions of flowers, - zuzhi
They're waiting for my love to return. - nüer⁶⁵

木棉花盡竹枝荔枝垂	女兒
千花萬花竹枝待郎歸	女兒

There is no doubt that *hesheng* is a kind of interpolation placed in the midst of a song. We can conclude from what *YFSJ* tells us, from what the original meaning of *he* reveals, and from these examples of

Tang lyrics that the *hesheng* of the Western songs must have been placed in the midst of the songs.

YFSJ 47.689 states that there are differences between the Wu songs and the Western songs in matters of music. Guo Maoqian is unlikely to have known the actual music of the songs, since they were mostly lost in the later half of the Tang dynasty; yet his claim may be based on old records available to him. One of the difference relates to the use of *songsheng* and *hesheng*. The following table indicates the distribution of *hesheng* and *songsheng* in the two types of songs:

song types	songs	<i>hesheng</i>	<i>songsheng</i>
Western songs	<i>Wu ye ti</i>	*	
	<i>Shicheng yue</i>	*	
	<i>Xiangyang yue</i>	*	
	<i>Sanzhou</i>	*	
	<i>Xiangyang baitongti</i>	*	
	<i>Neihe tan</i>	*	
	<i>Yangpaner</i>		*
	<i>Xiwu yefei</i>	*	*
Wu songs	<i>Ziye</i>		*
	<i>Ziye bian ge</i>		*
	<i>Huan wen</i>		*
	<i>A zi</i>		*

It should be added that *hesheng* occurs in all the seven songs of *Jiangnan nong* 江南弄 and in five (out of seven) of *Shangyun yue* 上雲樂.⁶⁶ Both song sequences were created by modifying Western songs. *Hesheng* and *songsheng* may perhaps have occurred in other Western songs and Wu songs not listed in the table, but no record is to be found. Nevertheless, according to the above table, the *hesheng* is absent in all Wu songs, whereas it features prominently in the Western songs. It should be noted that the two Western songs with

songsheng belong to neither of the two major categories: dance songs and *yige*. These two songs with *Yuejie zhe yangliu* form a category of their own. According to the song preface, *Yangpaner* must have been in circulation for quite a time among the people of Jiankang,⁶⁷ hence it might have been modified in the style of Wu songs. The composer of *Xiwu yefei*, Shen Youzhi, was a native of Wuxing 吳興 (in Zhejiang 浙江) in the Wu region and was brought up there.⁶⁸ It is probable that he created the song by drawing from the tradition of both the Wu songs and the Western songs. *Yuejie zhe yangliu* seems to have used *songsheng* too. "*Zhe yangliu*" 折楊柳 (break the willow branch) appears after the third line of every one of the thirteen lyrics to the tune, and is quite unconnected from the sense of the rest of the lyric. The following example will suffice for illustration:

Huge trees have turned desolate,
The sky is sombre, but it will not rain.
Heavy frost comes at midnight.
Break the willow branch,
I am with pines and cypress in the forest,
We won't fail each other in the cold season.⁶⁹

大樹轉蕭索，
天陰不作雨。
嚴霜半夜落。
折楊柳。
林中與松柏。
歲寒不相負。

"*Zhe yangliu*" marks a break in the lyric. Some critics consider the line an example of *hesheng* since it appears in the midst of the song.⁷⁰ But the rhyme scheme suggests otherwise. Invariably in the thirteen lyrics to the tune, the first line of the lyric rhymes with the third, whereas "*zhe yangliu*" rhymes with the last. That is to

say the last three lines form a unit in opposition to the first three. Moreover, the last two lines, though not unrelated to the first three, always represent a turn of thought, which suggests further that the second half of the lyric could stand as a unit. Therefore, instead of taking "zhe yangliu" alone as *hesheng*, it seems more appropriate to regard the last three lines as *songsheng*. Such being the case, the three songs that make up the minor category then appear to share some structural affinity which sets them markedly apart from the rest of the Western songs, and it seems quite likely that the influence of the Wu song tradition is responsible for this structural peculiarity. Nevertheless, considering the repertory as a whole, we may fairly say that the *hesheng* is a significant feature in the Western songs, whereas the *songsheng* is not.

The number of Wu songs with a *songsheng* recorded is small. Yet *GJYL*, when discussing a Wu song, *Ziye*, has claimed that a *songsheng* occurs at the end of every song 凡歌曲終皆有送聲.⁷¹ Presumably the claim relates only to the Wu songs. On the other hand, no known Wu songs has a *hesheng*. The manner of singing Wu songs suggests further that the *hesheng* might indeed be absent from most Wu songs: solo singing was very common to Wu songs. When a *songsheng* is supplied at the end of a song, the song was possibly performed either solo or by a group. But a song with *hesheng* in the midst of it could not but be performed by a group, part of which was responsible for interpolating, otherwise the effect of interpolation would be utterly lost. Examples of solo singing of Wu songs are plentiful. *Shoushen houji* 搜神後記 6.6a-b, which is attributed to Tao Qian 陶潛 (372-427), records a story in which a ghost sang a song called *Aonong ge*, as all the

people of the place watched. *YFSJ* 46.669 quotes a story from *GJYL* wherein a girl sang a Wu song *Huashan ji*. These two stories could be taken as indicating that the two Wu songs were well suited to solo singing. Another song *Tuanshan lang* was originally intended for solo singing. *GJYL* records its origin: when a certain maid-servant, Xie Fang 謝芳 was asked to sing a song as atonement for some offence, she sang the song *Tuanshan lang* which was her own composition.⁷² In the discussion of the preface to *Guke yue* too, we have seen how some Wu songs were performed by solo singers.⁷³ In view of all the evidence, we may conclude that Wu songs being suitable for solo singing, were most probably without *hesheng*.

Everything we know of the Western songs indicates that they were sung by groups. It is worth recalling part of Guo's preface to *Shi-cheng yue*:

One day as Zhuang Zhi was gazing out over the city from the top of the citadel, he heard some youths singing in clear voices.⁷⁴

and *Xiangyang yue*:

Once at night, Liu Dan heard some girls singing.⁷⁵

The songs that the two governors came to hear perhaps were not *Shi-cheng yue* and *Xiangyang yue*. Yet the two instances, together with what *Sui shu* has recorded of the music culture of the local people in the western region, confirm our impression that folk songs of the western region were most often sung by groups.⁷⁶ A lyric to the tune *Qingcong baima* also confirms this:

Sing together, oh lovely, (my emphasis)
The song can charm everyone.
Day and night, I think of my love,
Not a moment is he out of mind.⁷⁷

齊唱可憐使人惑
晝夜懷歡何時忘。

Perhaps the idea of a folk music tradition without solo songs seems improbable. Yet, since no solo performance has been mentioned of the Western songs, and since the presence of *hesheng* makes the songs unsuitable for solo singing, it is surely right to conclude that solo singing is far less common in the Western songs known to us, or at least in those dance songs in the Western repertory which monopolize all the known *hesheng*. We should point out that no Wu song was originally a dance song. Dance in most folk tradition is a communal affair. Hence the absence of dance in Wu songs further support our distinction between Wu songs and the Western songs in terms of the use of *hesheng* and *songsheng*.

This section has attempted to elucidate some structural features of the Western songs: the *hesheng* is an important feature of the Western songs whereas the *songsheng* is not. Group singing rather than solo singing figures prominently in performance, at least in the case of dance songs. Both these features set the Western songs apart from the contemporaneous Wu songs. It should be mentioned here that some Han-Wei songs too have *hesheng*. The song *Shang liu tian* 上留田 for example, has *hesheng* at the end of every line. Another song, *Dong tao* 董逃, has *dong tao* as *hesheng* in the like manner.⁷⁸ When this is viewed together with the fact that the Western songs were part of the *Qingshang* repertory, it becomes possible to think that, despite the exotic instruments and ensembles, the Western songs are very much in the Han-Chinese folk tradition.

VI. THE PERFORMERS AND THE PERFORMANCE

"Performance" here relates not so much to the lower class, who

created the songs and performed them more or less for their own amusement, as to the way they were experienced by the upper class. Or to be more precise, it relates to the performances known to the literati who took the trouble to record them. In a society rigidly stratified as that of the Southern Dynasties, it is understandable that the literati would be more attentive to affairs connected with the upper class to which most of them belonged. Hence the performances recorded, with little exception, took place in courts, mansions of officials, or in entertainment houses which the upper class frequented. As to performances by humble, ordinary people for their own amusement, since hardly any records are available, it is impossible to deal with them here. The lyrics known to us are after all the versions adopted in court performances. It was these performances that once gave life to the lyrics.

On the performers, it is thus stated in *Nan shi*, Biography of Xu Mian 徐勉, 60.1485:

At the end of Putong 普通 era (520-526), Emperor Wu himself picked from the harem a troupe of *ji* specializing in Wu songs, and another troupe specializing in Western songs. All were beautiful and young. He made a gift of them to Xu Mian 徐勉 (fl. in the early sixth century), who henceforth became quite fond of music and wine.

The performers, or *ji*, were female. They were in fact more than mere musical performers since they offered both their art and body for pleasure. In *Jin shu*, Biography of Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什, a virtuous Buddhist monk is reported to have had a strange command enforced on him:

Yao Xing 姚興 (366-416) said to Kumārajīva (344-413), "Your Reverence is endowed with unusual intelligence which is without equal in this world. How could I allow you to be without an offering?" He therefore forced on the monk ten *ji*.

A lucky monk. It is only one of the numerous known instances in which *ji* took the place of concubines. The dual role of the profession may further be evidenced by the fact that "*ji*" 妓 and "*jie*" 妾 (i.e. entertainers and concubines) or words of similar meanings were often used together. Take for instance, *Yanshi jiaxun* 顏氏家訓 1.13a:

There is a distant relation of mine, who had plenty of entertainers-concubines (*ji ying* 妓媵) in his household.

The term "*ji ying*" here could be taken as a compound referring to one group of women. That a *ji* was to offer her body for pleasure was as much a fact of fifth and sixth century China as it was earlier and later in Chinese history.⁷⁹

Ji found their living in various quarters: the court, the mansions of high officials and the wealthy merchants, or entertainment houses. That emperors kept *ji* is too well known a fact to require comment. High officials and wealthy merchants in the Southern Dynasties were the other important patrons of the profession.⁸⁰ The number owned seems to have grown tremendously over the hundred and sixty-nine years of the Southern Dynasties. *SoS*, Biography of Shen Bo 沈勃, 63.1687 reports Song Emperor Ming's indictment of an official, Shen Bo 沈勃 (fl. in the mid-fifth century), in which Shen was accused of being "extravagant and indulgent to excess" 奢淫過度, and "keeping scores of *ji*" 妓女數十. The biography of Shen Qingzhi 沈慶之 in the same history, 77.2003, tells us of the staggering wealth of Shen Qingzhi, who apart from owning thousands of slaves, also kept "scores of *ji* and concubines" 妓妾數十人. It is understood then that "scores of *ji* and concubines" were an impressive asset. But by the time of the Liang dynasty, the usual number of *ji* in one person's keeping had multiplied immensely. A favourite general of Liang Emperor

Wu's , Cao Jingzong 曹景宗 (457-508), was said to have kept several hundreds of *ji* and concubines, while a contemporary of his, Xiahou Kui 夏侯夔 (483-538) had a hundred or more.⁸¹ What had been regarded as an extraordinary possession in the Liu Song dynasty had now become rather more commonplace.

Other than *ji* kept in private homes, there were many of the profession who operated in entertainment houses 倡樓 . Such houses tended to be rather grand in appearance and fairly centrally located.⁸² Wine was served and music played, and plenty of rooms were ready for guests to stay the night.⁸³ It seems some taverns were not very different from such entertainment houses. One of the Western songs, *Bai fu jiu*, goes:

At the Bay of Longwei, at Shitou,
There is the Xingting bank, a place to send off friends.
Here I sell wine for nothing,
But how much, my love, could you drink?⁸⁴

石頭龍尾灣。
新亭送客渚。
沽酒不取錢。
郎能飲幾許。

The song itself indicates that in some taverns music was performed. The girls working in taverns usually sold their bodies as well as wine.⁸⁵

Ji were essentially slaves. *Liang shu*, Annals of Emperor Wu, 2,35 records an edict by the Emperor, in which he summarized the unjust fate that befell the servant-women in the palace. One instance of it is that some in the profession of "playing strings and winds" were in fact "good people" 良人 , i.e. free subjects. We can therefore deduce from it that professional musicians were mostly slaves⁸⁶ Indeed, *ji* were sometimes referred to as "bi" 婢 - slave servants⁸⁷, and they might be presented as gift, exchanged for

favours, or killed at will, the kind of treatment that only slaves would expect.⁸⁸

Slaves came, in the main, from four sources:

- i. In times of famine or other calamities, people might sell children or themselves for the sake of survival or to pay tax.
- ii. In time of war, they might be captured and enslaved.
- iii. When men committed serious offences such as treason or banditry, their women and children were made slaves of the government.
- iv. People fell into the hands of bandits and were sometimes sold as slaves.

Ample discussion of the source of slaves can be found in Lü Si-mian 呂思勉's *Liangjin Nanbeichao shi* 兩晉南北朝史 .pp.1009-1014, and Han Guopan 韓國磐's *Nanchao jingji chutan* 南朝經濟初探 pp.43-45. These two excellent works would make any attempt to supply detailed information here redundant. However we might append a brief comment. *Nan shi*, Biography of Shen Qingzhi, 37.954 reports:

The Man people whom Shen Qingzhi 沈慶之 captured in the various campaigns were all transferred to the capital and became *yinghu* .

Yu Zhengxie 俞正燮 (1775-1840)'s *Guisi leigao* 癸巳類稿 12.479 considers *yinghu* the same as *yuehu* 樂戶 i.e. one category of the slaves of the government who were music players. We might doubt Yu's assertion,⁸⁹ but since at this time the Chinese ear was so receptive to the music of other cultures, it is only reasonable to assume that some of the captives of Man and Liao were made musicians. This was presumably one of the channels by which Man and Liao music diffused into the Han-Chinese culture.

Yet not all slaves were trained to be *ji*. It is obvious from

the literature of the time that adolescent girls were most preferred.

Xu Ling 徐陵 (507-583)'s poem "Fenghe yong wu" 奉和詠舞 (On dance, written in reply to His Highness) is worth quoting in this connection:

At fifteen she belonged to the Princess of Pingyang.
And so came to be taken to the Jianzhang Palace.
The art of dance was taught in the Princess's house,
In the city the craft of make-up was perfected.⁹⁰

十五屬子陽。
因來入建章。
主家能教舞。
城中巧畫妝。

The reference to Wei Zifu 衛子夫 (fl. second century B.C.) of Han suggests that the girl belongs to the imperial family.⁹¹ She entered the profession in her early teens. In fact some girls may even have practised it at the age of thirteen or fourteen.⁹² They, like the girl in the song, received training in the household that bought them, probably from older practitioners. Perhaps some training schemes was instituted in the imperial household. But it is only as late as the Tang dynasty that we know of such schemes in more detail. *Tang liudian* 唐六典 14.12a mentions training for the *Qingyue* performers:

Instructors of the Bureau of Grand Music 大樂署 should teach
..... *daqu* of *Qingyue* 清樂大曲 for sixty days, *dawenqu*
大文曲 for thirty days and *xiao qu* 小曲 for ten days.

It is doubtful whether the statutes in *Tang liudian* were ever applied,⁹³ furthermore, the three types of *Qingyue* are not mentioned elsewhere. Yet there is no doubt that some instruction schemes were instituted in the Tang court.⁹⁴ Outside the court there must have been other training opportunities.⁹⁵ It is likely that in entertain-

ment houses, apart from the usual activities, music was taught to the apprentices. However, no details are known to us, and the early history of the *ji* girls cannot but remain obscure.

The actual performances by these girls, as may be expected, appealed to the eye as much as to the ear. Liang Emperor Jianwen has written a poem that describes the actual performance of *Wu ye ti* and may serve as the basis for our discussion:

On Dance

So lovely they are, and barely sixteen,
How they follow the drum beats and dance like winging geese.
They may surpass the entertainers of Heyang,
Compeers perhaps of the Huainan girls.
As they form a line, they advance, concentrating on their steps,
As their faces turn, their gaze falls on their neighbours' hairloops,
The wrists shuttle the jade with creeper blossoms,
Sleeves follow the wind that's after one's heart.
Our honourable guests have no need to rise,
The Song of Cawing Crow has yet to end.⁹⁶

詠舞

可憐初二八 - 逐節似飛鴻。
懸勝河陽伎 間與淮南同。
入行看履進 轉面望鬟空。
腕動芭華玉 袖隨如意風。
上客何須起 啼烏曲未終。

The choreography, as described, makes use of line forms. According to the prefaces to the dance songs of the Western repertory, dance was performed by groups of sixteen before the Liang dynasty and later the size of the group was reduced to eight. In spite of the many possibilities in choreography with that many people, it is always the line form that is explicitly mentioned in all known texts on dances, no matter whether they are associated with the Western songs or not. Liu

Xiaoyi 劉孝儀 (484-550), for instance, writes in a poem *Wu jiu heng* 舞就行 (Dancing in lines):

They move with languid steps in accord with the singing,
Beside the bamboos, fresh cosmetics look dazzling.
So slowly they advance, yet it fits well with the rhythm,
So randomly they recede, but surprisingly fall into lines.⁹⁷

休歌移弱步。
傍竹艷新妝。
徐來翻雁節。
亂去反成行。

It should be remembered that in the Southern Dynasties, the two dominant types of musical entertainment were Wu songs and the Western songs, but none of the Wu songs were used for dancing until the Liang dynasty. Hence, it was reasonable to assume that many of the dances referred to in the writings of the Southern Dynasties, were dances to the Western songs. Dancing in lines must therefore have been very common in choreography based on the Western songs.

The poem by Emperor Jianwen cited above mentions sleeves. Sleeves are, as we have seen in *Gongxi yue* no.3, generally long. From Han tomb engravings, we know that the sleeves of the dance-costumes of the time were usually much more than arm's length.⁹⁸ It is therefore not surprising that sleeves always attracted attention. The following poem, "Yong wu" 詠舞 (On dance), by Yang Jiao 楊暉 (fl. in the first half of the sixth century) mentions a particular position of the sleeves which may signify a position of readiness before the music starts:

Taking leave from the music that lingers, they bend at the waist,
Then hold back their sleeves and wait for another song.⁹⁹

折腰送餘曲。
歛袖待新歌。

Unlike the modern practice by which performers retire to the back stage after finishing an item in the programme, the entertainers of medieval China would stand in the full view of the audience and resume their performance as soon as the music was ready again. That the dancers held back their sleeves before they resumed dancing underlines the importance of sleeves in the dance.

Emperor Jianwen's poem fails to mention two important accessories on which a performance depended. One is the song-fan 歌扇. Yu Jianwu's poem "*Fude zhuan geshan*" 賦得轉歌扇 (Given the title "moving the song-fan") tells what the fan is like:

The round satin shines like the moon,
Wings of cicada, almost imperceptible to the eye.
It is held to conceal the singing face,
As it moves, it creates a wind to carry forth the song.¹⁰⁰

圓紗映似月。
蟬翼望如空。
迴持掩曲態。
轉作送聲風。

This type of fan was not very different from the round shaped fan or *tuanshan* 團扇 which was fashionable at the time. Modern vocalist might find the fan a nuisance since it poses unnecessary hindrance to the carriage of sound. Yet it had the virtue of concealing from sight some of the more grotesque expressions inevitable in the act of singing.

The other accessory is the dance mat. An instance will suffice for illustration: Shen Yue's "*Jiao xia li*" 腳下履 (Shoes beneath the feet):

Her skirt opens, as she descends onto the dance-mat,
Sleeves sweep past as she moves around the singing hall.¹⁰¹

裙開臨舞席。
袖拂繞歌堂。

Mats were indispensable in medieval China. People sat on mats, and we have seen in the discussion of *Guke yue* that mats were spread when a musical performance was to be held.¹⁰² But it seems that the dance-mat is no ordinary mat. Included in Emperor Jianwen's work there is "A letter to Prince of Nanping who has made me a gift of dance-mat" 答南平嗣王餉舞輦書 in which the mat is described in extravagant terms:

Slats are cut from many stems,
 They come from jade-green shoots of Taozhi 桃枝.
 Brightly coloured as embroidered silk or rosy clouds across the sky,
 They are made of long bamboos of Yunmu 雲母.¹⁰³

Such mats are made of bamboo slats, where possible, of rare kinds such as *Taozhi* and *Yunmu*, for the sake of their exotic colours.

Emperor Jianwen's poem also mentions an ornament of the performers - bracelets. But as may be expected, there was always a long sequence of toiletries and ornamentations to go through before the girls presented themselves. Lips were painted with rouge, which might disappear when the lips were busy blowing pipes and winds.¹⁰⁴ Perfumes were said to pervade tens of *li* 里.¹⁰⁵ Beside the temple, *huang* 花黃 (yellow pigment) was applied; and on the eye-lids, *mas-cara* or *dai* 黛. Sometimes instead of bracelets they wore jewelled strings. A Western lyric to the tune *Shuang xingchan* tells of a girl admiring her string and snow-white wrist:

Red string to tie the wrist with,
 Truly it is like firm white snow.¹⁰⁶

朱絲繫腕繩。
 真如白雲凝。

It is pointless to discuss all the toiletries item by item. It must suffice here to emphasize again that much care was devoted to achieve

a sensual appeal, as befitted the dual role of *ji* as courtesans and musicians.

This survey of *ji* and their performance, brief as it is, may lead us to understand some aspects in the nature of the Western repertory. The extant Western songs, as we have remarked, represent the *ji*'s repertory. *Ji* were slaves and usually courtesans. The audience were master or patrons on whose good will the *ji* depended their livelihood or, indeed, for life itself. The audience was in a position to demand whatever they wanted, and the *ji* could not but submit. What the audience demanded was always something more than aesthetic satisfaction. The following poem on the *ji* is both reflective of the audience's attitude and the *ji*'s response:

Attending a *Ji* Performance at Night Xie Tiao(464-499)

In a jasper boudoir, bracelets are tinkling,
Jade mats filled with fragrant dust.
Those from Luoyang are invited here,
To play the flutes of South China.
So full of love, the dance movements turn languid,
Slow are the songs, as passions pour forth.
"I know your secret love for me,
My jade wrists reveal my heart."¹⁰⁷

夜聽妓 謝朓

瓊閣釧響聞，瑤席芳塵滿。
要取洛陽人，共命江南管。
情多舞態遲，意傾歌弄緩。
知君密見親，寸心傳玉腕。

The last two lines are put in the mouth of the performer. Xie Tiao, who was himself one of the audience, in fact reveals in these two lines what the audience expected in the performer: a submissive lover,

ready to respond to the attention of her man. Xie Tiao has actually written two poems as a sequence. The second poem develops the love theme right up to the moment when at last the carnal desires are satisfied behind heavy kingfisher curtains:

Joy it is, when night grows calm,
Kingfisher curtains hang hushed and heavy.

歡樂夜方靜。
翠帳垂沈沈。

To the contemporary audience, the *ji*'s appeal laid in her artistry as well as her sex. It is understandable then that her song should be seen as a marriage of the two. This fact, I think, largely accounts for one important characteristic of the Western songs: the Western songs are predominantly love songs of the woman, tirelessly demonstrating her love for her man. Of course, the original folk songs of the Western region might not have been predominantly love songs from a female perspective. But as we have seen in Chapter I, the Western songs known to us represent the *ji*'s repertory. They naturally chose those songs which suited their profession best, selectively transmitting the body of Western songs available to them, so that some songs were popularized and ultimately found their way into records such as *GJYL*, while others remained localized and were later forgotten.

Of the love songs they sang, many of them were parting songs. The dominance of such songs, I think, may be due to the *ji* profession too, since one usual occasion for a *ji* performance was the parting feast. Bao Zhao describes a parting scene in a poem "Songbie Wang Xuancheng" 送別王宣城 (Farewell to Wang of Xuancheng):

I take in the extensive view that stretches a thousand *li*,
Outside the city, by the river, thick bushes are barely visible.
We raise our cups, only to feel melancholy,
For whom, indeed, are the songs and pipes so sorrowful?¹⁰⁸

廣望周千里。江郊蕩微明。
舉爵自惆悵。歌管為誰清。

It was a usual practice to hold a feast when seeing friends off, and to have music performed at the feast. Bao Zhao's poem obviously describes such an occasion. In another poem by Yu Jianwu 庾肩吾 "Songbie yu Jiangxing yuan xianfeng" 送別於蓮興苑相逢 (We met as I saw a friend off at Jianxing garden), which describes a similar occasion, we are told that *Wu ye ti* was played:

Horses are leaving, the boat can stay no more,
The music of Cawing Crows (*Wu ye ti*) has yet to end.¹⁰⁹

去馬船難駐。
啼鳥曲未終。

Understandably *ji* would be brought along at times like this to perform.¹¹⁰ with the result that parting songs represent an important section in the *ji* repertory. It is possible that, given the heavy flow of traffic on the roads and waterways running through the western region, parting songs abounded in the song tradition there. But their utility for the *ji* profession was certainly an important factor in their preservation in such numbers to the present day. *Ji*, as some scholars have already noted, are a factor which must be considered if ancient Chinese songs are to be better understood,¹¹¹ and more scholarly efforts are surely required if information about the profession is to be saved from oblivion.

VII. CONCLUSION

So far we have examined the various aspects of the music and performance of the Western songs. Three types of Western songs have been distinguished in terms of their musical character: *yige*, dance songs, and three other songs that make up a type of their own. Musical instruments have been examined too, with two being especially signifi-

cant: the waist-drums and *lingpan*. Given the fact that such instruments are used and the particular instrumental arrangement of *yige*, it is obvious that the Western songs contain a fair amount of non-Han Chinese elements, and should therefore be clearly distinguished from Wu songs in which there is no evidence of such elements. Another feature that set the Western songs apart from the Wu songs is the predominance of *hesheng*, which we have argued is one of the crucial factors that renders some of the Western songs unsuitable for solo singing. Yet some affinities between the Western songs, Wu songs and the much older Han-Wei songs cannot be denied. Together they formed a massive repertory called *Qingshang*, or *Qingyue*, with the New Scale as a common characteristic. The *shang* mode too seems to have been as widely used in the old songs of *Qingshang* as in the Western songs.

The inclusion of the Western songs in the *Qingshang* repertory implies how deeply the songs are immersed in the *Qingshang* tradition of Chinese folk music. It should be noted that, as well as sharing the musical modes and scale with the Western songs, some Han-Wei songs, too, have *hesheng*. Whether such affinities are the result of the influence on the Western musical culture of the Han-Chinese who had migrated from the central Yellow River basin to the western region in the time of Yongjia Disorders 永嘉之亂 is hard to tell. Yet, in view of these affinities, it cannot be doubted that the Western songs represent a continuation and development of the Han-Chinese folk tradition which during the Southern Dynasties was heavily influenced by non-Han-Chinese cultures. The Western songs, as it has been demonstrated, are hybrid products of Han-Chinese and non-Han-Chinese cultures. Dating from a time when the Han-Chinese culture was interacting most

actively with other cultures and inevitably changing considerably in the process, the Western songs can be said to be typical of their age.

While discussion of their music reveals the many characteristics of the Western songs, discussion of their performance allows us to gain a sense of their impact on the contemporary audience. We have concentrated on *ji* as performers since they are the best documented performers and perhaps the most immediate source for the Western songs recorded. They are important too in the sense that many of the Western songs were either created or reshaped for their performance. These entertainers were slaves. The appeal of their artistry was always partly sexual. Their relation with the audience was more often than not a complex one: performer and audience, slave and master, concubine and husband, or prostitute and customer. This relation is one factor determining the character of the lyrics, many of which concern love from a female perspective. This subject will be more fully discussed in the next chapter.

We have examined also the locations and other aspects of actual performances. The beauty and the ornamentation of the *ji* remained the centre of attention for the poets who were usually the people who went to the trouble of recording the performances. The visual delights must have been important to the contemporary audience as the auditory felicities. The lyrics therefore formed only one part of the integral performance. One scholar has made the following observation about oral literature:

The artist is typically face to face with his public and can take advantage of this to enhance the impact or even sometimes the contents of his words. But what in literati cultures must be written explicitly or implicitly into the text can in orally delivered forms be conveyed by more visible means - by the speaker's gestures, expressions and mimicry.¹¹²

Whether the Western lyrics were orally composed is yet to be discussed. But certainly they were intended for oral delivery, These anonymous lyrics, like oral literature generally, were created largely without any literary pretensions, but certainly with performance in mind. The lyrics were intended as part of a performance even at the moment of conception. So to divorce a lyric from that performance is to drastically alter, and partially destroy, its significance. In the next chapter we shall examine these lyrics as specimens of folk literature or imitations in that tradition. Though the music is lost, and performance no longer possible, hopefully this discussion of their music and performance has succeeded in communicating, however faintly, something of the old flavour of the songs.

CHAPTER IV

THEMES AND IMAGERY

I. INTRODUCTION

Western songs, like all other songs, are primarily a temporal and auditory art. The first evidence of their ever being read as a written text is the inclusion of these songs in the poetry anthology *YTTY* compiled in the early sixth century. Yet by then many of the songs had been sung for scores of years or perhaps more than a century. Written texts are essentially spatial and visual. If there is any difficulty in comprehending a written text, we can always ponder over it for some length of time, or look back for illumination. So written texts can afford to be complex and unconventional. Many written texts, indeed, deliberately challenge a reader to the patient labour of repeated reading before yielding their message. But sung lyrics operate quite differently. A song flows away like water, and comprehension has to be immediate or the message is lost. Efforts at comprehension are further hampered by the deforming effect of music on words. In a sense, a song is a deformed speech. Music overrides the usual length and pitches of the syllables, so that words become less readily recognizable. Confronted by these disadvantages, a lyricist will need to keep the message simple if he wants his message to get across. He cannot afford too much complexity and idiosyncrasy. He will, furthermore, resort to familiar themes and expressions so that the audience can recognize the message more easily, or, at the hint of a few familiar expressions, predict the rest of the message correctly. As a result, the images of the world and the self as reflected in the lyrics are always conventional. So are the language, figures, diction and prosody.

We can therefore talk comfortably of a common image of woman or man in the lyrics, of common attitudes to life, or of a certain pattern in the deployment of motifs, all of which may be conveniently termed "conventions". Conventions, when plentiful enough, always point to the presence of a tradition. It should be noted that the conventions are not only held by the lyricists, but also by the intended audience; and if there is a song tradition at all, lyricists and audience are equally important in bringing it about.

Bearing all this in mind, we shall look for recurrent themes and recurrent attitudes in the Western lyrics. We shall also discuss the recurrent images and their peculiarities. If sufficient distinctiveness can be found in them, then they may demonstrate the presence of a local song tradition. Yet such a song tradition might be influenced by, or share the same cultural roots with, other poetic traditions within medieval south China. Our discussion must, therefore, often draw upon the contemporaneous literary poems and the Wu songs for contrast and comparison, so that the Western songs can be seen as sharing in a single broad culture, as well as possessing a distinctive tradition of their own.

The major themes to be discovered in the Western lyrics are love, parting, separation and work. They will be discussed first before we proceed to examine the imagery to which discussions of themes always refer.

II. THEMES

a. Love

Love is probably the principal theme of folk songs in all times

and all cultures. The preponderance of love songs over all others in the Western repertory should not surprise us. I do not attempt to quantify the number of songs that deal with this theme, since folksong themes tend to overlap so much that any attempt at classification of songs according to themes will result only in confusion. Suffice it to say that love being a major theme is well attested by the discussions of other scholars.¹

Preoccupation with love may be universal in folk songs, but some attitudes to love are certainly not. A particular age will form its own attitudes to love, acquire a particular insight into the subject, and tend to emphasize its certain aspects. It is such attitudes, insights, emphasis and prejudice that inform the songs with their particular character, and hence become our immediate concern.

A very considerable number of the songs express feminine emotions and viewpoints, something quite comparable to the humble lyrics of Medieval Europe.² The identity of the woman-personae is, however, never fully revealed. Modern scholars, such as Li Jiayan 李嘉言 and Konishi Noboru 小西昇, tend to hold that the so called folk songs of the Southern Dynasties deal mainly with the love of courtesans. It is important to examine this view not only because it is quite widely held, but also because of its implications. If the songs did arise from a small profession rather than a broad folk community, then we need to rethink how far the songs could reflect the folk tradition in the west.

Li's article "Nanchao yuefu mingge zhuyao neirong de fenxi" 南朝樂府民歌主要內容的分析 presents the argument on the following grounds: i/ love as described in the *yuefu* songs (which include the Western songs) has always an erotic tinge, and it is not "true love"

since the woman is always jilted; ii/ writings of the time often mentioned prostitutes when describing the places where travellers used to pass by and sojourn, and these places are often referred to in the songs; iii/ some of the songs originated from the female *ji*.³ These facts, he concludes, suggest that the women could only be *ji* or courtesans.

Another scholar, Konishi Noboru 小西昇, has argued on different lines but reaches more or less the same conclusion. He has noted in his article "Nanchō gafu shi to yūjo shōki no sekai" 南朝樂府詩と遊女娼妓の世界 that the words "*jiu*" 酒 (wine), "*ge*" 歌 (song) and "*wu*" 舞 (dance) occur frequently in the songs. These words, according to him, suggest that the woman-personae were prostitutes and entertainers. He further argues that since some phrases in the lyrics such as "*han xiao*" 含笑 (have a smile on the face) and "*jiao xiao*" 嬌笑 (pretty smile) were used in the high poetry to describe *ji*, and that "*xiao*" 笑 (smile) in later times contributed to new coinage about prostitution ("*mai xiao*" 賣笑, "sell a smile", is given as example), it is therefore likely that the Western lyrics were about *ji* and prostitutes. Other words like "*xin*" 新 (new) and "*jiu*" 舊 (old) as used in phrases like "*xin nong*" 新儂 (new one) and "*jiu nong*" 舊儂 (old one), have, to his mind, similar implications for the identity of the woman persona.⁴ Other scholars, without bothering with such detailed arguments, hold more or less the same view.⁵

The arguments of Li's and Konishi's will not stand up to the test of careful reasoning. Love, however untrue and erotic, is by no means logically related to the profession of its possessor. The fact that

there are poems describing prostitutes of a certain place does not necessarily imply that the women described in other writings about the same place were prostitutes. It is true that some of the tunes are attributed to the *ji* profession. Yet in the case of Western lyrics, only one (*Wu ye ti*) out of thirty-five tunes has ever been attributed to *ji*; only seven (*Shicheng yue, Guke yue, Xiangyang yue, Xiangyang baitongti, Shouyang yue, Yangpaner, Xiwu yefei*) were allegedly by the upper class, and presumably intended for performance by the kept entertainers. This hardly helps the claim of Li's that the characters in the folk songs are no more than prostitutes, *ji* and their patrons.⁶

Konishi's argument also appears weak on quantitative grounds. According to him, out of four hundred and sixty *yuefu* poems of the Southern Dynasties 南朝樂府詩, the word "jiu" 酒 occurs nine times, "ge" 歌 seven times, "wu" 舞 six times, and "xiao" 笑 twelve times.⁷ We must question, first, the logic that associates such words with prostitution, and second, how representative prostitutes could be of the woman-personae on the ground of his statistics. Konishi fails to give his enumeration of the words "xin" and "jiu", but provides us with two instances of their usage in the lyrics:

The old one from Jiting is barely gone,
And these new fellows from Jiuli arrive.
I send off one, only to receive two more,
Not one brief idle moment!

(*Xunyang yue*, no. 1)

雞亭故儂去。
九里新儂還。
送一卻迎兩。
無有暫時閒。

The wind of spring is yet too feeble,
 The old is discarded to make room for the new,
 The hardship persists day after day.
 Break the willow branch,
 I am filled with sorrowful thoughts,
 So disorderly they are, and innumerable.⁸
 (Yuejie zhe yangliu no.1)

春風尚蕭條。
 去故來入新。
 苦心非一朝。
 折楊柳。
 愁思滿腹中。
 歷亂不可數。

While we may agree to interpret the first song as about a prostitute complaining of her "good season", a similar interpretation is unwarranted in the second instance. "New" and "old" in the latter seem more likely to refer to the change of seasons.⁹ In view of this, one may feel serious doubt about Konishi's conclusion:

The four hundred and sixty *yuefu* poems of the Southern Dynasties represent the literature of *ji* and prostitutes.¹⁰

While it must be true that some of the lyrics deal with prostitutes and *ji*, I have shown that there is certainly no evidence for the claim that all woman-personae in the folk songs are prostitutes. Probably the many scenes of illicit love in the songs baffle some readers who, for reasons of their own, imagine a much more severe extra-marital sexual sanction among Chinese women than actually existed. One such scene is delightfully drawn in the following lyric:

How foolish the crow,
 To claim he knows it's dawn.
 For no reason he calls at the third watch,
 So my love is gone into pitch darkness.¹¹
 (Wu ye ti no.4)

可憐烏白鳥。
 強言知天曙。
 無故三更啼。
 歡子冒闇去。

The lyric calls to mind many other similar scenes in literature, Chinese or otherwise. European readers would be reminded of the Spanish and Provençal albas, or their Shakespeare.¹² *Shi jing* scholars would recall the famous cockcrows that break up the lovers in more than one poem.¹³ Illicit love seems to happen in every culture and in all times, and it would be totally unjustified to take the woman-persona here as a prostitute.¹⁴ Moreover, a wealth of anecdotes from the Southern Dynasties are about illicit love and secret rendezvous, as the following two may instance:

1. Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403-444), *Youming lu* 幽明錄 :

[A man came to know a woman who sold face-powder in the market place. After some time, he declared his love to her.] The woman then pledged her troth to the man and arranged to meet him next evening. That very evening the man lay in his room and waited. As the woman indeed turned up at dusk, he was filled with immense joy.¹⁵

2. Zu Taizhi 祖台之 (fl. later fourth century), *Zhi guai* 志怪 :
At Shanyin 山陰 in Kuaiji 會稽 , a girl of the Dongguo 東郭 family was having an affair with a man of the same county. This man had gone off trading somewhere, and when he returned, his boat berthed beside the Lingci Bridge 靈慈橋 , which was at the east of the city. The girl went there and stayed with him.¹⁶

Such stories may not be true. More often than not they turned into ghost stories at the end. But that illicit love was made a frequent subject of stories without, to my knowledge, occasioning any moralistic outcry, should convince us that the society was far from being puritanical. Indeed, dynastic histories on the period provide us with numerous instances of such love.¹⁷ If stories about common people could deal frequently with the theme of illicit love, we should probably accept many of the folk love lyrics as about illicit love among common people, and not necessarily of prostitutes.

Hence the women in the lyrics may come from different backgrounds. Nevertheless, they tend to assume similar outlooks in matters of love. "To be of one heart" (tongxin 同心) represents the most desirable state of love. It implies a love that matches the other in all aspects. Understandably, the quest of such love rather than its fulfilment is the usual theme of the lyrics:

The lotus is budding,
Where can I find the one with whom I may share one heart,
And both of us born before the Bhagavat (The Buddha) ?¹⁸
(Yuejie zhe yangliu no.4)

芙蓉始懷蓮。
何處覓同心。
俱生世尊前。

Another lyric presents such love as more a promise than actuality:

I was moved by your struggling love,
No more would I care for myself.
Be the arm-string tied into a knot of double loops,
So to make one heart.
(Xiwu yefei no.5)¹⁹

感郎崎嶇情。
不復自顧慮。
臂繩雙入結。
遂成同心去。

The "one-heart knot" 同心結, or a knot with two loops, is made to symbolize the aspired state of love. The symbol is commonplace in Chinese poetry. Another symbol for love, something equally commonplace, is the lotus:

Blue lotus leaves cover the green water,
Lotus blooms radiant in bright rouge.
Below lies one lotus root,
Above are blooms of one heart.
(Qingyang du no.3)²⁰

青荷蓋綠水。
芙蓉發紅鮮。
下有並根藕。
上生並目蓮。

Two puns are involved in the last two lines: "Ou" 藕 (lotus root) punning with "ou" 偶 (pair), and "lian" 蓮 (lotus) punning with "lian" 憐 (love). At a subterranean level, the two lines refer to a pair of loves that match well each other. Their neat symmetry, which can hardly escape notice when such obvious opposites as "above" 上 and "below" 下 are made to begin the lines, is itself iconic of the well-matched love. A less familiar symbol, but equally homely and very suggestive, is the censer:

I go out of the White Gate awhile,
Willow is now thick enough to conceal crows.
My love is the Sunken Incense,
And I the Boshan Censer.
(Yangpaner no.2)²¹

暫出白門前。
楊柳可藏烏。
歡作沈水香。
僕作博山鑪。

The censer is a vessel in the shape of a mountain, with a stem at the bottom.²² Incense, of which the Sunken Incense is a rare kind, is put inside the vessel, and fragrance effuses from the narrow slots in the "mountain".²³ The image aptly suggests the union of the two lovers, and perhaps its consummate aspect too.

Love, as we can see, is a much idealized affair in the songs. The stress on steadfastness is perhaps only another dimension of the same kind of idealization:

My love and I love each other,
It should last a thousand years.
(An Dongping no.5)²⁴

與郎相知，
當解千齡。

But those who are really engaged in the precarious business of love

should know better. Not very usual, but sufficient to catch attention,
is the image of a lover feeling insecure or in tormenting doubt:

A hundred thoughts entwine my heart,
I looked dejected because of my love.
I am bound to you to the end,
We have vowed to always share one heart.
(*Neihe tan* no.6)²⁵

百思纏心中。
憔悴為所歎。
與子結終始。
折約在金蘭。

Deep within me is a cart-wheel running,
My love must be loving someone else.
(*Xiangyang yue* no.5)²⁶

腹中車輪轉。
歎今定憐誰。

There live a hundred kinds of birds in the lake,
Half of them male, and half female.
Mandarin ducks chase away other wild ducks,
Fearing they may not be paired among themselves.
(*Yehuang* no.1)²⁷

湖中百種鳥。
半雌半是雄。
鶩鶩逐野鴨。
恐畏不成雙。

The last instance works entirely on a symbolic level. Mandarin ducks are a perennial symbol of lovers, going back to the *Shi jing*.²⁸ The creatures once paired, so it is said, will stay together till they die. The undesirability of the wild ducks is not only suggested by the fact that Mandarin ducks are known to be faithful lovers by nature, but is also reinforced by the emphasis on the difference in kinds in the first line. The wild ducks became a nuisance that upset the pre-ordained equilibrium of nature. The hostility to the rivals in love is subtly but effectively conveyed.

One other aspect that receives fairly extensive treatment is the night meeting of lovers. We have seen how in one lyric the untimely caw of dawn crows breaks up the lovers. Other lyrics turn upon other moments such as when a lover fails to arrive at the rendezvous:

This night I think of my love,
I keep on hoping but he does not come.
All are joyous, I alone feel sorrowful,
(*Shouyang yue*, no.6)²⁹

夜相見，
望不來。
人樂我獨愁。

or when an impatient lover can wait no longer:

We arrange to meet at the third watch,
But how is my love at this time of nightfall?
Like a galloping horse and a falcon set free,
I fly to my dear one.
(*Mengzhu* no.6)³⁰

將歡期三更。
合冥歡如何。
走馬放蒼鷹。
飛馳赴郎期。

Such stock themes can be found in the literature of love in many cultures. The following is, however, a rare kind of confession with stark honesty:

At night I come, heading against frost and wind,
In the morning I leave, treading on winds and waves.
It's true that we could tell each other our secret loves,
But what about the hardship I've to go through?
(*Ye du niang* no.1)³¹

夜來冒霜雪。
晨去履風波。
雖得敘微情。
奈儂身苦何。

It is worth mentioning that, unlike the love poetry of many Oriental cultures, the sexual side of love receives little attention. The aspects of the female physique with overt erotic suggestions such as thighs, breasts, buttocks and hip etc. are avoided. The praise of

feminine beauty must confine itself in the main to the face, or sometimes resort to vague descriptions and metaphorical language:

Her look is as charming as spring,
Without the aid of powder or mascara.
(Caisang du no.2)³²

姿容應春媚。
粉黛不加飾。

The only instance that comes close to eroticism is the following:

Break the willow branch,
We sank in confusion between pillows and mat,
We entwine each other, without knowing it's been very long.
(Yuejie zhe yangliu no.2)³³

折楊柳。
沈亂枕席間。
纏綿不覺久。

Otherwise, the only physical contact ever mentioned, besides holding hands, is the embrace:

How I wish that somewhere without anyone,
I could turn round and embrace you.
(Mengzhu no.6)³⁴

願得無人處。
回身即郎抱。

So far our examples have illustrated some aspects of the love theme. They are, to be fair, commonplace. And so seems the concomitant image of the woman lover. Where the sex of the persona is obvious, the lyrics usually draw a woman of earnest love, which is quite traditional in Chinese poetry. Yet a more careful reading will reveal a far more distinctive female image, which will be dealt with immediately. But in order to appreciate this distinctiveness, it is necessary to draw in first the woman image in courtly poetry for contrast. Anne Birrell, who has made a sensitive study of YTXY, observes the following of the courtly love poetry: "one of the most frequent representations of a woman in these poems is a divorced or deserted wife;"³⁵ "another recurring role is that of a discarded courtesan."³⁶ The woman usually waits in hopeless longing within her

boudoir while the man walks down the road of life. She is pictured as languishing in emotional malaise in "images of surprising morbidity."

³⁷ These poems do not celebrate love, but rather mourn its passing. Woman looks back to the ideal happy time of the past and looks down toward the present with pessimism and forboding. In Birrell's words, "nostalgia reigns in boudoir poems."³⁸ A woman's image is all in all pathetic. She is "cast in the role of love's victim",³⁹ and "responds by going into total seclusion, by ceasing all activity (including personal grooming), by weeping unquenchable tears, by litanising life's futilities and disappointments, and finally by letting health of mind and body deteriorate."⁴⁰ As to the physical portrait of this miserable creature, a typical one will show her "adorned with fine jewels, costly silk clothes, and elaborate make-up".⁴¹ Since her only hold on the wayward man is her physical attraction, she becomes obsessed with her own physical appearance. Birrell's observations on the whole agree with the impression one will have after reading *YTXY*.

But while women in the Western lyrics are also left behind as their men move on (a theme we shall soon discuss), they are never seen as irrevocably abandoned and thus wallowing in utter misery. The theme of a deserted and despairing woman has in fact a tradition of its own in literary poetry. Since the time of *Chu ci* 楚辭, the concept has held in fascination the Chinese literati-bureaucrats, who usually see in it political overtones and a parallel to their possible fate. The emperor is likened to a man of capricious love, and a minister out of favour to the discarded beauty. Hence these four lines of *Li sao*

離騷
：

What I do resent is the Fair One's waywardness;
Because he will never look to see what is in men's hearts.

All your ladies were jealous of my delicate beauty;
They chattered spitefully, saying I loved wantonness.

(tr. by David Hawkes)⁴²

怨靈脩之洗蕩兮。
終不察夫民心。
眾女嫉余之蛾眉兮。
謠詠謂余以善淫。

become political allegory to Wang Yi 王逸 (fl. second century) who

comments:

The "Fair One" is the King Huai 懷王 of Chu 楚 "The ladies" are the ministers.⁴³

Even an apparently harmless song on faithless love might to a courtly ear become a caustic comment on the vicissitude of political life.

So, as late as the Qi dynasty, when Wang Zhongxiong 王仲雄 (fl. 496),

son of Wang Jingze 王敬則 (d. 498), sang to the Qi emperor Ming

(452-498) a love song *Aonong ge*:

Always I sighed over heartless lovers,
But now my love is just like them.

常歎負情懷。
郎今果行許。

the Emperor felt ashamed and suspicious.⁴⁴ The Emperor had before then grown distrustful of his ministers and commanders, of whom Wang Jingze was one, and had put them to death one by one. In this instance his cultured sensibility led him to see what was in essence an innocent love lyric in a grim political perspective. Hence his reaction, which must be curious to anyone uninitiated to the Chinese literary tradition. The obsession of the courtly poets with the theme of deserted women has, I think, the backing of this literary tradition which provides easy translation from love to politics. But it is a tradition which the Western lyrics do not seem to share. The woman in the lyrics

may be left behind while her man takes to the high roads of the world, but she is never shown to be abandoned for ever. Nor is there one Western lyric that tells the sad story of a woman abandoned by a man for another woman. It is true the persona sometimes grows suspicious and worries, as in *Xiangyang yue* no.5 (see p.154). But the occasional grimness is more than offset by the more usual vigor and brightness in the woman image. This brighter image is particularly striking when contrasted with the languid morbidity that permeates courtly poetry. The vigor may be expressed in the woman's unashamed revelation of her passion:

The second and the third months of spring,
 Grass is the same colour as water.
 On the road I met a roaming boy,
 How I regret we didn't meet earlier!
 (*Mengzhu* no.5)⁴⁵

陽春二三月。草與水同色。
 道逢遊冶郎。恨不早相識。

The same kind of vigor, though somewhat tempered, is shown forth in the following by her capacity to translate love into loving actions:

Fine cloth from Wuzhong,
 Wide and long it is.
 I have one *duan*,
 To make trousers for my love.

It's not worth much,
 But it's my clumsy hands that made it.
 Three *zhang* is what's left over,
 To make other things for my love.

I make a light kerchief out of it,
 To present to my love.
 I won't say it is excellent,
 Just for you to brush dust with.
 (*An Dongping* no.2, 3, 4)⁴⁶

吳中細布。闊幅長度。
 我有一端。與郎作袴。

微物雖輕 . 拙手所作 .
餘有三丈 . 為郎別履 .

制為輕巾 . 以奉故人 .
不祥作好 . 與郎拭塵 .

The women in the lyrics are often seen engaged in work: weaving, rear-silkworms, or pounding clothes; and work is almost inseparable with love:

Spring time for picking mulberry leaves,
My love's with me beneath the trees.
If cocoons are not reared to a hundred,
Where would you get silk embroidered coat ?
(Caisang du no.5)⁴⁷

春日採桑時 .
林下與歡俱 .
養蠶不滿百 .
那得羅繡襦 .

Clothes-pounding stone made of green jade,
Golden lotus pestle set with seven jewels.
I lift it high and slowly, slowly bring it down,
Soft pounding is only for you.
(Qingyang du no.2)⁴⁸

碧玉擣衣砧 .
七寶金蓮杵 .
高舉徐徐下 .
輕擣只為汝 .

In this last, "qing dao" 輕擣 (soft pounding) puns with "qing-dao" 傾倒 (topple over or, metaphorically, become infatuated).

Love is declared with an image of traditional woman's work. It is these images of useful activities which partly saves the lyrics from the languidness which pervades courtly love poetry.

The distinction between the courtly poetry and the Western songs may be pursued further. While "nostalgia reigns in the courtly boudoir poetry," it is curiously absent in the Western lyrics. Instead, we en-

counter not a few examples of a woman's sense of felicity in the presence of her lover:

The sun arises from the east,
Round and yellow, like a yolk.
My husband returns home, his love most treasured,
I love him, and always keep near him.
(Xiwu yefei no.1)⁴⁹

日從東方出，
圓圓雞子黃。
夫歸恩情重，
憐歡故在旁。

We started at dawn from the orchid-island,
We rest under the elms till noon.
You and I plucking rushes,
Had not plucked a handful when night came.
(Ba pu no.2, tr. by Arthur Waley)⁵⁰

朝發桂蘭渚，
晝息桑榆下。
與君同拔蒲，
竟日不成把。

All these contribute to the impression of a much brighter image of woman. The man, as implied in the foregoing lyrics, appears more loving and kind, and it is certainly worthwhile to examine this male image further in order to appreciate better the distinction of the Western songs.

Man is always the object of love, and occasionally the cause of sorrow and anxiety. Woman is seen as his dependant. In a patriarchal society such as the Southern Dynasties society, this should cause no surprise. Yet time and again in the lyrics, we are given a glimpse of the other side of the picture: a woman could lay hold on a man's heart just as firmly as he does hers. That a man is desperately in love is implied when a woman sings:

I was moved by your struggling love,
No more would I care for myself.
(Xiwu yefei no.5)

感即崎山區情。
不復自顧慮。

The following two lyrics attempts to describe mutual dependency rather than a unilateral love:

The exuberant dodder,
Coils and twines around a tall pine.
For the three springs of spring, we're the same colour,
But when winter comes, you'll be no longer with me.
(Xiangyang yue no.5)

爛熳女蘿草。
結曲繞長松。
三春雖同色。
歲寒非處儂。

Dodder is slight and limp,
So entrusts itself to a tall pine.
I shan't care if I die under frost,
What's most precious is to coil around you.
(Xiangyang yue no.8)⁵¹

女蘿自微蕩。
寄託長松表。
何惜負霜死。
貴得相纏繞。

These two lyrics, I think, are antiphonic like some others.⁵² One represents the male viewpoint, the other the female. Not only is the same imagery employed in the two lyrics, but also thematically the second answers the first. Man is likened to a tall pine, a symbol of strength and independence, and woman to the frail dodder, which depends on the pine for support. The symbols are conventional enough, as we shall soon see in the discussion on imagery. Yet, strangely in the two lyrics, it is the man who feels the threat of being jilted, and it is the woman who assures him that her love can stand even the test of death. The lyric works within the general conception of female

dependency; yet with some ingenuity, the lyricist is able to twist around a conventional symbol to confess another kind of truth: that man too may fall victim to a capricious love, and a woman can claim his heart just as well as he does hers.

On the whole, the Western lyrics picture man as more loving, and less the superior of woman than his representation in the courtly love poetry. Anne Birrell has observed that in the Southern Dynasties poetry "the woman's lover must be absent from the love scenario" as a necessary convention,⁵³ "the court poet must depict her pining for him with unrelieved sadness,"⁵⁴ and that "he (the poet) is not usually in love."⁵⁵ The contrast with the Western songs cannot be more striking. Man in the Western lyrics loves and cares and is time and again the source of joy. It is this much encountered image of a caring male lover that contributes to the impression of a more balanced relationship existing in the Western lyrics. The position of woman is consequently higher than it is in courtly poetry. This less melancholic and more vigorous image of woman not only brings a sense of freshness to the contemporary scene of love poetry, but also signifies that a different tradition from the courtly one was then very much alive.

b. Parting and Separation

Parting and separation may be seen as a variant of the love theme. Yet, as one scholar has observed, in contrast with the Wu songs, "a greater tendency to focus upon the problem of parting and actual situations of leavetaking is noticeable in the *Hsi-chü* (*Xiqu*)."⁵⁶ Parting is in fact a major theme in the Western songs,

and it would only be fair to treat it and its concomitant - separation - in their own right.

It is always the man who takes leave of the woman, as the following may illustrate:

You are going to Yangzhou, so I have heard,
I come to see you off at the Jiangjin Bay.
May the oars and poles be broken,
So that you are made to turn back.
(Neihe tan no.4)

聞歡下揚州。
相送江津灣。
願得篙櫓折。
交卸到頭還。

If poles be broken, we'll fetch another,
If oars be broken, we'll find another.
We're all civil servants,
How could we turn back?
(Neihe tan no.5)⁵⁷

篙折當更覓。
櫓折當更安。
各自是官人。
那得到頭還。

The two lyrics are again antiphonic. The identity of the travellers is not revealed until the last two lines. For that matter, many lyrics do not even make known the sex of the I-persona and the addressee. But in a time when it was most unusual for a woman or women to travel long distances, it should be understood that it is the man rather than the woman who takes the road. What one critic has observed in the Chinese court poetry - "the polar images of female immobility and male mobility"⁵⁸ - often recur in the Western lyrics too.

The two lyrics may take the reader by surprise at a number of points. What the woman (or women) refers to as "love" 歡 (huan)

is in fact a plurality, a multitude of bureaucrats due to leave for the capital. She wishes them the worst of luck, only to twist it into a conventional demonstration of love later. The men, joining in the antiphone, respond with all the hard-heartedness which is, however, uncommon in the Western lyrics. The situation has more the elements of play than of a heart-rending parting. We have discussed in Chapter II the practice of inviting *ji* to perform in the farewell feasts. The two lyrics, without excessive personal sentiment should befit such occasions best, and are perhaps composed for them. As a matter of fact, many parting songs, like these two, tend to avoid overt expressions of personal grief (only four parting lyrics contain such kind of expressions as "tears" 淚, "bitter parting" 苦離 and "painful" 痛切 : *Shicheng yue* no.3, 5; *Wu ye ti* no.8 and *Xiangyang baitongti* no.1; the last one being the work of Liang Emperor Wu)⁵⁹ and are therefore most suitable for delivery by *ji* at parting feasts.

The heartlessness of the men of *Neihe tan* no.5 comes close to the courtly conception of how a man should behave in like situations. After all it is a song of the bureaucrats. Other Western lyrics by renowned poets of the time may further exemplify this conception:

We parted by the bank of Taolin,
 You saw me off on the top of Xian Hill.
 If you care to send me a message,
 The Han river flows to the east.

I was born and reared beside the Wan river,
 I have served in the city Xiangyang.
 Once I met the Sagacious and Valorous,
 I lifted my wings, and gave the first call.

Rein in a skipping horse as it sends dust flying,
 Resplendent it is on all sides,
 If man is to achieve rank and wealth,
 Why should he ever care about returning home?
 (Shen Yue, *Xiangyang baitongti* no.6)⁶⁰

分手挑林岑。
 望別岷山頭。
 若欲寄音信。
 漢水向東流。

生長宛水上。
 從事襄陽城。
 一朝遇神武。
 奮翅起先鳴。

蹀躞飛塵起。
 左右自生光。
 男兒得富貴。
 何必在歸鄉。

SuS, *Treatise on Music*, 13.305 provides us with the background: the lyrics tell of soldiers marching to war and putting the Emperor Wu of Liang onto the throne.⁶¹ Emperor Wu himself also composed three lyrics to the same tune. One of them goes:

At the head of the path the soldier is leaving,
 In the boudoir, the woman sets down the loom.
 Feelings swell, choking the words,
 She sees him off as tears wet her silk dress.
 (*Xiangyang baitongti* no.1)⁶²

陌頭征人去。
 閨中女下機。
 含情不能言。
 送別沾羅衣。

Both poets are portraying similar events. Shen's first lyric presents a man more loved than loving. His third lyric exposes the same strand of thinking as in *Neihe tan* no.5: a career with its promises of wealth

and honour should take precedence over feminine love or any womanish feeling. Emperor Wu's lyric is equally imbued with macho values. Even when adopting a third-party view, it chooses to confine the sorrow within the portrait of woman. The shadowy soldier was presumably occupied with graver matters - glory and adventure.

The image of heartless man is, however, almost confined to the few experiments of court poets in Western song making. For most of the anonymous lyrics, man is pictured as more loving and kind. Since we have discussed in some detail this male image in the previous section, it should suffice here to give as examples two lyrics which represent a more satisfying love relationship. The two lyrics are again antiphonic:

Beautiful Mount of the Eight Elders,
At Shouyang;
After we part, don't forget me.

The eastern terrace is more than a hundred *chi* tall,
It rises above winds and clouds.
After we part, I will not forget you.
(*Shouyang yue* no. 1, 2)⁶³

可憐八公山。
在壽陽。
別後莫相忘。

東臺百餘尺。
凌風雲。
別後不忘君。

Woman's response to leave taking situations may conveniently be divided into two types. One is, of course, sorrow:

In Baling, at the mouth of the Three Rivers' Mouth,
Reeds have grown as tall as hemp.
We hold hands as I bid my love farewell,
What could I do with the pain?
(*Wu ye ti* no. 8)⁶⁴

巴陵三江口。
 蘆葦齊如麻。
 執手與歡別。
 痛切當奈何。

But even more usual and more interesting is the other type of response: making a wish. The woman persona may make an impossible wish to shake off her feminine immobility and follow her free roaming lover:

I come to see my love off at the Banqiao Bay,
 And wait at the top of the Three Hills.
 I see a thousand sails far away,
 Knowing they're driven by wind.

The wind will not rest a moment,
 The Three Hills conceal the boats from sight.
 Might we be pair-eyed fish,
 So I'd follow my love to roam a thousand li.
 (Sanzhou ge no.1, 2)65

送歡板橋灣。
 相待三山頭。
 遙見千幅帆。
 知是逐風流。
 風流不暫停。
 三山隱行舟。
 願作比目魚。
 隨歡千里遊。

The fish is by convention a symbol of mutual love. But here it also signifies physical freedom. More often we find the woman-persona wishing for some extraordinary happening that would keep her lover from going. *Neihe tan* no.4 (see p.164) is by no means singular. *Yangpaner* no.3 expresses similar sentiments with similar motifs:

I accompany my love to take a boat,
 I wouldn't worry he might run into a storm,
 May the punt-pole lie crosswise and the oars thrown away,
 And my love turn back with the water.
 (Yangpaner no.3)66

送郎乘艇子。
不作遭風慮。
橫篙擲去漿。
願倒逐流去。

Other things might happen to the boat and the river:

The large boat has loaded three thousand,
One zhang and a half deep in water it is !
Water is high and the boat won't move,
My love and I will be together for a life time !
(*Shicheng yue* no.4)⁶⁷

大舟滿載三千。
漸水丈五餘。
水高不得渡。
與歡合生居。

You are going to Yangzhou, so I have heard,
I come to see you off on the top of Mount Chu.
I hold my waist and look:
Alas ! the river has ceased flowing !
(*Mochou* no.2)⁶⁸

聞歡下揚州。
相送楚山頭。
探手抱腰看。
江水斷不流。

In this last, the woman must be looking at the far end of the river. The flow of water being less discernable, the woman is for an instant seized with an illusion of stagnancy. The wishful thinking subtly underscores her helplessness.

Wish making and wishful thinking certainly keep the songs from sinking into sheer pessimism and morbid woefulness. When this fact is viewed alongside the tendency toward drawing a brighter female image, and avoiding overt expressions of personal grief, we are immediately aware that perhaps we are confronted with a distinctive sensibility that informs the Western songs with their particular quality, a sensibility that finds excessive expressions of grief embarrassing, even

distasteful. As we turn to the separation poems, The presence of this sensibility seems more evident. The following, for example:

Soon after birth, crows seem about to fly,
When they fly off, each takes his own direction.
And so, separated in life, with a restless heart,
They caw night long until dawn.
(*Wu ye ti no.5*)⁶⁹

鳥生如欲飛。
飛飛各自去。
生離無安心。
夜啼至天曙。

chooses to depict the sentiment in the crows, and thus avoids being too personal. It is true that some separation lyrics address a sense of utter helplessness. But it is presented in a reflective rather than an impetuous manner. The woman persona in the following laments the passage of time which is beyond her control:

You left home for a long journey,
What's been for you is in vain.
I know well time gallops by.
(*Shouyang yue no.4*)⁷⁰

辭家遠行去。
空為君。
明知歲月駛。

What is intended for her lover is perhaps her love or her beauty, which becomes a waste in the absence of her lover. The tone of resignation in the last line has tempered much the melancholy. The sense of helplessness is also prevalent in the following lyric, though this time it is other cosmic principles than time that cause it:

Leap month may happen in summer heat or wintry cold,
To spring or autumn may be added a minor month;
I brood on you without ever stopping.

Break the willow branch,
 Yin and Yang force me to go,
 How could I be my own master?
 (Yuejie zhe yangliu no.13)⁷¹

或問暑與寒，
 春秋補小月。
 念子無時閑，
 折楊柳。
 陰陽推我去，
 那得有定主？

A parallel between the leap month and the I-persona is barely hinted at but is unmistakable: just as the position of the leap month in a calendar is determined by cosmic principles (Yin and Yang), his whereabouts is determined by much greater forces than his will. The sense of inability to govern one's life is in some way comparable to *Neihe tan* no.5 where the men sing:

We're all civil servants,
 How could we turn back?

In both cases, the personae are aware of some external forces to decide their course of life. Here, as elsewhere, the sense of sorrow is subtly expressed without any direct reference to itself.

Perhaps positive thinking is another aspect of the same sensibility that avoids excessive and overt sentimentality. Letters understandably figure prominently in the separation lyrics:

Jiangling is three thousand and three hundred *li* away,
 How could it be considered a great distance?
 Send letters often to let me know,
 Don't ever let the couriers be interrupted.
 (*Neihe tan* no.3)⁷²

江陵三千三，
 何足持作遠。
 書信數知聞，
 莫令信使斷。

While letters represent human efforts to bridge the physical distance, dreams wherein lovers meet may be seen as a benevolent act of Heaven to solace the parted lovers:

My love and yours,
 The two loves must have moved Heaven.
 Our bodies are at the two ends of the world,
 But our spirits met in the middle of the night.
 (Ping xi yue no.1)⁷³

我情與歡情，
 二情感蒼天。
 形雖胡越隔，
 神交中夜間。

The lyric is, however, unique among the Western repertory for its dream motif. Dreams and sleeplessness are in general common motifs in the love poetry of the Chinese and other cultures.⁷⁴ Yet they are curiously rare in the Western repertory. Dreams occur only this once. Sleeplessness is hinted in a lyric *Wu ye ti* no.5 (see p.170), but it is primarily about crows.

To conclude, it is worth stressing again that the Western songs on the whole tend to refrain from overt and excessive melancholy. The woeful image of a tearful lady so common in the courtly love poetry is almost absent in the Western songs. Instead, we have a kind of woman-persona who generally responds to misfortune more positively. This brighter image of woman, and the tendency to avoid excessive melancholy, suggest, I think, the presence of a remarkable sensibility. It is a sensibility commonly held by the western song makers, but foreign to other kinds of love poetry in the Southern Dynasties. As we shall see, tears are shed profusely not only in the courtly world, but also in the world of the Wu songs.

C. Work, Travel, and Other Minor Themes

There are a great variety of very minor themes, each of which would account for no more than six or seven of the lyrics. Work songs are more closely related to the love songs, and should be examined first.

Women in the Western lyrics are mostly engaged in sericulture, weaving and pounding clothes, which are traditional occupations of women. Songs about these activities are, however, mostly love songs in disguise, relying on puns to transpose the work motifs to the realm of amour. Discussions on *Qingyang du* no.2 have already demonstrated how the pun *qing dao* 傾倒 operates (see p.170). Besides these quasi work-songs, there are a few which make working life their primary concern:

I pull down the branch and pluck the spring mulberry,
How plentiful the leaves I've gathered.
But I work without a hook,
So my purple gossamer skirt is torn.
(*Caisang du* no.3)⁷⁵

攀條採春桑。
採葉何紛紛。
採桑不裝鉤。
牽壞紫羅裙。

Branches may be pulled down with hands to make plucking easier. But for the upper branches the girls might resort to hooks with long handles.⁷⁶ The girl in the lyric might have been trying to reach the upper branches and eventually torn her skirt against the trunk. The motif of a torn skirt is repeated in *Caisang du* no.5, but is unfound in any courtly poems that deal with the same subject. It is such homely motif that reveals an intimate knowledge of the labour and marks the lyrics off from the courtly poems. As for the male workers, the only

occupations which has been described sufficiently for identification are of boatmen and boat trackers. It must be a woman who sings:

Pull at the hundred-zhang along the river,
A rope that gets wet is one boat more.
My love is the punter, when going upstream,
When would he arrive at Jiangling?
(*Neihe tan* no.2) ⁷⁷

沿江引百丈，
一濡多一艘。
上水郎擔篙，
何時至江陵。

Hundred-zhang 百丈 - the rope that ties to the boat - becomes heavy when wet, hence the second line. Another lyric about boat-trackers suggests the labour through the sound effect:

To Shu I'll go, but how formidable are the Shu waters,
I tread on pebbles, rings of rope hold my waist.
(*Nuerzi* no.2) ⁷⁸

我欲上蜀蜀水難。
蹋蹠珂頭腰環環。

The heavy alliterations (*GSR* 726a, 1224a, 576a: Anc.Chin. *z̄iang-z̄iwok z̄iwok świ*: 上蜀蜀水 ; 628b, 633k: Anc.Chin. *d'ap d'iep 蹋蹠*) and repetitions (*z̄iwok z̄iwok 蜀蜀* ; *GSR* 256n: Anc.Chin. *ywan ywan 環環*) suggest energetic and repetitive movements, and successfully conjure up an image of the laborious toil.

Besides work, political eulogy is another theme that deserves some attention. Three out of four of the Southern Dynasties employed Western songs for this purpose. *Xiangyang baitongti* by the Liang Emperor Wu and Shen Yue, are, as we have seen, intended for commemorating the military campaign that brought the Emperor to power. The sequence of *Gong xi yue*, is devoted to the praise of the Qi government, and has been discussed elsewhere. ⁷⁹ The following Liu Song

panegyrics appear more interesting. It seems that a number of tunes from both the Wu and the Western repertoires were brought together to make one sequence:

My head has turned white, yet I refuse to die,
All my worries burn and scorch.
But let's make merry in this time of Grand Beginning,
A day is worth a thousand years.
(Lailuo no.4)⁸⁰

白頭不忍死，
心愁皆熬然。
遊戲秦始世。
一日當千年。

I was just thinking of the beginning of the Three Sunny Months
(i.e. spring),
But now it's already the end of the Ninety Autumn Days.
We chase and frolic in this time of Grand Beginning,
The flowery years don't seem to have gone.
(Ziye qiu ge no.5; a Wu song)⁸¹

適憶三陽初。
今已九秋暮。
追逐秦始樂。
不覺華年度。

Grass and trees will not thrive forever,
They wither in the autumn frost.
But now we come to the era of Grand Beginning,
We are in the Ninety Sunny Spring Days of the year.
(Ziye qiu ge no.10; a Wu song)⁸²

草木不常榮，
憔悴為秋霜。
今遇秦始世。
年逢九春陽。

I put on the shoes and take a stroll in a barren forest,
The desolation makes one grieve.
But once the song of Grand Beginning is sung,
Withered grass comes alive with blossoms.
(Ziye dong ge no.5, a Wu song)⁸³

躡履步荒林。
 蕭索悲人情。
 一唱泰始樂。
 枯草銜花生。

The Grand Beginning or Taishi 泰始 (465-471) was the reign title of the Song Emperor Ming. The thematic and structural affinities among the four lyrics should be self-evident. The first two lines as a rule establish the sense of decline either in human life or in nature. The third line is the pivotal point from which the lyric turns to defy the passage of time by asserting either a rebirth or a sense of temporal stagnancy. "Taishi" invariably occupies the third and the fourth positions of the third line. The era is said to be the prime factor that effects a rebirth or arrests the process of declining. Structurally the four lyrics are closely resemblant to some earlier political eulogies written by Bao Zhao.⁸⁴ This certainly invites us to consider the possibility of influence in one direction or another. But whether or not such influence existed is difficult to decide, since resemblance might simply indicate the presence of tradition. Nevertheless, judging from the theme and the quite refined diction, the four lyrics are most likely the works of either court musicians or literati poets.

It is important to note that except for the foregoing three lyrics, panegyrics never occur in the Wu song repertory. Western songs usually accompanied by dances and punctuated with group refrains, are most suitable in creating an atmosphere of festivity as befits praises of governments and their emperors. Hence panegyrics are much more readily found in the Western songs, and their fair quantity points up a distinction of the Western songs as in contrast with the Wu songs.

Two other minor themes are of some interest: recreation and

travel. The following is on a seasonal recreation:

The second and the third months of sunny spring,
 We together pace on a hundred kinds of grass.
 Everyone halts and looks at us,
 And raises his voice in acclaim.
 (*Jiangling yue no.3*)⁸⁵

陽春二三月。
 相將蹋百草。
 逢人駐步看。
 揚聲皆言好。

The custom of "pacing on a hundred kinds of grass" 蹋百草 involves a game called "compete with a hundred kinds of grass" 鬥百草 . Participants will collect different kinds of grass leaves and then compete in terms of variety and rarity.⁸⁶ The pervading sense of happiness in the lyric is enhanced by the persona's awareness of everyone's attention and acclaim. "Pacing on a hundred kinds of grass" is also mentioned in other sources, but it is the very personal view that brings the experience to life.

The following lyric about travel is also enlivened by a very personal tone:

My cart is wheeling along,
 When a friend asks for a lift.
 Shut the back door and hurry the ox,
 I won't touch his business !
 (*Huang du no.2*)⁸⁷

籠車度蹋行。
 故人未寄載。
 催牛閉後戶。
 無預故人事。

Ox, rather than horse, was the most popular draught animal in the Southern Dynasties.⁸⁸ We can still see in the figurines of the time that the door for getting in and out of the ox-cart is installed at

the back instead of the side.⁸⁹ A request for a lift was not unusual in those days.⁹⁰ So the response of the I-persona is somewhat perplexing in the absence of a fuller context. Nevertheless, the two foregoing lyrics have indicated well enough that besides such major themes of love and work, the Western lyrics have also addressed themselves to a variety of topics which literary poets of the time tended to ignore, probably out of contempt for their triviality. Yet they surely still hold interest for reading in our time since they always consist of some fresh and personal glimpses of social life not found elsewhere.

III. IMAGERY

Interwoven among the themes are images which may be just "word pictures", or at times assume the form of metaphor, simile or symbol. The discussion of themes has already touched on some of the images, it would hence be convenient to discuss them here.

Recurrent images in a particular body of literature are usually endowed with fairly consistent connotations which may reveal the culture and tradition that inform that particular literature with its special qualities. Hence to elucidate these connotations, or sometimes just associations, becomes a key to a sensitive understanding of that literature. For this reason, rather than attempting a comprehensive survey of imagery, I shall organize my discussion around those images that recur often enough to make consistent connotations discernable. Three categories of images are discovered to recur most often in the Western lyrics:

- a. season and weather
- b. plants

c. birds and animals

and will be discussed in turn.

a. Seasons and Weather

A count of the overt reference to the seasons reveals a prejudice in favour of spring among the Western lyrics. Spring is mentioned nineteen times, as opposed to two mentions of summer, three of autumn and four of winter (*suimu* 歲暮 i.e. the end of the year, and *suihan* 歲寒 i.e. the cold season of the year, are taken to refer to winter). This prejudice is not confined to the Western lyricists but seems to be common to Chinese poetry. Burton Watson has observed that spring of all seasons is most favoured by the Tang poets.⁹¹ As to the weather imagery, wind 風 is the most frequent (fifteen times), followed by frost 霜 (five times), snow 雪 (four times), dew 露 (once), ice 冰 (once), rain 雨 (once) and sunshine 日 (once).

The wind image deserves close attention not only because of its higher occurrence, but also because wind has been quite consistently associated with parting, hardship and the mood of dejection. The following table will demonstrate the quantitative relation between wind imagery and the context in which it appears:

Context	No. of occurrences of the wind image	Lyrics
parting	5	<i>Shicheng yue</i> no.5. <i>Sanzhou ge</i> no.1, 2. <i>Shouyang yue</i> no.2. <i>Yangpaner</i> no.3.
hardship (particularly in times of bad weather)	4	<i>An Dongping</i> no.1. <i>Ye du niang</i> no.1 <i>Chang song biao</i> no.1 <i>Yuejie zhe yangliu</i> no.11.

dejected mood of unspecified reason	3	<i>Shouyang yue</i> no.5. <i>Yangpaner</i> no.8. <i>Yuejie zhe yangliu</i> no.1
excursion of two lovers	1	<i>Ba pu</i> no.1.
travelling, the mood not explicit	1	<i>Shouyang yue</i> no.8.
plucking mulberry leaves	1	<i>Zuo cansi</i> no.1.

If we take the last two instances as neutral in mood, then the wind imagery is strongly associated with the joyless side of life, and *Ba pu* no.1 should be treated as an anomaly. The function of the wind image may be illustrated with a few lyrics:

I heard my love was going far away,
I saw him off at the pavilion of Mount Fang.
The wind blew on the philodendron hedge,
I hate to hear the bitter sound of parting.

(*Shicheng yue* no.5, tr. Hans H. Frankel)⁹²

聞歡遠行去，相送方山亭。
風吹苦蕒藩，惡聞苦離聲。

Philodendron is a kind of plant with a turpentine odour and a bitter taste. "Li" 離 (parting) puns with li 籬 (hedges) which is synonymous with "fan" 藩 (hedges). Hence "the philodendron hedge" 苦蕒藩 could mean at another level "bitter parting" 苦離. Here the wind image directly contributes to a figure of which the tenor is the "sound of bitter parting" 苦離聲, and which is thematically central to the lyric. At other times, wind may appear to be only tenuously linked to the theme, but closer reading reveals otherwise:

The eastern terrace is more than a hundred *chi* tall,
It rises above winds and clouds.
After we part, I will not forget you.

(*Shouyang yue* no.2)⁹³

Two pairs of oppositions are involved: love versus separation; tower versus wind and clouds. The juxtaposition of the two pairs urges us to see the latter as an extended metaphor: a tower tall enough to rise above winds and clouds is in a sense parallel to a love strong enough to survive the time of separation. The wind image is in this light analogous to parting and separation.

In the following lyric, the wind image forms part of a scene which appears to have a metaphorical dimension:

Yangpan is the song of Xisui,
Willow flowers pass by the eastern shade,
They follow the winds, some dropping close and others journeying
afar,
Their drifting grieves me.
(Yangpaner no.8)⁹⁴

楊叛西隨曲。
柳花經東陰。
風流隨遠近。
飄揚闕儂心。

The first line appears disjointed from the rest and requires some comments. It is in fact bound to the second line by a loose parallelism which is perhaps impossible to render into English. "Yang" 楊 of the first line could in other contexts mean "poplar", whereas "liu" 柳 in the second line refers to the willow. "Yang" and "liu" always come together to mean "willow" generally. The very close semantic relation, I think, prompts the lyricist to juxtapose them against each other, though in this particular context they are quite unrelated. The opposites - "west" 西 in the first line and "east" 東 in the second - though not correspondingly situated, further pull the two lines together. And yet "west" (xi) as part of the proper name "Xisui" 西隨 is not in a strict sense the opposite of "east" which

is here one of the cardinal points of direction. The quasi-opposition here and the quasi-affinity between *yang* and *liu* demonstrate once more the fondness for word-play in Chinese folk songs. To return to the wind image, it is puzzling as to how the wind-flower motif is related to the persona's distress. Some critics are inclined to think of "fengliu" 風流 as a pun meaning both "the wind drifts" and "wanton".⁹⁵ The persona in this case is perhaps alluding to a fickle lover, very much like a willow flower drifting with the wind.⁹⁶

The foregoing examples have sufficiently demonstrated the general sombriety of the wind image. The image signifies distress, or more broadly, unwelcome situations particularly of love. It will be illuminating to examine the same image in the Wu songs for contrast. The wind image as occurred in the Wu songs assumes more varied colours. The cheerfulness and eroticism it comes to be associated with is not found in any Western songs:

The flimsy skirt so easily blown about -
If it opens a little, I'll blame the spring wind.
(tr. Burton Watson)⁹⁷

羅裳易飄颻。
小開罵春風。

The motif of wind blowing open the skirt is found also in *Ziye chun ge* no.10, *Ziye xia ge* no.1 and *Du qu ge* no.1.⁹⁸ The Spanish traditional songs, for that matter, also make frequent use of the motif in like manner. J.G. Cummins observes:

In the Spanish traditional lyric the wind, while playing a subsidiary role as an image of freedom or a link with the exile's homeland, is more important as a sexual symbol. It acts like a playful, unruly lover, lifting the young girl's skirts; the man prays for wind to blow him into those skirts.⁹⁹

Perhaps the same idea occurs in the songs of still other cultures. In contrast, the dominantly sombre colour of the wind image in the Western songs is quite unique and should thus convince us further of the existence of a distinctive song tradition in the western region.

b. Plants

Botanical images abound in the Western songs. The broad generic term "hua" 花 (flowers) occurs five times. Of plants there are altogether nineteen varieties: sweet iris 菖蒲 , reed 蘆荻 , dodder 女蘿 , pine 松 , cypress 柏 , mulberry 桑 , lotus 蓮 , melon 瓜 , rush 蒲 , water rice 菰 , pomegranate 石榴 , plum 梅 , willow 楊柳 , orchid 蘭 , cinnamon 桂 , elm 榆 , chrysanthemum 菊 , philodendron 黃蘗 , and bamboo 竹 ; of which pine (six times), mulberry (seven times), lotus (four times) and willow (five times; the thirteen instances of "willow" 楊柳 which occurred in Yuejie zhe yangliu as part of the interpolation "break the willow branch" 折楊柳 , are taken as one occurrence) occur most often.

A few patterns are discernable in the use of floral imagery. As it happens in many cultures, flowers are usually complimentarily compared to humans. The point of comparison may be beauty, fragrance or the prime of life:

Sunny spring when hundreds of flowers grow,
I pick some to decorate the hair-coils,
Bend the fingers, and dance to the music of "Forget the Sorrow",
We are both in our prime.
(Shicheng yue no.2) 100

陽春百花生。
 摘插環髻前。
 梳指躡忘愁。
 相與及盛年。

The second and the third month of sunny spring,
 Grass and water are the same colour.
 I hold onto a branch to pluck a fragrant blossom,
 It has the breath of my lover.
 (Menzhu no.2)¹⁰¹

陽春二三月。
 草與水同色。
 攀條摘香花。
 言是歡氣息。

The many youths who used to dance and sing,
 The very graceful, they are gone without trace.
 Lovely is the flower of the sweet iris,
 I have heard its name, but never found it.
 (Wu ye ti no.1)¹⁰²

歌舞諸少年。
 娉婷無種迹。
 菖蒲花可憐。
 聞名不曾識。

This last is made up of two comparable situations but one single theme: an object of beauty is known to the persona, but he is somehow not fortunate enough to see it with his own eyes. The sweet iris is in this case analogous to the charming youths.

In the first two of the the foregoing lyrics, there is another notable feature of the botanic imagery: its close involvement with the theme of time. The passage of time, whether a major concern of the lyric or not, always finds expression in the botanic images:

They say spring has again ended,
 But I say it's not yet half over.
 I go out awhile to the Back Lake (i.e. Xuanwu hu 玄武湖, in
 Nanjing),
 Water rice has grown so tall!
 (Menzhu no.3)¹⁰³

人言春復著。
我言未渠央。
暫出後湖看。
蒲菰如許長。

Living away from home,
Three springs have elapsed, and yet unable to return.
Look at the willow tree,
It could again conceal a turtledove.
(Huang du no.1)¹⁰⁴

喬客他鄉人。
三春不得歸。
願看楊柳樹。
已復藏班駝。

The luxuriant plants are made to indicate the arrival and passing of spring.

Of all the botanic images, the pine image deserves particular attention because of its high occurrence and unusual connotation. It will be useful to look briefly into the history of the pine imagery in poetry before the Southern Dynasties in order to appreciate the traditional character of the image as well as its new dimension in the Western songs.

The pine has long been a symbol of moral strength and steadfastness because of its upright trunk and evergreen appearance. When Confucius makes one of his famous utterings:

Only when the cold season comes is the point brought home that the pine and the cypress are the last to lose their leaves.
(tr. by D.C. Lau)¹⁰⁵

he is perhaps speaking on an allegorical level. He Yan 何晏 (190-249), who compiled the earliest extant commentary on the *Analects*, understands the line in this light and matches "pine and cypress" with "gentleman" 君子, and "cold season" with "the filthy world" 濁世.

A true gentleman, he explains, would remain upright and not be compromised even in a filthy world.¹⁰⁶ When Cao Cao rose to power, he once asked an old acquaintance Zhong Cheng 宗承 (d.ca.230), "Now may we be friends?" Zhong, who had been disdainful of Cao's character, replied thus:

The resolution of the pine and cypress is still very much alive.
107

松柏之志猶存。

The story is one of many that testify to the popularity of pine and cypress as a symbol of moral steadfastness. But what is as important as the symbolic significance is the two associations of the image. One is of course with the cold season 歲寒 which brings out the inherent character of the plant. The other is with dodders. Though dodder is not the only plant that grows on a pine or cypress in the natural world, it somehow has become persistently associated with the evergreen since the time of *Shi jing*. The first stanza of *Mao* 217 runs:

A cap so tall,
What's it for?
Your wine is good,
Your viands, blessed.
Why give them to other men?
Let it be to brothers and no one else.
Do not the mistletoe and the dodder
Twine themselves on cypress and pine?
Before I saw my lord
My sad heart had no rest;
But now that I have seen my lord,
What happiness is mine!
(tr. by Arthur Waley)¹⁰⁸

有頰者弁。實維伊何。
爾酒既旨。爾殽既嘉。
豈伊異人。兄弟匪他。
萬與女蘿。施于松柏。
未見君子。憂心奕奕。
既見君子。庶幾說懌。

The second stanza repeats the botanic image. We cannot be sure if any metaphorical meaning is intended. The Mao commentary, true to its character, discovers in it political morals:

It means that the dukes (dodders, my note) do not possess honour in themselves. They are honoured because of the King (pine, my note).¹⁰⁹

It is but one of the several possible readings. Nevertheless, it marks the beginning of a tradition to read and consequently to employ the pine-dodder image metaphorically. In the subsequent ages, the image occurs frequently in poetry with all sorts of metaphorical significance,¹¹⁰ and occasionally it is put in the service of love. In Cao Zhi's poem *Lan yi* 攬衣 :

Man always casts off old loves.
Would you be true all your life ?
Cleaving to pines, I become dodder,
Clinging to water I am like floating algae.
(tr. by Anne Birrell)¹¹¹

人皆棄舊愛。
君豈若平生。
寄松為女蘿，
依水如浮萍。

The woman persona is addressing herself to her husband. The pine-dodder represents a marital relationship in which man is seen as strong and independent, and to him the woman entrusts herself. In these poems, as in many others, pine is the male symbol of strength and independence, whereas dodder represents the weak and dependent female.

It is against this background that the pine image and the pine-dodder image in the Western songs should be seen. Except for two instances, the pine images in the lyrics always occur either with dodder or with cold season, or both, and are metaphorical. (In the two exceptions, no metaphorical meaning can be determined or even suspected.¹¹²)

We might examine first the three lyrics with the pine image but without the dodder:

Tall, tall is the pine of a thousand zhang,
Day and night it stands up against forceful wind,
When the year draws to an end and come the frost and snow,
Who will be with me in the bitter cold?
(Chang song biao no.1)113

落落千丈松。
晝夜對長風。
歲暮霜雪時。
寒苦與誰雙。

Huge trees have turned desolate,
The sky is sombre but it will not rain.
Heavy frost comes at midnight.
Break the willow branch,
I am with pines and cypress in the forest.
We won't fail each other in the cold season.
(Yuejie zhe yangliu no.10)114

大樹轉蕭索。
天陰不作雨。
嚴霜半夜落。
折楊柳
林中與松柏。
歲寒不相負。

White snow drifts with the wind,
Trees have turned withered,
But pine and cypress have nothing to worry.
Break the willow branch,
Wrapped in winter clothing, I am treading on thin ice,
Does my love ever know?
(Yuejie zhe yangliu no.11)115

素雪任風流。
樹木轉枯悴。
松柏無所憂。
折楊柳
寒衣履薄冰。
歡詎知儂否。

The pine image in all the three cases is set against a background of wintry cold, with the emphasis placed on steadfastness in an adverse situation. This is conventional enough. But underlying the

three instances is the concern for companionship in face of hardship, something not readily found in the works of literary poets. When the literary poets launch a pine image against a wintry background, they are apt to see it as representing a lonely moral hero. His isolation and suffering are necessary to heighten his moral stature. Confucius's proclamation, for example, brings forth the heroic character of the pine and cypress by implying a contrast between the evergreen and other trees, in other words, their isolation. A forceful poem by Liu Zhen 劉楨 (d.217) is worth quoting in full for the sake of further contrast with the Western songs:

The pines on the mountain tower on high,
 The valley-wind is blowing wildly.
 Furious the crying of the wind,
 Sturdy the branches of the pines.
 Though ice and frost bring bitter suffering,
 To the end of the year they remain unchanged.
 The icy cold they bear is real enough.
 But pine and cypress have a constant heart.

(Zeng congdi 贈從弟 no.2, tr. by J.D. Frodsham)¹¹⁶

亭亭山上松。
 瑟瑟谷中風。
 風聲一何盛。
 松枝一何勁。
 冰霜正慘悽。
 終歲常端正。
 豈不罹凝寒。
 松柏有本性。

The poem sets off the opposition between the pine and the furious wind in the opening lines with an extremely neat parallelism which is sharpened by heavy repetitions (*ting ting* 亭亭 and *se se* 瑟瑟).

The opposition is then carried throughout every subsequent couplet right to the end. It is this persistent opposition both in content and in form (one line on the adverse climate, the other on the pine) that makes the pine image so effective a symbol of unflinching courage.

When Liu Zheng's poem is brought into contrast with the three Western lyrics, we are immediately aware how much the heroism is deflated, despite the similar sceneric context. We are in fact confronted with another kind of sensibility which takes the pine image somewhat differently. Companionship rather than heroic isolation is emphasized in the three lyrics. *Chang song biao* no.1 is the most explicit. The pine becomes an image of loneliness beset by hardship, and the lyric ends with a self pitying cry for company. *Yuejie zhe yangliu* no.10, on the other hand, ends with an assurance of companionship. Yet since it is the I-persona who speaks, and since "xiang" 相 in the Southern Dynasties is used more often to suggest unilateral action than mutual action,¹¹⁷ the last line therefore tilts toward emphasizing the I-persona's assurance to the pine. In *Yuejie zhe yangliu* no.11, the line:

Wrapped in winter clothing, I am treading on thin ice.

is more metaphorical than real, not only because no person in his right mind would readily risk his life in the like manner, but also because the phrase "like treading on thin ice" 如履薄冰 has been in use since the time of *Shi jing* to mean "in a difficult and dangerous situation".¹¹⁸ The I-persona finds himself confronting immense hardship and danger very much like the pine and cypress in the wintry weather. Though on one hand, he affirms the unchangeability of the pine and cypress which, I think, are meant to be analogous to his love, on the other, he demands sympathy and compassion in the difficult time. This less heroic pine image, implying an earnest longing for love and companionship, is even more spectacular in the two lyrics with the pine-dodder image, *Xiangyang yue* no.5 and 8,

which have been commented on p.162. The man as symbolized by the pine is lamenting over a possible desertion, and hence loneliness, in times of difficulties. It is the woman in the dodder symbol who assures him of her unflinching love. Taking the instances together, we may rightly conclude that the pine motif, while retaining much of its old attributes (steadfastness, strength to stand against adversity), is often made to suggest loneliness and the desire for company. The image as used in the lyrics shows on one hand a distinctiveness of the repertory, and on the other the affinities this repertory shares with literary writings. It in fact points to a folk song tradition which is at once different from and related to the literary one.

c. Birds and Animals

Western songs show a strong bias in favour of bird images. The following table indicates the distribution of bird and animal images among the songs:

	Images		No. of occurrences
Birds	crow	烏	6
	cuckoo	杜鵑	2
	yellow goose	黃鵝	1
	falcon	鷹	1
	mandarin duck	鴛鴦	1
	wild duck	野鴨	1
	oriole	鶯	1
	swallows	燕	1
	turtledove	斑鳩	1
	bird	鳥	1
Animals	horse	馬	4
	ox	牛	2
	monkey	猿	1
Fish	pair-eyed fish	比目魚	1
Insect	silkworm	蠶	6

The silkworm images all occur in the sericulture lyrics. Of the horse images, three occur in the lyrics to the tune *Qingcong baima* (A piebald and a white horse). Their relatively high occurrence is not a sure indicator of their popularity with the lyricists. In contrast, only two of the crow images occur in the lyrics to the tune *Wu ye ti* (Crows Cawing at Night), and none in the lyrics to the tune *Xiwu yefei* (Western Crows Fly at Night). Obviously the high occurrence of the crow images is not due to the tune titles. If we take refrains and tune titles into account too, then the number of occurrences of the crow image should increase to ten. The crow is by far the most popular image from the world of fauna.

Some characteristics of the bird and animal motifs may be obvious to readers. The first is one we have already mentioned: the preponderance of bird images over animal images. This is by no means unique of the Western songs. Hans H. Frankel observes the following in the Han *yuefu* poetry:

Of the various animals, birds appear more frequently in the Han *yüeh-fu* (*yuefu*) than other kinds of animals.¹¹⁹

Burton Watson's count of images also shows the same bias of the Tang poets.¹²⁰ The second characteristic is the preference for specificity. Unlike the plant imagery, which tends toward generalization, ("flower" 花 occurs five times, "trees" 樹 occurs three times); only once is the fauna imagery expressed in a broad generic term "bird" 鳥. The instance is found in *Ye huang* no.1 (see p.154) in which the lyricist is referring to the world of birds, and the generic term is therefore a necessity. Otherwise, more specific terms are always preferred. The preference for specificity links the Western

songs with a folk tradition of which *Shi jing* is a part. Burton

Watson has thus noted:

In the Odes (i.e. *Shi jing*, my note), particularly in the Kuo-feng or folk song section, there is a pronounced preference for specific imagery. Dozens of particular species of trees, plants, birds, or insects are named, but almost never do we encounter a general term such as "trees" or "birds".¹²¹

On the later trends, Watson comments:

The tendency toward abstraction in nature imagery that we noted in the *Ch'u Tz'u* (*Chu ci*) had continued until, in the poetry in the *shih* form of the centuries we have been discussing (i.e. from the second to the eighth century), general terms came to outnumber specific ones. This does not mean that the specific names drop out of Chinese poetry entirely. They continue to flourish in poems in the *fu* form, where extended catalogues of birds, trees, beasts etc. abound. And they remain relatively common in the poems in *Yüeh-fu* style which, because of their folk idiom, retain something of the old fondness for concrete names.¹²²

He is certainly correct so far as the Western songs are concerned. The "fondness for concrete names" marks the Western songs as belonging to a broad folk tradition that has been running from *Shi jing* and through the Han *yuefu* popular poetry.

Some of the fauna images are well known for their longlasting symbolic significance. We have already commented on the mandarin ducks in *Ye huang* no.1 and the pair-eyed fish in *Sanzhou ge* no.2. They are long standing symbols of mutual love and widely used in Chinese poetry.¹²³

Other images are effective means of evoking the sense of a particular season in the contemporaneous audience. One such motif is the swallow. A lyric which is specifically about the second month of the lunar year runs:

Fluttering and flapping, a crow enters a village,
It meets two sparrows on the way.

"My thanks to you for watching over the three springs."¹²⁴

Break the willow branch,
 "Send words to my love,
 Soon I'll be home, it won't be long."
 (Yuejie zhe yangliu no.2)¹²⁵

鷓鴣鳥入鄉。
 道逢雙燕飛。
 勞君看三陽。
 折楊柳。
 寄言語僕歡。
 尋還不復久。

This is the second in a song sequence on all the months of a year, and is subtitled "The second-month song" 二月歌 . It is also the only song in the sequence wherein sparrows appear. Modern readers who do not share the folk idiom with the lyricist would miss the hint at the month in the swallow image (though they may be well aware of its seasonal significance). Du Taiping 杜臺卿 (d.ca. 596) has thus noted of a folk custom in the second month of the year:

It is recorded in *Jing Chu ji* 荆楚記 : "Women throw bamboo chopsticks at the swallows, so that they would be blessed with children."¹²⁶

Luo Yuan 羅願 (1136-1184) in *Erya yi* 爾雅翼 15.1b explains the matter further:

It is the custom in Jing and Chu that when swallows first come and look for a nestling place, people would watch for those which enter the house and would throw chopsticks at them so that they might be blessed with children.¹²⁷

It should be obvious from the two quotations that in the western region of medieval times swallows were first seen in abundance in the second month, and that the swallow image is a clear signifier of the time.

The Chinese cuckoo (*cuculus canorus*) is another such signifier, and it appears in a lyric which belongs to the same song sequence:

We take a boat to a winding pond,
 And there watch the spring blossoms that hang above us.
 Cuckoos are crying as they weave around the bush,
 Break the willow branch,
 We get off and stroll idly,
 I and my love together.

(Yuejie zhe yangliu no.3) 128

泛舟臨曲池。
 仰頭看春花。
 杜鵑繡林啼。
 折楊柳。
 雙下俱能徇。
 我與歡共取。

This is the third lyric in the sequence and the only one with the cuckoo image. The hint at the month should again be obvious to the audience. Zhong Lin's *Jing Chu suishi ji* is quoted in *Erya yi* 7.5a as stating:

On the third day in the third month of the year, cuckoos will start crying. Peasants will watch out for the cry.

Whether cuckoos in fact start crying on that particular day is of minor importance. What matters is that folk belief has it so, and it is such beliefs shared by the lyricists and the audience that render communication effective in a performance.

So far we have studied the particular functions of some bird images in the Western lyrics. But in order to appreciate more adequately the distinctiveness of the Western songs, it is necessary to bring into discussion the bird images as found in other poetry. Toward this end, the following discussion will center on the crow image and outline its general significance in the Chinese poetry of the time.

Crows in the Chu region seem to be a different species from other crows.¹²⁹ Nevertheless, crows, including the Chu crows, were

generally regarded in South China as heralds of dawn, very much like the lark in the European dawn songs.¹³⁰ Lovers understandably may feel a loathing against the bird:

Kill the long-crowing rooster,
Shoot away the crows.
May night be conjoined to night without daybreak,
So that for one whole year there's only one dawn.
(*Du qu ge* 讀曲歌 no.55, a Wu song)¹³¹

打殺長鳴雞。
彈去烏白鳥。
願得連冥不復曙。
一年都一曉。

How foolish that crow,
To claim he knows it's dawn.
For no reason he calls at the third watch,
So my love is gone into pitch darkness.
(*Wu ye ti* no.4)¹³²

The crows in both cases carry with them a significance well known in medieval China. But the literary tradition has also invested the image with other connotations which were either unknown to, or ignored by, the anonymous folk lyricists. One such connotation is concerned with filial devotion. Crows are known to feed their parents. Thus Qiao Zhou 譙周 (201-270) argues for the importance of that particular virtue in humans.

Even crows are known to feed their parents, could a man be without filial devotion?¹³³

And Xu Shen 許慎 (30-124) speaks of crows approvingly as "birds of filial devotion" 孝鳥.¹³⁴ The other connotation is concerned with the sun. The ancient myth has it that there was in the sun a three-footed crow.¹³⁵ So when Tao Qian 陶潛 (365-427) wishes for the day to pass quickly, he writes:

In the evening we would long for cockcrow,
At dawn we prayed the crow would quickly cross.

(A lament in the Chu Mode to show to Secretary P'ang and
Scribe Tang 怨詞楚調示龐主簿鄧汝中, tr. by J.R.
Hightower)¹³⁶

道夕思雞鳴。
及晨願鳥遷。

He puts "crow" in place of "sun", so as to match with "cock" in the preceding line and preserve the verbal parallel. When the Liang Emperor Jianwen writes a poem to the title *Wu ye ti* (Crows cawing at night) he finds the allusion too good to let pass:

No doubt the three-footed crow cast a shadow in the morning,
True it is that the nine nestlings cry at night.¹³⁷

不疑三足朝含影。
直言九子夜相呼。

The first line alludes to the sun, and the second refers to a Han *yuefu* song which is titled "A crow has given birth to eight or nine nestlings" 烏生八九子. The crow image, as can be seen, is rich in connotations and associations, but none of them finds its way into the Western songs. Instead, we find the crow images, like many other bird images in the Western lyrics, serve mainly as allegory or contrast to the human situation, but without any fixed symbolic import. *Wu ye ti* no. 5 (see p.170), for example, consists of an extended metaphor in which a lonely crow is likened to a lover separated from his love. In contrast, crows in the following lyric play foil to the lonely lover:

I go out awhile to see the back garden,
Blossoms remind me of you.
Crows are all flying in pairs,
But where is my beloved one?
(*Jiangling yue* no.4)¹³⁸

This lack of any fixed symbolic import in the image indicates further that there existed a different tradition from the literary one.

In summary, we have shown several characteristics in the imagery of the Western lyrics - the sombreness of the wind image, the longing for companionship in the pine image, the preference for specificity in the bird images, the local significance of certain birds, and the lack of symbolic import in the crow image - which tend to indicate a local distinctive folk tradition in the western region. Of course, it would be inadequate to speak of a local tradition when only the literary tradition is drawn in for contrast. The other major folk song group - contemporaneous songs from the Wu region - has to be reckoned with before we can talk comfortably of a song tradition in the west. Something will be said about this in the concluding section of this chapter. Meanwhile it is important to note that even if a distinctive song tradition existed in the western region, it is necessarily related to other traditions such as the literary and the Wu traditions, since they all partook in one great culture and interactions between them were inevitable. We have noticed that mandarin ducks and pair-eyed fish are symbols shared by both the Western lyrics and the literary poetry. So is the pine-dodder motif. In the next chapter, we shall examine some of the puns and formulaic language found in both the Western lyrics and the Wu lyrics. The many affinities point to a close relation of the different traditions. To speak of distinctiveness alone is to suppress other important elements that help to make that tradition

possible, and ultimately to falsify it. A proper discussion must therefore keep the two sides of the picture always in focus.

IV. CONCLUSION

The study has so far revealed some of the recurrent themes and images in the Western lyrics. It has moreover attempted to elucidate the common views and attitudes about such themes as love, parting, and separation, as well as some peculiarities of the imagery. Perhaps it is not necessary to reiterate all the points here. Yet it must be stressed that though some lyrics may have been created outside the Western region, the lyrics on the whole still reflect common views and characteristics which are evidence of a local song tradition.

Much had been said of the affinities between the Western and the Wu lyrics, so that it is generally held that the two are not much different from each other.¹³⁹ We may now, on the basis of our analysis of the themes and imagery, compare the Wu songs with the Western songs to test its truth.

It is true that the Wu songs put just as much emphasis on "sharing one heart" as the Western songs do:

I have been brooding long on you.
 I love not a single lotus,
 Lotus roots from one heart is what I treasure.
 (A couple sharing one heart is what I treasure.)
 (*Du qu ge*, no.5)¹⁴⁰

思歡久，
 不愛獨枝蓮。
 只惜同心藕。

When I first wished to make your acquaintance,
I hoped our two hearts would be like one.

(Ziye ge 子夜歌, no.7)¹⁴¹

始欲識郎時，
兩心望如一。

However, the woman personae in the Wu lyrics are, for some reasons, more apt to be miserable. Far more often in the Wu lyrics than in the Western lyrics, we encounter accusations of infidelity, of which the following are but a few examples:

You lied to me that you wouldn't go out,
And went to sleep with others at night.

(Du qu ge no.48)¹⁴²

詐言不出門，
冥就地懷宿。

My care for you is most evident,
But yours is a love that wavers.

(Ziye ge no.35)¹⁴³

我全歡的的，
子行由豫情。

You show me a bright-sun heart,
East in the morning, but back to the west in the evening.

(Ziye ge no.36)¹⁴⁴

歡行白日心，
朝東暮還西。

Such overt accusations are never found in the Western lyrics.

Women's sorrow in the Wu songs is often presented with extravagance, another contrast with the Western lyrics. Tears of sorrow will make a river, as implied in the following:

I've been crying till dawn.
As tears are falling, the pillow is about to float,
The body sinks, and the blanket is swept away.

(Huashan ji no.7)¹⁴⁵

啼著曙，
淚落枕將浮，
身沉被流去。

The clever image of a river is built unhurriedly item by item: tears falling, pillow floating, body sinking and blanket swept away. The audience might have relished the extravagant imagery rather than feeling sympathetic with the tearful lady. The following is another example of sorrow expressed in extravagant terms:

I never fail to think of you since we parted.
Write on a stela of a thousand feet,
Script on a tombstone to no end.
(Cry sorrowfully to no end.)
(*Hua shan ji* no.9)¹⁴⁶

別後常相思。
題書千丈闕。
題碑無罷時。

"Ti" 題 (scripts) puns with "ti" 啼 (cry); and "bei" 碑 (tombstone) with "bei" 悲 (sorrow). The persona is saying in effect she is crying to no end. The surrealistic nature of the stela imagery brings home to us the extravagance of both the imagination and the sentiment.

Perhaps a comparison between a Wu lyric and a Western lyric using similar motifs will set off more sharply the subtle difference between the two repertories. The following lyrics deal with the myth of the Herdboy and the Weaver-girl who are separated by the Han river, or the Milky Way:

Sigh on the other side of the river,
The Herdboy says to the Weaver-girl:
Tears of parting have filled the Han river.
(*Wu lyric, Hua shan ji* no.11)¹⁴⁷

隔津歎。
牽牛語織女。
離淚溢河漢。

The Weaver-girl saunters by the river,
The Herdboy watches and sighs.
We meet once, and it'll be another year.

Break the willow branch,
Pick a grass leaf of longevity and tie it into a knot,
May our hearts be one and not fail each other.

(Western lyric, Yuejie zhe yangliu no.7)¹⁴⁸

織女遊河邊，
牽牛顧自嘆。
一會復周年，
折楊柳。
攬結長命草，
同心不相負。

The Wu lyrics tend to emphasize the sorrow which is presented with excess and again with a river image. The Western lyric on the other hand reveals a much more controlled emotion and ends more positively. The lyrics bear out once again the fact that the outbursts of sorrow and extravagant images are much more often encountered in the Wu songs than in the Western songs. The difference, I think, provides evidence for the existence of a distinctive and unified sensibility in the western repertory. It is a sensibility which, as we have remarked before, seems averse to excessive sentimentality and hence gives the Western songs a brighter outlook in comparison with the Wu songs.

If a different sensibility exists in the Wu songs, we should then expect a very different hierarchy of images too. Such is indeed the case. Among the plant images, lotus occurs most often (twenty-six times); followed by willow 柳 (five times), wutong 梧桐 (five times), pines and cypress 松柏 (five times) and plum 桃 (seven times in total; four times in the lyrics to the tune *Taoye ge* 桃葉歌, i.e. Song of Plum Leaves). The abundance of the lotus image is due to the pun possibility in "lian" 蓮 (lotus) and "lian" 憐 (love). The wutong image occurs frequently for a similar reason: "wuzi" 梧子 (fruit of wutong) puns with "wu zi"

吾子 (my love). The pun "lian" 蓮 / 憐 occurs too in the Western lyrics, but not in such great abundance. The *wutong* image hardly occurs at all despite the prevailing presence of the tree in South China. These differences, I think, could partly be explained by the fact that the Western lyricists are much less inclined to pun, a subject to be discussed in full in the next chapter.

The fauna images reveal further difference between the two song repertoires. The preponderance of the bird images in the Wu songs should not surprise us. They (twenty-nine times) are more than twofold of all other animal images put together (twelve times). But the crow image, which occurs most often of all the fauna images in the Western songs, appears only twice in the Wu lyrics. Still of greater significance is the tendency toward abstraction in the Wu lyrics even in the bird imagery. Broad generic terms for birds such as "niao" 鳥 and "jue" 雀 occur seven times, in contrast with only once in the Western lyrics. When this point is viewed together with other observations such as that the woman persona is more apt to languish, it appears that the Wu lyrics come much closer to the courtly poetry than the Western songs. A scholar observes thus of the the two repertoires:

It could be said that the *Hsi-chü* (*Xiqu*) tend to be a bit more straightforward in their diction and a little less apt to draw upon complex figurative language than the *Wu-sheng* (Wu songs), which may simply indicate that the latter, closely associated with the capital area, were subject to a greater degree of literary reworking. 149

We certainly agree with her so far as the difference between the two repertoires is concerned. But on the basis of what we observe, we may suggest that the difference goes beyond simple matters of style. Drawing together our findings, we may claim that it is a distinctive

local song tradition that informed the Western songs with their character, and that marks them as different from the songs of Wu.

CHAPTER V

PROSODY AND LANGUAGE

I. INTRODUCTION

Any folk song tradition might be expected to show itself not merely in themes and imagery, but also in the more formal aspects of the songs. The most marked sign of a tradition is convention, which for our purpose could be understood as an agreement or consent, as embodied in any accepted usage or form of language, among the song makers themselves and between the song makers and their audience. In what follows we shall discuss the prosodic structures of the songs, the formulaic nature of the language and puns, which are, as we shall soon demonstrate, very conventional in character. The purpose of our discussion will be to understand how these conventions assist in the process of oral delivery.

We have repeatedly emphasized in the previous chapters the fact that the Western songs are meant for oral delivery rather than for reading, and that oral delivery necessitates quick comprehension which is not at all easy when words are set to music. It should be pointed out here that the Chinese language in the Southern Dynasties was well on the way to developing into a tonal language, if it was not one already;¹ and that music, by overriding the tonal differences between words, in fact eliminates an important feature that facilitates comprehension.² On the other hand, when the songs were aimed at an audience which had been either brought up in that song tradition or sufficiently well-acquainted with it, there were always a handful of resources to tackle the communication problem. A limited range of

themes certainly helps since the audience will then be able to recognize the themes more easily. Recurrent attitudes and viewpoints about the themes, and recurrent images with conventional connotations or merely some rather stable associations, further assist an audience to seize the message quickly. A certain image will suggest what the mood of the song will be, or what comparison is going to be made, or indeed sometimes what is to follow. If themes and imagery can be made to ease the communication problems inherent in oral delivery, then it is only reasonable to expect the song makers to manipulate the formal features in such a way that the problems can be adequately solved. The purpose of this chapter is hence not only to look for conventions, but also to examine how they may contribute toward overcoming the difficulties of oral delivery.

II. PROSODIC STRUCTURES

Any consciously achieved prosodic structure is essentially arbitrary. When the structure becomes widely accepted, we can speak of it as a convention. The dominant prosodic structures of the Western songs are in this sense conventional, and the history of some of them can be traced back as early as the Han dynasty. The following table shows the popularity of the different structures with the Western-song makers:

Prosodic structures	Tune titles with lyrics composed in that that particular structure
i. pentasyllabic quatrain	<i>Shicheng yue, Wu ye ti, Mochou yue, Guke yue, Xiangyang yue, Sanzhou ge Xiangyang baitongti, Caisang du, Jiangling yue, Qingyang du, Lai luo, Neihe tan, Mengzhu, Yi yue, Ye huang, Ye du niang, Chang song biao, Shuang xingchan,</i>

Huang du, Pingxi yue, Pan yangzhi, Xunyang yue, Bai fu jiu, Ba pu, Zuo cansi, Yangpaner,³ Xiwu yefei.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| ii. heptasyllabic
couplet | <i>Qingcong baima, Gongxi yue, Nüerzi.</i> |
| iii. tetrasyllabic
quatrain | <i>An Dongping.</i> |
| iv. irregular verse | <i>Shouyang yue, Yuejie zhe yangliu.</i> |

Shouyang yue is a three-line structure with a syllabic arrangement of 5,3,5,⁴ *Yuejie zhe yangliu* is a six-line structure with the fourth line consisting of three syllables, and the rest pentasyllabic. Pentasyllabic quatrains is by far the most popular, followed by heptasyllabic couplets.

These two structures were by no means innovations of the Western lyricists. Both had been existing in other regions for a very long time.⁵ Yet two points are worth noting. First, never before were pentasyllabic quatrains found in such abundance. Wu songs, too, are predominantly of this metre. As both kinds of songs appealed to all classes in the Southern Dynasties society, it appears that Buddhist monks consequently took great interest in the songs and structured their psalms similarly. Several instances reflect the monks' expertise in matters of folk song. We may recall here the instance in which the monk Baoyue was asked by the Qi Emperor Wu to arrange *Guke yue* for orchestral playing, when musicians in the Music Bureau failed the task; and the other instance in which another monk, Fayun, was asked by the Liang Emperor Wu to make alterations in the song *Sanzhou ge*.⁶ This latter monk, according to *YFSJ* 46.667, was also responsible for changing a Wu song, *Aonong ge*, into *Xiangsi qu* 相思曲 .

We may also recall the fact that *GJYL*, on which our discussion relies heavily, was compiled by a Buddhist monk - Zhijiang. That Buddhist monks of the time generally took an interest in folk songs is beyond doubt. The instance of Fayun and *Sanzhou ge* is particularly interesting: we are told that popular songs of amorous nature were performed in the presence of the virtuous monks after a lecture of Buddhist principles. It may not be too far fetched to think that folk songs of the time were not only a legitimate interest of monks, but that they were also incorporated into religious functions.⁷ Another monk of the time, Huijiao 慧皎 (fl. 530), once gave his opinion on what makes a good "teacher of the sutra" (*jingshi* 經師): he should best understand the quintessence of the teaching in the sutra, and comprehend music theories thoroughly; he should be able to arrange "the seven tones" 七音 in proper order, and make "pentasyllabic quatrains fit in without jumble". 五言四句, 契而莫爽⁸ The "seven tones" here refers to those of the Chinese musical scale - *gong*, *shang*, *jue*, *bianzhi*, *zhi*, *yu* and *biangong*. Vocal excellence and a thorough mastery of Buddhist teachings were considered essentials in a good sutra-teacher, who not only preached but also chanted⁹ When Huijiao's comment is viewed against the background of the religious interest in folk songs, it is only fair to conclude that the adoption of pentasyllabic quatrains in Buddhist chants reflects a direct influence of the Southern Dynasties folk song on Buddhist practice.

The second point which deserves noting is the rhyming principle of heptasyllabic couplets. End-rhyme is common property of all poetic structures, but while pentasyllabic quatrains were rhymed every two lines, heptasyllabic structures were rhymed every line. Two exam-

ples should suffice for illustration (rhymed syllables underlined):

女蘿自微薄。

寄託長松表。 (GRC 1153a, Anc.Chin. *pīau:*)

何惜負霜死。

貴得相纏繞。 (GRC 1164k, Anc.Chin. *ńzīau:*)

(Xiangyang yue no.8, YFSJ 48.703)

巴東三峽猿鳴悲。 (GRC 579u, Anc.Chin. *pji*)

猿鳴三聲淚沾衣。 (GRC 550a, Anc.Chin. *jei*)

(Nüerzi no.1, YFSJ 49.713)

Alternate rhyming is much more common than consecutive rhyming in Chinese poetry, though both are known to the Chinese poetic tradition. Yet before the fifth century, all known regular heptasyllabic verses were rhymed every line. Wang Yunxi is probably right when he states:

Heptasyllabic lines must originate from *Chu ci*, in which many lines become heptasyllabic when the particles in the middle or at the end of the lines are deleted. Generally speaking, a heptasyllabic line is made up of a tetrasyllabic segment followed by a trisyllabic one. In terms of rhythm, one septasyllabic line is the equal of two lines whether trisyllabic, tetrasyllabic or pentasyllabic.¹⁰

Whether heptasyllabic verse originated from *Chu ci* is still a matter of controversy.¹¹ But Wang has pointed to a useful way of viewing the line structure. To take a heptasyllabic line as basically two lines but construed into one, explains not only the above mentioned rhyming peculiarity, but also another rhyming scheme which is again largely found in heptasyllabic verses. The following example: (rhymed syllables underlined)

A person whose great virtues are unparalleled, this Chi Jiabin;
Unique in South China, this Wang Wendu.

- 盛德絕倫 (GRC 470c, Anc.Chin. li₄uě_n)
 郝嘉賓 (GRC 389a, Anc.Chin. pi₄ě_n)
 江東獨步 (GRC 73a, Anc.Chin. b'u_o-)
 王文度 (GRC 801a, Anc.Chin. d'u_o-)¹²

is a rhymed saying in praise of Qi Chao 希超 (style: Jiabin, 336-377) and Wang Tanzhi 王坦之 (style: Wengu, 330-375). Schematic internal rhymes are indeed rare in Chinese versification. But they are peculiarly common in heptasyllabic verses. Occasionally, the verse is made up of one line only with internal rhyme:

A person of remarkable virtue, this Xing Zi'ang (Xing Yong
邢顛, ?-223)¹³

- 德行堂堂 (GRC 725s, Anc.Chin. d'â_{ng})
 邢子昂 (GRC 699b, Anc.Chin. ngâ_{ng})

It must be strange that a single-line rhymed structure should have happened in a culture so overtly fond of binary forms.¹⁴ The one reasonable explanation is that a heptasyllabic line was originally conceived as being made of two short lines with a pause after the fourth syllable, and the second short line was prolonged in chanting or singing so as to achieve a rhythmic balance.¹⁵ The one-line structure, and the consecutive rhyming of heptasyllabic verses, then fall into place within the Chinese poetic tradition. The one-line structure with internal rhymes equals two lines with end rhymes. The consecutive rhyming of heptasyllabic structures is in principle the same as the rhyming of alternate lines in tetrasyllabic and pentasyllabic structures. While the following lyric by Bao Zhao: (rhymed syllables underlined)

Have you not seen when the birds come back in spring,
 How all is green and the earth is filled with flowers?
 But when one day a bitter wind blows chill,
 How long will they then keep their gorgeous blooms?
 The days and months slip by relentlessly,
 And I am whelmed in sad, resentful thoughts.

君不見春鳥初至時，

百草含青俱作花。(GRC 44a, Anc.Chin. ywa)

寒風蕭索一旦至，

竟得幾時保光華。(GRC 44a, Anc.Chin. ywa)

日月流邁不相饒，

令我愁思怨恨多。(GRC 3a, Anc.Chin. tá)

(The Weary Road 擬行路難, no.16; tr. by J.D. Frodsham)¹⁶

is an innovation which represents a new conception of the heptasyllabic structures,¹⁷ all the heptasyllabic lyrics to the Western tunes remain conventional in character.

The prosodic structures being such, we may ask: what have these structures to do with the communication process between the performers and the audience? Do they help to facilitate immediate comprehension which is so important in oral art?

The prosodic structures themselves seems to impose certain organizational principles on the lyricists. At least a very consistent organization pattern emerges from the lyrics, particularly from the pentasyllabic quatrains. Rhyming breaks the structure naturally into units, so that a pentasyllabic quatrain, which has end rhyme every two lines, will consist of two balanced units of ten syllables each. Lyricists tend to arrange the lyric content in accordance with the structural symmetry, as the following will illustrate:

Tall mast and windlass in iron,
The cloth sail rising languidly.
Even as I question where I am,
Suddenly some thousand li speed by.

(Wu ye ti no.2, YFSJ 47.691)

長檣鐵磨子，

布帆阿那起。

詫儂安在問。

一去數千里。

The first half gives a fairly matter-of-fact description of the boat. The second half concentrates on the sense of swift movement. The attention turns inwards suddenly at the third line, with the focus on the thoughts of the persona himself, and the final hyperbole conveys more of the persona's fascination than the actual speed of the boat. Hence we have two units of content in correspondences with two formal units: a boat-centred unit and a man-centred unit; one is outward looking, the other inward looking; one is essentially descriptive, the other essentially emotive. But despite the dichotomy, the lyric is one coherent whole. It is worth noting how selective the lyricist is in choosing his material: the tall mast and the iron windlass (for hoisting sails) naturally lead to the sail of the second line, which is now being raised. The boat is in motion, which eventually brings about the sense of speed. The lyric progresses with a kind logic which leads to a climax in the end. The first two lines provide the necessary background so that lyrical intensity can be played out in the foreground of the last two lines.

This division of labour between the two structural units - background and foreground, preparation and climax - can generally be detected in the Western lyrics of regular structures. The climax always involves inward looking and emotive statements. One further example is in order here:

Jiangling is three thousand and three hundred *li* away,
 Xisai lies in the middle of the way,
 If you ask me whether I'll follow,
 I won't care how long the journey is.
 (*Xiangyang yue*, no.3; *YFSJ* 48.703)

江陵三千三，西塞陌中央，
 但問相隨否，何許道理長。

The first unit, i.e. the unit before the first rhyme, consists of a conscious preparation for the message of ultimate importance which is contained in the second unit. Even in the following lyric, which is devoid of any overtly emotive utterance, we can still discover the same movement from background to foreground, a movement that narrows the broad vision to a point of ultimate interest:

They say Yangzhou is a joyous place,
Truly it is joyous.
The many youths with hair-knots,
Sing and dance and chase one other.
(Yiyue, no.3; YFSJ 49.715)

人言揚州樂
揚州信自樂
總角諸少年
歌舞自相逐

The lyric is one in a group of two which are about dance and songs. In the cited example, our attention is drawn from the general gaiety of Yangzhou to one particular aspect of it - dance and songs, which are the ultimate concern of the two lyrics.

This organizational principle is by no means outstanding. It is simple, commonsensical, and, since it is repeatedly applied, very conventional. Such organization may be too commonplace to interest a critic of the written tradition, but it has the virtue of being easy to follow, which is of paramount importance to an orally delivered art. Because of the conventionality, the audience will have the contour of the lyric in mind even before it is sung, and know where to watch out for the message of ultimate importance. In other words, the lyricist, by keeping the lyrical structures conventional, is in fact guiding the audience to gain easy access to his message.

To conclude, we can say that the regular prosodic structures which account for most of the lyrics tend to suggest a broad organizational outline of content - division into two units of equal syllabic length. On the basis of this outline, other organizing techniques come into play: preparation comes before climax, background before foreground, and descriptive statements before emotive statements. These simple, commonsensical and very conventional techniques are themselves great aids to the immediate understanding of the lyrics in a performance.

III. FORMULALIC LANGUAGE

Other than conventional prosodic structures, formulaic language, as may be expected, is another useful aid for the audience to gain immediate comprehension of the songs. In the past few decades, students of oral literature have been very much attracted to the oral-formulaic theory of Milman Parry and Albert B. Lord whose scholarly efforts, which culminated in the book *The Singer of Tales*, have more or less established the Homeric epics as instances of oral composition. Their theory was first applied to the study of Chinese folk poetry by Hans H. Frankel, followed by G.S. Williams and C.H. Wang.¹⁸ Wang's effort deserves particular attention since, as Lord has remarked:

Dr. Ching-hsien Wang's book on Chinese lyrical poetry is of special value because it applies formulaic and thematic analysis, modified for the Chinese language, to lyrical rather than epic poetry.¹⁹

It seems what is essentially a theory for epics is equally applicable to lyrics too. Since this section deals with formulae in the Western lyrics, it becomes necessary to examine the oral-formulaic theory and

its relevance to our study.

A formula is defined by Milman Parry as "a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical condition to express a given essential idea."²⁰ Parry and Lord, who have made a study of Yugoslav singers, observe that these singers of very long tales do not memorize their verse before hand, but actually compose the texts during performance. Because of the restriction of verse and the pressure of immediate composition, the performers tend to make heavy use of more or less fixed phrases, lines or groups of lines, i.e. formulaic language, to facilitate composition.²¹ To look at the process from the other end, it becomes, as Lord has stated:

possible to determine orality by quantitative formulaic analysis, by the study of formula density.²²

In other words, a high density of formulaic language can be taken as evidence of oral composition. Such is the oral-formulaic theory in brief. Since its formulation, the theory has been applied to the study of epics of many cultures, to prove or disprove their orality. While it has been highly successful in Homeric studies, it runs into difficulties in other areas. The criticism levelled at the theory should be familiar to scholars concerned with oral literature, and what follows is no more than a summary of the criticism. Professor Larry D. Benson has demonstrated in his study of old English poetry that there were many formulae in Anglo-Saxon poems that could not be oral traditional compositions but must be literary, even learned works. In Benson's words,

To show that such work has high or low percentage of formulae reveals nothing about whether or not it is a literate composition, though it may tell us something about the skill with which a particular poet uses the tradition.²³

A study by Jeff Opland on African Xhosa poetry yields similar findings and is cited by Ruth Finnegan in her much discussed book *Oral Poetry*.

²⁴ The Xhosa poets, it is claimed, are capable of producing written versions of their poems which are characterized by a formulaic style. To view it from the other end, analysis of formula density does not, therefore, necessarily lead to a reliable conclusion on orality. In addition, there are certain inherent features of the theory which would hinder extensive application. First, the Parry-Lord method of analysis is primarily for use in long epic poems. Second, the theory is essentially about verse-tale composed in performance. And third, it is based on observations of one particular oral tradition, namely the Yugoslav tradition. One may rightly wonder how far the experience of one tradition could be relevant to another quite unrelated tradition.²⁵ One may wonder further still how far the theory is applicable to songs composed under different circumstances. The Western lyrics, for example, have never been proved to be composed during performance, though such^a/feat is not unknown in Medieval China.²⁶ And then there is the doubt as to whether the methodology of epic studies is applicable to lyrics. As a matter of fact, Wang's formulaic analysis of *Shi jing* does not, in a sense, yield very encouraging results. Wang has found that the percentage of the formulae in the *Shi jing* corpus is between twenty-one and thirty percent of the total.²⁷ Though the percentage, according to general scholarly opinion, may qualify the corpus as orally composed, Wang feels the need to be cautious. He claims no more than that "*Shi-ching* (i.e. *Shi jing*) is conceivably oral, and demonstrably formulaic."²⁸

Skeptical as we may be of the oral-formulaic theory, it has successfully draws our attention to the importance of formulaic language in the making of folk poetry. Long before Lord presented his theory in *The Singer of Tales* in 1960, and most probably even before Parry's ideation of formula became known in China, Zhu Ziqing 朱自清 (1898-1948) noted that *tao qu* 套曲 (the formulaic line) is a distinctive mark of folk poetry, and he cited, among others, a few Western lyrics as examples.²⁹ Formulaic language may indeed be an important characteristic of the Western lyrics, and formulaic studies will be worthwhile if a somewhat different strategy is adopted. In what follows, I shall attempt a formulaic analysis of the lyrics but with different aims and strategy from what the oral-formulaic theory prescribes. The exercise primarily aims at establishing formulaic language as a common phenomenon of the Western lyrics, but not of the contemporaneous literary poetry. Such an aim necessitates comparison with the literary poetry. Fortunately, unlike scholars of the Homeric epics and *Shi jing* who have a corpus that stands alone as the sole major poetry of its time, we have a well documented literary tradition of poetry running parallel to that of the Western lyrics. If the comparison yields favourable results, we will then be able to think, along with other findings, that the Western songs belong to a folk tradition distinct from the literary tradition, and we may judge on firmer grounds the oral nature of the lyrics. Afterwards, we can proceed to examine what prompts the use of formulaic language, and try to relate it to the problem of oral delivery. It should be clear that our method and the logic of it is not quite the same as the oral-formulaic analysis. We do not aim at discovering a high occur-

ce of formulaic language in relation to the total length of the text (i.e. a high formula density) but rather a relatively high occurrence of formulaic language in the Western lyrics in comparison with that in the contemporaneous literary poetry. This aim should be a guideline for determining the appropriate length of a formula. Parry's theory is vague here. The "a group of words" in his definition of formula will embrace anything of two words or more, hence it is up to the analyst himself to decide what parameters befit his text. Hans H. Frankel, who has attempted a formulaic analysis of the pentasyllabic ballad "South-east Fly The Peacocks" 孔雀東南飛, has chosen to break the pentasyllabic line after the second syllable into two units. A bisyllabic half-line could therefore qualify as formula.³⁰ As a result, we have an abundance of formulae such as 十三 (thirteen), 十四 (fourteen), 心中 (in the heart), 雞鳴 (the cockcrow), 可憐 (lovely) and 下馬 (dismount from a horse) etc. If such are formulae, they are the kind of formulae which even a poet of the written tradition would employ just as happily and frequently. Eventually, poetry by the literati would appear highly formulaic, and we should be confronted with the conclusion that literary poetry is sharing many formulae with folk poetry; but in fact they merely share the same basic language system - Middle Chinese. Furthermore, there is always the doubt whether 十三, 十四 and the like are words or group of words. A bisyllabic level of analysis does not seem to serve our purpose.

I have required a formula to be tetrasyllabic at least. The reason for rejecting the trisyllabic level will be evident when comparison with literary poetry is made later. In this discussion,

a formula is to be understood as follows: it should be of tetrasyllabic length at least, repeatedly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea. The repeated syllables need not be consecutive, hence 畫眉□注口 (as used in 畫眉不注口, 畫眉忘注口); 聞歡□□□, 相送□□□ (as used in 聞歡遠行去, 相送方山亭; 聞歡下揚州, 相送楚山頭) qualify for formula status along with 楊柳可藏□ (as used in 楊柳可藏鳥, 楊柳可藏雀).³¹

The following is a list of formulae found in the Western lyrics and other anonymous songs of the pre-Tang period:³²

1. 城中諸少年
(The youths in the city)
Western lyric: *Shicheng yue* no.1, *YFSJ* 46.689.
Other lyric: A song dated to the early reign of the Liang Emperor Wu, *YFSJ* 89.1251.
2. 一去數千里
(Suddenly some thousand li speed by)
Western lyric: *Wu ye ti* no.2, *YFSJ* 47.691.
Other lyric: *Zi liu ma geci* (a song from Northern China but current in the Southern Dynasties) no.2, *YFSJ* 25.365.
3. 執手與歡別
(We hold hands as I bid my love farewell)
Western lyric: *Wu ye ti* no.8, *YFSJ* 47.691.
Wu lyric: *Du qu ge* no.63, *YFSJ* 46.675.
4. 聞歡下揚州. 相送楚山頭
(You are going to Yangzhou, so I have heard, I come to see you off on the top of Mount Chu.)
Western lyric: *Mochou yue* no.2, *YFSJ* 48.698.

聞歡下揚州. 相送江津灣

(You are going to Yangzhou, so I have heard, I come to see you off at the Jiangjin bay.)
Western lyric: *Neihe tan* no.4. *YFSJ* 49.714.

聞歡遠行去. 相送方山亭

(You are taking a long journey, so I have heard, I come to see you off at the Fangshan pavilion.)
Western lyric: *Shicheng yue* no.5, *YFSJ* 47.690.

聞歡北征去

(You are marching north, so I have heard,
I come to see you off at the bank of Zhidu.)
Wu lyric: *Ding duhu ge* 丁督護歌, no.5, YFSJ 45.659.

5. 上水郎擔篙

(My love is the punter when going upstream)
Western lyric: *Xiangyang yue* no.2, YFSJ 48.703.
Neihe tan no.2, YFSJ 49.714.

6. 四角龍子幡

(Dragon pennants at the four corners)
Western lyric: *Xiangyang yue* no.2, YFSJ 47.703.
Other songs: *Southeast Fly The Peacocks*, YFSJ 73.1037.

7. 江陵三千三

(Jiangling is three thousand and three hundred *li* away)
Western lyrics: *Xiangyang yue* no.3, YFSJ 48.703.
Neihe tan no.3, YFSJ 49.714.

8. 黃鶴參天飛 中道鬱徘徊

(A yellow goose was heading up the sky,
But at midway it lingered.)
Western lyric: *Xiangyang yue* no.6, YFSJ 48.703.
Wu lyric: *Huang hu qu* no.1, YFSJ 45.663.
Other lyric: *Southeast Fly The Peacock*, YFSJ 73.1037.

9. 腹中車輪轉

(In the stomach is a cart-wheel turning)
Western lyric: *Xiangyang yue* no.6, YFSJ 48.703.
Wu lyric: *Huang hu qu* no.1, YFSJ 45.663.

腸中車輪轉

(In the bowels is a cart-wheel turning)
Other lyrics: *Bei ge xing* 悲歌行, Ding, *Quan Han shi*, p.80;
Gu ge 古歌, Ding, *Quan Han shi*, p.85.

10. 歡今定憐誰

(My love must be loving someone else)
Western lyric: *Xiangyang yue* no.7, YFSJ 47.703.
Wu lyric: *Huang sheng qu* no.3, YFSJ 45.663.

11. 襄陽白銅蹄
(White copper hoofs of Xiangyang)
Western lyric: a refrain to the tune *Xiangyang bai tongti*, YFSJ 48.708.
Other lyrics: A song dated to the Yuanhui 元徽 era (474-477) of Liu Song dynasty, recorded in *Nan Qi shu*, Treatise on The Five Elements, 19.381.
A song dated around 501, YFSJ 48.708.
12. 牽壞紫羅裙
(So my purple gossamer skirt is torn)
Western lyrics: *Caisang du* no.3, no.6; YFSJ 48.709.
13. 陽春二三月
(The second and the third months of sunny spring)
Western lyrics: *Jiangling yue* no.3, YFSJ 49.710.
Menzhu no.5, YFSJ 49.714.
no.7, YFSJ 49.715.
Yi yue no.2, YFSJ 49.715.
Xiwu yefei no 4, YFSJ 49.722.
Other lyrics: *Langye wang* 瑯琊王 no.2, YFSJ 25.364.
Yang bai hua 楊白華, YFSJ 73.1040.
14. 暫出後園看
(I go out awhile to see the back-garden)
Western lyric: *Jiangling yue* no.4, YFSJ 49.710.

暫出後湖看
(I go out to the Back Lake awhile and look)
Western lyric; *Mengzhu* no.1, YFSJ 49.714.
15. 見花多憶子
(Blossoms remind me of you)
Western lyric: *Jiangling yue* no.4, YFSJ 49.710.
Wu lyric: *Du qu ge* no.89, YFSJ 46.677.
16. 青荷蓋綠水 芙蓉發紅鮮

(Blue lotus leaves cover the green water,
Lotus blooms radiant in bright rouge.)
Western lyric: *Qingyang du* no.3, YFSJ 49.711.
Wu lyric: *Ziye xia ge* no.14, YFSJ 44.646.
17. 玉釵明月簪
(Jade hairpin, and moon earrings)
Western lyric: *Mengzhu* no.1, YFSJ 49.714.
Wu lyric: *Ziye chun ge* no.9, YFSJ 44.645.

18. 回身與郎抱
(Turn round and embrace you)
Western lyric: Mengzhu no.6, YFSJ 49.714.
- 回身就郎抱
(Turn round and fall into your embrace)
Wu lyric: Biyu ge 碧玉歌 no.4, YFSJ 45.664.
19. 杜鵑繞林啼
(Cuckoos are crying as they weave about the bush)
Western lyric: Mengzhu no.7, YFSJ 49.715.
- 杜鵑繞林啼
(Cuckoos are crying as they weave around the bush)
Western lyric: Yuejie zhe yangliu no.3, YFSJ 49.723.
20. 自從別君來
(Since I parted with you)
Western lyric: Pan yangzhi no.1, YFSJ 49.717.
- 自從別歡來
(Since I parted from my love)
Wu lyric: Ziye ge no.4, YFSJ 44.641.
21. 畫眉不注口
(I draw the eye brow but have not painted the lips)
Western lyric: Pan yangzhi, no.1, YFSJ 49.717.
- 畫眉忘注口
(I draw the eye brow but have forgotten to paint the lips)
Wu lyric: Ziye chun ge no.11, YFSJ 44.645.
22. 晝夜長懷絲
(Day and night he carries the silk in his body)
Western lyric: Zuo cansi no.2, YFSJ 49.720.
- 晝夜長懸絲
(Day and night he let the silk dangle)
Wu lyric: Qi riye nu ge no.5, YFSJ 45.662.
23. 楊柳可藏鳥
(Willow is thick enough to conceal crows)
Western lyric: Yangpaner no.2, YFSJ 49.721.
- 楊柳可藏雀
(Willow is thick enough to conceal birds)
Wu lyric: Shangsheng ge no.5, YFSJ 45.656.

24. 黃牛細犢兒

(A fallow ox with its small calf)

Western lyric: Yangpaner no.4, YFSJ 49.721.

黃牛細犢車

(A cart pulled by a fallow ox with its small calf)

Wu lyric: Aonong ge no.1, YFSJ 46.667.

25. 歡欲見蓮時

(If you wish to see a lotus, or if you love me.) [Lian 蓮
(lotus) puns with lian 憐 (love)]

Western lyric: Yangpaner no.5, YFSJ 49.721.

歡欲見憐時

(If you love me)

Wu lyric: Huashan ji no.1, YFSJ 46.669.

26. 不復自顧慮

(No more would I care for myself)

Western lyric: Xiwu yefei no.5, YFSJ 49.722.

Wu lyric: Ziye chun ge no.18, YFSJ 44.645.

27. 天寒歲欲暮

(It turns cold as the year draws to an end)

Western lyric: Yuejie zhe yangliu no.12, YFSJ 49.724.

Wu lyric: Ziye dong ge no.4, YFSJ 44.649.

It should be mentioned that repetition of a whole lyric and closely resemblant lyrics are excluded from the list. *Nüerzi* no.1 resembles closely the two *Badong sanxia ge* 巴東三山夾歌 because they are variants of the same song.³³ *Yangpaner* no.2 is the same as a Wu lyric, *Du quge* no.76.³⁴ *Wu ye ti* no.2 and a Wu lyric *Aonong ge* no.8 are identical except for one word.³⁵ *Lai luo* no.2 closely resembles the opening quatrain of *Junzi xing* 君子行 which is ascribed to Cao Zhi 曹植.³⁶ They are cases of lyrics transposed to other tunes and should differ in nature from formulae which are building blocks of lyrics. Again a parallel is found in a non-Chinese folk tradition. J.G. Cummins observes the following of the Spanish

traditional lyrics:

The same or very similar words are often sung in different areas to tunes partly or completely different, and the varying musical treatments may necessitate alteration of the text by repetition or by exclamatory insertions.³⁷

Given the structural difference between Wu song and the Western song, it is very likely that similar structural alterations might have happened to the Chinese lyrics too.

The formulaic density, as may be expected, is not very high because of our strict criteria. There are altogether twenty-seven formulae involving thirty Western lyrics. More formulae would certainly be discoverable if folk songs of the time were better recorded for comparison. But, as we have argued, high formula density alone cannot be very meaningful, and we should rather pursue our proposed comparison with literary poetry. I have chosen *YTXY*, *juan* 3-9 for comparison. The poems therein are all creations of the literati. Not only are the poems pentasyllabic, but also they span the period from the late third century to early sixth century, i.e. the time when the Western songs became popular. They are moreover essentially about love and women, hence if any stylistic difference exists at all between the courtly poetry and the Western lyrics, it would not be heavily due to thematic reasons.

The following are the verbal segments of four syllables or more that have been repeated at least once in the six *juan* of *YTXY* and elsewhere:

1. 客從遠方來
(A traveller came from afar)

- i. Xie Huilian's 謝惠連 (397-433) *Dai gu* 代古 , YTXY 3.13b.
 ii. *Yin ma changcheng ku* 飲馬長城窟 (anonymous yuefu song),
 YFSJ 38.556.
 客從遠方至
 (A traveller came from afar)
- iii. Liu Shuo's 劉琨 (431-453) *Dai mengdong hanqi zhi* 代孟冬
 寒氣至 , YTXY 3.15a.
2. 自君之出矣
 (Since you were gone)
- i. Liu Yun's 柳惲 (465-511) *Za shi* 雜詩 , YTXY 5.10a.
 ii. Bao Linghui's 鮑令暉 (fl. ca. 464) *Ti shu ji xingren* 題書
 寄行人 , YTXY 4.10a.
111. Yu Xi's 虞羲 (fl. early six century) *Zi jun zhi chu yi*
 自君之出矣 , YTXY 4.19a-b.38
3. 孔雀東南飛
 (Southeast fly the peacocks)
- i. Liang Emperor Jianwen's *Yong zhongfu ji liuhuang* 詠中婦織流黃,
 YTXY 7.21b.
 ii. *Southeast Fly The Peacocks*, YFSJ 73.1037.
4. 小婦無所作
 (The wife of the youngest son has nothing to do)
- i. Xun Chang's 荀昶 (ca. 420) *Ni xiangfeng xialu jian* 擬相逢
 狹路間 , YTXY 3.11a.
 小婦無所為
 (The wife of the youngest son has nothing to do)
11. *Changan you xiaxie xing* 長安有狹斜行 (anonymous, most
 probably composed before Western Jin), YFSJ 35.514.

Out of three hundred and thirty poems, (which are the total of the six
juan in YTXY and more than the double the quantity of Western lyrics,) I
 can discover only four "formulae", if they could be thus called. Even if
 some may not have been detected because of oversight, or because of the
 loss of many poems of the period, the practice of this kind of extended
 repetition, as we may believe, must still be much less common in the
 literary poetry than in the Western lyrics. For that matter, the
 formulae 1, 3, and 4 occur at least once in some old anonymous yuefu
 songs, and the poets concerned are all writing in the yuefu genre. Therefore
 we have good reasons to suspect that the

literary poets are consciously imitating the *yuefu* style. Using formulae is, in other words, not their usual style.

It is worth noting here that if we set the parameter of formula to be trisyllabic in length, the number of formulae will rise dramatically. The following are freely picked out of hand, and they have been repeated at least once: 撫鳴琴, 多妖麗, 鬱嵯峨, 北辰星, 比目魚, 行不歸, 有奇樹, 日已遠, 自生光, 蕩舟妾, 桑榆時, 生別離, 長相思, 綺窗前, 當窗慵, 信可憐.³⁹ An equal abundance of repeated trisyllabic trunks are of course discoverable in the Western lyrics: 諸少年, 四五年, 只為汝, 石榴花, 夜相思, 莫相忘, 復西歸, 日就老, 採春桑, 當奈何, 五湖中, 不相負.⁴⁰ The list is far from being exhaustive. The abundance of the trisyllabic repetitions, is due to two factors: first, some of them are standard semantic units representing physical objects, liked pair-eyed fish 比目魚, and polar star 北辰星; and second, there is in Middle Chinese a tendency to use bisyllabic compounds,⁴¹ some of which like 可憐, 別離, 桑榆, 窗慵, 飢渴, 奈何, 相思 have become standard usage of the language, as a result it is quite common to encounter repeated trisyllabic trunks. In other words, quite a number of these trisyllabic repetitions are in fact coincidence bound to occur in an extensive corpus and therefore there is nothing very "formulaic" about them. In contrast, tetrasyllabic trunks are much less likely to recur and the many instances of recurrence should be taken as a stylistic feature. Formulaic analysis of Chinese songs to reveal stylistic distinctions will, as we have seen, only be sufficiently meaningful when operating above the trisyllabic level.

Formulaic analysis brings home to us the fact that formulaic language is an important characteristic of the Western lyrics, but not of the literary poetry. Though we cannot, like Parry and Lord, confidently claim the lyrics to be orally composed on the evidence of their frequent use of formulae, we have, however, successfully demonstrated that the lyrics belong to a quite different tradition from the literary one. It is a folk tradition which is not afraid of using old expressions. What Lord observes of the Yugoslav oral poets is just as true of the anonymous Western lyricists:

Expression is his business, not originality, which, indeed is a concept quite foreign to him and one that he would avoid, if he understood it.⁴²

On the other hand, we have a strong emphasis on novelty among the literary poets of the Southern Dynasties. Liu Xie 劉勰 (ca. 465-522) thus speaks of the literary trend since the Liu Song dynasty:

In matters of diction, they tried their best to achieve novelty.⁴³

Xiao Zixian's 蕭子顯 (489-537) comment on literature is reflective of the literary thinking of his time:

As to literature, it is a serious flaw to be ordinary and old-fashioned. If one's writing is without novelty and a sense of breaking with the old, one can never become a figure of literary excellence.⁴⁴

Poets of the courtly poetry and those of folk lyrics obviously seek different goals. Such a sharp distinction urges us to reconsider the problem of oral composition. It has been claimed that at least two separate traditions can be distinguished in Chinese poetry: " a written tradition belonging to the literati and an oral tradition of the common people."⁴⁵ But Hans H. Frankel has argued for a third:

In addition, there is also a middle stratum of literature,

written in the vernacular by writers who have contacts both with the top layer and with the bottom layer of society.⁴⁶

This commonsensical division of Chinese poetry is highly acceptable. We have argued in Chapter II that the authorship of the Western lyrics can be attributed to three classes: the common people who were generally illiterate, the high literati, and the professional musicians. The three classes of authors in fact correspond roughly to the three types of literature. The professional musicians who were familiar enough with both traditions, tended to produce that "middle stratum of literature". If the crave for novelty belongs to the written tradition of the literati, it seems possible to think of formulaic language as essentially a feature of the oral tradition. While formulaic language may not be definite proof of oral composition, our analysis and comparison strongly suggest that lyrics with formulaic language were very likely orally composed, or else belonged to that middle stratum of literature created in imitation of the oral style.

It remains to be answered why formulae abound in folk songs or why folk song makers prefer formulae to new verbal structuring. Since we have not accepted the oral-formulaic theory in total, we have to look beyond Lord's framework for a solution. Formulae are necessarily grounded on a more or less common experience and conception of life. The rather old-fashioned comment by Zhu Ziqing 朱自清 does, I think, still hold true to some extent:

The folk song maker always uses the kind of phrases and lines commonly known to the people and employed by them to express the thoughts and feeling which he shares with them. Therefore formulaic lines 套句 abound.⁴⁷

The emphasis on common thoughts and feelings is perhaps correct, since such lines like "jian hua duo yi zi" 見花多憶子 and "yangliu

ke cang wu" 楊柳可藏^鳥 would never have become formulae, had they not been the experience and thoughts shared by two or more individuals. Yet experience and thoughts may be basically similar, but can never be the same, and there is always the opportunity to find different verbal expressions for them. Hence, common feeling and thought do not themselves alone necessitate the use of formulae.

On the other hand, that a formula is useful at both ends - the creative and the receptive - should explain a lot. A formula is not only a fixed structure representing an essential idea, but it also fits in readily with the rhythmic pattern of verse. Whether a lyric is composed at performance or not, recourse to formulaic language surely eases much of the burden on the song maker. A folk song tradition is ready with a hoard of formulae (which are embedded in the songs) at the disposal of the song maker. Hence when a song maker brought up in, or familiar with, the Western song tradition needs to say in verse that Jiangling is far away, he will hit on the formula:

Jiangling is three thousand and three [hundred li away].⁴⁸

江陵三千三

It should be noted that li 里 or any overt suggestion of distance is absent, but to the maker and the audience, the line is well understood even when it stands alone. A formula is therefore sometimes an extremely economical expression. At the receiving end, formulaic language is an indispensable aid to comprehension. The audience has always to battle against the distorting effect of music on words, distraction during a performance, and the volatile nature of attention in order to gain the verbal message. Familiarity with the formulaic language not only helps to understand such cryptic lines as 江陵三千三 ,

but also enable the audience to recognise the formula even when only a part of it is heard, and to anticipate always correctly what follows. An experienced audience recognizing the formula 江陵三千三 should rightly expect the subject matter to be about travel or separation, and therefore be in the right frame of mind to receive the rest of the message. Or when *wen huan* 聞歡 (so I've heard) is recognized, the audience will anticipate correctly a farewell scene. Perhaps not all formulae are that suggestive, but they are always indicative of what direction, however general, the lyrics are about to take or what kind of mood the lyrics will assume. Formulaic language is therefore an effective means of communication in the possession of both the audience and the performer. It is a convention particularly suited to oral delivery. In other words, the circumstances of oral delivery encourages the lyricist to use formulae rather than any novel expression of individuality. Being formulaic is understandably more a virtue than a flaw in the oral tradition. In contrast, a written tradition, which is itself free of the many constraints inherent in oral delivery, tends to aspire after different goals, and will hold formulaic style in contempt. In summary, oral delivery, I think, is a crucial factor responsible for the abundance of formulae in the Western lyrics, and, mostly likely, in other folk lyrics too.

All along we have been talking of a Western song tradition as a opposed to the literary tradition. Formulaic language reveals one other aspect of the song tradition: some formulae of the Western lyrics are found in other kinds of lyrics too, particularly those of Wu, and are hence indicative of some influence of one tradition on the other. For that matter, songs of one place and time may become known to the peo-

ple of another place and time, and may thus be incorporated into the song repertory of the latter. Some of these "foreign" lyrics might even be set to local tunes. *Yangpaner* no.2, which is the same as a Wu lyric, *Du qu ge* no.76,⁴⁹ is a case in point. In the lyric, *Baimen* (The White Gate), otherwise named Xuanyang gate 宣陽門, is one of the city gates of Jiankang.⁵⁰ Hence we have good reason to believe that the lyric was originally sung to the Wu tune, but was later transposed for singing to the tune *Yangpaner*. But more often, as we may assume, the songs whole and intact from one region became incorporated into the repertory of another. The lyric maker is therefore prone to make use of the formulaic language derived from song traditions of different regions.

Some formulae might perhaps come from popular sayings of the time. At least, it is thought that some formulae or repeated lines in *Shi jing* were popular sayings.⁵¹ Zhu Ziqing's explanation for the occurrence of formulae comes close to this view. However, I can discover no evidence that will attest to a similar claim in respect of the Western lyrics. Yet that the lyrics make heavy use of the vernacular is no new discovery, and it is possible that some highly structured expressions in speech have found their way into the lyrics and become formulae of the songs. At least one such expression of speech is found in a Western lyric. The instance is not repeated in other anonymous lyrics and hence not counted as formula, but it can be readily found elsewhere. In *Jin shu*, Biography of Xie Wan 謝萬 (ca. 321-361), 79.2086, Xie Wan is reported to say to Wang Shu 王述 (303-368):

They say your lordship is dumb. Truly your lordship is dumb.

人言君侯癡。君侯信自癡。

The structure resembles closely two lines found in *Yiyue* no.3, *YFSJ*

49.715:

They say Yangzhou is a joyous place,
Truly Yangzhou is a joyous place.

人言揚州樂，
揚州信自樂。

Shishuo xinyu has recorded yet another instance of the structure:

They say A Long is superb. Certainly A Long is superb.⁵²

人言阿龍超，阿龍故自超。

The structure, along with other vernacular expressions like "nong" (I or a person), "huan" 歡 (my love), "chi xu" 持許 (... with this) and "na de" 那得 (how could) etc., which are much less readily found in literary poetry than in anonymous lyrics, reflects the reliance on the vernacular in lyric making.⁵³ But no matter whether formulae are common expressions in speech or not, formulae and a diction that comes close to the vernacular are certainly effective means of communication because of their extreme familiarity.

IV. PUNS

While puns are not readily found in the contemporaneous literary poetry, eleven Western lyrics contain recognizable instances of the figure. Although the quantity appears insignificant when compared with that in the Wu lyrics, puns in the Western lyrics are still a feature worthy of examination. This is not only because all major studies on Southern Dynasties folk songs mention punning in the Western lyrics, but also because punning involves one of the major concerns of our discussion - oral delivery. It is a figure which lives fully only in the form of oral delivery, yet it seems to represent an attempt to

frustrate immediate comprehension which oral delivery in general strives to effect.

The eleven lyrics with puns are cited below. Many of them have already appeared in this discussion, hence comments will be brief when they are sufficiently discussed elsewhere. The line in parenthesis is the alternate reading generated from the figure.

1. *Shicheng yue* no.5, *YFSJ* 47.690:

I heard my love was going far away,
I saw him off at the pavilion of Mount Fang.
The wind blew on the philodendron hedge,
I hate to hear the bitter sound of parting.
(I hate to hear the sound of bitter hedges.)
(tr. by Hans H. Frankel, the line in parenthesis is mine.)

聞歡下揚州。
相送方山亭。
風吹黃蘗藩。
惡聞苦離聲。

Li 離 (parting) puns with *li* 籬 (hedges) of which the synonym is *fan* 藩 (hedges).

2. *Jiangling yue* no.4, *YFSJ* 49.710:

I go out awhile to see the back garden,
Blossoms remind me of fruits.
(Blossoms remind me of you.)
Crows are all flying in pairs,
But where is my beloved one?

暫出後園看。
見花多憶子。
烏烏雙雙飛。
儂歡今何在。

Zi 子 means both "fruit" and the "person".

3. *Qingyang du* no.1, *YFSJ* 49.711:

I lean against the loom, not weaving,
But unravelling the tangled threads.
When it is made into a bolt, my love, please don't cut it,
(When we are made into a pair, my love, don't break it,)
Think of the time I was spinning.

Pi 匹 refers to both "a bolt of cloth" and "a pair".

4. *Qingyang du* no.2, *YFSJ* 49.711:

Clothes-pounding stone made of green jade,
Golden lotus pestle set with seven jewels.
I lift it high and slowly, slowly bring it down,
Soft pounding is only for you.
(I pour forth my love for you alone.)

碧玉擣衣石，
七寶金蓮杵。
高擣徐徐下，
輕擣只為汝。

Qing dao 輕擣 (soft pounding) of the last line puns with *qingdao* 傾倒 which means "pour forth (love)" or "become infatuated".

5. *Qingyang du* no.3, *YFSJ* 49.711:

Blue lotus leaves cover the green water,
Lotus blooms radiant in bright rouge.
Below lies one lotus root,
(Below lies a pair of the same root,)
Above are blooms of one heart.
(Above are lovers sharing one heart.)

青荷蓋綠水，
芙蓉發紅鮮。
下有並根藕，
上生同心蓮。

Ou 藕 (lotus roots) puns with *ou* 偶 (pair), and *lian* 蓮 (lotus) puns with *lian* 憐 (love). *Tongxin lian* 同心蓮 refers to both the lotus blossoms sharing one stem and two lovers sharing one heart.

6. *Zuo cansi* no.2, *YFSJ* 49.720:

The spring silkworm should not grow old,
Day and night he carries the silk in his body.
(Day and night I cherish thoughts of my love.)
Why should he care for his paltry body's ending,
When surely there will come a time of entwining.

春蠶不應老，
晝夜常懷繅。
何惜微軀盡，
纏綿自有時。

Si 絲 (silk) puns with si 思 (thoughts), chanmian 纏綿 (entwining) refers to both the thread and the two lovers or bodies.

7. Zuo cansi no.3, YFSJ 49.720:

When the spinning worm first makes a cocoon,
I can see the silk is densely arranged.
(I think of you a great deal.)
The body is thrown into hot water,
It is precious to be made into a bolt of cloth.
(It is precious to make a pair with you.)⁵⁴

績蠶初成繭，
相思條女密。
投身湯水中，
貴得共成匹。

The usual pun si 思 / 絲 occurs in the second line.
Xiang 相 is used both as a verb meaning "examine" and a particle referring to a unilateral action. Pi 匹 in the last line refers to both "a pair" and "a bolt of cloth".

8. Yangpaner no.5, YFSJ 49.721:

If you wish to see the lotus,
(If you love me,)
Move the lake into your house.
Lotus will grow around your couch,
And you will be embracing lotus seed in sleep.
(And you will be embracing your love in sleep.)

歡欲見蓮時，
移湖安屋裏。
芙蓉繞牀生，
眠臥抱蓮子。

Lian 蓮 (lotus) of the first line puns with lian 憐 (love).
Lianzi 蓮子 of the last line can therefore mean both "lotus seed" and "lover".

9. Xiwu yefei no.5, YFSJ 49.722:

I was moved by your struggling love,
No more would I care for myself.
Be the arm-string tied into a knot of double loops,
So to become "one heart".

感郎崎山區情，
不復自顧慮。
臂繩雙入結，
遂成同心去。

Tongxin 同心 (of one heart) of the last line refers to both the "one-heart" knot 同心結, which is a knot with double loops, and the reciprocal loves. The arm-string motif serves primarily to engender the pun.

10. *Yuejie zhe yangliu* no.4, *YFSJ* 49.723:

The lotus is budding,
Where could I find two blossoms sharing one stem,
(Where could I find a lover to share one heart with me,)
That would bloom before the *Bhagavat* (The Buddha)?

芙蓉始懷蓮。
何處覓同心。
俱生世尊前。

Tongxin of the second line refers to both the lotus blossoms sharing one stem and lovers sharing one heart.

11. *Yuejie zhe yangliu* no.7, *YFSJ* 49.723:

Break the willow branch,
Pick a grass leaf of longevity and tie it into a knot,
May our hearts be one and not fail each other.

折楊柳。
攬結長命草。
同心不相負。

Tongxin of the last line again refers to both the knot and the two loves.

A total of ten puns can be recognized: *li* 離 (parting)/ *li* 離 (hedges), *lian* 蓮 (lotus)/ *lian* 憐 (love). *si* 絲 (silk)/ *si* 思 (thought), *xiang si* 相絲 (examine the silk)/ *xiangsi* 相思 (think of you), *ou* 藕 (lotus root)/ *ou* 偶 (pair), *qing dao* 輕擣 (soft pounding)/ *qingdao* 傾倒 (pour forth the love, infatuated), *zi* 子 (fruit, seed/ a person, you), *pi* 匹 (bolt/ pair), *chanmian* 纏綿 (entwining of thread/ entwining of two loves or bodies) and *tongxin* 同心 (of one heart). There are perhaps some more which we fail to discover because we are too far removed from the tradition.

Since the Wu song makers are also very much given to punning,

and their songs are often discussed alongside with the Western songs, it will be appropriate here to bring in the Wu songs for comparison so that we can see punning in the Western lyrics in a better perspective. All but three of the puns are also found in the Wu repertory: 離 / 離, 蓮 / 憐, 絲 / 思, 藕 / 偶, 子, 匹, 同心.⁵⁵ For that matter, Wu lyrics consist of far more instances of punning, and a greater variety of the figure. It would be unnecessary to list the punning instances in the Wu lyrics since they are quite beyond the scope of this study and are readily found in other scholarly works such as Wang Yunxi's *Liuchao yuefu yu ming*.⁵⁶ Suffice it to cite Wang here:

Puns 諧音雙關語 are a major characteristic of the songs from the Wu region.⁵⁷

On the other hand, the Western song makers appear to be much less inclined to pun, and this should make scholars cautious when they attempt to discuss the Wu songs and the Western songs together without discrimination.

The manner in which the puns are used brings forth further distinctions between the two repertories. Thus a Song critic Yan Yu

嚴羽 (fl.1265) observes:

Of the "Miscellaneous Styles" 雜體, there is the style of "Folksong Makers" 風人: one line gives the message, the line following explains it. The old *Ziye ge*, *Du qu ge* and the like make frequent use of this style.⁵⁸

A much earlier scholar Wu Jing 吳兢 (670-749) too has taken note of the style and associated it with the Wu songs:

What the Liang Emperor Jianwen calls "Poetry of the Folksong Makers" 風人 is otherwise named "Wu songs" 吳歌 by Jiang Zhong 江總 (519-594) of Chen. They are all about secret passions behind bed curtains; and made up in the following manner: one line gives the message, the line following explains it. The

two lines:

In a chess game, a torn jacket catches fire,
I think of you as I always do.

(The old clothes is burning as I make a move on the chess board.)

圍棋燒破褂。
著子故依然。

belong to this type.⁵⁹

A complex of puns are involved in the cited lyric. *Zhu* 著 means both "put (a piece on the chess board)" and "think of". *Zi* 子 refers to both "a chess piece" and "you". Hence the dual meanings of *zhu zi* 著子 : "make a move in a chess game" and "think of you". *Gu yi ran* (as it was before) puns with *gu yi ran* 故衣燃 (old clothes burning). So though the puns occur only in the last line, they require one preparatory line to provide the appropriate context for their realization. The preparatory line contains the cryptic message to which the puns are the key. This manner of punning can be found generally in the Wu lyrics with the figure. Jiang Zhong considers the style typical of Wu songs, and Yan Yu cites two major groups of Wu songs (*Ziye ge* and *Du qu ge*) as exemplary of the style. A close look at an example from the Wu songs is in order here:

When first I longed to be with you,
It seemed two hearts joined each to each:
Fed silk to a broken loom -
No wonder nothing makes a match.

(*Ziye ge* no.7, YFSJ 44.641; tr. by K.H.J. Gardiner)

始欲識郎時。
兩心望如一。
理絲入殘機。
何悟不成匹。

The third line introduces into the lyric a new image which is enigmatic in itself. The last line makes everything falls into place when the pun *pi* 匹 (a bolt of cloth/ a pair) is recognized. The two lines

may be called a "pun structure", and it always happens in the final half of a Wu lyric. The neat structuring is hardly ever found in the Western lyrics. (I can discover only two instances - *Shicheng yue* no. 5 and *Xiwu ye fei* no.5, which have been fully discussed before.) In the Western lyrics, we do not usually have an alien image introduced into the midst of the lyric, and then have its oddity dispelled with a pun that comes in later. Instead, the puns of the Western lyrics are far more integrated into the lyric. Either they come naturally from the sceneric context, as in *Jiangling yue* no.4 and *Zuo cansi* no.4, or the whole poem is one integral image evolved from the pun, as in *Qingyang du* no.2 and *Yangpaner* no.5. The daring imagination in the last example, be it noted, is generated from a very ordinary pun *lian* 蓮 / 憐 .

Yet despite the distinction between the Wu songs and the Western songs in matters of punning, there should be no question of a close relation between the two repertories. The formulae shared by both are good evidence. In respect of punning, most puns in the Western lyrics are found in the Wu lyrics, which further points to the influence of one on the other. And, indeed, to understand punning in the Western lyrics will sometimes require comparison with the Wu counterpart. This is very much the case when we turn to examine the problem that puns seem to be hindering immediate comprehension. The audience of a lyric performance is confronted with the problem of detecting the pun among a score of words and knowing the exact referents involved in the figure. Failing the task means missing the central message. *Yangpaner* no.5, for example, will not yield its message if the pun is missed, and it is fair to say that an inexperienced audience, or an experi-

enced reader of average intelligence, will not grasp the pun immediately. The lyricist seems to be deliberately obstructing the transmission of message, something quite contrary to what we know of him in our discussion of formulae and elsewhere.

Yet an experienced audience of the Western lyrics will have no difficulty in knowing the pun and understand the message even if the pun occurs in a lyric they never encounter before. It is similar to the experience of a reader who comes to the lyrics for the first time. Once he knows the pun, he will decipher the "code" almost without effort when he encounters it again in a new lyric. The experience points to the conventionality of the puns.

Puns in the Western lyrics and the Wu lyrics are extremely conventional. The figure, we know, depends for existence on either a parity of meanings in one word, or the sameness or close resemblance in sound of two or more words. Either way, a pun operates basically on an auditory level. A word may have more than two meanings, and it may share the same sound with more than one word. "Pi" 匹, for example, can be a unit for counting cloth or horses, or means "pair". "Li" (parting), for one more example, is homophonic with 離 (hedge), 梨 (pear) and 離 (weed) etc. Yet despite the many punning possibilities in a word, punning in the Western lyrics involves persistently the same pairs of homonyms and the same two meanings of one word. So "lian" 憐 always puns with 蓮; "si" 絲 with 思; and "pi" 匹 refers to "cloth" and "a pair of lovers" only. If we bring into consideration the Wu lyrics too, not only do we encounter the same rigidity in the same pun words, but we also discover the same rigidity in other pun words: "ou" 偶 always puns with

藕 , "li" 離 with 離 , and "zi" 子 refers only to "fruit" or "seed" and "one's lover" when it operates alone as pun.⁶⁰ The arbitrary and conventional nature of the puns should best be set off by comparison with other poetry that explores other pun possibilities of the same words. We have seen that "zi" 子 in an old lyric cited by Wu Jing refers to "chess pieces" rather than "fruit". The following example makes a pun of li 離 :

I cut with my own hands the pear so that we'll share,
 But who knows our love makes parting more painful?⁶¹
 Huang Zunxian 黃遵憲 (1848-1905), *Shangge* 山歌 no.3.
 因為分梨更親切,
 誰知親切更傷離。

"Qin qie" 親切 means both "cut by oneself" and "intimacy" (or "love"). "Li" 梨 (pear) puns with "li" 離 (parting), hence "fen li" 分梨 means both "sharing a pear" and "parting". The two lines read marvellously well either way. One reading is:

I cut the pear with my own hands so that we'll share,
 But who knows by cutting it myself, I do more harm to the pear.

The alternate reading is on a more emotive level:

Because of parting, we love more,
 But who knows our love makes parting more painful?

"Li" 離, 梨, 離 are all homonyms in Middle Chinese as well as in Mandarin.⁶² Therefore "li" 離 punning with either of the homonyms only and persistently is essentially arbitrary and conventional. One more example should convince us of the conventional character of puns. This time we may turn to a Wu lyric and compare it with a poem of a later age. In the Wu lyrics, "qi" 期 (date) invariably puns with "qi" 棋 (chess or chess piece), as the following may illustrate:

This night I part with my love,
 When would we meet again?
 A bright lamp is shining on an empty chess board -
 Still there is not a date.
 (Still there is not a piece.)⁶³
 (Ziye ge no.9, YFSJ 44.642.)

今夕已歡別。
 合會在何時。
 明燈照空局。
 悠然未有期。

However, Lu Guimeng 陸龜蒙 (?-881) makes the word "qi" 棋 puns with another homonym qi 旗 (flag):

I heard they will make a new pennant,
 The old date will likely be cancelled.
 (The old flag will likely be discarded.)⁶⁴

聞道更新幟。
 多應廢舊期。

"Qi" 期 puns with qi 旗, which is a synonym of qi 幟 (pennant). The first line serves primarily to engender the pun. It comes close to the Wu songs in style, hence the title "A poem in the style of the Folksong Makers" 風人詩. Qi 棋, 旗, 期 (GSR 952k,u,v. Anc.Chin. g'ji) are synonyms in Middle Chinese as they are now in Putonghua, therefore to make qi 期 pun invariably with 棋 is essentially arbitrary and conventional.

There are other aspects of the conventionality of puns. When a pun involves a fairly broad term, we find it constantly associated with one specific referent in spite of other possibilities. Hence "si" 絲 (thread, silk) in the pun 絲 / 思 as employed in the Western lyrics and the Wu lyrics invariably refers to the thread of silkworm. In contrast, makers of another group of Chinese folk songs, Yuefeng 粵風 (Songs of Guangdong) of the eighteenth century, always thought of cobwebs when the pun 絲 / 思 is used. The following should suffice for illustration:

I think of you,
 True is my heart and you know it.
 A spider makes a web at the Three Rivers' Mouth,
 True thread it is that hurling water cannot sunder.⁶⁵

妹相思
 妹有真心弟也知。
 蜘蛛結網三江口。
 水推不斷是真絲。

"Si" 絲 here puns with 思 (thoughts, love). "True thread" 真絲 is "true love". In the collection of *Yuefeng* compiled by Li Tiaoyuan 李調元 (1734-1803), the pun invariably refers to cobwebs rather than cocoons.⁶⁶

Punning in the folk songs is therefore a highly conventionalized figure. An inexperienced audience may need some form of initiation into the tradition, but once the conventions are well mastered, the puns will pose no problem to instant comprehension. Indeed, when lotus or silkworm 蠶 is mentioned, the audience will be alert to the possibility of a pun and know what pun it will be. And the pun itself will help the audience to determine the thematic range of the song. It is this kind of convention between the lyricists and the intended audience that not only helps the audience to comprehend, but also allows the lyricist to play with the pun and reveal his ingenuity without the fear of misunderstanding. *Shicheng yue* no.5 may exemplify our point.

The final two lines run:

The wind blew on the philodendron hedge,
 I hate to hear the bitter sound of parting.
 (I hate to hear the sound of bitter hedges.)

風吹黃蘗藩。
 吾聞苦離聲。

Philodendron 黃蘗, a plant of bitter taste, occurs only this once in the Western lyrics, but it is quite a popular motif in the Wu songs, and one could believe that it has been taken from the Wu songs

and planted here.⁶⁷ The motif is employed throughout the Wu lyrics to hint at bitterness of feeling. It is in fact a conventional word-play. The pun *li* 離 / 離, as we have seen, is also very stereotyped. Yet the two instances of conventional word-play are brought together for the first time here. The new combination wards off much of the staleness that might have deadened the figure. The wind motif is new too to the pun, and it is an unusual stroke to transform the pun into an "auditory image". Consequently, despite the very conventionality of its major elements, (it should be mentioned that *fan* 蕃 [hedges] standing for *li* 離 [hedges] when the pun 離 / 離 is involved occurs once in the Wu lyrics and is perhaps a conventional usage,⁶⁸) the whole pun structure remains fresh and appealing. This could be said generally of the puns in the Western lyrics as well as the Wu lyrics: the puns are always conventional, but the lyricist can usually play with them without the fear of miscomprehension by the audience, since the key to the message, which is the pun itself, is well in their possession.

V. CONCLUSION

This chapter on the prosody and language reveals to us other aspects of the Western song tradition. We have seen that the pentasyllabic quatrain is a dominant form. Of the minor forms, heptasyllabic couplet is the most significant because of its greater frequency in the song repertory and its total absence in the Wu lyrics. We have discovered too a fair number of formulae and discussed their function. Finally, the discussion turns to the most commonly mentioned feature of the lyrics - the puns, and succeeds in discovering some of the

conventional character of the trope.

Throughout the discussion, our attention has been constantly drawn to repetitive patterns. A pentasyllabic quatrain is most often divided into two units, the first to accommodate the background; and the last the foreground, where emotive intensity is usually played out. Formulae are repeatedly used. The same punning possibilities are repeatedly exploited. Yet it is not so much the uniqueness of the repeated features as their ordinariness in Chinese literature which strikes us. Pentasyllabic quatrains and heptasyllabic couplets were a heritage from the past. The former was gaining popularity in the literati circle in the Southern Dynasties, though the two forms remained basically folk idioms before the Sui dynasty. The recurrent manner of organizing a quatrain is also by no means unique to the Western lyrics, nor even to folk poetry, since the same organization can be readily found in literary poetry too. The following is one of numerous examples:

Complaint of the Jade Staircase 玉階怨 Xie Tiao 謝朓

In the palace at dusk the blind of pearl are unfurled,
Fireflies flit around, then come to rest.
Throughout the long night I sew thin silken garments,
When will my thoughts of you ever come to an end?

(tr. by J.D. Frodsham)⁶⁹

夕殿下珠簾。
流螢飛復息。
長夜縫羅衣。
思君此何極。

The focus moves from the hall to the lady and ultimately her thoughts. The first two lines set the scene for the human drama to be played out in the last two lines. In respect of formulaic language we are aware that some instances of them are not only discoverable in the Western lyrics and the Wu lyrics, but also in the older lyrics, such as *South-*

east *Fly The Peacocks* and *Bei ge* which supposedly belonged to the Later Han period.⁷⁰ Finally, we have found that the puns of the Western lyrics can mostly be found in the Wu lyrics. These many common features between the Western lyrics and others bring us to an awareness that the Western song tradition is by no means an isolated tradition. It interacts with other traditions, influencing and influenced by them. It is perhaps erroneous to speak of a regional folk tradition only in terms of its unique features, since they alone cannot represent the whole picture. It is equally important to emphasize the common features which it shares with others, so that we would not be blind to the fact that a regional tradition always partakes of the great culture to which it belongs.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it may be useful to recapitulate a few points made in the preceding pages, and to indicate tentative plans for future work.

This is the first time that a discussion of the Western songs has examined in depth the ethnic complexity in the western region. The region, as we have demonstrated, saw a Han-Chinese population coexisting with a significant number of ethnic minorities, particularly the Man and the Liao. It is therefore not surprising when we discover in the songs some non-Han-Chinese elements. We have found that at least two instruments of foreign origin were used in performance - waist-drum and *lingpan*. While the waist-drum is a widely known instrument, this study has for the first time attempted to clarify the shape, use and origin of *lingpan*, showing that the instrument was a kind of cymbal used in India and Burma. We have also noted the peculiar instrumental accompaniment to *yige*, (which is without strings,) and have shown it to be similar to that of Man and Liao music. The affinity, we have argued, indicates the influence of the latter on the Western songs.

Other than the instruments, we have also looked into the different types of Western songs. Traditionally, only two types of Western songs were distinguished, namely dance songs and *yige*. We have distinguished one extra type. This type, which consist of only three songs, appears to have *songsheng* (end-refrain) and is hence structurally different from the two others which do not have *songsheng*

at all. While *songsheng* is absent from most of the Western songs, *hesheng* (refrain) is very often encountered, particularly in the dance songs. It is this structural characteristic that makes the dance songs particularly suitable for group singing. By way of contrast, we have demonstrated that solo performance was more usual of the Wu songs, which were contemporaneous with the Western songs, and which contained only *songsheng*.

We have also attempted to examine the performance of the songs. Because of the limitation imposed by the material, we have confined the discussion to the performance by *ji*, who were musicians and courtesans in one, and noted that the extant Western songs belong basically to a *ji* repertory. The nature of the profession may to a certain extent have determined the kinds of songs that were handed down to us. Indeed, as we turn to examine the themes and imagery of the songs, we find that love and parting are the most important themes and are always seen from a female perspective. This, we think, may be related to the fact that *ji* were also courtesans, and were often brought to perform in feasts of partings.

The image of women stands out as one of the most distinct features of the songs. She is more vigorous and less melancholic than her counterpart in either the literary love poetry of the time or the Wu songs. In respect of imagery, the natural imagery occurs most often, and the discussion centers on three major kinds: seasons and weather, plants, birds and animals. Some images are shown to have assumed consistent connotative meanings which reflect the presence of a regional tradition: wind is always associated with parting, and pines with a longing for compassion etc.. But our attention is also drawn to cer-

tain resemblance between these images and those found in other poetry. We have found that the songs on the whole, like older Chinese folk songs, prefer specificity to generalization. The pine image, as in the literary tradition, is always set against a background of wintry cold or has doddies as its foil. The traditional symbols of loving harmony - mandarin ducks and pair-eyed fish - have also found their way into the songs.

The discussion of prosody and language has shown that pentasyllabic quatrains and heptasyllabic couplets are two predominant structures. More often than not, they are organized according to a bipartite scheme: a lyric is to be divided into two units of equal length, of which the first unit provides for the background, while the climax and lyrical intensity will be played out in the second. We have also looked into the formulaic language and puns, defining for this purpose a formula as a group of tetrasyllabic length at least, repeatedly employed under the same metrical condition to express a given essential idea. Consequently, twenty-seven formulae are discovered. In contrast, we have discovered only four formulae in a corpus of literary poems which is twice the size of the Western repertory. The formulaic language again evidences the presence of a tradition which is distinctive from the literary one. It is a folk tradition, which is not afraid of using old expressions. The literary tradition, on the other hand, always seeks novelty and individual distinction. Finally, as we examine the puns, we discover in the figure the same trait of the folk tradition - the puns involving the same two words or the same two meanings of a word are repeatedly used despite other punning possibilities.

The musical peculiarities, a sensibility which averts from exces-

sive sentimentality (as revealed in the treatment of certain themes), an outstanding image of woman, a host of recurrent images with special functions, a special group of formulae, and some very conventional puns - all these, found in a repertory of songs composed by different persons at different times but in roughly the same region, should convince us of the existence of a regional folk song tradition. But it is a tradition which is constantly under the influence of others. We have pointed out at length that while the Western songs exhibit characteristics of their own, they share at the same time several affinities with other poetry, particular the Wu songs. Pentasyllabic quatrain is a dominant structure in both the Western and the Wu repertories. A handful of formulae and puns are discoverable in both of them. Other kinds of affinities exist between the Western songs and the literary poetry. These facts bring home to us the reality that a regional tradition is always susceptible to the influence of others. To view both its distinctiveness and the similarities it shares with others is certainly more realistic than to restrict the vision to just one or the other.

The song tradition, as we have shown, is one which is not afraid of repeating the familiar, and we have suggested that it is the nature of oral delivery which is largely responsible for this trait. The recurrent and familiar features are a great help not only to the composition, but also to the comprehension of the lyrics. They help to define the structural and thematic contour of the lyrics, so that the audience "in the know" can anticipate the message correctly, and hence comprehend more readily. This discussion is, so far as my reading goes, the first serious attempt to study the Western songs by taking

into account their oral nature, and, I think, it has succeeded in demonstrating that the approach can alert us to the effect of many of the thematic and stylistic features in the process of oral communication.

Finally, a few words on the influence of the Western songs on the literary scene of later ages may be appropriate. We cannot trace the Western song tradition further back in history, nor can we examine its development in later ages, since never before or since, until this century when interest in folk culture tends to flourish, were the songs of the western region recorded in a significant quantity. However, the influence of the Western songs on the literary tradition has been widely acknowledged and discussed. One of the much discussed influence is on the rise of *jueju* 絕句 in the Tang poetry. Many *jueju*, like Western songs and Wu songs, are pentasyllabic quatrains, and it is tempting to trace the origin of the later genre to the songs.¹ But it has also been argued that another poetic form, *duan ju* 斷句, which is structurally a pentasyllabic quatrain, and was quite popular among the poets of the Southern Dynasties, is the proper origin of *jueju*.² The issue remains highly contentious. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to think that popularity of the songs among the literati might have helped to popularize the structure as a poetic idiom.

The other influence claimed is on the rise of the *ci* genre, a kind of lyric mostly of irregular lines, which gained immense popularity since the end of Tang. Yang Shen's 楊慎 (1488-1559) thus comments in *Ci pin* 詞品, 1.1b:

The practice of composing *ci* lyrics to various tunes arose in Tang, but its origin could be traced to the Six Dynasties (i.e. Wu [222-280], Eastern Jin [317-420], Song, Qi, Liang and Chen).

Yang goes on to cite *Jiangnan nong* 江南弄 by the Emperor Wu of Liang as example. According to *YFSJ* 50.726, *Jiangnan nong* was created by modifying some of the Western songs. The song lyrics of the Emperor Wu resemble a *ci* lyric in two ways: first they were sung to music; second, they were made of irregular lines in a fixed form. Yang's view, plausible as it is, has aroused much controversy. Some opponents have argued that since *ci* lyrics are sung to the tunes of Yan music 燕樂, which was foreign music imported during the Sui and Tang dynasties, it is hence not possible to date the origin of *ci* earlier than Sui.³ We may leave the unsolved problem to future debate since discussion of the origin of the *ci* genre involves a much wider scope of literary history than can be considered here.

The third major influence is on the Tang poetry in general, and it is here that the influence is unmistakable. Tang poets such as Li Bo 李白 (701-762) and Wen Tingyun 温庭筠 (ca. 812-870) not only wrote poems to the titles of Western tunes,⁴ but also frequently alluded to the Western lyrics in their other poetic creations. By way of example, I will give some Western lyrics and some lines from the Tang poems which seems to have been influenced by the Western song:

Xiangyang yue no.1 (*YFSJ* 48.703)

The many girls of Dadi
Their blossoming beauty dazzles your eyes.

大堤諸女兒
花艷驚郎目。

- a. Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824), *Song Li Shangshu You fu Xiangyang ba yun de chang zi* 送李尚書遊起襄陽八韻得長字 (A poem of sixteen lines with *chang* as the rhyme word, written when sending off Li You, the Grand Secretary, who is going to Xiangyang):

Distinguished is this visitor to Xianshou,
The singing girls of Dadi are all blossoming beauties.⁵

風流峴首客。
花艷大堤倡。

- b. Yuan Zhen 元稹 (779-831), *Chou Letian fu Jiangzhou lu shang jian ji*, no.2 酬樂天赴江州路上見寄 (In reply to Letian [i.e. Bo Juyi 白居易, 772-846], who has sent me a poem when on the way to Jiangzhou):

Dadi (The Great Dyke) surrounds the Xiangyang city,
My house looks out onto the dyke.
Candles follow the blossoming beauties to come in,
Horses depart with morning clouds.⁶

襄陽大堤繞。
我向大堤住。
燭隨花艷來。
騎送朝雲去。

- c. Lo Qiu 羅虬 (fl. ninth century). "Bihonger shi" 比紅兒詩
(A poem on Bihonger):

She can charm all with a smile,
No need to go to Dadi for a blossoming beauty.⁷

能將一笑使人迷。
花艷何須上大堤。

It should be evident from these examples that the Tang poets must have known the songs well enough to adopt their motifs and vocabulary in their own creations. However, the examples, like others we have discovered,⁸ can show little more than that a Western song had become a learned allusion in the literary tradition. A fuller understanding of the heritage will involve a close and extensive study of the later poetry, which might best be left to future scholarship. Nevertheless, there is certainly an interaction between the Chinese folk tradition and the literary one. We perhaps still know too little about the folk tradition to study the relation in depth, but the recognition of this interaction has at least one important implication for students of

Chinese literature: the literary tradition cannot be fully understood if its folk counterpart continues to be neglected.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. a. *XTS*, Treatise on Rituals and Music, 22.478:
There were also the Western songs 西曲 from Congling 葱嶺 (Chinese Pamirs). When performing, men and women formed into a file, stamped their feet and sang.
 - b. Fang Yizhi 方以智 (d.1671), *Tongya 通雅*, 29.14a:
Muhu sha 穆護然 is a western song 西曲. I have found that in the Tang dynasty there were about two thousand Zoroastrian Mohu monks 穆護祇僧 who came from Da Qin 大秦 (roughly Middle East) to China. Muhu is now the title of a tune which, I think, is of western origin.
Muhu 穆護 is a transliteration of the Old Persian *mogu* which refers to Zoroastrian monks. See Rao Zongyi 饒宗頤, *Muhu ge kao 穆護歌考* in *Dagongbao zai Xianggang fukan sanshi zhounian jinian wenji 大公報在香港復刊三十周年紀念文集*, vol.2, pp.737-771. For the early history of Zoroastrian worship in China, see also Liu Ts'un-yan 柳宗元, "Traces of Zoroastrian and Manichaen Activities in T'ang China," in *Selected Papers from the Hall of the Harmonious Wind*, pp. 3-55.
 - c. Zhai Hao 翟翹 (?-1788), *Tongsu bian 通俗編*, 19.14a:
Presently, the short airs from Shanxi 山西 and Shanxi 陝西 are called "western songs" 西曲, but they are very different from their ancient namesake.
 - d. According to *YFSJ*, Zhonghua shuju edition, 1978, 47.689, the songs which came from Jing-Chu 荊楚 (roughly Hubei and Hunan), Fang 樊 and Deng 鄧 (both at the north of Xiangyang 襄陽, Hubei), and which became popular in the Southern Dynasties, were called "Western songs".
2. The following two instances may suffice for illustration:
 - a. *Jin shu*, Biography of He Chong 何充 (292-346), 77.2030:
Jing-Chu is the western gate of this country.
 - b. Sheng Hongzhi 盛弘之 (fl. early fifth century), *Jingzhou ji 荊州記* (*Han Tang dilishu chao 漢唐地理書鈔*, p.333):
The present emperor was in the west, when suddenly an islet emerged from the river.
The Emperor was Wen di 文帝 (407-453) of Liu Song 劉宋. He was then the governor of Jingzhou 荊州 and stationed at Jiangling 江陵 (in Hubei).
 3. In 554, the army of the Western Wei 西魏 (535-556), one of the northern dynasties, captured Jiangling in a major offensive against the southern empire. Xiao Cha 蕭詧 (519-562), the grandson of the Liang Emperor Wu 梁武帝 (464-549), had assisted Western Wei in the conquest, and was afterwards made the ruler of the small state set up around the city.
 4. See *YFSJ*, 47.688. According to *Yuhai 玉海* 105.21a, *GJYL* was compiled in the second year of the Guangdai 光大 era (568) of the Chen dynasty.

Notes to Chapter I

5. See YTXY, 10.3b-5a. The section comprises the following tunes: *Shicheng yue* 石城樂, *Guke yue* 古客樂, *Wu ye ti* 烏夜啼, *Xiangyang yue* 襄陽樂, *Yangpaner* 楊叛兒 which are also mentioned by Zhijiang in GJYL. See YFSJ 47.468-469. There is much controversy over when Xu Ling (507-583) compiled YTXY. The present consensus is that Xu Ling 徐陵 undertook the task under the auspices of the Liang Emperor Jianwen 簡文帝 (503-551) when he was still the crown prince, i.e. between 531 and 549. See Kōzen Hiroshi 興膳宏, "Gyokudai shin'ei seiritsu kō" 玉台新詠成立考, *Tohogaku* 東方學 63(1982): 58-73, which is a more recent and very ably argued treatise on the topic. Kozen holds that the anthology must have been compiled around 534. In any case, YTXY definitely antedates GJYL.
6. Thus says the Emperor Jianwen of Liang in *Zheng fu* 正賦 (Yi-wen leizui 藝文類聚 44.787):

It accompanies the Western dances which are performed by the beauties of Jing.

和兩舞於荆妃

As we shall see in the next note and in Chapter II, many of the Western songs are dance songs.

According to *Zuan yao* 纂要 (by Emperor Yuan of Liang 507-555), p.26:

Chu songs are called "yan". 楚歌曰豔

The term was widely used as the following may illustrate:

a.

Those from South China present us with the yan of Jing.

江南進楚豔

Yan Yanzhi 顏延之 (384-456), *Jujia xing Jingkou sanyue sanri shiyou Qu'e Houhu zuo* 車駕幸京口三月日侍遊曲阿後湖作

b.

Chu yan arouses sadness in the travellers.

楚豔起行旅

Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385-433), *Pengcheng gong zhong zhi gan suimu* 彭城宮中直齋裁筮

See Ding Fubao 丁福保 (1874-1952), *Quan Song shi* 全宋詩 2.616 and 3.652.

The other term "xi sheng" 西聲 is found in *Wei shu* 魏書, Treatise on Music, 109.2842, and it refers to the songs of Jing-Chu.

Du Taiqing 杜臺卿 (?-ca.596) in his *Yuzhu baodian* 玉燭寶典 uses the term "Wu songs" 吳歌 when referring to the following Western songs: *Jiangling yue* 江陵樂, *Shuang xingchan* 雙行柝, and *Yuejie zhe yangliu* 月節折楊柳. See *Yuzhu*, 5.16b, 18a; 6.15a; 7.13b. Wu is the area around Jiankang and well beyond

Notes to Chapter I

the Jing-Chu region. Du was a Northerner from Quyang 曲陽 (in Hebei), and Northerners of the time tended to refer to South China generally as Wu. For instance, Zhou shu 周書, Biography of Zhangsun Jian 長孫儉, 26.428:

Taizu 太祖 (i.e. Emperor Wen of Zhou 周文帝, 504-555) thus wrote to Zhangsun Jian 長孫儉 (d.569), ".... But the people of Wu left the place because of war. They should be welcome back and be comforted. It [Jiangling] is moreover an important city on our southern border. Bearing all these in mind, I think you are my best choice as governor." Hence he ordered Zhangsun Jiang to take station at Jiangling.

This happened soon after the northern army had successfully invaded Jiangling in 554. The city was in Jingzhou and within the territory of Liang. The so-called "people of Wu" were in fact people living in that area. For biographical details of Du, see SuS, 58.1421.

7. See SoS, Treatise on Music, 19.552. The author Shen Yue (441-512) uses the phrase "dance music of the Qiang barbarians and the vulgar of the west" 西倉羌胡諸雜舞 when referring to the Western songs and some foreign music.
8. The following comment by Zheng Qiao 鄭樵 (1101-1162) (TZ, 75.865) has been well noted:
The area between Yangzi and the Han river was called "Er nan" 二南 (i.e. Zhounan 周南 and Zhaonan 召南). It is here that shi (i.e. the songs of Shi jing) originated. See also Sun Zuoyun 孫作雲, "Cong du shi de fangmian tantan Shi jing de shidai he diyuxing" 從讀史的方面談談詩經的時代和地域性, in Shi jing yanjiu lunwen ji 詩經研究論文集, vol.1, pp.51-70.
9. See Chuci buzhu 楚辭補注, 2.1b-2a.
10. Han shu, Treatise on Rituals and Music 禮樂志, 22.1043:
The founding emperor Gaozu 高祖 (r.202-195 B.C.) was very fond of the music of Chu. Hence the Fangzhong yue 房中樂 (a kind of ritual music played at court) were music of this kind.
We are told in the same history (22.1045) that when the Music Bureau was first established, local songs from all over the empire were collected, among them were those from Zhao 趙 (roughly southern Shanxi 山西 and Hebei), Dai 代 (roughly northern Shanxi 山西), Qin 秦 (roughly Shanxi 陝西) and Chu 楚.
In Wen xuan 文選, 4.8a-b, Zhang Heng 張衡 (78-139) thus describes a popular entertainment in the city Nanyang 南陽:
The dance of Zhepan from Western Jing makes one grieve.
怨西荆之折盤
(Nandu fu 南都賦)
- Li Shan 李善 (?-689) rightly says that Zhepan was a Chu dance 楚舞. The dance is otherwise named "Qipan" 七盤. Its popularity among the upper class might also be evidenced by a

Notes to Chapter I

tomb mural in Yinan 沂南 . See Zeng Zhaoyu 曾昭燏 , *Yinan gu huaxiang shimu fajue baogao* 沂南古畫像石墓發掘報告 , p.83. For further details of the dance, see also Guo Lifang 葛立方 (?-1164), *Yunyu yangqiu* 韻語陽秋 15.5a; and Konoshi Noboru 小西昇 , "Shichiban mai ni kansuru shosetsu ni tsuite" 七盤舞に関する諸説について , *Nihon Chūgoku gakkai hō* 日本中國學會報 14(1962): 79-92.

11. *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 , 569.7a.
12. Wu songs arose around the city Jiankang, and became popular in the Eastern Jin dynasty. They are often mentioned together with the Western songs since both were roughly contemporaneous, and their places of origin lie adjacent to each other. Some three hundred Wu songs survive today. See *YFSJ*, juan 44-47. For a detailed discussion of the songs, see Wang Yunxi, *Liuchao yue-fu yu ming* 六朝樂府與民歌 .
The prefaces to all Wu songs in *YFSJ* juan 44-47 contain no indication of their being dance songs. *YFSJ* 44.640 quoting *GJYL* gives a list of Wu songs. The quoted work says:
The imperial concubine Bao Mingyue 包明月 (Liang) created the dance *Qian xi*. 前溪
But *SoS*, *Treatise on Music*, 19.549 attributes the work to the Jin commander Shen Chong 沈充 (fl. in the early fourth century). Bao Mingyue might have revised it as dance song.
13. The original text gives 荆楚四聲 which does not seem to make sense. *TD* 142.738 contains a very similar passage where "xi" 西 is given instead of "si" 四 .
14. See *SuS*, *Treatise on Music*. 15.349. A brief account of the *Qingshang* music in the north from the time of Northern Wei 北魏 (386-534) may be in order here. Northern Wei later split into two dynasties: Eastern Wei 東魏 (534-550) which was centered at Luoyang, and Western Wei 西魏 (535-551) of which the capital was Changan. The two dynasties were subsequently superseded by two others: Northern Qi 北齊 (550-577) in the east, and Northern Zhou 北周 (557-581) in the west. Northern Zhou finally conquered Northern Qi in 577 and unified the north, but was itself soon replaced by a new dynasty Sui (581-618). *Qingshang*, which was in the possession of Northern Wei, was left to Northern Qi. We know from *SuS*, *Treatise on Music*, 14.331, that *Qingshang* was among the "miscellaneous music" of Northern Qi. According to the same page in *SuS*, the last but one emperor of Northern Qi, Qi Houzhu 齊後主 (555-577) (the last emperor Youzhu 幼主 , r.577, ruled but three months) who had the longest reign (11 years) in the dynasty, "loved only barbarian music" 唯賞胡戎樂 .
As to the state of music in Northern Zhou, it is thus stated in *JTS*, *Treatise on Music*, 28.1040:
The Yuan Wei 元魏 and the Yuwen 宇文 (Yuan and Yuwen were surnames of the royal families of the Wei and Northern

Notes to Chapter I

Zhou respectively) in turn ruled over the northern wilderness. *Qingyue* was hardly played. People enjoyed only the old folk music of their country.

Hence, before the Sui dynasty, *Qingshang*, which was also named *Qingyue*, was by no means popular in the north. With the old musicians dying out, much of the *Qingyue* music must have been lost over the years. Before the conquest of the south, Emperor Wen of Sui 隋文帝 (541-604) could have hardly heard any *Qingshang* music at all.

15. See *SuS*, Treatise on Music, 15.378. One of the songs mentioned of *Qingyue* is *Yangpan* 陽伴, which is the same as a Western song *Yangpaner* 楊叛兒. See also Qian Daxin 錢大昕 (1728-1804), *Nian er shi kaoyi* 廿二史考異, 32.625.
16. Of the Nine Sections of Music 九部樂, which were the most important entertainment in the court of Sui, at least seven were imported from foreign kingdoms such as Kucha 龜茲, Samarkand 康國 and Koguryo 高句麗. The Nine Sections were expanded into ten in the Tang dynasty. See *SuS*, Treatise on Music, 15.377-379, and *JTS*, juan 28, Treatise on Music. The ten sections were later replaced by *Libu ji* 立部伎 (Standing Division of Music) and *Zuobu ji* 坐部伎 (Sitting Division of Music). According to *JTS* 29.1060 and 1062, the former contains some elements of Kucha music 雜以龜茲樂, while the latter was for the most part made of Kucha music 皆用龜茲樂.
17. Du You's account of the decline of *Qingshang* can be found in *TD* 146.761. For the items of *Fagu* 法曲 music, see *Tang hui yao* 唐會要 33.614. Among these items, *Yushu houting hua* 玉樹後庭花 and *Fan longzhou* 泛龍舟 were taken from the *Qingshang* repertory. Emperor Xuanzong was so fond of the music that he took it upon himself to teach the music to musicians of his own selection. See *XTS*, Treatise on Rituals and Music, 22.476.
18. *Wu ye ti* appears in a list of Tang music found in Cui Lingqin's 崔令欽 (fl. mid-eighth century) *Jiaofang ji* 教坊記 (p.178). The song was also known to have been performed in the court of Xuanzong. It was said that once the emperor played the accompaniment on a *konghou* 箜篌 (a harp like instrument) when a singer delivered the song. (See Chen Yang 陳旸 (fl. early twelfth century), *Yue shu* 樂書 128.5b. Among the *ci* 詞 lyrics of Li Houzhu 李後主 (Li Yu 李煜, 937-978), there are two *Wu ye ti* which structurally differ greatly from each other. One is, according to Wan Shu's (fl.1687) *Ci lü* 詞律, 2.14a, the same as another tune *Xiangjian huan* 相見歡. Whether either of the two *Wu ye ti* originated from the Western song is uncertain. Nevertheless, both of them feature quite often in *ci* collections of the Song literati. Among the *qu* 曲 lyrics of the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368), there is also a *Wu ye ti*. See, for example, *Qu pu* 曲譜, which was compiled during the reign of the Qing Emperor Kangxi 康熙

Notes to Chapter I

(1654-1722), 2.47-48. Whether it is related musically to the Western song is again uncertain.

19. See Duan, *Yuefu*, p.9.
20. According to the preface of the work which dated from the fifth year of Meiwa 明和五年 (1768), the great grandfather of Wei Hao, Wei Shuanghou 魏雙侯, had served in the Ming government before he moved to Nagasaki at the end of the Chongjing 崇禎 era (1628-1644). He was an adept musician, and his art was handed down to Wei Hao. Though it is generally believed that the songs in the book were representative of Ming music, there is no evidence that Wei Hao might not have composed some of the music himself. It should be added that the musical notation was not printed, but written out later on. I have compared three copies of the work, all belonging to the 1768 edition, the notations are on the whole the same. For a more detailed discussion of *Wei shi yuepu*, see Hayashi Kenzō 林謙三, "Mingaku haichi chō ni tsuite" 明樂八調について in *Tanabe sensei kanreki Tōa ongaku ronsō* 田邊先生還曆紀念東亞音樂論叢, pp.571-601; and Rao Zongyi 饒宗頤, "Wei shi yuepu guankui" 魏氏樂譜管窺, in *Ciyue congkan* 詞樂叢刊 1(October 1958), pp.149-170.
21. See Rao, "Wei shi yuepu guankui", pp.151-154. Rao suggests this, but only tentatively, on the ground that the musical notations as found in the work resemble closely those in Zhu Quan's 朱權 (d.1448) *Tangyue di zipu* 唐樂笛字譜 (Tang music scores in flute tablature). He, moreover, discovers that the book has recorded a way of singing "Yuanguan sandie" 陽關三疊 which is quite close to what is thought to be the Tang manner of rendering the song. The book certainly deserves more scholarly attention. I have transcribed the Western songs in the book in European musical notation for easier reading. See Appendix A, pp. 326-331.
22. See note 5.
23. In one of Wang Xizhi's 王羲之 (303-379) letters, it is said:
I now give you the song script. If you have a scribe 寫書人, please ask him to write me a copy of it.
(Wan Youjun ji 王右軍集, Han Wei Liuchao 漢魏六朝石三家集, 1.22a-b)
Another instance is found in *Bei shi* 北史, Biography of Yang Junzhi 陽俊之 (fl. mid-sixth century), 47.1728:
In the time of Wenxiang 文襄 (i.e. Gao Cheng 高澄, 521-549), Yang had written many song-lyrics in six-syllable lines. They were licentious and crude, but widely circulated. Some people gave them the name "Yang Wu banlu" 陽五伴侶, and even wrote them out for sale in the market place.
24. Other than the five lyrics in the section "Jindai xiqu ge"

Notes to Chapter I

近代西曲歌, there were three others - Xunyang yue 尋陽樂, Qingyang gequ 青陽歌曲 and Cansi ge 蠶絲歌 (i.e. Zuo cansi 作蠶絲) - under the section head of "Jindai zage 近代雜歌". In the same chapter, there is also one other Western song, Dangyang Mengzhu ge 丹陽孟珠歌. See YTXY, 10.6b-7a.

25. See Wang Mo's 王謨 (fl.1778) *Han Wei yishu chao* 漢魏遺書鈔, Ma Guohan's 馬國翰 (1794-1857) *Yuhan shanfang ji yishu* 玉函山房輯佚書 and Huang Shi's 黃奭 (fl.1843) *Hanxue tang cong shu* 漢學堂叢書. Wang's collection is the most complete. One of the entries, which is taken from *Taiping yulan*, 565.8a, is as follows:

Emperor Wen of Sui sent Mao Shuang, Cai Ziyuan and [?] Jinming to watch the ethers.

隋文帝遣毛瑛及蔡子元口晉明等以候氣

It appears to contradict the date of GJYL given in *Yuhai*, since "Wen" is the posthumous title of the Emperor who died in 604. In the Treatise on Bibliography, *SuS*, 32.926, the author of the work is given as "Shumen Zhijiang of Chen" 陳沙門智匠. By the time of Southern Song, GJYL was still extant, and was mentioned by You Mou 尤袤 (1127-1194) in *Suichu tang shumu* 遂初堂書目, p.3. Wang Yinglun 王應麟 (1223-1296), the author of *Yuhai*, in fact cites another work of early Southern Song - *Zhongxing shumu* 中興書目 - to give the date of GJYL. I think *Yuhai* should be reliable. The editors of *Taiping yulan* may have wrongly ascribed the fragment to Zhijiang, or some alteration was made in GJYL so that later material was added to it. As another point of interest, the Chinese cosmic magic known as "watch the ethers" is a curious practice which attempts to detect the arrival of "cosmic ethers" with pitch-pipes. See Derk Bodde, "The Chinese Cosmic Magic Known as 'Watch for the Ethers'", in *Studia Serica Bernhard Karlgren Dedicata*, pp.14-35.

26. Cheng Tachang 程大昌 (1123-1195), who has seen the work, notes that the work deals with the music from Han to Liang. See Cheng, *Yan Fanlu* 演繁露, 14.2b. However, the fragments as collected mention songs ascribed to Xu You 許由 and Zhuang Zhou 莊周 etc., who lived in pre-Qin times. Zhijiang was perhaps discussing music current in the Han and later periods, but believed to be composed in earlier times.

27. GJYL is cited in YFSJ 25.365 as saying:
From "At fifteen I joined the army and marched to battle" onwards, the lines belong to an old poem.

「十五從軍行」以下是古詩。

The song in concern is *Ziliu ma geci* 紫馬留馬歌辭. On the same page in YFSJ, the quoted line "At fifteen" heads the third lyric to the tune, and the lyric itself is followed by

Notes to Chapter I

- three more lyrics. These four lyrics are continuous in sense, and often anthologized as one poem. See, for example, Ding, *Quan Han shi*, p.59. Nevertheless, the quotation strongly suggests that *GJYL* must have recorded the lyrics, though the extant fragments are mostly without them.
28. See Chapter II, pp. 24-63.
29. *Ibid.*.
30. As a matter of fact, *ji* might be passed on from the court to the houses of powerful ministers, and vice versa. Emperors very often made gifts of *ji*, presumably from his possession, to his ministers and generals. For some examples, see *Jiankang shilu* 建康實錄, 12.37a-b; *Liang shu*, Biography of Yuan Faseng 元法興, 39.553-554; *Chen shu*, Annals of Emperor Xuan 宣帝, 5.97; Biography of Wu Mingche 吳明徹, 9.162; and Biography of Chen Weiji 陳慧紀, 9.220; *Nan shi*, Biography of Xu Mian 徐勉, 60.1485. On the other hand, officials might present their own *ji* to the emperor as tribute. See, for example, *Nan Qi shu*, Biography of Xiao Jingxian 蕭景先, 38.663. Sometimes, perhaps not very often, emperors might simply took away *ji* from his ministers by force. See *Nan Qi shu*, Biography of Dao Hui 到褊, 37.647; and *Nan shi*, Biography of Zhou Fengshu 周奉叔, 46.1158.
31. See *YFSJ* 47.688-689 for the arrangement of the Western songs in *GJYL*. See also *YFSJ*, *juan* 47, 48 and 49. Guo has added to the list a number of creations by the literati, such as Liang Emperor Jianwen's *Wu qi qu* 烏棲曲 and *Yongzhou qu* 雍州曲, and one anonymous tune *Changlin huan* 常林歡. *Huang ying* 黃嬰 which appears in *GJYL* does not appear again in Guo's collection. Perhaps no lyric is ever recorded of the tune even in *GJYL*. Otherwise, the number and the order of the tune titles are the same in both works.
32. In Wu Jing's work, the Western songs appear in the following order: *Wu ye ti* 烏夜啼, *Shicheng yue* 石城樂, *Mochou* 莫愁, and *Xiangyang yue*. See Wu, pp.17b-18a. In both *TD* 146.761 and *JTS*, *Treatise on Music*, 29.1065-1067, the Western songs are arranged as follows: *Wu ye ti*, *Shicheng yue*, *Mochou*, *Xiangyang yue*, *Qiwu yefei* 棲烏夜飛, *Guke yue*, *Yangpaner*, *Changlin huan*, *Sanzhou ge* 三洲歌, and *Caisang* 採桑. But in *TD* 145.758, the Western songs are discussed in the following order: *Wu ye ti*, *Shicheng yue*, *Mochou*, *Xiangyang yue*, *Shouyang yue* 壽陽樂, *Qiwu yefei*, *Sanzhou ge*, *Caisang*, *Guke yue*, *Yangpaner*, *Xiangyang da tongti* 襄陽蹋銅蹄 and *Changlinhuan*. It should be evident that there is no fixed order for the songs, and the close resemblance between *YFSJ* and *GJYL* is by no means accidental.
33. Hans H. Frankel has distinguished seven types of *yuefu* poems.

Notes to Chapter I

See Frankel, "Yueh-fu poetry," in *Studies in Chinese Literary Genre*, pp.69-70, for a succinct account of the term yuefu.

34. See Su Song 蘇頌 (1020-1101), "Zhifang yuanwai lang Guo jun (i.e. Guo Yuanming) muzhiming" 職方外郎郭君墓誌銘, in *Su Weigong ji 蘇魏公集*, 59.9a-14a. However, according to Chen Zhen sun 陳振孫 (fl.1234)'s *Zhi zhai shulu jieti 直齋書錄解題* 15.14b, Guo Maoqian was the son of Guo Yuanzhong 郭源中, who was the brother of Guo Yuanming. Since Su Song was personally known to the Guo family, Su might be more reliable.
35. Shen Xiong 沈雄 (fl.1688), *Gujin cihua 古今詞話* 1.4b, claims without proof that *Tang ci ji* was compiled by Guo, but later expanded by Dong Fengyuan 董逢元 (fl. late sixteen century). But according to *Siku quanshu zhongmu tiyao 四庫全書總目提要* 40.4480-4481, it was compiled by Dong; Guo was mentioned in the work, but thought to be a Yuan personality. Since the Treatise on Bibliography in *Song shi 宋史* gives *YFSJ* as the only full length work by Guo, *Siku* might be more trustworthy.
36. See Li Geng 李庚 (fl.1145) and Li Sidian 林思敬 (fl. twelfth century), *Tiantai xuji 天台續集*, 2.19. Also Lu Xinyuan's 陸心源 (1834-1894) *Songshi jishi buyi 宋詩紀事補遺*, p.478.
37. *YFSJ* was already frequently cited as early as the first half of the twelfth century. Wu Zeng's 吳曾 (fl. mid-twelfth century) *Nenggai zhai manlu 能改齋漫錄* (1.9), You Mou's 尤袤 (1127-1194) *Suichu tang shumu 遂初堂書目* (p.3), and Guo Lifang's 葛立方 (?-1164) *Yunyu yangqiu 韻語陽秋* (15.4b, 6a) are only a few and better known of the Southern Song writings that have mentioned *YFSJ*.
38. See *Siku quanshu zhongmu tiyao*, 38.4181.
39. See *SBBY* edition of *YFSJ*, 100.9b, in which Mao claimed to have borrowed from an acquaintance a Song edition of *YFSJ* for collating with a Yuan edition which was in his possession. The collation, it is said, took nine months.
40. It is reproduced in fascimile by *Zhonghua shuju*, Beijing, 1955.
41. *YFSJ*, 63.909.
42. *Gu yuefu*, 10.8a.
43. See *XTS*, Treatise on Bibliography, 57.1436. For Shen Jian's work, see *Yu hai* 106.27b. All the works, with the exception of Wu Jing's, were lost.
44. See Zhong Xing, *Gushi gui, juan 10* (no page number), and Chen Zuoming, *Caishu tang gushi xuan* 19.27a.

Notes to Chapter I

45. Apart from the well known systems of *gong*, 宮 *shang* 商, *jue* 角, *zhi* 徵, *yu* 羽, which dated from the pre-Qin period, some other systems might have been developing by that time. The *qin* 琴 score *Jieshi diao youlan* 碣石調幽蘭, for example, was written out in characters indicating the fingering rather than the pitch, and it was ascribed to Qiu Ming 丘明 of the Liang dynasty. The earliest extant *pipa* score, which is known as *Tempyo biwafu* 天平琵琶譜 and dated from 747, was written in a notation system consisting in simplified Chinese characters. The score is presently kept in Shōshōin 正倉院, but is generally believed to be of Chinese origin. See Hayashi Kenzō, *Shōshōin gakki no kenkyū* 正倉院樂器の研究, pp.251-264. Martin Gimm has noted that there is mentioned in *SuS* a work by Xiao Ji 蕭吉 (?-614) called *Yuepu jijie* 樂譜集解 (Collected exegesis on musical scores). See Gimm, *Das Yüeh-fu tsa-lu des Tuan An-chieh*, p.466; and *SuS*, Treatise on Bibliography, 32.927 where Xiao's work is given as *Yuepu ji* 樂譜集 and where another work *Yuepu* 樂譜 (Musical scores), probably of similar nature, is mentioned.

46. See *Jiudai yuezhang*, *juan* 3-6, which contains some of the Western songs.

47. For further discussion of *Qingshang*, see Chapter III, pp. 112-122.

48. *Ibid.*.

49. For instance, in Evans, p.76, it is said:
Perhaps because the songs of the Southern Dynasties are love songs - a type not common in Chinese poetry until much later - their style does have a markedly familiar, highly emotive quality.

But in fact, we can claim quite comfortably, even when not counting the "popular songs", that love poetry was fairly common in the Southern Dynasties. *YTXY*, for example, is essentially a collection of love poetry and draws profusely from the poetic works of the time.

In Evans, p.44, a Western song to the tune *Neihe tan* 那呵讌 is translated as follows:

When I go, it's as good as returning,
I'll never stay along the road.
If I should stay along the road,
I'll send good news by letter.

我去只如還。
終不在道邊。
我若在這邊。
良信寄書還。

Xin 信 of the last line refers to "messenger", rather than the "news". The word was generally understood as meaning "messen-

Notes to Chapter I

ger" at the time, as the following may illustrate:
 Lu Shuang 魯爽 (d.454) put Liu Yixuan 劉義宣 (413-454)
 on the throne, and sent messengers to Jianye 建業 to welcome
 his brother Yu 遣信至建業迎弟瑜 .

50. See Evans, *Popular Songs*, pp.75-1121.
51. W.H. Auden and Chester Kallman, *An Elizabethan Song Book*, p.vii.
52. *Ibid.*, p.viii.
53. Some examples may be in order. In Hsieh, *The Folk Songs*, p.18, it is said:
 According to Nan-Ch'i-shu 南齊書, Ching-chou (荊州) and Yang-chou were the two largest cities of the south. Jingzhou (Ching-chou) and Yangzhou (Yang-chou) as used in *Nan Qi shu*, juan 15 (which is cited by the author), are provinces and not cities. On p.90, 清商三調 is translated as "the three tunes of Ch'ing-shang". As it is evident in *SoS*, juan 21, *Treatise on Music*, 清商三調 consist of more than three tunes, and 三調 refers to three musical modes. See also Chapter III of this discussion, pp. 112-119.
54. Hsieh, *The Folk Songs*, p.12.
55. See Chapter IV, pp.186-187.
56. See Chapter V, notes 1 and 2, p.309.
57. See Auden and Kallman, *op. cit.*, p.vii; Edward Doughtie, *Lyrics from English Airs 1596-1622*, pp.36-37; Mark W. Booth, *The Experience of Songs*, pp.7-14.
58. Doughtie, *Lyrics*, pp.36-37.
59. R.W. Ingram, "Words and Music," in *Elizabethan Poetry*, p.134.
60. *Siku quanshu zhongmu tiyao*, 38.4146. The Ming scholar Mei Ding-zuo has made similar statements and is quoted at length on the same page in *Siku*. Similar criticism can also be found in Li Xiaoguang's 李孝光 (Yuan Dynasty) preface to the Yuan edition of *YFSJ*. See *YFSJ*, preface, p.1a, *SBBY* edition.
61. It should be mentioned that Yu Xin's poem is given another title, "He jiangzhong guke" 和江中鬻客, in *Yu Zishan ji zhu* 庾子山集注, and is put in the *shi* section rather than the *yuefu* section. See *Yu Zishan ji zhu*, 4.34b.
62. *YFSJ* 49.725 and *TD* 145.758.
63. See note 39.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. Song or later sources are not given since they are mainly based on the Tang or earlier sources.
2. See Ren Ne, *Jiaofang ji jianding* 教坊記箋訂 , pp.178-180.
3. *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 , Biographies of Xiaos and Caos 夏侯、曹 , 9.292.
4. See Ding, *Quan Han Sanguo Jin Nanbeichao shi* 全漢三國晉南北朝詩 , *Quan Liang shi* 全梁詩 , p.1107.
5. See Ding, *Quan Bei Zhou shi* 全北周詩 , p.1611
6. See Ding, *Quan Bei Qi shi* 全北齊詩 , p.1521.
7. See Ding, *Quan Chen shi* 全陳詩 , p.1385.
8. My finding agrees with that in Fujii Mamoru's 藤井守 article "U ya tei no seritsu to sono denshō" 烏夜啼の成立とその伝唱, *Shinagaku kenkyū* 支那學研究 29(1963):23-31.
9. Zhang Ji 張籍 , *Zhang Siye ji* 張司業詩集 , 1.11a-b.
10. Yuan Zhen 元稹 , *Yuanshi Changqing ji* 元氏長慶集 , 9.3a-b.
11. It should be noted that *JTS* and *Baishi liutie* quote almost verbatim from *TD*.
12. Wang Yunxi, *Liuchao*, p.96.
13. *YFSJ* 86.1204 gives the author as Emperor Wu of Liang 梁武帝 (464-549).
14. *YFSJ* 48.698.
15. *YFSJ* 47.689.
16. It is not certain what "chang chong" 常重 means. Editors of *JTS*, punctuated edition, *Zhonghua shuju* 中華書局 , 1975, consider it to be the name of the singer, but Masuda Kiyohide takes it as meaning "always repeating". See Masuda, *Gafu no rekishiteki kenkyū* 樂府の歴史的研究 , p.146. Perhaps "gang-yi zhi sheng" 感憶之聲 is similar to "wangzhou sheng" in that they are both refrains, and should therefore be repeated. Emperor Wu was perhaps instructing the singers where to sing the refrain.
17. A number of places were named Wucheng 五城 , but the one frequented by the Emperor must be close to the imperial capital. It is said in *Jiankang shilu* 建康實錄 , 6.8a says:
According to the *tujing* 圖經 , Wucheng (The Five Citadels) were in the shape of a crescent moon, and about two zhang high. Each was twenty zhang apart from the other. They are

Notes to Chapter II

- situated twenty-five li 里 east of the present county (i.e. Jiankang, or modern Nanjing). Tao Jizhi 陶季直 (437-511) thus says in *Jingdu ji* 京都記 : "Wucheng stands by the river Huai 淮 and close to the lake. It is a usual spot for farewell feasts ."
18. The exact meaning of "shi jiangzhong yi chu" 使江中衣出 is not clear. See commentary.
19. *Nan Qi shu*, Annals of Emperor Wu. 3.62 :
He was not quite given to travel, feasting and other luxuries 頗不喜游宴離綺之事 . He had said that he always disapproved of all these, and yet he failed to give them up entirely. It is quoted verbatim in *Nan shi* 4.126 except that "bu" 不 (not) is omitted. The context suggests that "bu" is most likely a gloss.
20. Zhong Rong 鍾嶸 , *Shipin* 詩品 3.46.
21. *Ibid.*.
22. *Quan Tang shi* 全唐詩 324.3643.
23. Wang Yunxi, *Liuchao*, pp.93-95.
24. Ding, *Quan Liang shi*, p.878. Jiuyuan 九原 is at the north of Jiang xian 絳縣 in Shanxi 山西 . It was the burial place of the Jin 晉 ministers in the Spring and Autumn period (770-476 B.C.). See Wei Zhao 韋昭 (204-273)'s commentary in *Guoyu* 國語 , 14.11b. Xiao Tong is here alluding to death with the figure.
25. Ding, *Quan Liang shi*, p.961.
26. James Legge, *The Chinese Classics V, The Ch'un Ts'ew with the Tso Chuen*, p.146.
27. See the Biography of Hulü Guang 斛律光 (515-572), *Bei Qi shu* 北齊書 , 17.225; and the Biography of Bian Bin, *Nan Qi shu* 南齊書 52.892.
28. *Liang shu*, Biography of Yuan Ang, 31.453.
29. The translation follows the text in *JTS* 29.1067. What is actually quoted by Guo Maoqian here, 採桑園三洲曲而生此聲苑也 , makes little sense.
30. See *Shuijing zhu* 水經注 4.56. Guo's preface is quoted verbatim in many later collections and studies of yuefu poetry, such as Mei Dingzuo's 梅鼎祚 (1553-1619) *Gu yue yuan* 古樂苑 (25.11b) and Lu Kanru's 陸侃如 *Yuefu guci kao* 樂府古辭考 (p.51).

Notes to Chapter II

31. It is cited in *Shui jing zhu* 34.23-24.
32. The *Qingshang* section in *YFSJ* comprises mainly of the Wu songs and the Western songs. See *YFSJ* 44.639 - 51.750.
33. See *YFSJ* 72.1028.
34. Burton Watson, *Chinese Lyricism*, p.61.
35. See *Han shu*, Treatise on Rituals and Music, 22.1054-1055.
36. Anne Birrell has translated "*Qingyang gegu*" 青陽歌曲 as "Songs of Spring" without explanation. See Birrell, *New Songs from a Jade Terrace*, p.271. Shen Zan's 臣瓚 commentary to a Han sacrificial song reads:
Spring is called "*Qingyang*".
春為青陽。
- See *Han shu* 22.1055. "*Qingyang*" seems to be a learned metonymy for spring 春, hence the commentary. The term never occurs in the Western songs, wherein "spring" is represented by "*chun*" or "*yangchun*" 陽春. I am therefore inclined to think that "*Qingyang*" is more likely a place name. For the family name and identity of Shen Zan, see Hong Ye 洪業, "Zai lun Shen Zan" 再論臣瓚, *Qinghua xuebao* 清華學報 3.1(1962):1-15.
37. Ding, *Quan Liang shi*, p.952.
38. *YFSJ* 25.369.
39. The music was said to be found in the Music Bureau and played with the wind instruments of the northern barbarians 樂吹胡吹舊曲. It is thought that the songs came from the north and probably originated from the non-Han communities. See *YFSJ* 25.309-310, and 362.
40. See Wang, *Liuchao*, p.43.
41. See *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 95.1652.
42. *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 53.7b-8a.
43. According to *Shuijing zhu* 34.11b, *Jingzhou ji* has referred to a Liu Song emperor as "*jin shang*" 今上 (the present emperor). It is stated in *Jingzhou ji* that before the emperor came to the throne, an islet had emerged in the Yangzi river, which was considered an auspice of his coming ascension. *Nan shi*, Annals of Liang, 8.256 gives the emperor as Emperor Wen of Liu Song when recounting the same incident.
44. The lyric is recorded in *Jin shu*, Treatise on the Five Elements 五行志, 28.848.

Notes to Chapter II

45. *YFSJ* 49.713.
46. See *SoS*, Biography of Liu Daoji 劉道濟, 45.1382.
47. Wang Yunxi, *Liuchao*, p.107.
48. Legge, *The Ch'un Ts'ew with Tso chuen*, p.289.
49. *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhushu* 春秋左傳注疏 21.8b.
50. *Ri zhi lu* 日知錄 32.2b.
51. The text seems corrupted. It is possible to read "yige" either with "er qu" 二曲 (two songs), or with "ba qu" 八曲 (eight songs).
52. Jingyang shan 景陽山 is a man-made hill in the imperial palace of Jiankang. See *SoS*, Annals of Emperor Wen, 5.94.
53. Of the three extant lyrics to the tune, two are grouped together, and both mention dancing. It seems, therefore, that "yige" should not be read with "er qu" 二曲, as the punctuated edition of *YFSJ*, *Zhonghua shuju*, 1979, suggests. See *YFSJ* 49.715. According to the usual formula, there must be a "jiu" (formerly) before "wu" 舞 (dance).
54. The table of content in *YFSJ* ascribes the only extant lyric to the tune *Bai fu jiu* to Wu Jun 吳均 (469-520), but the name of the author does not appear again with the lyric in the main body of the collection. Zuo Keming 左克明 (fl.1346)'s *Gu yue-fu* 7.11b gives the lyric as anonymous. *Wu chaoqing ji* 吳朝請集 in *Han Wei Liuchao baisan jia ji* 漢魏六朝百三集 makes no record of the lyric. Therefore, the table of contents in *YFSJ* might be wrong.
55. *SoS*, Treatise on Music, 634-635.
56. *Ibid.* 22.633.
57. The first two lines from each lyric is given in the following for illustration:
- a. *Bai jiu* (*SoS* 22.633)
 Flapping and fluttering the white turtledove,
 It flies as it cries.
 白鳩白鳩白鳩
 戴飛戴鳴。
- b. *Bai fu jiu* (*YFSJ* 49.718)
 At the Bay of Longwei, at Shitou,
 There is the Xinting bank, a place to send off friends.
 石頭龍尾灣
 新亭送客渚。

Notes to Chapter II

58. See Wang Yunxi, *Liuchao*, pp.98-101.
59. *YFSJ* 49.721.
60. Wang Yunxi, *Liuchao*, p.101.
61. *Taiping yulan* 571.4b and 573.6a.
62. The pronunciation of "qi" 棲 and "xi" 西 is represented by the same two characters 索禡 (*suo ji*) in Lu Fayan's 陸法言 (fl.601) *Qie yun* 切韻. See Li Yongfu 李永富, *Qie yun jijiao*, 1.172.
63. Yang Shen 楊慎, *Gujin fengyao* 古今風謠, p.107.
64. See *Shilei fu* 事類賦 25.5a.
65. The account in Wang Yin's *Jin shu* is repeated almost verbatim in *SoS*, *Treatise on the Five Elements*, 31.914. A similar account, but with slightly different wording, is found in Gan Bao's 干寶 (?-336) *Shoushen ji* 搜神記, 7.3b. For the date of Gan Bao, see Chen Wancheng 陳萬成 (Chan Man Sing), "Jinren shengzu nian jiaolu" 晉人生卒年輯錄, *Shih-huo* (*Shihuo*) 13.5-6 (September 1983):44-46.
66. *YFSJ* 22.328 has listed three songs of similar titles but of different natures: "Xiao zhe yangliu" 小折楊柳, which is one of the "Gu yuefu" 古樂府; "Zhe yangliu xing" 折楊柳行 of the *xianghe daqu* 相和大曲 section; and "Yuejie zhe yangliu" 月節折楊柳 of the *Qingshang* section. In addition, there is recorded in *YFSJ* 22.329 a poem by Xu Ling 徐陵 (507-583) titled "Zhe yangliu" 折楊柳, which goes:

There is an old song of it in Jiangling,
And in Luoyang, there arises a new tune.

江陵有舊曲。
洛下作新聲。

The "old song" and the "new tune" refer to songs of the same title "Zhe yangliu". The Liang Emperor Jianwen 簡文帝 (503-551) in the poem "Zhibi xishu" 執筆戲書 mentions yet another song of the same title: (see Ding, *Quan Liang shi*, 2.909)

Zhe yangliu of the city Xincheng.

新城折楊柳。

67. See Xiao Difei 蕭條非, *Han Wei Liuchao yuefu wenxue shi* 漢魏六朝樂府文學史, pp.233-234; Wang, *Liuchao*, p.31; and Lu Kanru 陸侃如, *Yuefu guci kao* 樂府古辭考, pp.156-158.
68. Chen Zuoming, *Caishu tang gushi xuan* 采菽堂古詩選, 19.21a.

Notes to Chapter II

69. YFSJ 49.713. For the lyric ascribed to Cao Zhi, see YFSJ 32. 467 and *Yiwen leijui* 藝文類聚 41.747.

70. YFSJ 44.640:

Since the time of Yongjia 永嘉 when the court moved south, down to the Liang and Chen dynasties, Jianye 建業 (i.e. Jiankang) was the imperial capital. It was the place whence arose the Wu songs.

71. A number of places, one of which is close to Jiangling, bear the name Jiangjin. A lyric to the tune *Neihe tan* (YFSJ 49.714) goes:

You are going to Yangzhou, so I have heard,
I come to see you off at the Jiangjin Bay.

聞歡下揚州
相送江津灣。

According to Guo Maoqian's preface (YFSJ 49.713), the lyrics are mostly about Jiangling and Yangzhou. Hence I take the name as referring to the place near Jiangling.

72. Wang Yunxi in an article "Wusheng xiqu zhong de Yangzhou" 吳聲西曲中的揚州 (in *Yuefu shi yanjiu lunwen ji* 樂府詩研究論文集 vol.2, pp.105-107) points out that "Yangzhou" in the songs is in fact the imperial capital Jiankang which was then also the capital of the province. It may be compared to the modern practice in Yunnan to refer to the provincial capital Kunming 昆明 as "Yunnan". (See Liu Zhaoji 劉兆吉, *Xinan caifeng lu* 西南采風錄 p.110.) J.D. Frodsham in *An Anthology of Chinese Verse*, p.101, considers "Yangzhou" in one of the Wu songs the same as Jiangdu 江都. But it is only as late as in the Sui dynasty that Yangzhou had its capital seated at Jiangdu. It is even later that Yangzhou was renamed Jiangdu commandery 江都郡.

73. In *Liu mishu ji* 劉秘書集 (Han Wei *Liuchao bairan jia ji*, pp.15a-b) Liu's poem was titled "Ye ting ji fude Wu ye ti" 夜聽妓賦得烏夜啼 (Given the title *Wu ye ti* to write a poem, in a night when enjoying a musical performance). It was a common practice in the Southern Dynasties that when literary friends gathered, as a past-time, they would each be given a title to write a poem, and vie with each other in virtuosity. Liu's poem was perhaps not meant to be sung at all.

74. The Wu songs are generally considered folk songs 民歌. See Xiao, Han Wei, pp.244-245; and Wang Yunxi, *Liuchao*, p.8. According to the *Treatise on Music*, *SoS*, 19.550, the songs were originally "plain songs" 徒歌, i.e. songs without instrumental accompaniment. This might be taken as an indication of their folk origin.

75. See YFSJ 45.659 and 46.667.

Notes to Chapter II

76. See *Nan shi*, Annals of Song, 1.1-28. On p.28, it was said that the Emperor had been a farm hand before he became emperor. When his son, Emperor Wen, came to know of this, he was overwhelmed with shame.
77. See *SoS*, Annals of Emperor Shao, 4.66.
78. See *TD* 145.757 and *YFSJ* 44.640.
79. *Nan shi*, Biography of Yuan Tuan, 26.709.
80. See *SoS*, Treatise on Music, 19.552. Shen Yue, who wrote the *SoS*, completed the history in the sixth year of Yongming (488).
81. *Yiwen leiju* 23.424.
82. See Zhou Yiliang 周一良, "Nanchao jingnei zhi gezhong ren ji zhengfu duidai zhi zhengce" 南朝境内之各種人及政府對待之政策, in his *Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi lunji* 魏晉南北朝史論集, pp.64-67. Yan Zhitui's 顏之推 (531-?) *Yanshi jiaxun* 顏氏家訓, *She wu* 涉務, 2.71a records that since the Liang Emperor Wu and his sons entrusted much of the government into the hands of those from the lower classes, "they were criticized from all sides that they loved lowly men and kept away from the gentry class." 舉世怨梁武帝父子愛小人而疏士大夫. The criticism reflects the increasing participation of the lower classes in high government.
83. *Taiping yulan* 568.10a. The work *Xiao lin* is attributed to Handan Chun 邯鄲淳 of the Wei kingdom (220-265).
84. Ding, *Quan Liang shi*, 13.1306.
85. *YFSJ* 49.712.
86. *Ibid.* 55.798.
87. *Ibid.* 55.799.
88. *Nan Qi shu* 11.194.
89. *SoS*, 22.638.
90. *YFSJ* 56.814.
91. For a detailed discussion of the practice, see Zhang Xitang 張西堂, *Shi jing liu lun* 詩經六論, pp. 78-83.
92. *TD* 145.758:
Lovers are called "huan" 歡 in the south of the Yangzi river.

Notes to Chapter II

93. *Jin shu*, Biography of Sima Daozi, the Wenxiao Prince of Kuaiji
會稽文孝王, 64.1773.
94. *YFSJ* 44.640-641.
95. *Ibid.* 48.700.
96. *Ibid.* 79.710, 715 and 722.
97. For the theory of formulaic language, see Milman Parry, "Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making 1: Homer and Homeric Style," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 41(1930):73-147; and Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales*. See also Chapter V of this thesis, pp.214-232. It should be mentioned here that Zhu's idea of "taoju" may not be exactly the same as Parry's "formulaic language", though they appear to be quite similar. See Chapter V. note 29, pp.312-313.
98. A group of lyrics by the literati appears to contradict this statement. The lyrics written to the tune *Zi jun zhi chu yi*
自君之出矣 (Since you were away), must, as a rule, start with the tune title as the first line. More often than not, the third line opens with "si jun" 思君 (think of you), which is followed by a simile. Such is the format peculiar to the song. The recurrent line is, however, very different from the so called "formulaic language", which occurs in lyrics of more than one tune, and which may occur in any position in the song.
99. For a concordance of the formulaic language, see Chapter V, pp. 219-223.
100. See *Taiping yulan* 510.7a.
101. See, for example, *Duangge xing* 短歌行 (YFSJ 30.447), *Yange xing* 燕歌行 (YFSJ 32.469-470), and *Kuhang xing* 苦寒行 (YFSJ 33.496). To illustrate the point, I quote in the following firstly a section from *Kuhang xing* by Cao Cao 曹操 (155-220), which has been translated by Burton Watson; then secondly the same section as performed in the Jin court, which I will try to render into English on the model of Watson's translation:
Dazed and uncertain, I've lost the old road,
Night bearing down but nowhere to shelter;
On and on, each day farther,
Men and horses starving as one.
(Watson tr., *Chinese Lyricism*, p.39)
- 迷惑失故路。
薄暮無宿樓。
行行日已遠。
人馬同時飢。

Notes to Chapter II

Dazed and uncertain, I've lost the old road,
Nowhere to shelter at night.
I've lost the old road,
Nowhere to shelter at night.
On and on, each day farther,
Men and horses starving as one.

迷惑失征路，
暝無所宿棲。
失征路，暝無所宿棲。
行行日已遠，
人馬同時飢。

The repetition and the verbal changes in the second version, I think, are to make the lyric fit in better with the music.

102. The following lines from Cao Zhi's *Junzi xing* may be compared with the Western lyric which has already been translated on p.64:

A gentleman is wary of what is to come,
He would not put himself in situations of suspicion.
Never would he pull on his shoe in a melon patch,
Nor set aright his cap when under a plum tree.

君子防未然，
不處嫌疑間。
瓜田不納履，
李下不正冠。

103. It should be noted that "Chu" 楚 as used in the dynastic histories of the time may include people outside what we term "the western region", such as those living in the lower basin of the Huai 淮 river. See Chen Yinke's 陳寅恪 "Wei shu Sima Rui zhuan jiangdong minzu tiaoshi ji tuilun" 魏書司馬睿又傳江東民族條釋及推論, *BIHP* 11(1943):1-25; and Yu Jiaxi 余嘉錫, "Shi Cangchu" 釋滄楚, *Yu Jiaxi lunxue zazhu* 余嘉錫論學雜著, pp.227-234.
104. Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53B.C.-18A.D.), for instance, thus writes of Jingzhou:
People are generally fierce and tough, dashing and sturdy.
See Yang, "Shier zhou zhen" 十二州箴, in *Han Tang dili shu chao*, p.90.
105. A few examples may suffice for illustration:
i. The Biography of Huang Hui 黃回 (427/8-478/9), *SoS*, 83.2122: Huang Hui was originally a soldier in the Jingling commandery 竟陵郡 When still in the west, he got together with some Chu rascals and made robbery his trade. It was the time when Taizong 太宗 (i.e. Emperor Ming of Song 宋明帝, 439-472) was still new to the throne, and rebellions broke out all over the country. Dai Mingbao 戴明寶 (fl.476) then

Notes to Chapter II

suggested to Taizong that he should ask Hui to recruit the Chu people to his aid. As a result, eight hundred swift archers were enlisted.

- ii. The Biography of Wang Rong 王融 (468-494), *Nan Qi shu*, 47.823:

Wang Rong recruited several hundreds of the boorish Chu 儂楚 from the west of the Yangzi river. They were all very capable.

- iii. The Biography of Yin Xiaozu 殷孝祖 (415-466), *SoS*, 86. 2189-2190:

When Taizong (i.e. Emperor Ming of Song) came to the throne, rebellions broke out everywhere. But unexpectedly Xiaozu arrived to their aid with many men who were all boorish Chu fighters. People at the capital hence felt a great relief.

The "boorish Chu" in the last instance might not be all from the western region. But it is important to note that the "boorish Chu" in general, including those from the western region, did achieve a reputation as excellent fighters.

106. Conflicts between Man and the Han-Chinese are amply recorded in the accounts of Man in the dynastic histories. See, for example, *Hou Han shu* 後漢書, juan 86; *SoS*, juan 97; and *Nan Qi shu* juan 58. According to the account in *Hou Han shu*, 86.2830, the conflict was almost as old as history, but it is only since the Han dynasty that we find records of it in greater details. For some modern studies of the subject, see Kawamoto Yoshiaki 川本芳昭 "Rikuchō ki okeru Ban no Kanka ni tsuite" 六朝における蠻の漢化について, *Shien* 史淵 180(March 1981):101-126; and Zhu Dawei 朱大渭, "Nanchao shaoshu minzu gaikuang ji qi yu Hanzu de ronghe" 南朝少數民族概況及其與漢族的融合, *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 中國史研究 5(1980):57-76.
107. *SoS*, Biography of Yu Yue 庾悅, 52.1490.
108. *Nan Qi shu*, Biography of Xiao Yi 蕭巖, Prince Wenxian of Yuzhang 豫章獻王, 22.407.
109. Fan Zhiming 范致明 (fl.1100), *Yueyang fengtu ji* 岳陽風土記, p.13a.
110. See Tan Qixiang 譚其驤, "Jin Yongjia sangluan hou zhi minzu qianxi" 晉末永嘉亂後的民族遷徙, *Yanjing xuebao* 燕京學報 15 (1934):51-76, particularly pp.74-76. However, Wang Zhongluo 王仲華 has counted seven migrations of the same period. See Wang, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi* 魏晉南北朝史, vol.1. p.344. Both scholars base their findings on dynastic histories, but very often what Tan considers as one big migration, Wang tends to distinguish into two. All these migrations were due to disorder and wars in the north. But when the north was unified under Northern Wei, and peace and order were generally restored, such great migrations virtually stopped. The last of these migrations happened in the second year of the Taishi 泰始 era (466) in the Liu Song dynasty.

Notes to Chapter II

111. *Liang shu*, Biography of Xiao Wei 蕭偉, Prince of Nanping 南平王, 22.349.
112. *Jin shu*, Biography of Shan Jian 山簡, 43.1230:
 At that time, after the Western Jin empire had collapsed, many music players from the Bureau of Music 樂府 took refuge in the area along the Mian and Han rivers.
 Also in the same history, Treatise on Music, 23.697-698:
 When disorders broke out in the period of Yongjia, the empire was in collapse. Musicians and instruments were lost to Liu Yuan 劉淵 and Shi Le 石勒. By the time Murong Juan 慕容儁 (319-360) defeated Ran Min 冉閔 (?-352), quite a number of musicians from Ye 鄴 (Linzhang 臨漳, Henan; it was the capital of the state Hou Zhao 後趙, 319-351, which was established by Shi Le) had fled south during the war. In the eleventh year of Yonghe 永和 (355), Xie Shang 謝尚 (308-357) was made governor of Shouyang. He gathered together the musicians there to fill the posts necessary for imperial musical performance.
113. See *Hou Han shu*, Account of Southern Man and South-Western Yi 南蠻西南夷, 86.2829-2843; and *SoS*, Account of Yi and Man 夷蠻, 97.2396. The two mythical figures were said to be the progenitors of two different groups of Man. The two groups in the later periods had so intermingled that it became impossible to distinguish clearly one group from the other. *TD* 187.998 comments:
 According to the historical records on Hou Han, those around Qianzhong 黔中 (Xupu 淑浦, Hunan), Wuxi 五溪 (west of Hunan) and Changsha 長沙 (in Hunan) were descended from Panhu; and those around the gorges between Ba 巴 (Ba xian 巴縣, Sichuan) and Liang (around Nanzheng 南鄭, Shanxi 陝西) were from Linjun 廩君. In later times, their number multiplied immensely and they made attacks on the Han settlements. They, moreover, migrated and intermingled. Hence it is no longer possible to distinguish in details one group from the other.
114. See *Nan Qi shu*, Account of Man, 58.1007.
115. See *SuS*, Treatise on Geography, 31.897. According to the account, the following commanderies: Nanjun 南郡, Jingling, Xiangyang and Jiujiang 九江, of which the capitals were Jiangling, Shicheng, Xiangyang, and Xunyang respectively, had a population consisting of Man minorities. The capitals, as we have noted already, all gave rise to some Western songs.
116. According to *Hou Han shu*, Account of Southern Man and South-Western Yi, 86.2829, Panhu, the mythical progenitor of the Man people, was a dog covered with fur in five colours.
117. The editors of *SoS*, punctuated edition, *Zhonghua shuju*, 1974,

Notes to Chapter II

consider *feng* as a social unit in the Man society. See SoS, 74.1949. The following from the Biography of Shen Qingzhi 沈慶之 (386-465), SoS, 77.1998 may serve as illustration:

In the commandery of Nanxin, a Man chief Tian Yansheng (fl. 442) led ten *feng* of his followers, all together six thousand people, to revolt.

南新郡蠻帥田彥生率部曲十封六千餘人反叛。

Lu Qiu 盧求 (fl. mid-ninth century)'s *Chengdu ji* 成都記 is quoted in Yan Boyan 楊伯齊 (?-1254)'s *Liutie bu* 六帖補 4.2a as saying:

Liuzhao commandery 六詔郡 (The Commandery of Six Edicts) of the Southern Man was formerly not under any local administrative authority. It is said that whenever the emperor issued an edict, each *feng* was given a copy. Hence the name Liuzhao.

This may further support the interpretation of *feng* as a social unit in Man society.

118. See *Wei shu*, Account of Liao, 101.2248.

119. *Ibid.*. See also Chang Qu 常璩 (fl.347)'s *Huayang guozhi* 華陽國志, 9.11a. The Liao people only started moving from Guizhou 貴州 into Sichuan in the first half of the fourth century. For a more recent and detailed study of the migration and the customs of the people, see Liu Lin 劉琳, "Liaoren ru Shu kao" 僚人入蜀考, *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 2(1980):119-134.

120. According to SoS, Treatise on Provinces and Commanderies 州郡, 37.1142-1143, the commanderies of Huashan and Nan Tianshui were instituted to accommodate Xirong and Hu who had migrated there. In addition, the Treatise on Provinces and Commanderies in *Nan Qi shu*, 15.281, reports:

In the eighth year of Xiankang 咸康 (342), the Grand Secretary 尚書 Yin Rong 殷融 said, "Xiangyang and Shicheng had been battle fields where barbarians from across the border were fought. Now some remnants of these barbarians are under the administration of various commanderies and counties. Since the households are not many, these commanderies and counties might as well be amalgamated."

121. See *Nan shi*, Annals of Song, 3.89; *Nan Qi shu*, Annals of Lord Donghun 東昏侯, 7.103; Biography of Liu Silong 柳世隆 (442-491); and *Chen shu* 陳書, Biography of Zhang Zhaoda 章昭達 (572-571), 11.184. In these records, the Hou fei emperor 後廢帝 of Song (463-477), Lord Donghun, Huang Hui 黃回 and Zhang Zhaoda, all were reported to have enjoyed the music of the Qiang barbarians.

122 See *Nan shi*, Account of Barbarians 夷貊傳, 79.1977-1980.

123. At the end of the Biography of Shen Tanqing 沈曇慶, SoS, 54.1540, the author Shen Yue makes the following comment:

Notes to Chapter II

Only two provinces Yang 楊 and Jing 荆 produce any significant taxes that may give substance to the imperial treasury. The land is extensive and the fields fertile, the people are industrious in their primary occupation (i.e. agriculture).

124. *Ibid.*.

125. See *SoS*, Biography of Shen Qingzhi, 77.1997, in which Shen is reported to say that the fields of the Man people had yielded rich harvest. In *Liang shu*, Annals of Emperor Wu, 3.87, it is said that in the eighth year of Datong 大同 (548), certain places in Jiangzhou 江州 (of which the capital was Xunyang) were open up for cultivation by the Man people .

126. The variety of crops is listed in *TD*, 12.70, as the produce of four provinces - Jiangzhou, Jingzhou, Yingzhou and Yongzhou - during the Qi dynasty.

127. See *SuS*, Treatise on Geography 地理 , 29.829.

128. See *Nan Qi shu*, Biography of Han Xibo 韓係伯 , 55.957.

129. See *SoS*, Biography of Shen Qingzhi, 77.1999. The same saying can be found in *SuS*, Biography of Liu Yu 柳彧 , 62.1482. But The biography of Xing Luan 邢巒 in *Wei shu*, 65.1445, gives a slightly different version:

Ask the man-slaves in the fields about matters of farming, but ask the weaving woman-slaves about silk-cloth.

耕則問田奴. 絹則問織婢.

130. See, for example, Shen Hongzhi's 盛弘之 (fl. first half of the fifth century) *Jingzhou ji* 荊州記 , p.326, 329 and 337, as collected in Wang Mo's 王謨 (fl.1778) *Han Tang dilishu chao* 漢唐地理書鈔 . *Taiping yulan* 917.2a has cited a lost work by Qiu Yue 丘悅 (fl. early eighth century), *Sanguo dian lue* 三國典略 , (which is a history on the later half of the Northern and Southern Dynasties,) saying:

Xu Siwang 徐思王 was a native of Shouyang. He came from a poor and lowly family and made a living by hunting geese.

According to *Taiping huanyu ji* 太平寰宇記 105.13b and 112.6a, two smelting works had been built at Meigen 梅根 and Yetangshan 冶唐山 (southeast of Wuchang 武昌 , Hubei) in the Southern Dynasties.

131. See Shen Yue's comment at the end of the Biography of Kong Linzhi 孔琳之 , *SoS*, 56.1565.

132. See, for example, *SoS*, Biography of Xie Zhuang 謝莊 (421-466), 85.2169, wherein Xie Zhuang cited a decree by the Song Emperor Xiaowu 孝武 (430-464) as saying:

Relations of the imperial family have been competing for profits by trading in markets. All such activities are now prohibited.

Notes to Chapter II

- Xie was shrewd enough to doubt the practicability of enforcing the decree. For further details of the involvement by bureaucrats and the aristocracy in trade, see Han Guopan 韓國鑿, *Nanbeichao jinji shitan* 南北朝經濟試探, pp. 155-157; Tao Xisheng 陶希聖 and Wu Xianqing 武仙卿, *Nanbeichao jinji shi* 南北朝經濟史, pp. 106-112. For the quotation in the main text, see note 123.
133. It is understandable that with a rich economy and good transportation by water, Jingzhou and Yangzhou should see much flourishing of commerce. As for Shu, see, for example, SoS, Biography of Liu Cui 劉綽, 45.1381 in which it is said that many merchants came from afar to Shu for trading. See also Han, *Nanbeichao*, pp. 160-162; Li Jiannong 李劍農, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao Sui Tang jinji shi gao* 魏晉南北朝隋唐經濟文稿, pp.89-91, for further details of commerce and the mercantile cities in the three areas.
134. See Li Jiayan 李嘉言, "Nanchao yuefu mingde zhuyao neiyong de fenshi" 南朝樂府民歌主要內容的分析, in his *Gushi chutan* 古詩初探, p.30; Wang Yunxi, *Liuchao*, p.28; Chen Yicheng 陳義成, *Han Wei Liuchao yuefu yanjiu* 漢魏六朝樂府研究, p.158. It should be pointed out that except for the tune title *Guke yue* 估客樂 (Songs of Merchants), there is no definite evidence to prove that the male figures in the songs are merchants.
135. See Sheng Hongzhi, *Jingzhou ji*, p.332 and 335. See also *Bei Qi shu*, Biography of Lu Fahe 陸法知 (fl. mid-sixth century), 32.428, in which it is said that there were in Jiangling plenty of temples where people went constantly to pray.
136. The text appears seriously corrupted. A very similar text can be found in Gan Bao's 干寶 *Shou shen ji* 搜神記, 2.3b-4a, which gives 踏地 instead of 踰地. In what follows, I correct 踰蹄 into 踏踉, and 又 into 人, according to a Western lyric which is given immediately below in the main text. But I cannot make out what 餘節有月夜 means.
137. YFSJ 49.710.
138. Zuzhi not only resembles Nüerzi in form (i.e. heptasyllabic couplets), but also has nüer 女兒 as refrain and was current in the western region. Liu Yupan 劉毓璽 has argued on these grounds that Zuzhi of the Tang dynasty must originate from Nüerzi. See Liu, *Ci shi* 詞史, p.10. Both Wang Yunxi and Rao Zongyi 饒宗頤 subscribe to his view. See Wang, *Liuchao*, p.112; and Rao, *Airs de Touen-Houang* 燉煌曲, p.210.
139. YFSJ 49.711. The term "seven jewels" 七寶 (Sanskrit: *saptaratnāni*) is also found in Yangpaner no.1 and 4, YFSJ 49.720-721. It is a favourite term in Buddhist sutra and can be readily found in some of the earliest Chinese translations of them.

Notes to Chapter II

See, for example, Kang Mengxiang 康孟祥 (fl.194-199) and Zhu Dali 竺大力 (fl.197) tr. *Xiuxing benqi jing* 修行本起經, *TS*, III, no.184, 1.462c; Zhi Qian 支謙 (fl.223-253) tr. *Xu mo ti nü jing* 須摩提女經, *TS*, II, no.128, p.841b; and Kang Senghui 康僧會 (?-280) tr. *Liudu jijing* 六度集經, *TS*, III, no.152, 4.21c.

140. *YFSJ* 49.723.

141. *Ibid.*.

142. Xie Lingyun, *Shanju fu* 山居賦 (A Rhapsody on Living in the Mountains):

In the sixth month, honey is collected,

In the eighth month we beat the chestnut trees to get the nuts.

六月採蜜，八月撲栗。

Xie's own commentary to the two lines is as follows:

Collecting honey and beating chestnut trees are done in their proper months

See *SoS*, Biography of Xie Lingyun, 67.1766.

143. *YFSJ* 49.723.

144. I follow Moriya Mitsuo 守屋美都雄 in thinking that the author of *Suihua jili* is the same as the one who appeared in the Genealogical Tables of Families of Chief Ministers 宰相世系表 in *XTS*, 73a.2862. See Moriya, *Chugoku kosajiki no kenkyū* 中國古職時記の研究, pp.184-194, which has also successfully vindicated the authenticity of the book against the skepticism which originates from a Ming scholar Hu Zhenheng 胡震亨 (1569-1644/ 45) and later supported by Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (1634-1711). However, Moriya's discussion comes very close to Yu Jiayi's which concludes similarly. See Yu, *Siku tiyao bianzheng* 四庫提要辨證 16.999-1002.

145. *Suihua jili*, 2.3b-4a. The exact meaning of the "Golden City" 金城 is not clear. It might mean a strongly fortified city, which is the usual meaning of the term. However, I am inclined to think that it perhaps refers to the city at Xiangyang. Bao Zhi's 鮑至 (fl. first half of the sixth century) *Nan Yongzhou ji* 南雍州記 (see *Han Tang dilishu chao*, p.348) has mentioned "the southern gate of the Golden City at Xiangyang" 襄陽金城南門. Wu Congzheng's 吳從政 (fl. early eighth century) *Xiang Mian ji* 襄沔記 (see *Han Tang dilishu chao*, p.353) has also mentioned "the office of the military governor inside the Golden City" 金城內刺史院. The "Eight Characters" are 生滅滅已，寂滅為樂。 (when appearance and disappearance are no more, this state of nirvana is joy). See Faxian 法顯 (fl.399-406) tr. *Mahaparinirvana sutra* 大般泥洹經 *TS*, XII, no.376, 14.450c-451a.

It should be added here that the date was widely observed in the Southern Dynasties. Thus it is recorded in Zong Lin's 宗懷 (?-

Notes to Chapter II

ca.563) *Jing Chu suishi ji* 荆楚歲時記 , p.5b:

On the eighth day of the fourth month, meals will be served in the Buddhist temples. There is also fragrant water in five colours to bathe the Buddha.

146. Lu Gong 路工 ed., *Mengjiang nü wanli xun fu ji* 孟姜女萬里尋夫記, p.23.

147. SoS, *Biographies of Good Administrators* 良吏傳 , 92.2261.

148. *Nan Qi shu*, *Biographies of Good Governors* 良政傳 , 53.913.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. Xiao Difei, *Han Wei Liuchao wenxue shi* 漢魏六朝樂府文學史 p.271:
 In respect of content and style, not only are the dance songs and *yige* 倚歌 very much the same, but also there is virtually no difference between the Western songs and the Wu songs.
 Wang Yunxi, *Liuchao*, p.14:
 Though the Western songs occurred somewhat later than the Wu songs, their forms and styles do in general resemble each other. It is obvious that the latter must have greatly influenced the former.
 These two scholars are not unaware of the distinction between the two song types in matters of music. But since they choose to approach them from a literary angle, the musical distinction is ignored. Hence their presentations of the Western songs are incomplete, and somewhat misleading. Many works in western languages, such as J.D.Frodsham's *An Anthology of Chinese Verse* (pp.99-110), Burton Watson's *Chinese Lyricism* (pp.59-62) and Paul Demiéville's *Anthologie de la Poésie Chinoise Classique* (pp.177-182) made no attempt at all to distinguish the two. But a few, including Jane M. Evans' "Popular Songs of the Southern Dynasties: A Study in Chinese Poetic Style", do take note, though very briefly, of the differences even in matters of content and style. See Evans, pp. 18-19.
2. *YFSJ* 47.688-689.
3. *Ibid.* 49.710.
4. Wang Yunxi, *Liuchao*, p.10
5. *Xu Qixie ji* 續齊諧記 , 2b-3a.
6. *YTXJ* 10.6b. The three *yige* are *Xunyang yue*, *Qingyang gegu*, and *Cansi ge* 蠶絲歌 (which is the same as *Zuo cansi*).
7. *Fangyan jiaojian ji tongjian* 方言校箋及通檢 , 2.13-14.
8. *Liu Mengde wenji* 劉夢得文集 , 9.8b.
9. See Chapter II, note 138, p.279. Liu's lyrics of *Zuzhi ci* are heptasyllabic quatrains, but those of Sun Guanxian 孫光憲 (?-968), Huangfu Song 皇甫松 (fl.ninth century) and others are rhymed couplets. See *Huajian ji* 花間集 8.8b, and *Zunqian ji* 尊前集 p.24a.
10. According to *GJYL* as quoted in *YFSJ* 44.640, the musical instruments employed in a Wu song performance include *chi* 篳 (a small transverse flute), *konghou* 箜篌 (harp), *pipa* 琵琶 (lute), *sheng* 笙 (mouth organ) and *zheng* 箏 (zither). But *Nan Qi shu*, Biography of Wang Jingze 王敬則 , 26.485 has recorded an instance in which a Wu song was sung to the accompaniment of a *qin*. Nevertheless, drums are never mentioned in connection with the Wu songs. See also Chapter 1, note 12, p.258.

Notes to Chapter III

11. See Chapter II, p.39.
12. See Chapter II, p.27. In the poems cited, the song is said to have been performed on either of the two instruments.
13. Ding, *Quan Chen shi*, p.1440. Part of the poem is as follows:
 She was moved to smile at the sight of flowers,
 But then the sound of a se brought irresistible weeping.
 By the hill, she sang "The Declining Sun" (i.e. *Xiwu yefei*)
 And at the pond, she danced "The Front Stream" (*Qian xi* 前溪)
 看花祇欲笑，
 聞瑟不勝啼。
 山邊歌落日，
 池上舞前溪。
14. See *TS* No.26, p.559a; and No.125, p.713c.
 Incidentally, the earliest archaeological source in China for waist-drum can also be dated from Eastern Jin. In a tomb painting from that period at Dingjiazha 丁家閣, Jiuquan 酒泉, Gansu province, there is, in addition to other instruments such as the zheng, flute, and pipa, a waist-drum. See Zhang Pengchuan 張朋川, "Jiuquan Dingjiazha gumu bihua yishu" 酒泉丁家閣古墓壁畫藝術, *Wenwu* 文物 277 (1979):18-21; also the Gansu Provincial Museum, "Jiuquan Jiayuguan Jin mu de fajue" 酒泉嘉峪關晉墓的發掘, *Wenwu* 277 (1979):1-11. Zhang Pengchuan points out that *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜, 570.6860 records that when Lü Guang 呂光 (337-399) of Hou Liang 後涼, one of the Sixteen Kingdoms in Northern China after the demise of Western Jin, destroyed the non-Han-Chinese kingdom Kucha 龜茲, he took possession of fifteen kinds of Kucha musical instruments, one of which was the waist-drum. This record further confirms that the waist-drum is not a Han-Chinese instrument. This incident may have been the first introduction of the waist-drum into China.
15. *SuS*, Treatise on Music, 15.378-380 and *JTS*, Treatise on Music, 29.1068-1072. The kingdoms of Bukhara 安國 and Samarkand made use of the zhenggu 正鼓 and hegu 和鼓 in their music. According to *JTS*, Treatise on Music, 29.1079 the instruments are in fact two kinds of waist-drums. There is in the Sui court music an item called *Wenkang yue* 文康樂 which made use of the waist-drum too. *SuS*, Treatise on Music, 15-380, attributes the music to the *ji* of Yu Liang 庾亮 (289-340), a renowned statesman of the Eastern Jin dynasty. At least one scholar, Cen Zhongmian 岑仲勉, has expressed doubt concerning this version of its origin. He suggests that the music perhaps originated from the kingdom of Wenkang or Markand, i.e. Samarkand. See Cen, *Sui Tang shi* 隋唐史 p.61 and p.63. Among the instruments used in the music is *lingpan*, another non-Han-Chinese instrument, which further supports Cen's point. Kishibe Shigeo seems to have misread *SuS* when he suggests that two of the instruments used in *Wenkang yue* are the *ling* and the *panbing* 槃鞞. See Kishibe, *Tōdai ongaku no rekishiteki kenkyū* 唐代的歷史的研究,

Note to Chapter III

p.287. The text of *SuS* 15.380 is as follows:

樂器有笛笙簫篪鈴槃鞀腰鼓等七種

To my knowledge, *panbing* never occurs in any Chinese text as a term, but *lingpan* 鈴槃 and *bing* do. According to Li Shan 李善 (630-689) (see *Wen xuan* 文選, 7.13a), *bing* is the same as *pi* 鞀. *Pi* is a kind of small drum originally played on a horse. See *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 5a.35b. But Chen Yang's 陳陽 *Yueshu* 樂書 118.6a gives a picture of the drum hanging on a two-legged stand. For *lingpan* see the main text that follows.

16. The Sui Emperor Wen 隋文帝 (541-604) made the comment when he first heard the music. See *SuS*, Treatise on Music, 15.377.
17. See *SoS*, Biography of Xiao Shihua 蕭思話 (406-455), 78.2011. Xiao was fond of playing waist-drums when young. According to *Nan Qi shu*, Biography of Shen Chong 沈冲, 34.614, Shen Zhong 沈重 (fl. second half of the fifth century) and his two elder brothers were nicknamed "the waist-drum brothers" 腰鼓兄弟 because of their uneven reputation.
18. *Jinchu suishi ji*, p.8a. *Vajrapāṇibalin* 金剛力士 is a Buddhist deity who protects people from evil.
19. Ding, *Quan Liang shi*, p.949.
20. *TS* No.468, p.493a.
21. *TS* No.2128, p.693b.
22. "Qiao" 敲 is the manner in which cymbals 鈸 are played. Hayashi Kenzō 林謙三 has noted in his book *Tōya gakki kyō* 東亞樂器考 p.28 that "qiao tongba 敲銅鈸" occurs in Faxian 法顯 (fl. 399-406) 's *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* 高僧法顯傳. See *TS* No.2085, p.858c.
23. See *XTS*, Account of the Southern Barbarians 南蠻, 222.6309.
24. *Xianghe* 相和, which were mainly folk songs of the Han dynasty, were performed with strings and winds. See *SoS*, Treatise on Music, 21.603. Wu songs too were accompanied by strings and winds. See note 10. It should be mentioned that a section of the "Drum and Wind Music" 鼓吹曲 called "Music of Transverse Flute" 橫吹曲, which could be dated from Han times, was played without strings. But it is generally believed that this section was influenced by the music of non-Han-Chinese minorities in the north-west of China such as "Di" 狄. See *YFSJ* 21.309-310, also Wang Yunxi "Handai guchuiqu kao" 漢代鼓吹曲考 in *Yuefu shi luncong* 樂府詩論叢, pp.47-48.
25. *Yudi jisheng* 72.2a-b. The place concerned is Zhengzhou (in Hunan).

Notes to Chapter III

26. *Ximan congxiao*, p.2b and p.7b.
27. A similar list can be found in Kishibe Shigeo's *Todai ongaku*, pp.204-205.
28. Leaves as a kind of musical instrument are mentioned in a poem by Yu Xin, "Fenghe Zhao wang chunri" 華和趙王春日 (A day in spring, written in response to a poem by Prince Zhao):
The excellent music of "Plum Blossoms" is then performed,
Tree leaves can be played by blowing.

梅花絕解作。
樹葉本能吹。

See Ding, *Quan Bei Zhou shi*, p.1585. Part of the stone engraving on the coffin of King Wang Jian 王建 (847-918) of Qian Shu 前蜀 (907-925) shows a musician holding a leaf with her index finger and middle finger close to her lips and blowing. See *Zhongguo yinyue shi cankao tupian* 中國音樂史參考圖片 series 7, plate 5.

29. *JTS* in fact gives "san xian qin" 三絃琴 (three-stringed zither) which never occurred before. *JTS* on the whole draws its material from *TD*, whereas *XTS* took much of its material from *JTS*. Since both *TD* and *XTS* give "one-stringed zither", san 三 in *JTS* must be a corruption of yi 一. See also Kishibe, *Todai ongaku*, pp.204-205.
30. The best introductory accounts of the instruments are Hayashi Kenzo, *Tōya gakkī kō* 東亞樂器考, and Zhang Shibin 張世彬, *Zhongguo yinyue shilun shugao* 中國音樂史論述稿 pp.219-293. Martin Gimm, *Das Yüeh-fu Tsa-lu Des Tuan An-Chieh* also contains many useful references, and L.E.R. Picken's "Tang Music and Musical instruments" in *T'oung Pao*, LV, 1-3(1969):74-122, (which is in fact a review of Dr. Gimm's work,) is an essential complement to the book. In the lists, *zhong* and *qing* are the same as *bianzhong* and *bianqing*. *Pipa* and *konghou* of *SuS* must be the same as the *Qin pipa* and *wo konghou* respectively. The two instruments had long been in use in China. Kishibe Shigeo provides an excellent discussion of the origin of *wo konghou* in his essay "Kugo no engen" 箏篋の淵源. See *Todai no gakkī*, pp.184-191. For the history of the *Qin pipa*, see Zhang Shibin, pp.242-246. *TD* prefers a more explicit name so that they can be distinguished from the much later importations from the west, namely the "bent-necked pipa" 曲項琵琶 and "shu konghou" 豎箏篋 (upright harp).
31. Huang Xiangpeng, "Xingshiqi he qingtong shidai de yi zhi yinxiang ziliao yu woquo yinjie fazhan shi wenti" 新石器 and 青銅時代的已知音響資料與我國音階發展史問題, *Yinyue luncong* 1(1978), p.187.

Notes to Chapter III

32. See Chapter I, note 13, p.258.
33. *YFSJ* 94.1321.
34. *Wei shu* was completed in 554; and *GJYL* in 568.
35. *SoS* 19.553.
36. Masuda Kiyohide considers that *Qingshang* as used here by Wang Sengqian refers only to the Han-Wei songs of the three modes and should be distinguished from the "new tunes". See *Gafu no reki-shiteki kenkyū*, p.119. On p.121 Masuda maintains that even after Southern Qi, Wu songs and the Western songs were never labelled under *Qingshang* in the Southern Dynasties. But he failed to take into account the phrase *Qingshang xiqu* 清商西曲 that occurs in *GJYL*.
37. *Shao* and *Xia* were the music of the sage kings Shun 舜 and Yu 禹 respectively.
38. According to *SoS* 11.215, Xun Yu 荀勗 (?-289) of the Western Jin dynasty used the term *zhengsheng* to denote one of the three musical modes that he exemplified. The three modes, namely *zhengsheng* 正聲, *xiazhi* 下徵 and *qingjue* 清角, were later believed to be the same as the Three Modes of *Qingshang*. See Ling Tingkan 凌廷堪 (1755-1809), *Yanyue kaoyuan* 燕樂考原 1.29. It should be noted that the term *zhengsheng* as used by Xun Yu referred to a musical mode rather than a song repertory.
39. See Liang Qichao 梁啟超, *Zhongguo zhi meiwen ji qi lishi* 中國之美文及其歷史 pp.50-51; Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸, *Zhongguo suwenxue shi* 中國俗文學史 vol.1, pp.86-87; Wang Yunxi, *Yuefu shi*, pp.14-15; Rao Zongyi 饒宗頤, *Chuci yu ciqu yinyue* 楚辭與詞曲音樂, pp.36-37; Masuda Kiyohide 增田清秀 *op. cit.*, pp.116-118; Suzuki Shūji 鈴木修次, *Kan Gi shi no kenkyū* 漢魏詩の研究, pp.201-202.
40. See Masuda, *Gafu*, pp.116-118. Scholars have never agreed on the exact meaning of the term. Their views are briefly outlined in notes 41 and 42.
41. Masuda, other than stating that *qing* and *zhu* are opposites, has never made clear what he thinks *qing* means. Rao Zongyi, who bases his view on the traditional tuning of *qin* suggests that: *Qingshang* is the pitch one half tone (in the sense used in discussions of European music, my note) higher than the *shang* note.
See Rao, *Chuci*, pp.36-37. *Qing* as a musical terms always means "higher" in pitch.
However, other scholars such as Liang Qichao, Yin Falu and Zhang Shibin hold that the term originates from the fact that

Notes to Chapter III

- shang is made the fundamental note of the *qing* mode 清調 . See the main text immediately following. Also Liang Qichao, *op. cit.*, pp.50-51; Zhang Shibin, *op. cit.*, p.70; Yin Falu, "Han yuefu yu Qingshang yue" 漢樂府與清商樂 , in *Yuefu shi yanjiu lunwen ji*, vol. 2, p.27.
42. Masuda's view comes very close to those of Liang, Yin and Zhang. The three hold that *Qingshang* was made to represent the Three Modes, hence the name "the Three Modes of *Qingshang*" 清商三調 . But Wang Yunxi explains *Qingshang* otherwise. According to him *qing* 清 means "clear and shrill" 清越 , whereas *shang* denotes a sad kind of music. The two words are not incompatible in sense. Since, according to Wang, folk music was on the whole melancholy, the term came to signify folk music in the Han-Wei times, and the Three Modes which originated from folk music were therefore called the Three Modes of *Qingshang*. See Wang, *Yuefu shi*, pp.12-15. Suzuki Shūji agrees with Wang, and his argument follows Wang's closely. See Suzuki, *Kan Gi shi*, pp. 201-202.
43. According to the editors of the punctuated edition of *Wei shu*, *Zhonghua shuju* 中華書局 , 1974, the old editions of the book all give *gong* as the fundamental note of the *ping* mode. There must be corruption in the text since *gong* is also given as the fundamental note of of *se* mode. The editors have changed *gong* to *jue* for the *ping* mode, on the basis of two similar texts found in *Cefu yuangui*, *juan* 857, and *TD*, *juan* 143. See *Wei shu*, *Treatise on Music*, 19.2846-2847.
44. Readers should be cautioned that the western notations are only close approximations of their Chinese counterparts. The modern western notations are based on the equal-tempered tonal system, whereas the Chinese ones represent a gamut of pitches derived from the multiplication of certain figure by 2/3 and 4/3 alternately. See Bell N. Yung's discussion in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 1980 edition. vol.1, p.261, and Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, vol.4, pt.1. pp.171-176.
45. For the different interpretation of *Chu* mode, see Wang Yunxi, *Yuefu shi*, pp.20-21, Suzuki Shūji, *Kan Gi shi*, pp.202-212, Zhang Shibin, *Zhongguo yinyue*, pp.70-71, and Wu Zhao 吳釗 , "Ye tan chu sheng de diaoshi wenti" 也談楚聲的調式問題 , *Wenyi yanjiu* 文藝研究 2(1980), pp.36-37.
46. Wang Yunxi, *Yuefu shi*, p.12.
47. Ling Tingkan, *Yinyue kaoyuan*, 1.32:
There were two kinds of popular music in the Tang dynasty. One was *Qingyue*, which was the music in the Three Modes of *Qingshang* and originated from the time of Wei 魏 and Jin 晉 . The Three Modes are the *qing* mode, *ping* mode and *ce* mode 側調 . Before the music of *Kucha* was first

Notes to Chapter III

introduced into China, the popular music of the Liang and Chen dynasties was in the Three Modes.

Ling considers the *ce* mode 側調 the same as *se* mode. See *Yanyue kaoyuan* 1.32.

48. *Zhongguo minge* 中國民歌 , p.354.
49. Muramatsu Kazuya, *Chūgoku no ongaku* 中國の音樂 , pp.197-206.
50. *Zhongguo minge*, p.355.
51. Huang Xiangpeng, "Zeng Houyi zhongqing mingwen yuexue tixi chutan" 曾侯乙鐘磬銘文樂學體系初探 , *Yinyue yanjiu* 20(1981): 32-39.
52. Li Chengyu, "Zeng Houyi pianqing de chubu yanjiu" 曾侯乙編磬的初步研究 , *Yinyue yanjiu* 28(1983), p.91.
53. See, for example, Yang Yinliu 楊蔭瀏 's *Zhongguo yinyue shigao* 中國音樂文稿 p.172 and Huang Xiangpeng's " Xian Qin yinyue wenhua de guanghui cangzao - Zeng Houyi mu de gu yueqi" 先秦音樂文化的光輝創造 - 曾侯乙墓的古樂器 , *Wenwu* 278(1979): 32-39.
54. SoS, *Treatise on the Calender*, 11.215-217 records in detail the three modes as exemplified by Xun Yu. The second of the three, the *xiazhi* mode 下徵 is as follows: (provided *gong* is "c")

lz	yz	nl	wy	yzh	hz	dl	tc	jz	gx	zl	rb
c		d		e	f		g		a		b
gong		shang		jue	bian-		zhi		yu		bian-
					zhi						gong

It is a perfect example of the New Scale. Wang Yunxi follows Ling Tingkan in believing that Xun Yu's three modes are the same as the Three Modes of *Qingshang*. See Wang, *Yuefu shi*, p.27. The belief is well grounded since in SoS, *Treatise on Music*, 21.608, there is this line:

Songs in the three modes of *Qingshang* - old lyrics selected by Xun Yu to be used at court.

Xun Yu, a musicologist himself, was chiefly responsible for overhauling the *Qingshang* repertory in early Western Jin. His exemplification of the Three Modes of *Qingshang* have amounted to no more than supplying them with a theoretical foundation and then giving them three new names.

Yang Yinliu holds the opinion too that the New Scale had been used in *Qingshang* songs. See Yang, *Zhongguo yinyue*, p.259.

55. I have failed to discover any biographical details about Zhao Weize. In *Taigu yiyin* 太古遺音 4.76, he was presented as quoting Zhao Shi 趙師 in a discussion of *qin* music, and was placed

Notes to Chapter III

- before Xue Yijian 薛易簡 . Zhao Shi was said to be a *qin* player of unrivalled skill. According to Zhu Changwen 朱長文 (1039- 1098)'s *Qin shi* 琴史 4.16, he died in 639. Xue Yijian too, again according to *Qin shi* 4.28, was a *qin* player who flourished in the mid-eighth century. Zhao Weize perhaps lived between the seventh and the eighth century.
56. See *Ying jiuchao juanziben jieshi diao youlan* 影舊鈔卷子本碣石調幽蘭 , p.1 and p.27.
57. *Ibid.*, also *Gugin quji* 古琴曲集 , pp.1-24.
58. See Huang Xiangpeng, "Xian Qin yinyue wenhua", pp.34-39.
59. See, for example, Yu Guanying 余冠英 , *Yuefu shi xuan* 樂府詩選 p.42; Okamura Sadao 岡村真雄 , "Enka kō - fu sū" 艶歌考 - 附超 and Obi Kōichi 小尾部一 , "Enka to en" 艶歌と艶色 , in *Kogafu* 古樂府 , pp.401-460. However, Yang Yinliu, *Zhongguo gudai yinyue shigao*, p.115 asserts:
 Yan for the most part occurs at the beginning of a song, but may also occur in the middle of a song.
 without giving any evidence at all.
60. Ample evidences can be found elsewhere about the position of *songsheng*. *JTS*, Biography of Lü Cai 呂才 , 79.2726 has recorded Lü Cai (?-665)'s memorial which states something similar:
 The Bureau of Music, whether in the present or the past, has as usual practice that after the song proper, *songsheng* will be played.
GJYL, as cited in *YFSJ* 45.656, tells us the following of *Huan wen ge* 歡聞歌 , one of the Wu songs:
 When the songs ends, the singer would call, "Love, do you hear?" as a kind of *songsheng*.
61. Zhu Ziqing, *Zhongguo geyao* 中國歌謠 , p.85:
Songsheng may or may not occur in a song. Its character is perhaps similar to that of the *yan* 艶 or *qu* 趨 .
 I suspect it might be a kind of *hesheng*.
 Yin Falu includes *songsheng* in his discussion of *chang* (singing) and *he* 和 . See Yin, "Zhongguo gudai shige zhong de changhe xingshi" 中國古代詩歌中的唱和形式 , *Ci kan* 詞刊 1(1980):35-43. On p.40 of this article, the *songsheng* of *Xiwu yefei* is labelled "he".
62. *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 , 2a.18b.
63. Yang Shen 楊慎 (1488-1559), *Shenan shihua* 升菴詩話 12.7b:
 The *yan* occurs before the song. Both the *he* of the Wu songs and the *yan* are similar to the introduction in the song of nowadays.
 As it is made clear in the main text, no *hesheng* ever occurs in the Wu songs of *YFSL*.

Notes to Chapter III

64. *Huajian ji* 2.6a-b.
65. *Zun qian ji* p.24a.
66. See *YFSJ*, 50.726-728, 51.744-746.
67. See Chapter II, pp.58-59.
68. See *SoS*, Biography of Shen Youzhi, 74.1927.
69. *YFSJ* 49.724.
70. See, for example, Wang Yunxi, *Liuchao*, p.113.
71. *YFSJ* 44.641.
72. *YFSJ* 45.660.
73. Chapter II, pp.33-34.
74. *Ibid.* p.24.
75. *Ibid.* p.36.
76. *Ibid.* p.93.
77. *YFSJ* 49.711. Of the eight lyrics to the tune, "kelian" 可憐 (lovely) occurs in six, and in four of them it takes up the same position - the third and fourth syllabic position in the first line. Take for instance the following:
 May I ask, oh lovely,
 Now you're going down to the capital,
 When will I see you
 Return to the west?
 問君可憐下都去，
 何得見君復西歸。
- (*Qingcong baima* no.7)
- Kelian is not related in meaning to the rest of the lyric. It is perhaps a *hesheng*.
78. See *YFSJ* 38.563 and 34.504-505. See also Hans H. Frankel, "Yueh-fu Poetry" in *Studies in Chinese Literary Genres*, p.88.
79. The history of prostitution in China is still in need of serious study. One brief introduction to the subject is Wang Shunu's 王善奴 *Zhongguo changji shi* 中國娼妓史. On the first page of the book, Wang says,
 The prostitutes of ancient times came from music performers. Howard Levy's "T'ang Women of Pleasure" reveals many features of the *ji* of that period which are comparable to those of the same profession in the Southern Dynasties. See Levy, *op. cit.*, *Sinologica* 8(1965):89-114.

Notes to Chapter III

80. Pei Ziye 裴子野 (467-528), for example, comments on the later years of Liu Song dynasty:

Emperors would make gifts of *ji* to those in their favour. The bureaucrats followed the fashion of keeping *ji* and became decadent. Princes, generals and ministers kept as many singing girls as their chambers could accommodate. Rich merchants and enterprising traders owned hoards of dancing girls. They bragged to each other of their possessions, and competed for the girls with all the possible avidity. Prohibitory laws were to no avail. This was what corrupted public morals.

It is worth noting that elsewhere Pei observes that "Wu songs and Chu dances" 吳趨楚舞 were the usual items of entertainment at this time. See TD 141.736.

81. See *Liang shu*, Biography of Cao Jingzong, 9.181, and Biography of Xiahou Kui, 28.422.
82. Lu Sidao 盧思道 (535-586) in the poem "Ye wen lun ji" 夜聞鄰妓 (On hearing the *ji* next door at night) describes such a house:

The entertainment house fronts on three roads,
The terrace of wind music is nine storeys high.

倡樓對三道。
吹臺臨九重。

See Ding, *Quan Sui shi* 全隋詩, pp.1658-1659.

83. Liang Emperor Jianwen describes an entertainment house in more detail in his poem "Zhi bi xi shu" 執筆戲書 (I took a brush and wrote for amusement):

Dancing girls and beauties of Yan,
An entertainment house, some women of pleasure.
Large plectrums start strumming one after another,
Bodies sway to the tune "Hands at the sides, the minor piece",
Other tunes follow: "Fishing Rod" and "Zither Music of Shu",
And "Break Willow Branch" of Xincheng.
On the jade table are peaches from the Queen Mother of the West,
In the shell calabash is pomegranate wine.
The embroidered bed-curtains of rooms 1 and 2 are dissimilar,
Rooms 8 and 9 are still lit up,
There must be a bright moon every night,
The moment the girls change clothes is always endearing.

舞女及燕姬。倡樓復蕩婦。
參差大床發。搖曳小垂手。
鈞竿蜀國彈。新城折楊柳。
玉案西王桃。螽杯石榴酒。
甲乙羅帳異。辛壬房戶暉。
夜夜有明月。時時憐更衣。

Notes to Chapter III

See Ding, *Quan Liang shi* 全梁詩, p.909.

84. YFSJ 49.918.

85. In *Chen shu*, Biography of Chen Shujian 陳叔堅, Prince of Changsha 長沙王, 28.366, we are given a brief glimpse of the life of one of these wine-selling girls:

Chen Shujian's (fl. late sixth century) mother was originally a slave in a tavern in Wuzhong 吳中 (Wu xian 吳縣, Jiansu). When Gaozong 高宗 (i.e. Emperor Xuan of Chen 陳宣帝 531-582) was still a commoner, he once went there for a drink, and ultimately enjoyed the girl. When he became emperor, the woman was made *Shuyi* 淑儀 (an imperial concubine of middle rank).

It appears that Gaozong grew so fond of the girl that he married her soon afterwards. Such good fortune was, however, very rare.

86. To give one example, Wang Yin 王隱's *Jin shu* records: Jiang Di 蔣迪 was executed for forming a gang and making attacks on the commanderies and counties. As a result, his daughter was made a slave of the government. However, she had a clear voice which was very moving 有清聲動人. The Crown Prince Minhuai 愍懷 (279-300) came to enjoy her, and she subsequently gave birth to his son.

Jiang Di's daughter must have become a *ji* and hence was able to attract the attention of the prince. The record is cited in a fragment which is thought to be from a lost encyclopaedia *Xiuwendian yulan* 修文殿御覽, compiled in 572. See Luo Xuetao 羅雪堂先生全集, *si bian* 四編, ce 3, p.1293 and p.1299. Hong Ye 洪業 thinks the fragment might perhaps come from another work *Hualin bianlüe* 華林遍畧 which was compiled in 524. See Hong, "Suowei Xiuwendian yulan zhe" 所謂修文殿御覽者, *Yanjing xuebao* 12(1932):2499-2558.

87. *Shishuo xinyu* 3a.21b provides one of the many examples: Xie An's 謝安 (320-385) wife curtained off her maid-servants 婢 and had them perform music in front of her.

88. The following instances would suffice for illustration: *Nan Qi shu*, Biography of Lu Huixiao 陸慧曉 46.806: Wang Yan 王晏 (?-497) presented to Lu Huixiao (435-496) one of his *ji* as a token of his good will. But Huixiao would not accept it.

Liang shu, Biography of Cai Daogong 蔡道恭, 10.194: The Wei government agreed to return Cai Daogong's (?-503) coffin. His family gave some *ji* in exchange, and buried it in Xiangyang.

He Fasheng's 何法盛 (fl. in the Liu Song dynasty) *Jin zhongxing shu* 晉中興書 (See *Taiping yulan* 580.1b):

One *ji*, who was playing a flute, faltered slightly at a note. Wang Kai 王愷 (fl. in the fourth century) flew into such a rage that he ordered the Attendants of the Yellow Gate 黃門 to beat her to death.

Notes to Chapter III

89. In *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 114.3581, Hu Sanxing 胡三省 (1230-1302) explains *yinghu* as follows:
 People, who were vagrants, deserters or rebels, would be assigned to military camps. They became *yinghu* 營戶.
 Hamaguchi Shigekuni 濱口重國 explains *yinghu* as those who, because of some offence, were assigned to military camps to carry out all kinds of sundry duties and even serve as soldiers. See Hamaguchi Shigekuni, *Tō-ōchō no senjin seido* 唐王朝の賤人制度, p.331. But military camps of the Southern Dynasties were not without women. In *SoS*, Annals of the Houfei Emperor 後廢帝, 9.188, the Houfei Emperor (463-477) is said to have had illicit relations with the women of the Camps of the Right Division guarding the Capital 與右衛翼營女子私通. Yu Zhengxie must be partly right in thinking that some of these female slaves in the camps were musical performers and prostitutes.
90. Ding, *Quan Chen shi*, p.137.
91. Wei Zifu was first employed in the household of the Princess of Pingyang, a sister of the Han Emperor Wu 漢武帝 (156-87 B.C.). Once the Emperor paid a visit to his sister and became fond of Wei, who was then one of the ladies-in-waiting. Wei was later sent to the Palace Jianzhang 建章 and was made a consort of the Emperor. See *Han shu*, Biography of Imperial Relatives 外戚, 97a.3949.
92. Emperor Jianwen of Liang, for example, mentions such a girl in his poem "Dong fei bolau ge" 東飛伯勞歌 (Eastward Flies the Shrike):
 So lovely she is,
 Aged about thirteen or fourteen.
 Skilled in singing, adept in dancing,
 Just as one would have it.
 可憐年幾十三四。
 工歌巧舞入人意。
- See Ding, *Quan Liang shi*, p.896.
93. The editors of *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 held the belief that the statutes in *Tang liudian* were never put into practice. See *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要 16.1668. Han Changng 韓長耕 in a more recent study of the problem agrees that *Tang liudian* was never promulgated, but he notes that the institutions expounded in the work are essentially those which existed since early Tang. See Han Changng, "Guanyu Da Tang liudian xingyong wenti" 關於大唐六典行用問題, *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 17(1983):84-92.
94. See Kishibe, *Tōdai ongaku*, pp.217-236.
95. Yu Jian's 于兢 *Tang zhuan* 唐傳, as cited in Hu Zi's (fl.mid twelfth century) *Tiaoxi yuyin conghua houji* 首溪漁隱

Notes to Chapter III

叢話後集, 2.15, says:

In the south of Deqing 德清 county in Huzhou 湖州 (in Zhejiang), there is the village of Qianxi 前溪 where people practised music during the Southern Dynasties. Even now, there are still several hundred families which practised music. The musical performers of south China mostly come from here. Hence the saying, "Dances originate from Qianxi".

We are not given any more detail about the institution. The place was perhaps a centre of entertainment houses where music was taught. Yu's book is now lost, and Yu Jing provides no biographical details.

96. Ding, *Quan Liang shi*, p.911.
97. *Ibid.*, p.1210.
98. See for example, *Zhongguo yinyue shi cankao tupian*, series 6, plates 12 and 13; and *Tang sancai youtao* 唐三彩釉陶, vol.1, plate 7.
99. Ding, *Quan Liang shi*, p.1305.
100. *Ibid.*, p.1107.
101. *Ibid.*, p.1241.
102. See Chapter II, p.34.
103. Yiwen leizhui 69.1204. Taozhi 桃枝 and yunmu 雲母 are two varieties of bamboo. Dai Kaizhi's 戴凱之 (fl. in the Jin dynasty) *Zhupu* 竹譜 p.4b says:
 Taozhi, the skin of the stem is red in colour. The slats when woven are both smooth and tough. They can be made into mats.
 Guo Yigong's 郭義恭 *Guang zhi* 廣志 describes yunmu as follows: (see *Chu xueji* 初學記 28.694)
 Yunmu bamboo is a large bamboo.
 No biographical details are available concerning Guo Yigong. *SuS*, *Treatise on Biography*, 34.1007 lists his book after Zhang Hua's 張華 (232-300) *Za ji* 雜記 .
104. Emperor Jianwen of Liang makes the following interesting observation in a poem *Ye ting ji* 夜聽妓 :
- Rouged lips fade as they blow,
 Jade bracelets shuttle over the strings.
- 朱唇隨吹盡。
 玉釧逐絃搖。

See Ding, *Quan Liang shi*, p.921. For a more detailed discussion of some cosmetics used in ancient China such as *huahuang* 花黃, see Edward H. Schafer, "The Early History of Lead Pigments and Cosmetics in China," *T'oung Pao* 44(1956):413-438.

Notes to Chapter III

105. Thus Wang Xun 王訓 (511-536) writes in a poem "Yingling yongwu" 應令詠舞 (On dance, commanded by His Highness):
 The way she smiles is worth a thousand gold pieces,
 The fragrance of her clothes pervades ten li.
 笑態千金動。
 衣香十里傳。
- See *Quan Liang shi*, p.1180.
106. *YFSJ* 49.716.
107. Ding, *Quan Song shi*, p.826.
108. *Ibid.*, p.688.
109. Ding, *Quan Liang shi*, p.1101. Jiangxing Garden was a popular spot to see friends off. *Liang shu*, Biography of Xiao Jing 蕭景 (477-523), 24.369 records that Emperor Wu of Liang once bade farewell to Xiao Jing in the garden.
110. A poem by Yu Xin 庾信, "Dui yan Qi shi" 對宴齊使 (At a feast with the envoys from Qi), actually mentions the professional singers at a parting feast:
 The return carriage was ready at the guest house,
 Then with it we went to the river embankment.
 The waiter was quickly filling our parting cups,
 Sad were the farewell songs by professional singers.
 歸軒下賓館。
 送蓋出河堤。
 酒正離杯促。
 歌工別曲悽。
- See Ding, *Quan Bei Zhou shi* 全北周詩, p.1595. The parting took place by the river by which the envoys from Northern Qi would make their way home.
111. See, for example, Hans H. Frankel, "Six Dynasties Yueh-fu and Their Singers," *Journal of the Chinese Language Teachers Association* 13(October 1978): p.189.
112. Ruth Finnegan, *Oral Literature in Africa*, pp.4-5.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. Ronald C. Miao, for example, has noted:
A high percentage of these songs (i.e. *yuefu* songs of the Southern Dynasties, my note.) deal with the theme of love; they are often erotic in tone, delicate in description, and suffused with the sense of tender pathos.
See Miao, "Palace-Style Poetry - The Courtly Treatment of Glamour and Love," in *Studies in Chinese Poetry and Poetics*, vol.1, p.12. Hans H. Frankel, too, has the following to say in his essay "Yüeh-fu Poetry," in *Studies in Chinese Literary Genre*, p.95:
The favourite theme [of the Wu songs and the Western songs] is love. Parting, leave taking, and separation are typical situations.
2. The femininity of the Spanish traditional lyric has been noted by J.G.Cummins whose explanation of the fact might perhaps be applicable to the Chinese scene too:
This is clearly the effect (and not the cause) of the simple fact that the female members of a Spanish rural community sing more than the men; singing is often a group activity, and the women are more commonly gathered in a group in the execution of their daily activities, washing clothes, spinning, sewing etc., while the men's occupations, except at certain seasons, tend to be more solitary.
(Cummins, *The Spanish Traditional Lyrics*, p.22)
As a matter of fact, women's songs seemed to have prospered throughout medieval Europe. The few earliest survivals of German lyric from the medieval period are predominantly feminine in character. Thus Olive Sayce observes:
In all these poems, including the *Carmina Burana* (a collection of medieval German lyrics, my note) example, the woman is depicted as loving and devoted, lamenting the man's absence or desertion.
(Sayce, *The Medieval German Lyrics, 1150-1300*, p.80)
On the same page, he has also noted that they are almost exclusively first-person monologues. Peter Dronke makes the following observations about medieval Europe in his much used book, *The Medieval Lyric*, p.90:
It is significant that church councils throughout Europe from the sixth to the ninth centuries protest against the singing not only of amatory or lascivious songs, but specifically against the songs of girls (*pullarum cantica*).
and p.91:
So too, many poets and poetesses of medieval Europe turned to the ancient and universal themes of women's love songs, and made new poetry out of them in a fascinating variety of ways.
There seems to be much to be compared between East and West.
3. Li Jiayan, *Gushi chu tan*, pp.27-34.
4. See Mekada Makoto *hakushi koki kinen Chūgoku bungaku ronshu* 目加田誠博士古稀記念中國文學論集, pp.199-220.

Notes to Chapter IV

5. See, for example, Zhou Chengming 周誠明 's *Nanbeichao yuefu shi yanjiu* 南北朝樂府詩研究, p.70, in which such songs as *Wu ye ti*, *Ye huang*, *Ye du niang*, *Shuang xingchan* and *Xunyang yue* are thought to be about love between prostitutes and their customers.
6. Li, *Gushi*, p.30.
7. Konishi, *Nancho gafu*, pp.201-202.
8. *Ibid.*, p.204.
9. The lyric is subtitled "Song of the first month" 正月歌 and is the first of a song sequence on all the months of the year. See *YFSJ* 49.723. As it may be expected, it is not unusual to mention the new displacing the old when the beginning of a year becomes the subject. A lyric to the tune *San tai* 三臺 which is preserved in a manuscript dated "the fourth year of Jinglong" 景龍四年 (710) runs:
 It is the first month, the head of the year, and the beginning of spring,
 [All over the world?], what is old is changing and the new is welcome.
 正月年首初春，万口改故迎新。
- See Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1892-1978), "Pu Tianshou Lunyu chaoben hou de shici zalu" 卜天壽論語抄本後的詩歌雜錄, in *Kaogu* 考古 118(1972), p.5; and Rao Zongyi 饒宗頤, "Dunhuang qu dingbu" 敦煌曲訂補, in *BIHP* 51.1(1980), p.121.
10. Konishi, *Nancho gafu*, p.219.
11. *YFSJ* 47.691.
12. Though the alba, or dawn song, usually refers to a watchman who alarms the lovers, it is not unusual for the lark to take the place of the watchman. See Jonathan Saville, *The Medieval Erotic Alba - Structure as Meaning*, p.1 and pp.148-149. For Shakespeare, see the next note.
13. See *Mao* 82 and 96. For the translations by Arthur Waley, see *The Book of Songs*, pp.36-37. The parallel between the two songs and the alba has also been noted by Waley on p.36. Arthur T. Hatto has thus commented on *Mao* 82:
 This famous poem might well attract attention, since here, thousand years before Shakespeare, are found most of the essential themes of the scene in *Romeo and Juliet* in which the hero takes leave of the heroine after a night of love (III, V).
 See Hatto, *Eos, An Enquiry into the Theme of Lovers' Meetings and Partings at dawn in Poetry*, p.20. He has also noted on the

Notes to Chapter IV

same page that well before Waley, in 1876, another scholar, Wilhelm Scherer, had also been struck by the parallel between the Chinese poem and the European songs of parting at dawn.

14. Zhou Chengming, for one, has quoted the lyric in question as an example about prostitutes and their patrons. See Zhou, *Nanbei-chao*, p.70.
15. *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記, 274.2157.
16. *Taiping yulan*, 943.1b-2a.
17. Judging from the dynastic histories, illicit love was by no means uncommon in those days. *SoS*, for example, records that the concubine of a certain Zong Yi 宗綺 had an affair with his servant Niu Tai 牛泰. (See *SoS*, Biography of Zong Que 宗楚, 76.1971.) But the accounts are usually too brief to be useful for illustrating the background to the love songs. There is, however, the love story of Han Shou 韓壽 (d.ca. 292) and Jia Wu 賈午, which is recorded in some detail in *Jin shu*. See *Jin shu*, Biography of Jia Chong 賈充, 40.1172-1173. Jia Wu, the daughter of an early Jin statesman, Jia Chong (217-282), fell in love with Han and arranged to have him come to her in secret every night. The secret love was discovered when Jia Chong came to notice that Han carried with him an aroma which belonged to a kind of very rare perfumery in his possession. The story ends with the lovers joined in conjugal bliss. *Jin shu* is always accused of taking stories of dubious authenticity for history. Nevertheless, the story indicates that secret love meetings are not unknown to Jin society.
18. *YFSJ* 49.723. The Buddha motif is related to a Buddhist ceremony held on the eighth day of the fourth month of the lunar year. See Chapter II, pp.91-92.
19. *Ibid.*, 49.722.
20. *Ibid.*, 49.711. For the second and the last lines, I follow the version in *YTXY*, 10.6b.
21. *YFSJ*, 49.721.
22. For a detailed study of the censers, see Homer H. Dubs, "Han Hill Censers," in *Studia Serica Bernhard Karlgren Dedicata*, pp. 259-264.
23. The incense derives from a kind of tree called agallochum. The wood is said to be heavy enough to sink in water, hence the name. See *Liang shu*, Biography of Linyi (Champa) 林邑, 54.784; and G.A. Stuart, *Chinese Materia Medica, Vegetable Kingdom*, p. 45.

Notes to Chapter IV

24. YFSJ, 49.712.
25. *Ibid.*, 49.714. "Jin lan" 金蘭 (gold and orchid) in the original lyric is derived from the section *Ji ci* 繫辭 of *Yi jing* 易經 in which it is said:
 When two people share one heart, they can shatter the strength of all metals. When one's words find complete sympathy in another person, they are sweet as the fragrance of orchid.
 二人同心其利斷金，同心之言其臭如蘭。
- See *Zhou yi zhushu* 周易注疏, 7.18a. See also Richard Wilhelm, *I Ching, or Book of Changes*, translated into English by Cary F. Baynes, p.306. The phrase might have become so popular that folk lyricists could be using it without knowing its origin.
26. YFSJ., 48.703.
27. *Ibid.*, 49.716.
28. See Mao 229, *Bai hua* 白華, *Shi jing zhushu* 15b.17b. A similar motif can be found in Mao 216, *Yuan yang* 鶉鴒, *Shi jing zhushu*, 14b.8b-10b; but it appears to have no connection with love.
29. *Ibid.*, 49.719.
30. *Ibid.*, 49.715.
31. *Ibid.*, 49.716.
32. *Ibid.*, 48.709.
33. YFSJ., 49.724.
34. *Ibid.*, 49.715.
35. Anne Birrell, *New Songs from a Jade Terrace*, p.13.
36. *Ibid.*, p.14.
37. *Ibid.*.
38. *Ibid.*.
39. *Ibid.*, p.16.
40. *Ibid.*.
41. *Ibid.*, p.10.
42. David Hawkes, *Ch'u Tz'u, Songs of the South*. pp. 24-25.

Notes to Chapter IV

43. Hong Xingzu 洪興祖 (1070-1135), *Chu ci buzhu* 楚辭補注, 1.11b-12a.
44. *Nan Qi shu*. Biography of Wang Jingze, 26.485.
45. *YFSJ.*, 49.714.
46. *Ibid.*, 49.712. Different sources give different lengths of one *duan* 端. *Ji yun* 集韻, 2.83a gives the length as six *zhang* 丈, which appears to fit in well with the lyric.
47. *Ibid.*, 48.709.
48. *Ibid.*, 49.711.
49. *Ibid.*, 49.722.
50. Arthur Waley, *Chinese Poems*, p.109.
51. *YFSJ.*, 48.703.
52. The antiphonic nature of some of the Western lyrics and Wu lyrics has been noted by Yu Guanying 余冠英 and others. See Yu, "Wu-sheng gequ li de nannü zengda" 吳聲歌曲裏的男女贈答, in *Han Wei Liuchao shi luncong* 漢魏六朝詩論叢, pp.60-69.
53. Birrell. *New Songs*, p.8.
54. *Ibid.*.
55. *Ibid.*, p.14.
56. Marilyn Jane Evans, *Popular Songs of the Southern Dynasties: A Study in Chinese Poetic Styles*, p.18.
57. *YFSJ*, 49.714.
58. Birrell, *New Songs*, p.14.
59. See *YFSJ*, 47.689, 690; and 48.703, 708.
60. *Ibid.*, 48.708.
61. See Chapter II, p.40.
62. *YFSJ*, 48.708.
63. *Ibid.*, 49.719.
64. *Ibid.*, 47.691.
65. *Ibid.*, 48.707. The pair-eyed fish is a kind of solelike flatfish which are thought to go in pairs and share their single

Notes to Chapter IV

eyes. See *Erya yishu*, B5.9a; *Han shi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳, 5.12a, and Bernard Read, *Chinese Materia Medica: Fish Drugs*, p.84-85.

66. *YFSJ*, 49.721.

67. *Ibid.*, 47.689.

68. *Ibid.*, 48.698.

69. *Ibid.*, 47.691.

70. *Ibid.*, 49.719.

71. *Ibid.*, 49.724.

72. *Ibid.*, 49.714.

73. *Ibid.*, 49.717.

74. The Wu songs, for example, provide several instances of sleeplessness: *Ziye ge* no.26, 28, 33 (*YFSJ*, 44.643); *Aonong ge* no.11 (*YFSJ*, 46.668); *Huashan ji* no.7, 17 (*YFSJ* 46.669, 670); *Du qu ge* no.6, 7, 86 (*YFSJ*, 46.671, 672, 676). J.G. Cummins observes thus of the Spanish traditional songs:

Sleeplessness is a common element, it may be linked with unfaithfulness or neglect, or may be caused merely by the depth of the girl's love, or by a vaguely perceived desire for fulfilment.

See Cummins, *The Spanish*, p.49.

75. *YFSJ*, 48.709. 繫 (tie) is perhaps a corruption of 攀 (put up the hands to get hold of something). Not only does 攀條 read better, but also 攀條 (get hold of the branches) occurs in *Caisang du* no.6 (*YFSJ*, 48.709) which is also about picking mulberry leaves.

76. Xu Guangqi 徐光啓 (1562-1633), *Nongzheng quanshu* 農政全書 34.683:

A mulberry-hook 桑鉤 is an instrument to assist the picking of leaves. In the course of picking, in order to get to the leaves of the far branches, a wooden hook is used to pull them near instead of stretching out the arms and fingers and tiring oneself out with the labour. In the past, when the imperial ladies undertook sericulture themselves, punnets and hooks were used for picking the leaves. At the beginning of the Shangyun 上元 era (674-676) of the Tang dynasty, thirteen treasures that helped building the empire were found, one of which is a hook for picking mulberry leaves. Hence we know the ancients used hooks for the labour.

The use of hooks surely precedes the inauguration of the Tang empire.

Notes to Chapter IV

77. *YFSJ*, 49.714.
78. *Ibid.*, 49.713.
79. See Chapter II, p.48-49.
80. *YFSJ*, 49.913.
81. *Ibid.*, 44.647.
82. *Ibid.*.
83. *Ibid.*, 44.648.
84. The ninth of the ten eulogies entitled *Zhongxing ge* 中興歌 is as follows: (see *Bao Canjun ji zhu* 鮑參軍集注, p.215)
 Whether one has good fortune or not is pre-ordained,
 Our life span is for Heaven to decide.
 Since we have witnessed the joy of Resurgence,
 No more should we let our worries scorch us.

窮泰已有分。
 壽夭復屬天。
 既見中興樂。
 莫持憂自煎。

"Zhongxing" refers to the resurgence of the dynasty, and is placed in similar positions as "Taishi". Like Taishi, the time is thought to be one of joy, and should dispel all worries which are hinted in the first two lines. The structure of the poem resembles closely those of the Wu and Western lyrics we have seen.

85. *Ibid.*, 49.710.
86. Details of the game are unknown. The earliest mention of it is found in Zong Lin's 宗懷 (d.ca.563) *Jing Chu suishi ji*, p.6a:
 On the fifth day of the fifth month, all the people would "pace on a hundred kinds of grass" 踏百草 .
 The commentary, probably by Du Gongzhan 杜公瞻 (fl. late sixth century), reads:
 "Pacing on a hundred kinds of grass" is the same as our game of "competing with a hundred kinds of grass." 鬥百草 "
 Du Taiqing's 杜臺卿 (d. ca. 596) *Yuzhu baodian* 玉燭寶典 5.18a mentions the same custom practised in the Jing-Chu region. An instance of the game could be found in *Liu binke jiahua lu* 劉賓客嘉話錄 in which the Tang princess Le'an 樂安公主 (fl. late seventh century) is said to take away the beard that once belonged to the poet Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385-433) from a Buddhist monastery in order to "enrich the variety of her collection". See also Shang Binghe's 尚秉和 *Lidai shehui fengsu shiwu*

Notes to Chapter IV

- kao 歷代社會風俗事物考, and Wei Xun 韋絢 (fl. 856) Liu Binke jiahua lu, p.27a.
87. YFSJ, 49.717.
88. Li Jiannong 李劍農 has noted that ox rather than horse was the most important draught animal since the Jin dynasty. See Li, Wei Jin Nanbeichao Sui Tang jingji shigao 魏晉南北朝隋唐經濟史稿 pp. 92-93 and pp. 115-117.
89. See, for example, Nanjing Liuchao mu chutu wenwu xuanji 南京六朝墓出土文物選集, plate 21.
90. The term "ji zai" 寄載 (given a lift) occurs quite frequently in the writings of the time. Morino Seigeo's 森野繁夫 "Rikuchō no shōsetsu goi shū ni tsuite" 六朝古小説語彙集について, Hiroshima daigaku bungakubu kiyō tokushū 特輯號 2(1979), pp. 25-26. has noted three occurrences in the stories of the Six Dynasties period. The following three which are picked up in casual reading, are however not mentioned in his concordance: Taiping guangji, 462.3791 (citing Liu Yiqing's 劉義慶 Youming lu 幽明錄), Taiping yulan, 444.5a (citing Pei Qi's 裴啓 (fl.362) Yu lin 語林); and Gan Bao's Shou shen ji 搜神記 4.7b. It is quite evident that to ask for a lift was not uncommon in those days.
91. Watson, *Chinese Lyricism*, p.135.
92. Frankel, "Yüeh-fu poetry", p,96.
93. YFSJ, 49.719.
94. *Ibid.*, 49.721.
95. See Wang Yunxi, *Liuchao*, pp.133-134; Xiao, *Han Wei*, p.247.
96. It should be noted that "fengliu" 風流 meaning "wanton" becomes popular only after the Southern Dynasties, and there is no definite proof of its occurrence in any pre-Tang texts. The allegorical interpretation is therefore open to doubt. Ogawa Tamaki 小川環樹 in his essay "Fūryū no gōgi no henka" 風流の語義の變化, *Kokugo kokubun 國語國文* 20.8(1951), holds the opinion that "fengliu", meaning wanton or lustful, indicates a semantic shift of the term in the Tang dynasty, and it occurs more often in stories than in serious poetry and essays. See Ogawa, pp.57-58.
97. YFSJ, 44.643. Also Watson, *Chinese Lyricism*, p.60.
98. *Ibid.*, 44.645, 46.671.
99. Cummins, *The Spanish*, p.64.

Notes to Chapter IV

100. *YFSJ*, 47.689.
101. *Ibid.*, 49.714.
102. *Ibid.*, 47.691.
103. *Ibid.*, 47.714.
104. *Ibid.*, 49.717. I follow Zuo Keming's *Gu yuefu*, 7.11a to read
班鳥 as 班離 (turtledove).
105. D.C. Lau tr. *The Analects*, p.100.
106. *Lunyu zhushu 論語注疏*, 9.9b.
107. *Shishuo xinyu 世說新語*, 2a.1a.
108. Waley, *The Book of Songs*, p.206.
109. *Maoshi zhushu 毛詩注疏*, 14b.11a.
110. A few examples may suffice for illustration:
Cling to water like floating duckweed,
Cleaves to pines like hanging dodders.
依水類浮萍。
寄松似懸蘿。
(Pan Yue 潘岳, 247-300, *Heyang xian zuo 河陽縣作*,
no.2, in *Liuchen zhu wen xuan 六臣注文選*, 26.20a.)

Curling dodders,
Attach to the top of the pine.

絲絲女蘿。
施于松柏。

(Lu Shen 盧諶, 284-350, *Zeng Liu Kun 贈劉琨*, in
Liushen zhu wen xuan, 25.22b)

Dodders that cleave to the pines,
At last crown the tall branches.

女蘿依附松。
終已冠高枝。

(Wu Jizhi 伍輯之, fl. early fifth century, *Lao ge 勞歌*,
in *Ding, Quan Song shi*, p.727.)

Li Zhouhan's 李周翰 (fl. eighth century) commentary to Pan
Yue's poem is as follows:

Duckweed clinging to water will stay or move with water.
Dodders cleaving to pines will grow tall or low as the pine
does. Customs change with government policies in the like
manner.

Notes to Chapter IV

As to Lu Shen's poem, Li Shan 李善 (?-689) considers dodders and pine as referring to Lu Shen and Liu Kun (271-318) respectively, Lu being an admirer of Liu who was a military governor and a charismatic personality in early Eastern Jin dynasty. Wu Jizhi's poem comments on the unworthy (dodders) who have risen to high position in the political hierarchy through the help of those in power (pines). The song closes with a note of self-pity:

Sorrowful is the gate-keeper,
He alone is without a pine for support.

傷我抱關士。
獨無松與期。

"Gate keeper" 抱關士 is a synecdoche for those holding lowly positions in the government. (See *Mengzi zhushu* 孟子注疏, 10b.5a, also D.C. Lau tr. *Mencius*, p.155.) It should be clear that the pine-dodder motif can be invested with a variety of metaphorical meanings.

111. Birrell, *New Songs*, p.67.

112. The two lyrics are *Qingcong baima* no.3 and *Yangpaner* no.4. See *YFSJ*, 49.711, 721.

113. *YFSJ*, 49.724.

114. *Ibid.*.

115. *Ibid.*, 49.716.

116. J.D. Frodsham, *An Anthology of Chinese Verse*, p.30.

117. Yoshikawa Kōjirō has observed that in *Shishuo xinyu*, while "xiang" 相 may still be used in the sense of "mutually", it is more often employed to suggest unilateral action such as in "xiang qi" 相棄 (abandon someone). See Yoshikawa, "Sesetsu shingo no bunshō" 世說新語文章, in Yoshikawa Korjiro zenshu, vol.7, p.460. Indeed "xiang" in the Western lyrics is most often used in the unilateral sense as in "xiang song" 相送 (see someone off), "xiang sui" 相隨 (follow someone), "xiang dai" 相待 (wait for someone) and "xiang wang" 相忘 (forget someone).

118. The line first occurs in *Mao* 195, "Xiao wen" 小文, and 196, "Xiao wan" 小宛 of *Shi jing*. See *Shi jing zhushu*, 12b. 20a. In later times, similar motifs are used with almost the same meaning, as the following may illustrate:

1. *Han shu*, Annals of Emperor Xuan 宣帝 (91-49 B.C.), 8.256:
It is like stepping on thin ice and waiting for the sun. Is it not dangerous?

譬如踐薄冰以待白日。豈不待殆哉

2. *Huainan zi* 淮南子, "Shuo lin xun" 說林訓, 17.659:
It is like treading on thin ice, beneath which lies a dragon.

Notes to Chapter IV

119. Frankel, "Yüeh-fu Poetry", p.75.

120. Watson, *Chinese Lyricism*, p.132.

121. *Ibid.*, 123-124.

122. *Ibid.*, 126-127.

123. The following instances may suffice for illustration:

I gather the blossoms, but to whom should I present them?
My thoughts are with the one in the hall.
We are the twin fish whose eyes make one pair,
The mandarin ducks with their necks intertwined.

采之遺誰。
所思在庭。
雙魚比目。
鶼鶼交頸。

(Cao Pi 曹丕, *Qiu Hu xing* 秋胡行, in Ding, *Quan Sanguo shi*, p.125.)

We are like those birds in the tall bush,
They perch together until one day only one is left,
Or like those fish that roam the river,
Their eyes make one pair until one turns away in mid-course.

如彼翰林鳥。
雙棲一朝隻。
如彼遊川魚。
比目中路折。

(Pan Yue, *Daowang shi* 悼亡詩, in Ding, *Quan Jin shi*, p.376.)

In Cao Pi's poem, the I-persona and her love are compared to the fish and ducks. Pan Yue, on the other hand, employs similar images to lament over the loss of his wife. The "birds" may not be mandarin ducks, it is a good example of what Watson calls "the tendency toward abstraction" in the high poetry. Nevertheless, the conventionality of the two symbols is indisputable.

124. The mother of the Jin Emperor Jianwen 簡文 (320-372) was named A Chun 阿春. "Chun" 春 was then tabooed and replaced by "yang" 陽 in writing. A classic example is Sun Sheng's 孫盛 (302-373) *Jin yangqiu* 晉陽秋 (A history of Jin) which is otherwise named *Jin chungiu* 晉春秋 as in SoS, *Treatise on Rituals* 禮志, 16.450. For a succinct account of the taboo, see Chen Yuan 陳垣, *Shiwei juli* 史語舉例, 8.136. The convention persisted in the later ages. "San yang" 三陽 of the Western lyric is the same as "san chun" 三春, which means

Notes to Chapter IV

either "the three months of spring" or "three springs". The lyric might have been committed to paper in the Eastern Jin dynasty and reworked by a hand with some knowledge of literary conventions and taboos.

125. *YFSJ*, 49.723.
126. Du Taiqing, *Yuzhu baodian*, 2.29a. The work *Jing chu ji* is possibly the same as *Jing Chu suishi ji* by Zhong Lin, a work on folk customs in the medieval Jing-Chu region.
127. A modern scholar, Yu Jiayi 余嘉錫, holds that what is said in *Erya yi* about Jing-Chu is based on *Jing Chu suishi ji*. See Yu, *Siku tiyao bianzheng* 四庫提要辨證 . 8.446.
128. *YFSJ*, 49.723.
129. *Baishi liutie*, 78.51a, has quoted Chui Pao's 崔豹 (fl. Jin dynasty) *Gujin zhu* 古今注 in which *Chu wu* 楚烏 (crows of Chu) are taken to be one sub-species of the bird.
130. Hatto, *Eos*, pp.810-811.
131. *YFSJ*, 46.675.
132. *Ibid.*, 47.691.
133. *Chuxue ji*, 30.7a, citing Qiao Zhou's *Fa xun* 法訓 .
134. *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字, 4a.56a.
135. The anonymous work *Chunqiu yuanming bao* 春秋元命苞 is cited in *Taiping yulan*, 3.3a as saying:
 There is in the sun a three-footed crow 日中有三足鳥 .
 For more information of the three-footed crow, see *Chunqiu yuanming bao*, *Hanxue tang congshu* edition, p.21a-b.
136. J.R. Hightower, *The Poetry of T'ao Ch'ien*, p.153.
137. *YFSJ*, 47.691.
138. *Ibid.*, 49.710.
139. See Chapter III, note 1, p.282.
140. *YFSJ*, 46.671. The lyric operates with the usual puns "lian" 蓮 / 憐 (lotus/love) and "ou" 藕 / 偶 (lotus root/pair) to achieve multiple meanings.
141. *YFSJ*. 44.641.
142. *Ibid.*, 46.674.

Notes to Chapter IV

143. *Ibid.*, 44.643.

144. *Ibid.*.

145. *Ibid.*, 46.669.

146. *Ibid.*, 46.670.

147. *Ibid.*.

148. *Ibid.*, 49.723. I have failed to discover what kind of grass is "the grass of longevity". It is perhaps a folk name which is not recorded elsewhere. Judging from the last line, we must be right to take "the knot" as the usual love-knot 同心結 .

149. Evans, *Popular songs*, p.18.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. Recent phonological studies concerning tones in Middle Chinese might best be summarized with the following remarks by E.G. Pulleybank:

There is by now an accumulation of evidence to show that the Chinese tones have developed within the last two thousand years through the replacement of initial and final segmental features by features of pitch and contour. The first stage was reached in Early Middle Chinese (before A.D. 600), in which syllables other than those ending in a stop consonant, which were classified as the "entering" tone, were divided into three tonal categories: "level", "rising", and "departing". Syllables in the rising tone had earlier ended in a glottal stop, while those in the departing tone had ended in *-h*, from earlier *-s*. These two tones were probably still characterized to some extent by glottalization and aspiration at that period.

See Pulleybank, "The Chinese and Their Neighbours in Prehistoric and Early Historic Times," in *The Origins of Chinese Civilization*, pp. 423-424.

2. Unlike the sung poetry of later ages such as *ci* 詞 and *qu* 曲, there seems to be no tonal regulations governing the Western lyrics so as to accommodate the verbal music to the tune. The following are two lyrics from the tune *Mochou*. Tone marks (level: —, rising: /, departing: \, entering: >) which represent the four tones of Middle Chinese are given at the top of each character. To determine the tones, I rely on *Guangyun* which was compiled in 1008, but was very closely related to a much earlier work of similar nature *Qieyun* 切韻 compiled by Lu Fayuan 陸法言 in 601.

Mochou no.1 (YFSJ, 48.698)

莫 愁 在 何 處 .
 莫 愁 石 城 西 .
 艇 子 打 兩 槳 .
 催 送 莫 愁 來 .

Mochou no.2 (YFSJ, 48.698)

聞 歡 下 揚 州 .
 相 送 楚 山 頭 .
 採 手 抱 腰 看 .
 江 水 斷 不 流 .

No tonal pattern can be detected for the two lyrics, despite the fact that they are sung to the same tune. In other words, the music inevitably destroyed the original tonal relations between the syllables.

Notes to Chapter V

3. *Yangpaner* no.6, *YFSJ* 49.721, is one line shorter than usual, probably because of textual corruption.
4. *Shouyang yue* no.6, *YFSJ* 49.719, is differently structured, the syllabic arrangement being 3, 3, 5.
5. Ding's *Quan Han shi* has recorded several examples of pentasyllabic quatrains taken from Ban Gu's 班固 (32-92) *Han shu* and Chang Ju's *Huayang guozhi*. It should be obvious that the structure can be dated as early as the Former Han dynasty (B.C. 206-A.D.8). See Ding, p.90 and 95. The examples therein came from Sichuan and Changan. The same *juan* has recorded two heptasyllabic couplets from Later Han. See Ding, p.92 and 93. These two couplets came from Changwu 蒼梧 (in Guangxi 廣西) and the area between Liang 梁 (southern Shanxi 陝西) and Pei 沛 (north-western Anhui 安徽). They were originally recorded in Xie Cheng's 謝承 (fl. mid-third century) *Hou Han shu* and the standard history of the same title by Fan Ye 范曄 (398-445).
6. See Chapter II, pp.38-39.
7. Another instance may be added here for support. According to Xiao Ziyun 蕭子雲 (486-548), Wu girls, Chu beauties 吳姬楚艷 and some other well-known entertainers 名倡 were called in to provide entertainment during a lecture on Buddhist sutra, in the year 518. See Xiao, "Xuanpu yuan jiang fu" 玄圃園講賦 in *Guan hongming ji* 廣弘明集, *TS*, LII, no.2103, 29.341.
8. *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳, *TS*, L, no.2059, p.415b.
9. For a fuller discussion of the subject, see K.S. Chen, *The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism*, pp.240-241.
10. Wang Yunxi, *Liuchao*, pp.44-45.
11. Yu Guanying 余冠英, for example, has expressed doubt about this view in his essay "Qiyuan shi qiyuan xinlun" 七言詩起源新論, in his *Han Wei Liuchao shi luncong*, pp.127-157. He argued that heptasyllabic verse was still considered a humble genre and was mentioned disparagingly in pre-Sui times, whereas *Chu ci* had enjoyed much prestige since the Han dynasty. Therefore he finds it unlikely that heptasyllabic verse developed from *Chu ci*.
12. Ding, *Quan Jin shi*, p.577.
13. Ding, *Quan Sanguo shi*, p.228.
14. For more examples of heptasyllabic one-line structure, see Wu Qian's 吳騫 (1733-1813) *Baijing lou shihua* 拜經樓詩話, 4.763-764.
15. L.E.R. Picken, who has made a study of the songs of Jiang Kui

Notes to Chapter V

姜夔 (1163-1203), proposes the following hypothesis about the tunes to which Tang lyrics in standard quatrains were sung: As to the nature of these tunes, the simplest hypothesis - bearing in mind the predominance of binary, or 'divisive' rhythm (to use Sach's term) in Chinese folk song, popular song and art song, and the predominance of syllabic song in Chinese folk song and popular song - is that a text line of 7 syllables was sung to a musical line occupying an 8-beat measure. A song of 56 syllables would require a tune of at least 50 notes. In the simplest case, the seventh note in the musical line, to which the seventh syllable was sung, would occupy (with time for breath, if required) 2 beats of the 8-beat measure.

His hypothesis is supported by his study of Japanese *Tōgaku* 唐樂 which is believed to originate from the Tang dynasty. See Picken, "Tunes apt for Tang Lyrics from the *Sho* 笙 Part-Books of *Tōgaku* 唐樂", in *Essays in Ethnomusicology: a Birthday offering for Lee Hye-ku* 李惠求博士頌壽音樂論叢, pp. 401-420. If Picken is right, his argument could lend further support to what we propose of heptasyllabic lines.

16. Frodsham, *An Anthology of Chinese Verse*, p.152.
17. Wang Yunxi has tried to argue for an early folk origin of heptasyllabic verse rhymed in alternate lines. However his examples are all irregular verses, and more often than not the heptasyllabic lines of his examples rhyme with lines of either shorter or longer syllabic length. Wang has to admit finally that the first full realization of the form was found in Xie Lingyun's poetry. See Wang, "Qiyān shī xīngshī de fāzhān hé wánchéng" 七言詩形式的發展和完成, in his *Yuefu shī luncong* 樂府詩論叢, pp.158-176.
18. See Frankel, "The Formulaic Language of the Chinese Ballad 'Southeast Fly the Peacocks'," *BIHP* 39.2(1969):219-241; Williams, "A Study of the Oral Nature of Han Yüeh-fu," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1973; and C.H. Wang, *The Bell and The Drum: Shih-ching as Formulaic Poetry in an Oral Tradition*.
19. Lord, "Perspectives of Recent Works on Oral Literature," in *Oral Literature*, p.6. For further criticism of Wang's book, see Lois M. Fusek, "Review of *The Bell and The Drum* by C.H.Wang," in *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 1.1(January 1979): 99-103, and David E. Bryum, "The Bell, the Drum, Milman Parry, and the Time Machine," *ibid.*, 1.2(July 1979):241-253.
20. Parry, "Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse Making. 1: Homer and Homeric Style," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 41(1930), p.80.
21. See Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, pp.13-45.

Notes to Chapter V

22. Lord, "Homer as an Oral Poet," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 72(1968), p.24.
23. Benson, "The Literary Character of Anglo-Saxon Formulaic Poetry," *Publication of the Modern Language Association* 81(1966), p.336.
24. See Opland, "'Scop' and 'Imbongi' - Anglo-Saxon and Bantu oral poets," *English Studies in Africa* 14(1971), p.177. Also Finnegan, *Oral Poetry*, p.70.
25. The problem has been admirably discussed by Jeff Opland, in his book *Anglo-Saxon Oral Poetry*, pp.6-7. Thus he concludes:
 The student of any one living tradition ought to find relevance in the study of any other living tradition: he will probably find some points of agreement and other points on which the two traditions differ, the earlier definition might well help him to arrive at a coherent definition of the phenomena he is observing, the student of dead oral tradition can similarly find relevance in the study of living oral traditions.
 While he rejects an uncritical application of the Parry-Lord theory, he admits its relevance to a certain degree to the study of other oral traditions than the Yugoslavian.
26. Sun Hao 孫皓 (242-283), the last emperor of Wu 吳, one of the Three kingdoms, was asked to sing in a feast, thereupon he raised his wine cup and sang a Wu song *Er yu ge* 爾汝歌, of which the lyric was his own making at that instant. See *Shi shuo xinyu* 3b.1b-2a.
27. See C.H. Wang, *The Bell*, pp.46-47.
28. *Ibid.*, p.x.
29. See Zhu, *Zhongguo geyao* 中國歌謠, pp. 194-195. *Tao ju* 套曲 is therein understood as "a convenient expression regularly employed in songs" 套句是歌謠裏常用的方便的表现。Zhu, unlike Parry, has not specified any metrical and syntactic requirements. But his conception of *tao ju* as a unit for use in any song whenever the appropriate context arises comes close to Parry's idea of formula, and his examples fit in well with Parry's definition. It should be pointed out that other than Zhu, some scholars such as Uchida Tomoo 内田智雄 and Arthur Waley have pointed out the use of repeated lines in *Shi jing* and termed them as "formula" or "formule 慣用句" (Uchida's terminology). Though what they meant by the terms might not be the same as that in Parry-Lord's theory, most of their examples again fit in with Parry's conception. Jaroslav Průšek who has made a study of *Zhui zi shu* 墜子書, a kind of sung tale current in Henan since the early part of this century, has noticed that expressions in the prologue of the tale is as a rule traditional and stereotypical. Though he mentions nothing of formula, Hans H. Frankel thinks that what he refers to is in fact

Notes to Chapter V

formulaic language. Nevertheless, it appears that formulaic language is a very much noted feature in Chinese folk literature. See Waley, *The Book of Songs*, p.125; Uchida Tomoo, "Shi kokufū kō" 詩國風考, *Shinagaku* 支那學 8.4(1936), p.521; Jaroslav Průšek, "Die Chui-tsi-shu, erzählende Volksgesänge aus Ho-nan," in *Asiatica: Festschrift Friedrich Weller*, p.459; (for the English version of the article, see Průšek, "Chui-tzu-shu - Folk Songs from Ho-nan," in his *Chinese History and Literature*, pp. 170-198;) and Hans H. Frankel, "Some Characteristics of Oral Narrative Poetry in China," in *Études d'histoire et de Littérature Chinoises, offertes au Professeur Jaroslav Průšek*, p.99.

30. See Frankel, "The Formulaic Language of the Chinese Ballad 'South-east Fly the Peacocks'," pp.221-238.
31. It should be pointed out that in addition to Parry's idea of formula, Lord has made provision for those repeated segments which come close to a formula but for some reasons fail to be so qualified. He has termed them "formulaic expression", defined as follows:

A line or half line constructed on the pattern of the formula.

(Lord, *The Singer*, p.4)

Elsewhere he elaborates further: some line or half lines are called formulaic

because they follow the basic pattern of rhythm and syntax and have at least one word in the same position in the line in common with other lines or half lines.

(Lord, *The Singer*, p.47)

For our purpose, the so-called "formulaic expression" will be ignored. Several factors will combine to cause frequent occurrences of "formulaic expression" in Chinese pentasyllabic poetry generally. The scarcity of syllables in one line, together with the usual practice to make one poetic line correspond to one sentence, and the heavy reliance on word order for syntactic structure, all combine toward limiting the line structures to several patterns. A limited vocabulary of poetic diction and a handful of useful particles will be repeatedly employed in poetry and very likely occur in the same position of a pentasyllabic line. Hence "formulaic expressions" abound. Take for example the poetry of Tao Qian 陶潛 (365-427) and just scan through the lines with "不" (not). We discover a hoard of formulaic expressions, following some basic rhythmic and syntactic patterns and with "不" occurring in the same position: (The poem titles are given in bracket, all page numbers refer to *Zhengjie xiansheng ji* 靖節先生集, SBBY edition.)

良人不可與 (詠三良 4.10b) 吾駕不可回 (飲酒 九. 3.18b)
 帝鄉不可歸 (歸去來辭 5.8a)
 素襟不可易 (乙巳歲三月為建威參軍使都督錢溪 3.12a)

Notes to Chapter V

歲月不待人	(雜詩·一· 4.4b)	弊襟不掩肘 (詠貧士·三· 4.8a)
良才不隱世	(與殷晉安別	2.15a)
不喜亦不懼	(形影神·神釋·	2.2a)
不馬史亦不遜	(和胡西曹示顧賦曹	2.17b)
不死復不老	(詠山海經·八·	4.14b)
蔓草不復榮	(己酉歲九月九日	3.13b)
肌膚不復實	(責子	3.27a)
此理將不勝	(移居 2.12b)	此蔭擢不衰 (飲酒·四· 3.16b)

These are only examples from Tao's poetry. If we compare his work with that of other poets, the formulaic expressions will certainly increase. We exclude "formulaic expression" from consideration not only because it will obscure a likely distinction between the Western lyrics and the literary poetry, (since both will provide plenty examples of them,) but also because there is indeed a significant qualitative difference between the creative process that produces these lines: 良人不可貲, 素襟不可易, and that which structures a line, say, 楊柳可藏高, with 楊柳可藏雀 as precedent. That the first two lines resemble each other is, I think, a coincidence largely due to the nature of the language and the formal restrictions of the genre, whereas the latter case is certainly not a coincidence. It should be clear that formula like 楊柳可藏□ and many so-called "formulaic expressions" as those cited are in fact matters of very different character, and therefore should not be discussed as one category.

32. The two following are found to have occurred in both the Western lyrics and the literary poetry. But since they occur only once in the lyrics and not in any other anonymous songs, they are hence not included in the list.

1.

別後莫相忘

(After we part, don't forget me)

Western lyric: *Shouyang yue* no.1, YFSJ 49.719.

Other poem : Cao Zhi, *Yuan ge xing* 怨歌行, Cao Zijian ji 曹子建集, 6.6b.

2.

迢迢百尺樓

(Tall is the pavillion of a hundred chi.)

Western lyric: *Menzhu* no.10, YFSJ 49.715.

Other poem : Tao Qian, *Ni gu* 擬古 no.4, *Zhengjie xiansheng ji*, 4.2b.

Even if they were included, the result would not be much affected.

33. See YFSJ 49.713 and 86.1208.

34. *Ibid.*, 49.721 and 46.676.

Notes to Chapter V

35. *Ibid.*, 47,691 and 46.668.
36. *Ibid.*, 49.713 and *Cao Zijian ji*, 6.6b.
37. Cummins, *The Spanish*, p.10.
38. There arose in the Southern Dynasties a special group of poems written in imitation of Xu Gan's 徐幹 (170-217) *Shisi shi* 室思詩. The poems as a rule open with 自君之出矣 (since you were gone), and more often than not end with a simile that reveals the thoughts of the I-persona. For further examples of this kind of poem, see YFSJ 69.987-990. See also Chapter II, note 98, p.273. The dates of Xu Gan have been a matter of controversy. I follow Yu Jiayi's "Yinian lu jiyi" 疑年錄 稽疑, in *Yu Jiayi lunxue zazhu* 余嘉錫論學雜著, wherein alternate dates are given and discussed.
39. The references are tabulated as follows:
- | Repeated lines | Poems |
|----------------|--|
| 撫鳴琴 | Lu Ji 陸機, 擬東城一何高, YTXY 3.1b.
(261-303) |
| | Jiang Yan 江淹, 張司空離情, YTXY 5.1b.
(444-505) |
| 多妖麗 | Lu Ji, 艷歌行, YTXY 3.4a. |
| | Lu Ji, 擬東城一何高, YTXY 3.1b. |
| 鬱嵯峨 | Lu Ji, 前緩聲歌, YTXY 3.5a. |
| | Wang Jian 王鑿, 七夕觀織女, YTXY 3.9b.
(277-322) |
| | Shen Yue 沈約, 昭君辭, YTXY 5.3b. |
| 北辰星 | Lu Yun 陸雲, 為顧孝先贈婦侍兒, YTXY 3.6b.
(262-303) |
| | He Xun 何遜, 閨怨, YTXY 5.16b.
(d.ca.517) |
| 比目魚 | Yang Fang 楊方, 合歡詩 no.1, YTXY 3.8a.
(fl.ca.317) |
| | 三洲歌 no.2, YFSJ 48.707. |
| 行不歸 | Xie Huilian 謝惠連, 擣衣, YTXY 3.13b.
(397-433) |
| | 古詩十九首 no.2, <i>Wen xuan</i> 29.2b. |
| 有奇樹 | Yang Fang, 合歡詩 no.5, YTXY, 3.9a. |
| | 古詩十九首 no.9, <i>Wen xuan</i> 29.5a. |
| 日已遠 | Bao Linghui 鮑令暉, 代舊沙門妻, no.2, YTXY 4.10b.
(fl.ca.464) |
| | 郭小玉詩 |
| | 古詩十九首 no.1, <i>Wen xuan</i> 29.2a. |

Notes to Chapter V

- 自生光 He Xun , 看新婦 , YTXY 5.17a.
孔雀東南飛 , YFSJ 73.1037.
- Shen Yue , 襄陽白銅蹄 no.3, YFSJ 48.708.
- 蕩舟妾 Bao Quan 鮑泉 , 落日看還 , YTXY 8.9b.
(d.552)
Liang Emperor Jianwen 北渚 , YFSJ 48.705.
- 桑榆時 Liu Shuo 劉鑠 , 代行行重行行 , YTXY 3.14b.
(431-453)
Yan Yanzhi 顏延之 , 秋胡詩 , YTXY 4.3a.
(384-456)
- 生別離 Wu Maiyuan 吳邁遠 , 飛來雙白鷗 , YTXY 4.8a.
(fl.ca.471)
古詩十九首 no.1, Wen xuan 29.1b.
- 長相思 Liu Shuo , 代行行重行行 , YTXY 3.14a.
- Xie Tiao 謝朓 , 贈玉主簿二首 , YTXY 4.12b-
(464-499) 13a.
- 綺窗前 Bao Zhao 鮑照 , 明月行 , YTXY 4.16b.
(?-466)
Qiu Chi 丘遲 , 敬酬柳僕射征怨 , YTXY 5.2b.
(464-508)
- 當窗牖 He Xun , 詠倡家 , YTXY 5.17a.
楊叛兒 no.1, Wen xuan 29.2a.
- 信可憐 Shen Yue , 詠鶴 , YTXY 5.22a.
楊叛兒 no.1, YFSJ 49.721.

40. The references are tabulated as follows:

Repeated lines	Lyrics	
諸少年	Shicheng yue no.1	YFSJ 47.689.
	Yi yue no.2	YFSJ 49.715.
四五竿	Mengzhu no.6	YFSJ 49.715.
	Du qu ge no.87	YFSJ 46.677.
只為汝	Qingyang du no.2	YFSJ 49.711.
	Du qu ge no.35	YFSJ 46.673.
石榴花	Mengzhu no.4	YFSJ 49.714.
	Du Qu ge no.3	YFSJ 46.671.
夜相思	Shouyang yue no.6	YFSJ 49.719.
	Huashan ji no.3, 23	YFSJ 46.699, 670.

Notes to Chapter V

莫相忘	Shouyang yue no.1 Tuanshan lang no.1	YFSJ 49.719. YFSJ 45.660.
復西歸	Qingcong baima no.7 Ziye ge no.22	YFSJ 49.711. YFSJ 44.642.
日就老	Lailuo no.1 Ziye ge no.16	YFSJ 49.713. YFSJ 44.642.
採春桑	Caisang du no.1, 3	YFSJ 48.709.
當奈何	Pan yangzhi no.1 Wu ye ti no.8	YFSJ 49.717. YFSJ 47.691.
五湖中	Qingcong baima no.3 Ba pu no.1	YFSJ 49.711. YFSJ 49.719.
不相負	Yuejie zhe yangliu no.7, 10	YFSJ 49.723,724.

41. Yoshikawa Kōjirō 吉川幸次郎 has noted that bisyllabic expressions abound in *Shishuo xinyu*, which, he claims, is representative of the style of the Chinese writings from the third century to the seventh century. See Yoshikawa, "Seisetsu shingo no bunshō" 世說新語の文章, in Yoshikawa Kōjirō zenshū 吉川幸次郎全集, vol.7, pp.465-466. For the English translation of the essay, see Glen W. Baxter, "Shih-shuo hsün-yü and Six Dynasties Prose Style," *HJAS* 18(1953):124-141.
42. Lord, *The Singers*, p.44.
43. *Wenxin diaolong jiaozhu* 文心雕龍校注, 2.35.
44. *Nan Qi shu*, Biographies of Literary Personalities 文學傳, 52.908.
45. Frankel, "Six Dynasties Yüeh-fu and Their Singers," *Journal of Chinese Language Teachers Association* 13(1978), p.189.
46. *Ibid.*.
47. Zhu, *Zhongguo geyao*, p.194.
48. *Anong ge* no.3 (YFSJ 46.667) goes like this:
From Jiangling to Yanzhou,
There're three thousand and three hundred li.
江陵去揚州。
三千三百里。

The two lines explain the formula and they are perhaps a variant of it.

Notes to Chapter V

49. See note 34.
50. See SoS, Annals of Emperor Ming 明帝 , 8.170.
51. Yao Jiheng 姚際恆 (1647-?), for example, considers these lines from Mao 101:

How do we cut firewood?
 Without an axe it is impossible.
 How does one take a wife?
 Without a matchmaker it cannot be done.

析薪如之何。
 匪斧不克。
 娶妻如之何。
 匪媒不得。

- and the similar lines from Mao 158:
 Cut an axe-handle, cut an axe-handle,
 Without an axe it is impossible.
 How does one take a wife?
 Without a matchmaker it cannot be done.

伐柯伐柯。
 匪斧不克。
 取妻如何。
 匪媒不得。

as "popular sayings of the time" 當時習語 . See Yao, *Shi jing tonglun* 詩經通論 8.169, and Pei Puxian 裴普賢 , *Shi jing xiangtong ju ji qi yingxiang* 詩經相同句及其影響 , pp.71-73.

52. *Shishuo xinyu* 3a.6b. "A Long" is the baby name of Wang Dao (276-339).
53. For *nong* and *huan*, see Chapter II, p.77. The two other examples occur in the lyrics and in the sayings of contemporary personalities given below:
1. 持許 (....with this)
 - a/ Western lyric: *Yi yue* no.2, YFSJ 49.715.
 To dazzle your eyes with this.
 持許聾色郎目
 - b/ *Nan Qi shu*, Biography of Wang Jingze 王敬則 (ca. 425-498), 26.487:
 Zuo Xingsheng 左興盛 (fl.498) made a soldier tell Jingze from a distance, "The sons of Your Lordship were all dead, what are you doing this for?"
 公兒死可盡。公持許底作。
 2. 那得 (how could)

Notes to Chapter V

a/ Western lyric; *Neihe tan* no.5, *YFSJ* 49.714.

How could we turn back?

那得到頭還。

b/ *Shishuo xinyu* 16.6a:

Taizong 太宗 (i.e. The Jin Emperor Jianwen 簡文, 320-372) replied, "In one day there are ten thousand decisions to make; how could I finish them in a stroke?"

太宗曰：「一日萬機，那得速？」

54. There is perhaps a corruption in the second line since 條女 does not seem to make sense. 女 might be 縷 which means "thread". 女 (GSR 94a, Anc. Chin. *níwo*;) and (GSR 123h, Anc. Chin. *liu*;) are close in sound.

55. The puns are found in the following Wu lyrics:

1. 離 / 離	<i>Du qu ge</i> no.63	<i>YFSJ</i> 46.675.
	no.69	46.675.
2. 憐 / 蓮	<i>Ziye ge</i> no.11	44.642.
	no.35	44.643.
	no.40	44.644.
	<i>Ziye xia ge</i> no.8	44.646.
	no.10	44.646.
	no.14	44.646.
	no.20	44.647.
	<i>Ziye qiu ge</i> no.12	44.647.
	<i>Du qu ge</i> no.4	46.671.
	no.59	46.675.
	no.68	46.675.
	no.72	46.676.
	no.87	46.677.
	no.88	46.677.
3. 絲 / 思	<i>Ziye ge</i> no.8	44.642.
	<i>Qi riye nü ge</i> no.5	45.662.
	<i>Huashan ji</i> no.46	46.669.
4. 相孫 / 相思	<i>Ziye chun ge</i> no.17	44.645.
5. 藕 / 偶	<i>Du qu ge</i> no.5	46.671.
	no.7	46.675.
	no.71	46.676.
6. 子	<i>Ziye ge</i> no.8	44.642.
	<i>Ziye ge</i> no.14	44.642.
	no.37	44.643.
	no.40	44.644.
	<i>Ziye xia ge</i> no.8	44.646.
	no.20	44.647.
	<i>Ziye qiu ge</i> no.12	44.647.
	no.7	46.668.
	<i>Aonong ge</i> no.7	46.668.
	<i>Du qu ge</i> no.13	46.672.
	no.14	46.672.
	no.72	46.676.
	no.80	46.676.
	no.89	46.677.

Notes to Chapter V

7. 匹	Ziye ge no.6	44.641.
	no.7	44.641.
	Ziye xia ge no.17	44.646.
8. 同心	Du qu ge no.5	46.671.

See also Wang Yunxi, *Liuchao*, pp.127-138.

56. See Wang Yunxi, *Liuchao*, pp.127-138.

57. Wang Yunxi, *Liuchao*, p.126.

58. Yen Yu, *Canglang shihua* 滄浪詩話, p.14b.

59. The cited text is found in Wang Rui's 王叡 (fl. ninth century) *Zhiqu zi lu* 炙馘子錄, p.10b, but not in any current editions of Wu Jing's *YFGTYJ*.

60. In the Wu lyrics, such as *Ziye ge* no.14 and 37 (*YFSJ* 44.642-3), *zi* 子 operates with other puns as in *wu zi* 梧子 (fruit of *wutong*)/*wu zi* 吾子 (my love), and *bo zi* 博子 (pieces of a kind of chess game called *liubo* 六博)/*bo zi* 薄子 (fickle lover). It appears that pun conventions are less rigid at a poly-syllabic level. Hence *zi* 子 in *wu zi* and *bo zi* has very different referents, and *tongxin* 同心, as we have seen, could refer to a lotus or a knot. The lesser rigidity could be explained by the fact that poly-syllabic words or fixed poly-syllabic phrases are much more easily recognizable by hearing than monosyllabic words, and their punning possibilities are far less than monosyllabic words. Hence poly-syllabic puns do not require, as monosyllabic puns do, a rigid convention to guide comprehension. The variance of rigidity at different syllabic levels could be taken as further evidence of concern by lyricists for immediate comprehension.

For details of *liubo*, see *Lie zi* 列子 8.11a; and Yang Lian-sheng 楊聯陞, "A Note on the So-called TLV Mirrors and the Game Liu-po 六博," *HJAS* 9(1946):202-206; also Yang, "An Additional Note on the Ancient Game of Liu-po," *HJAS* 15(1952):124-139.

61. Huang Zunxian 黃遵憲, *Renjinglu shicao* 人境廬詩草, p.20.

62. Zhang Zhuo's 張鷟 (660-732) *Youxian ku* 遊仙窟, p.18. contains the earliest known instance of the pun 離 / 梨:

At this time, Elder Brother's Wife faced toward the fruits and made up a pun about them:

I want only to ask your intentions,
Caring not about the swiftness of our "dates".

但問意如何。
相知不在菓。

Tenth maiden said:

Notes to Chapter V

My intention is now so close to yours,
I can't "pear" the thought of leaving you!

兒今正意密。
不忍即分梨。

(tr. by Howard S. Levy. See *The Dwelling of Playful Goddesss*, p.34)

The Chinese "zao" 棗 (date, as fruit) puns with "zao" 早 (early), and "li" 梨 (pear) with "li" 離 (part). See also Levy, *The Dwelling*, p.61. The puns might have become popular in some part of China before the Tang dynasty, but they did not occur at all in the Western lyrics. It should be mentioned that li 梨 might be borrowed to stand for li 離, meaning "split up". A line from Yang Xiong's 楊雄 (53 B.C.- A.D. 18) *Changyang fu* 長楊賦 may suffice for illustration:

[They] split up the khan's territory, and portioned out the dependent states.

分梨單于，磔裂屬國。

(tr. by David Knechtges. See *Han Rhapsody*, p.83.)

Yan Shigu 顏師古 (581-645) comments:

Li 梨 is the same as li 離。

See *Han shu*, Biography of Yang Xiong, 87b.3561-3562. The pun li 梨 / 離 or 梨 / 離 might have occurred even earlier than the Southern Dynasties.

63. There are altogether four instances of the pun 棋 / 期 in the Wu lyrics: *Ziye ge* no.9 (YFSJ 44.642), *Du qu ge* no.34, 75, 80 (YFSJ 46.673, 674). See also Wang Yunxi, *Liuchao*, pp. 128-129.
64. *Quan Tang shi*, 627.7203.
65. Li Tiaoyuan 李調元 (1734-1803) ed. *Yuefeng* 粵風, 1.4b.
66. See Li, *Yuefeng*, 1.2b, 3b, 4b and 6a.
67. The philodendron motif occurs five times in the Wu lyrics: *Ziye ge* no.10, 11 (YFSJ 44.642), *Ziye chun ge* no.20 (YFSJ 44.645), *Du qu ge* no.71, 81 (YFSJ 46.676).
68. See *Du qu ge* no.70 (YFSJ 46.675).
69. J.D. Frodsham, *An Anthology*, p.159.
70. Ding Fubao has collected the two songs in *Quan Han shi* (A complete collection of Han poetry). The date of "Southeast Fly the Peacocks" has occasioned some controversy, but the general consensus now is to date it from the Jianan 建安 era (196-219) of the Later Han. See Tang Tao 唐棣, "Tan gushi shi 'Kongque dongnan fei'" 談故事詩孔雀東南飛, in *Yuefu shi yanjiu lunwen ji* 樂府詩研究論文集, vol.1, pp.157-161; and Wang Yunxi,

Notes to Chapter V

"Lun 'Konque dongnan fei' de chansheng shidai, sixiang, yishu ji qi wenti" 論孔雀東南飛的產生時代思想藝術及其問題, in *Yuefu shi yanjiu lunwen ji*, vol.2, pp.108-109. See also Frankel, "The Chinese ballad 'Southeast Fly the Peacocks'," *HJAS* 34(1974), pp. 259-260, for a succinct account of the controversy.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1. Luo Genzhe 羅根澤 is the best known of the scholars who subscribes to the view. See Luo, "Jueju san yuan" 絕句三源, in his *Zhongguo gudian wenxue lunji* 中國古典文學論集, pp.44-48. See also Wu Ne 吳訥 (1372-1457), *Wenzhang bian ti xu shuo* 文章辨體序說, p.57; and Xu Shizeng 徐師曾 (fl.1554), *Wen-ti mingbian xu shuo* 文體明辨序說, p.108; in which it is suggested that jueju 絕句 originated from yuefu poetry.
2. See Li Jiayan 李嘉言, "Jueju qiyuan yu lianju shuo" 絕句起源于聯句說, in his *Gushi chutan* 古詩初探, pp.83-87; Shen Zufen 沈祖棻, *Tangren qijueshi qianshi* 唐人士絕句釋, pp. 6-8.
3. Yang Shen's view has won much support among recent scholars. See Wu Mei 吳梅 (1883-1939), *Cixue tonglun* 詞學通論, p.59; Xie Wuliang 謝元暈, *Cixue zhinan* 詞學指南, p.1; Glen W, Baxter, "Metrical Origins of the Tz'u," *HJAS* 16(1953):113-115; and Daniel Bryant, *Lyric Poets of the Southern T'ang*, p. xxxii. For the opposing view which attempts to argue on the ground of music, see Bin Guozhen 賓國振, "Lun ci zhi xingqi ji qi zai Sui Tang Wudai zhi fazhan" 論詞之興起及其在隋唐五代之發展, *Taibei shili nuzi shifan zhuanke xuexiao xuebao* 台北市立女子師範專科學校學報 (May 1972):35-38; Zhou Duwen 周篤文, *Song ci* 宋詞, pp.1-8; and Liu Yaomin 劉堯民, *Ci yu yinyue* 詞與音樂, p.98.
4. See *YFSJ*, juan 47-49.
5. *Changli xiansheng ji* 昌黎先生集, p.119.
6. *Yuan shi changqing ji* 元氏長慶集, 8.3a.
7. *Quan Tang shi* 全唐詩, 466.7630. It should be mentioned that *Yangpaner* no.2 is also sung to a Wu tune *Du gu ge*. See Chapter V, p.223. It appears, however, that Tang people somehow considered it a Western lyric rather than a Wu one. *TD* 145.758 gives it as an example of *Yangpaner* lyrics. Both Li Bo and Xu Ning 徐凝 (fl. early ninth century) have written poems to the title *Yangpaner*, using the censer and the willow motifs. See *YFSJ* 49.722 and *Quan Tang shi* 474.5175.
8. The following are some more examples:
 1. *Mochou* no.2 (*YFSJ* 48.698):

You're going to Yangzhou, so I've heard,
I come to see you off on the top of Mount Chu.
聞歡下揚州。
相送楚山頭。
 - Sanzhou ge* no.1 (*YFSJ* 48.707):

I come to see my love off at the Banqiao bay,
And wait at the top of the Three Hills.

Notes to Chapter VI

I see a thousand sails far away,
Knowing they're driven by wind.

送歡板橋彎。
相待三山頭。
遙見千幅帆。
知是逐風流。

- a. Li Bo 李白 (699-762), *Jiangxia xing* 江夏行 (Song of Jiangxia, see *Li Taibo quanji* 李太白集, 8.446):
Last year you left for Yangzhou,
I saw you off at the Yellow Crane Pavillion,
I watched the sail heading away,
My thoughts followed the water.

去年下揚州。
相送黃鶴樓。
眼看帆去遠。
心逐江水流。

2. Mochou no.1 (YFSJ 48.698):

Mochou, where is she?
She is at the west of the Stone City.
Boatman, beat hard with the oars,
Quickly bring us Mochou.

莫愁在何處。
莫愁石城西。
艇子打兩槳。
催送莫愁來。

- a. Wen Tingyun 溫庭筠 (ca. 812-870), *Xizhou qu* 西州曲 (Song of the Western Islet, see *Quan Tang shi*, 26.358):
The boatman rows with two oars,
Hurriedly it goes past the Stone City.

艇子搖兩槳。
催過石頭城。

3. Yangpaner no.1 (YFSJ 49.721):

I go out of the White Gate awhile,
Willow is thick enough to conceal crows.
My love is the Sunken Incense,
And I the Boshan Censer.

暫出白門前。
楊柳可藏鶯。
歡作沈水香。
儂作博山爐。

- a. Huangfu Ran 皇甫冉 (714-769), *Xie Wei dafu liuzai* 謝韋大夫柳栽 (Thanks to Wei, a Grandee, for his gift of a willow sapling, see *Quan Tang shi*, 250.2820):
Flowers that match snow should be blooming,
Leaves to conceal crows have yet to grow.

Notes to Chapter VI

比雪花應吐，
藏馬葉未成。

- b. Li He 李賀 (790-816), *Da zeng 答贈* (A reply, see *Sanjia pingzhu Li Changji geshi 三家評注李長吉歌詩*, p.114):
The Sunken Incense perfumes the little elephant-censer,
Willows keep company with crying crows.

沈香薰小象。
楊柳伴啼鴉。

- c. Wu Yong 吳融 (fl. late ninth century), *Sui di 隋堤*
(The Sui dyke, see *Quan Tang shi*, 687.7904):

At Sui dyke, I scratch my head,
As the setting sun shines obliquely.
No more is left of the willow leaves,
That once could conceal crows.

搔首隋堤落日斜。
已無餘柳可藏鴉。

4. Wu ye ti no.1 (YFSJ 47.691):

The many youths who used to dance and sing,
The very graceful, gone without trace.
Lovely is the flower of the sweet iris,
I have heard its name, but never found it.

歌舞諸少年，娉婷無種迹。
菖蒲花可憐，聞名不曾識。

- a. Si Jianwu 施肩吾 (fl.815), *Gu xiangsi 古相思* (An old song of loving thoughts, see *Quan Tang shi*, 494.5590):
I try to see her, but fail nine times out of ten,
She is more difficult to see than the sweet iris.

十訪九不見。
甚於菖蒲花。

- b. Lu Guimeng 陸龜蒙 (?-881), *Za xing 雜興* (Miscellaneous thoughts, see *Quan Tang shi*, 627.7199):
The present fashion is to prize what cannot be easily found,
They are thinking of sweet iris.

時情重不見。
卻憶菖蒲花。

- c. Luo Yin 羅隱 (833-909), *Fang Yutai ti 仿玉臺體* (Emulating the style of YTXY, see *Quan Tang shi*, 661.7586):
I love the peony, which seems to understand my poetry,
But thoughts of sweet iris fill me with regret, it's so hard to find.

解吟憐芍藥。
難見恨菖蒲。

APPENDIX A

THREE WESTERN SONGS FROM *WEI SHI YUEPU*

The following transcription is based on an annotated copy of *Wei shi yuepu* in the possession of the Kyoto University library. As far as notations are concerned, the copy is the same as two other copies known to me: one, annotated by Hoensai 方圓齋 (i.e. Sakurai Baishitsu 櫻井梅室, 1769-1852), also in the possession of the Kyoto University library; the other, annotated, reprinted in *Ci yue congkan* 詞樂叢刊, pp.172-198.

I follow Hayashi Kenzō 林謙三 to transcribe the music in the following manner:

1. The original notations are transcribed as follows:

original notations:

△ 四 乙 上 尺 工 凡 合 五 乙 上 尺 工 凡 六

western notations:

a b #c d' e' #f' #g' a' b' #c" d" e" #f" #g" a"

2. One "rectangular block" in the original copy is taken as equivalent to one bar in western music.
3. The sign "/" is taken as indicating continuation of the previous note.

See Hayashi, "Mingaku hachi chō ni tsuite" 明樂八調について, in *Tanabe sensei kanreki kinen Tōa ongaku ronsō* 田邊先生還曆記念東亞音樂論叢 pp.571-601. The transcription of *Guke yue* is done by Hayashi and given in his essay. The rest are my work. I have included photocopies of the relevant pages from *Wei shi yuepu* for reference at the end.

Jiangling yue

江陵樂

陽 春 二 三 月
 相 將 踏 百
 草 逢 人 駐
 步 看 楊 聲 言
 好

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for the piece 'Jiangling Yue'. It consists of five staves of music, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are written in Chinese characters below the notes. The first staff contains the lyrics '陽 春 二 三 月'. The second staff contains '相 將 踏 百'. The third staff contains '草 逢 人 駐'. The fourth staff contains '步 看 楊 聲 言'. The fifth staff contains '好'. The music is written in a simple, melodic style with various note values and rests.

Shouyang yue

壽陽樂

可 憐 公 子
 在 壽 陽 別 後 志
 東 臺 日 沒 君
 風 雲 別 後 志

The musical score consists of four staves of music in G major (one sharp). The lyrics are written below the notes. The first staff contains the characters '可', '憐', '公', and '子'. The second staff contains '在', '壽', '陽', '別', '後', and '志'. The third staff contains '東', '臺', '日', '沒', and '君'. The fourth staff contains '風', '雲', '別', '後', and '志'. The music features a mix of quarter and eighth notes, with some notes beamed together. There are also some rests and a fermata over the final note of the second staff.

估客樂

三 江 結 伴 萬 里 不 辭 遠 涉 逐 雞 鳴 潮 湧。

The musical score consists of three staves of music in G major (one sharp) and 2/4 time. The lyrics are written below the notes. The first staff contains the notes for '三', '江', '結', '伴', and '萬'. The second staff contains '里', '不', '辭', '遠', and '涉'. The third staff contains '逐', '雞', '鳴', and '潮 湧'. The melody is characterized by eighth and quarter notes, often beamed together, with some notes having slurs or ties.

魏氏樂譜

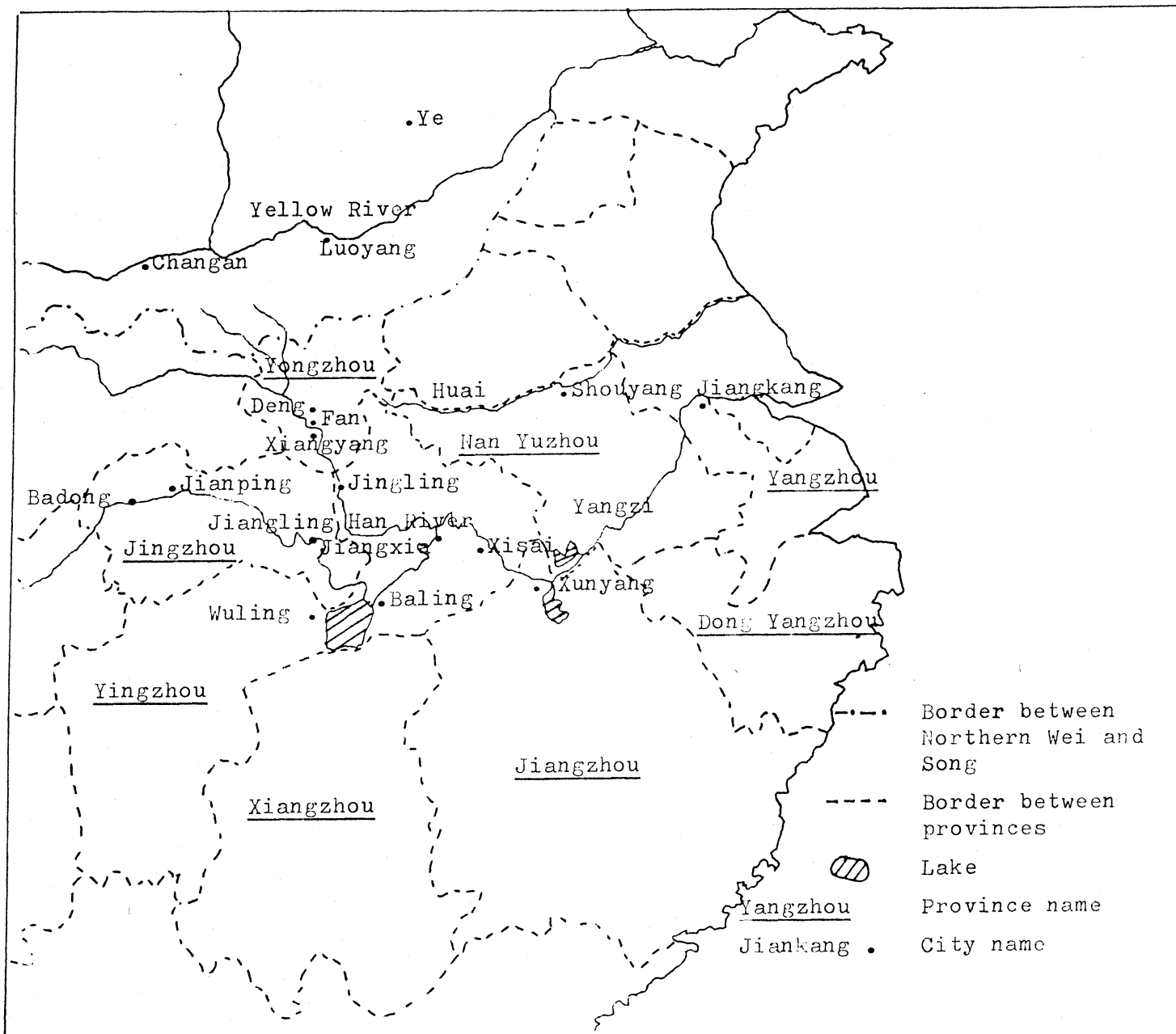
崎陽 魏皓 子明 編輯

平安 平信好師古 考訂

江陵樂

上	尺	上	ノ	尺	ノ	ノ	ノ
陽		春		工	三	月	
相	ノ	將	合 工 尺 工		上 尺 工	合	
工		逢	上 四 尺		合 尺		
		入			合 尺		
					合 尺		

上	ノ	尺	ノ	ノ	上	尺
看		揚		聲	皆	言
好			三 尺			



MAP: JINGZHOU AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD IN LIU SONG TIMES

BIBLIOGRAPHY

TEXT OF *Yuefu shiji*, compiled by Guo Maoqian 郭茂倩 (fl.1074)

1. Woodblock, Song dynasty. Photolithographic rpt. Beijing: Wenxue guji kanxingshe 文學古籍刊行社, 1955.
2. Preface dated 1346. Woodblock ca.1346-1368. In the possession of Seikado bunka 靜嘉堂文庫.
3. SBBY edition.
4. Punctuated edition. 4 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979.

CHINESE AND JAPANESE WORKS

- Baibu congshu jicheng* 百部叢書集成 . Taibei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1965.
- Baichuan xuehai* 百川學海 . Compiled by Zuo Gui 左圭 (fl.1273). Taibei: Xingxin shuju, 1969.
- Baoyantang miji* 寶顏堂秘笈 . Compiled by Chen Jiru 陳繼儒 (1588-1639), 1615, rpt. Shanghai: Wenming shuju, 1922.
- Bao Zhao 鮑照 (?-466). *Bao canjun ji zhu* 鮑參軍集注 . Annotated by Qian Zhonglian 錢仲聯 . Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1980.
- Bei Qi shu* 北齊書 . Compiled by Li Baiyao 李百藥 (565-648). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1972.
- Bei shi* 北史 . Compiled by Li Yanshou 李延壽 (fl.618-676). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974.
- Bin Guozhen 賓國振 . "Lun ci zhi xingqi ji qi zai Sui Tang Wudai zhi fazhan" 論詞之興起及其在隋唐五代之發展 . Taibei shili nuzi shifan zhuanke xuexiao xuebao 臺北市立女子師範專科學校學報 1(May 1972), pp.35-41.
- Bo Juyi 白居易 (772-846) comp. *Baishi liutie* 白氏六帖 . Taibei: Xinxing shuju, 1969.
- Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 . Compiled by Wang Qinruo 王欽若 (962-1025) et al. Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1960.
- Cen Zhongmian 岑仲勉 . *Sui Tang shi* 隋唐史 . Beijing: Gao-deng jiaoyu chubanshe, 1957.
- Chang Ju 常璩 (fl. fourth century). *Huayang guozhi* 華陽國志 . SBBY.

- Chao Gongwu 晁公武 (fl. twelfth century). *Junzhai dushu zhi* 郡齋讀書志. SBCK.
- Chen shu 陳書 . Compiled by Yao Silian 姚思廉 (d. 637). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1972.
- Chen Wancheng 陳萬成 (Chan Man Sing). "Jin ren shengzu nian jiaolu" 晉人生卒年辭錄, *Shih-huo* (Shihuo 食貨) 13.5-6 (September 1983): 44-46.
- . "Guanyu Wusheng Xiqu de he song sheng" 關於吳聲西曲的和送聲, *Dongfang zazhi* 東方雜誌 17.6 (December 1983): 28-30.
- . "Guanyu Fan longzhou" 關於泛龍舟 *Yinyue yanjiu* 音樂研究 2 (April 1984): 82-88.
- Chen Yang 陳暘 (fl. early twelfth century). *Yue shu* 樂書. *Siku quanshu zhenben* 四庫全書珍本 *jiu ji* 九集. Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1979.
- Chen Yicheng 陳義成. *Han Wei Liuchao yuefu yanjiu*. 漢魏六朝樂府研究. Taipei: Jiaxin shuini gongsi wenhua jijinhui 嘉新水泥公司文化基金會, 1976.
- Chen Yinke 陳寅恪. "Wei shu Sima Rui zhuan jiangdong minzu tiaoshi ji tuilun" 魏書司馬睿傳江東民族條釋及推論, *BIHP* 11 (1943): 1-25.
- Chen Yuan 陳垣. *Shiwei juli* 史譚舉例. Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1958.
- Chen Zhensun 陳振孫 (fl. thirteenth century). *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齋書錄解題. *Wuying dian juzhenben* 武英殿珍本. 1773.
- Chen Zuoming 陳柞明 (fl. min-seventeenth century) ed. *Caishu tang gushi xuan* 采菽堂古詩選. Original woodblock, 1706.
- Cheng Dachang 程大昌 (1123-1195). *Yan fanlu* 演繁露. *Xuejin taoyuan*.
- Cheng Shu 成書 (fl. 1782). *Duosui tang gushi cun* 多歲堂古詩存. *Duosui tang* woodblock, 1831.
- Cheng Shude 程樹德. *Jiu chao lü kao* 九朝律考. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1934.
- Chunqiu yuan ming bao* 春秋元命苞. *Hanxue tang congshu*.

- Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhushu 春秋左傳注疏 . Shisan jing zhushu.
Ciyue congkan 詞樂叢刊 . Edited by Yao Shennong 姚莘農 .
Hong Kong: Zuowang zhai 坐忘齋 ,1958.
- Congshu jicheng chupian 叢書集成初編 . Shanghai: Shangwu
yinshuguan, 1935-1937.
- Cui Lingqin 崔令欽 (fl. mid-eighth century). Jiaofang ji 教坊記
Annotated by Ren Erbei 任二北 , Jiaofang ji jian ding 教坊記
箋訂 . Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1962.
- Daguang yihui yu pian 大廣益會玉篇 . Compiled by Gu
Yewang 顧野王 (519-581). Edited with supplementation by Sun
Qiang 孫強 (Tang dynasty). Congshu jicheng.
- Dai Kaizhi 戴凱之 (Jin dynasty). Zhu pu 竹譜 . Baichuan
xuehai.
- Ding Fubao 丁福保 (1874-1952) ed. Quan Han Sanguo Jin Nan-
beichao shi 全漢三國晉南北朝詩 . 2 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua
shuju, 1959.
- Du Taiqing 杜臺卿 (?-ca.596). Yuzhu bao dian 玉燭寶典 . Guyi
congshu.
- Duan Anjie 段安節 (Tang dynasty). Yuefu zalu 樂府雜錄 .
Congshu jicheng.
- Ekottarāgama 增一阿含經 . Translated by Gautama Samghadeva
瞿曇僧伽提婆 (fl.397). TS, II, no.125.
- Erya yishu 爾雅義疏 . Annotated by He Yixing 郝懿行
(1757-1825). SBBY.
- Faxian 法顯 (fl.399-406). Gao seng Faxian zhuan 高僧法顯傳 ,
TS, LI, no.2085.
- Fan Weigang 樊維綱 . "Jin Nanbeichao yuefu mingci ciyu shi"
晉南北朝樂府民歌詞語釋 , Zhongguo yuwen 中國語文 159
(November 1980): 461-463.
- Fan Zhiming 范致明 (fl.1100). Yueyang fengtu ji 岳陽風土記
. Xiaoshi shangfang congshu 小石山房叢書 .
- Fan Zuo 樊綽 (fl.862-864). Man shu 蠻書 . Collated with
commentary by Xiang Da 向達 . Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962.
- Fangyan 方言 . Compiled by Yang Xiong 楊雄 (53B.C.-
A.D.18) Collated by Zhou Zumo 周祖謨 . Beijing: Kexue
chubanshe 科學出版社 ,1956.

- Fang Yizhi 方以智 (d.1671). *Tong ya 通雅* . *Siku quanshu zhenben san ji 三集* . Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1972.
- Feng Ban 馮班 (1602-1671). *Dunyin zalu 鈍吟雜錄* . *Congshu jicheng* . Fujii Mamoru 藤井守 . "U ya tei no seiritsu to sono densho" 烏夜啼の成立と其の傳唱 , *Shina gaku kenkyū 支那學研究* 29(1963): 23-31.
- Gan Bao 干寶 (?-336). *Shou shen ji 搜神記* . *Xuejin tao yuan* .
- Gao seng zhuan 高僧傳 . Compiled by Huijiao 慧皎 (497-554), *TS, L, no.2059* .
- Gei shi gakufu 魏氏樂譜 . Edited by Gei Ko 魏皓 (fl.seventeenth century). Annotated. Edo: Geikōdō 藝香堂 , 1768. In the possession of Kyoto University library.
- . Annotated by Hōensai 方圓齋 . Edo: Geikōdō, 1768. In the possession of Kyoto University library.
- . Annotated. In the possession of Nakada Yujirō 中田勇次郎 , rpt. in *Ciyue congkan*, pp.172-198.
- Gong Mulan 龔慕蘭 ed. *Yuefu shi xuan 樂府詩選* . Taipei: Guangwen shuju , 1962.
- Gujin yuelu 古今樂錄 . Compiled by Zhijiang 智匠 (fl.568). *Han Wei yishu chao* .
- . *Yuhan shanfang ji yi shu* .
- . *Hanxue tang congshu* .
- Gu qinqu ji 古琴曲集 . Compiled by Zhongyang yinyue xueyuan Zhongguo yinyue yanjiusuo 中國音樂研究所 . Beijing: Yinyue chubanshe, 1962.
- Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 (1613-1682). *Ri zhi lu 日知錄* . *SBBY* .
- Guiyi congshu 古逸叢書 . Edited by Li Shuchang 黎庶昌 (1837-1897). Tokyo, 1882-1884.
- Gu Youxiao 顧有孝 (1619-1689) ed. *Yuefu yinghua 樂府英華* . Qing woodblock.
- Gu yuefu 古樂府 . Compiled by Zuo Keming 左克明 (fl.1346). *Siku quanshu zhenben shier ji 十二集* . Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1982.
- Guang yun 廣韻 . Compiled by Chen Pengnian 陳彭年 (961-1017) et al. Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1970.

- Guang yun sheng xi 廣韻聲系 . Compiled by Shen Jianshi 沈兼士
Beijing: Wenzi gaige chubanshe, 1960.
- Guo lifang 葛立方 (?-1164). Yunyu yangqiu 韻語陽秋 ,
Li dai shihua.
- Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1892-1978). "Pu Tianshou Lunyu chaoben hou de
shi ci zalu" 卜天壽論語抄本後的詩詞雜錄 , Kaogu 118
(January 1972):5-7.
- Guo yu 國語 . SBCK.
- Guo Zizhang 郭子章 (1542-1618). Yao yu 謠語 . Preface dated
1608, Ming woodblock.
- Hamaguchi Shigekuni 濱口重國 . Tō-ōchō no senjin seido 唐王朝の
賤人制度 . Kyoto: Tōyōshi kenkyukai 東洋史研究會, 1966.
- Han Changgeng 韓長耕 . "Guanyu 'Da Tang liu dian' xingyong
wentu" 關於《大唐六典》行用問題 , Zhongguo shi yanjiu
17(1983):84-92.
- Han E 韓鄂 (ca.798-?). Suihua jili 歲華紀麗 . Jindai
mishu.
- Han Guopan 韓國磐 . Nanchao jinji shitan 南朝經濟試探 .
Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1963.
- Han hai 函海 . Compiled by Li Tiaoyuan 李調元 (1734-1803).
Woodblock 1882, rpt. Taipei: Hongye shuju 宏業書局 , 1968.
- Han shu 漢書 . Compiled by Ban Gu 班固 (32-92). Beijing:
Zhonghua shuju, 1962.
- Han Tang dilishu chao. 漢唐地理書鈔 Edited by Wang Mo 王謨
(fl.1778). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961.
- Han Wei congshu 漢魏叢書 . Edited by Cheng Rong 程榮 (Ming
dynasty). Taipei: Xinxing shuju, 1966.
- Han Wei yishu chao. 漢魏遺書鈔 Compiled by Wang Mo (fl.
1778), 1880, rpt. Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1970.
- Hanxue tang congshu 漢學堂叢書 . Edited by Huang Shi
(fl.1843). Huaiquan shi 懷荃室 woodblock, 1934.
- Han Ying 韓嬰 (fl. first century B.C.). Han shi waizhuan
韓詩外傳 . Han Wei congshu.
- Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824). Changli xiansheng ji 昌黎先生集 .
SBBY.

- Harada Yoshito 原田淑人 . *Kan Rikuchō no fukushoku* 漢六朝の服飾 .
1937; rpt. Tokyo: Toyo bunko, 1967.
- Hayashi Kenzō 林謙三 . "Mingaku hachi cho ni tsuite" 明樂八調
について , in *Tanabe sensei kenreki kinen Tōa ongagu ronsō*
田邊先生還曆記念東亞音樂論叢 , pp.571-601. Tokyo:
San'ichi shobō, 山一書房 1933.
- . *Tōa gakki kō* 東亞樂器考 , translated into Chinese. Beijing:
Yinyue chubanshe, 1962.
- . *Shōsōin gakki no kenkyū* 正倉院樂器の研究 . Tokyo: Kazama
shobō, 風間書房 1964.
- Hayashida Shinnosuke 林田慎之助 . "Nanchō hōtō bungakuron no
bi ishiki" 南朝放蕩文學論の美意識 . *Tōhōgaku*, 東古學
27(February 1964):64-77.
- Hong Xingzu 洪興祖 (1070-1135), ed. *Chuci buzhu* 楚辭補注 . Taipei:
Zhonghua shuju, 1966.
- Hong Ye 洪業 . "Suowei 'Xiuwen dian yulan' zhe" 所謂修文殿御覽者,
Yanjing xuebao 燕京學報 12(1932):2499-2558.
- . "Zai lun Shen Zan" 再論臣瓚 , *Qinghua xuebao* 3.1(1962):
1-15.
- Hou Han shu* 後漢書 . Compiled by Fan Ye 范曄 (398-445).
Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963.
- Hu Zhengheng 胡震亨 (1569-1644/1645). *Tangyin guiqian* 唐音
癸籤 . Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957.
- Hu Zi 胡仔 (fl. mid-twelfth century). *Tiaoxi yuyin conghua houji*
苕溪漁隱叢話後集 . Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1976.
- Hua jian ji* 花間集 . Compiled by Zhao Chongzuo 趙崇祚
(fl.940). SBBY.
- Huainan honglie jie* 淮南鴻烈解 . *Congshu jicheng*.
- Huang Xiangpeng 黃翔鵬 . "Xin shiqi he qingtong shidai de yizhi
yinxiang ziliao yu woguo yinjie fazhan shi wenti" 新石器和青銅
時代的已知音响資料與我國音階發展史問題 pt.1, in *Yinyue
luncong* 音樂論叢 1(1978):184-206; pt.2, *ibid.* 3(1980): 126-161.
- . "Shi Chushang" 釋楚商 , *Yinyue yanjiu* 音樂研究 13
(1979):72-81.

- . "Xian Qin yinyue wenhua de guanghui cangzao - Zen Houyi mu de gu yueqi" 先秦音樂文化的光輝創造 — 曾侯乙墓的古樂器, *Wenwu* 文物 278(1979):32-39.
- . "Zeng Houyi zhong qin mingwen yuexue tixi chutan" 曾侯乙鐘磬銘文樂學體系, *Yinyue yanjiu* 20(1981):22-53.
- Huang Zunxian 黃遵憲 (1848-1905). *Renjing lu shicao* 人境廬詩草 annotated by Qian Zhonglian 錢仲聯. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936.
- Ikemoto Yoshio 池本義男. *Chugoku fujo dorei shiko* 中國婦女奴隸文稿. Nagoya: Saika sholin, 采華書林 1973.
- Ishikawa Tadahisa 石川忠夫. "Rikuchō shi ni arawareta josei bi" 六朝詩に表れた女性美, in *Chūgoku bungaku no josei zō* 中國文學の女性像, edited by Ishikawa Tadahisa, pp.83-108. Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1982.
- Ji yun* 集韻. Compiled by Ding Du 丁度 (990-1053) et al. Jinling 金陵 woodblock, 1814.
- Jieshi diao youlan* 碣石調幽蘭. Attributed to Qiu Ming 丘明 (Liang dynasty). *Congshu jicheng*.
- Jindai mishu* 津逮秘書. Edited by Mao Jin 毛晉 (1599-1659), 1630. Rpt. Shanghai: Bogu zhai 博古齋, 1922.
- Jin shu* 晉書. Compiled by Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 (578-648) et al. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974.
- Jiu jia jiu Jin shu jiben* 九家舊晉書輯本. Compiled by Tang Qiu 湯球 (1804-1881). *Congshu jicheng*.
- "Jiuquan Jiayuguan Jin mu de fajue" 酒泉嘉峪關晉墓的發掘. Compiled by the staff of the Gansu Provincial Museum. *Wenwu* 277 (1979):1-11.
- Jiu Tang shu*. 舊唐書. Compiled by Liu Xu 劉昫 (887-946). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975.
- Kawamoto Yoshiaki 川本芳昭. "Rikuchō ki ni okeru Man no kanka ni tsuite" 六朝期における蠻の漢化について, *Shien* 史淵 158 (March 1981):101-126.
- Kishibe Shigeo 岸邊成雄. *Tōdai ongaku no rekishiteki kenkyū - gakuseihen* 唐代音樂の歴史的研究 — 樂制篇. 2 vols. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1960-1961.

- . "Kugo no engen" 箏篋の淵源 , in *Tōdai no gakki 唐代の楽器*
 , edited by Toyo ongaku gakkai 東洋音樂學會 , pp.117-156.
 Tokyo: Ongaku no tomo sha 音樂之友社 , 1979.
- . "Godai Gen Shoku shiso Ō Ken kanza setsuchō no ni jū shi gakugi
 ni tsuite" 五代前蜀始祖王建棺座石彫の二十四樂妓について ,
ibid. pp.269-288.
- Konishi Noboru 小西昇 . "Shichiban mai ni kansuru shosetsu ni
 tsuite" 七盤舞に關する諸説について , *Nihon chūgoku gakkai hō*,
 14(1962):79-92.
- . "Nanchō gafushi to yūjo shoki no sekai" 南朝樂府詩と遊女娼妓の
 世界 , in *Mekada Makoto Hakushi koki kinen Chūgoku*
bungaku ronshu 目加田誠博士古稀記念中國文學論集 , pp.197-
 220.
- Kōzen Hiroshi 興膳宏 . "Gyokuai shin'ei seiritsu kō" 玉臺新詠
 成立考 , *Tōhōgaku* 63(1982):58-73.
- Li Bo 李白 (701-762). *Li Taibo quanji* 李太白全集 . Annot-
 ated by Wang Qi 王琦 (fl.1760). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977.
- Li Chengyu 李成渝 . "Zeng Houyi bianqing de chubu yanjiu" 曾侯乙
 編磬的初步研究 . *Yinyue yanjiu* 28(1983):86-93.
- Li Chunsheng 李純勝 . *Han Wei Nanbeichao yuefu* 漢魏南北朝樂府
 . Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1966.
- Lidai shihua* 歷代詩話 . Edited by He Wenhuan 何文煥 . (
 Qing dynasty). Original woodblock, 1770.
- Lidai shihua xubian* 歷代詩話續編 . Edited by Ding Fubao
 丁福保 (1874-1952). Shanghai: Wenming shuju 文明書局 , 1916.
- Li Daoyuan 酈道元 (?-526). *Shuijing zhu* 水經注 . 2 vols.
 Guoxue jiben congshu.
- Li Jifu 李吉甫 (ninth century). *Yuanhe junxian tuzhi* 元和郡縣
 圖志 . Congshu jicheng.
- Li Jiayan 李嘉言 . "Nanchao yuefu minge zhuyao neiyong de fenshi"
 南朝樂府民歌主要內容的分析 , in his *Gushi chu tan* 古詩初探 ,
 pp.27-34. Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe 古典文學出版社 , 1958.
- . "Jueju qiyuan yu lian ju shuo" 絕句起源與聯句說 , *ibid.*
 pp.83-87.
- Li Jiannong 李劍農 . *Wei Jin Nanbeichao Sui Tang jingji shigao*

- 魏晉南北朝隋唐經濟史稿 . Beijing: Sanlian shuju 三聯書店 , 1959.
- Li Tiaoyuan 李調元 (1734-1803) ed. Yue Feng 粵風 . Han hai.
- Li Yongfu 李永富 . Qie yun jijiao 切韻輯料 . Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan 藝文印書館 , 1973.
- Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873-1929). Zhongguo zhi meiwen ji qi lishi 中國之美文及其歷史 , Yinbin shi heji, zhuan ji 飲冰室合集. 專集. vol.16. Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1941.
- Liang Sengbao 梁僧寶 . Sisheng yun pu 四聲韻譜 . Rpt. Taipei: Guangwen shuju 廣文書局 , 1967.
- Liang shu 梁書 . Compiled by Yao Silian 姚思廉 (d.637). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975.
- Liao Weiqing 廖惠卿 . "Nanchao yuefu yu dangshi shehui de guanxi" 南朝樂府與當時社會的關係 , Wen shi zhe xuebao 文史哲學報 3(1951): 129-147.
- . "Jindai yue wu kao" 晉代樂舞考 , Wen shi zhe xuebao 13 (1964):97-180.
- . "Nanbeichao yue wu kao" 南北朝樂舞考 , Wen shi zhe xuebao 19(1970):111-194.
- Lie zi 列子 . SBBY.
- Lin Wenyue 林文月 . "Nanchao gongti shi yanjiu" 南朝宮體詩研究, Wen shi zhe xuebao 15(1966):407-458.
- Ling Tingkan 凌廷堪 (1755-1809). Yinyue kaoyuan 燕樂考原 . Congshu jicheng.
- Liudu jijing 六度集經 . Translated by Kang Senghui 康僧會 (?-280). TS, III, no.152.
- Liu Lian 劉濂 (fl.1550). Jiu dai yue zhang 九代樂章 . Woodblock ca.1550-1566. Library Congress microfilm series of rare books in Peip'ing (Beijing) National Library.
- Liu Lin 劉琳 . "Liaoren ru Shu kao" 僚人入蜀考 , Zhongguo shi yanjiu 中國史研究 2(1980):119-134.
- Liu Shipai 劉師培 . Zhongguo zhonggu wenxue shi 中國中古文學史 . Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1958.
- Liu Yaomin 劉堯民 . Ci yu yinyue 詞與音樂 . Kunming: Yunnan renmin chubanshe, 1982.

- Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 . (403-444) comp. *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 . SBBY.
- Liu Yupan 劉毓盤 . *Ci shi* 詞史 . Rpt. Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1972.
- Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫 (772-842). *Liu Mengde wenji* 劉夢得文集 . SBCK.
- Liu Yunxiang 劉雲翔 . "Wu ge yu ci" 吳歌與詞 . *Tong sheng yuekan* 同聲月刊 2.2(1942):119-134.
- Liu Zhaoji 劉兆吉 . *Xinan caifeng lu* 西南采風錄 . Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1946.
- Lou Zikuang 婁子匡 and Ruan Changrui 阮昌銳 . "Zhuzhi ci de yanjiu" 竹枝詞的研究 , *Zhongshan daxue minsu congshu* 中山大學民俗叢書 , III, pp.19-33. Taipei: Chinese Association for Folklore, 1969.
- Lu Gong 路工 ed. *Meng jiang nu wanli xun fu ji* 孟姜女萬里尋夫集 . Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1958.
- Lu Ji 呂馬藎 . "Cong yuanshi shizu shehui dao Yindai de jizhong taoyun tansuo woguo wu sheng yinjie de xingcheng niandai" 從原始氏族社會到殷代的幾種陶埙探索我國五聲音階的形式年代, *Wenwu* 269(1978):54-61.
- Lu Kanru 陸侃如 . *Yuefu guci kao* 樂府古辭考 . Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1926.
- Lu Kanru and Feng Yuanjun 馮沅君 . *Zhongguo shishi* 中國詩史 . 3 vols. Beijing: Zuo jia chubanshe 作家出版社 , 1957.
- Lu Xinyuan 陸心源 (1834-1894) ed. *Song shi jishi buyi* 宋詩紀事補遺 . Taipei: Zhonghua shuju, 1971.
- Lu Xun 魯迅 . *Gu xiaoshuo gouchen* 古小說鈎沈 . Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1955.
- Lun yu zhushu 論語注疏 . *Shisan jing zhushu*.
- Luo Genze 羅根澤 . "Jueju san yuan" 絕句三源 , in his *Zhongguo gudian wenxue lunji* 中國古典文學論集 , pp.28-53. Beijing: Wushi niandai chubanshe 五十年代出版社 , 1964.
- . *Yuefu wenxue shi* 樂府文學史 , 1931; rpt. Taipei: Wen shi zhe chubanshe, 1964.
- Luo Yuan 羅願 (1136-1184). *Erya yi* 爾雅翼 . *Xuejin taoyuan*.

- Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉 .(1886-1940). *Luo Xuetao xiansheng quanji*. 羅雪堂先生全集 Taibei: Wenhua chubanshe 文化出版社, 1968-1973.
- Luo Zongtao 羅宗濤 . "Wo yanjiu liang Jin Nanbeichao geyao yongyun de fangfa" 我研究兩晉南北朝歌謠用韻的方法, in *Qingzhu Gaoyou Gao Zhonghua xiansheng liudie dansheng lunwen ji* 慶祝高郵高仲華先生六秩誕辰論文集, vol.1, pp. 475-494. Taibei: Guoli Taiwan shifan daxue guowen yanjiusuo, 1968.
- Mādhyaṃāgama 中阿含經 . Translated by Gautama Samghadeva 瞿曇僧伽提婆 (fl.397). *TS*, I, no.26.
- Mahāparinirvana sutra 大般泥洹經 . Translated by Faxian 法顯 (fl.399-406). *TS*, XII, no.376.
- Mañjuśrī wen jing 文殊師利開經 . Translated by Saṃgha poluo 僧伽婆羅 (Liang dynasty). *TS*, XIV, no.468.
- Masuda Kiyohide 增田清孝 . *Gafu no rekishiteki kenkyu* 樂府の歴史的研究 . Tokyo: Sobun sha 創文社, 1975.
- Mei Dingzuo 梅鼎祚 ed. *Gu yue yuan* 古樂苑 . *Siku quanshu zhenben ba ji* 八集 . Taibei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1978.
- Mengzi zhushu 孟子注疏 . *Shisan jing zhushu*.
- Miaozu tiaocha baogao 苗族調查報告 . Compiled by Torii Ryoza 鳥居龍藏 . Translated into Chinese by Guoli bianyiguan 國土編譯館 . Shanghai: Guoli bianyiguan, 1936.
- Morino Shigeo 森野繁夫 . "Rikucho kango no gimonbun" 六朝漢語の疑問文 , *Hiroshima daigaku bungakubu kiyō* 廣島大學文學部紀要 34(1975):211-229.
- Morino Shigeo and Fujii Mamoru 藤井守 . "Rikucho ko shosetsu goi shu ni tsuite" 六朝古小説語彙集について , *Hiroshima daigaku bungakubu kiyō tokushū* 特輯 2(1979):1-133.
- Moriya Mitsuo 守屋美都雄 . *Chugoku ko saijiki no kenkyū* 中國古辭時記の研究 . Tokyo: Teikoku shoin 帝國書院, 1963.
- Muramatsu Kazuya 村松一彌 . *Chugoku no ongaku* 中國の音樂 . Tokyo: Keiso shobo, 1972.
- Nakatsuhama Wataru 中津濱渉 . *Gafu shishu no kenkyū* 樂府詩集の研究 . Tokyo: Kyūko shoin 汲古書院, 1977.
- Nanjing Liuchao mu chutu wenwu xuanji 南京六朝墓出土文物選集. Compiled by Jiangsu shen wenwu guanli weiyuanhui 江蘇省文物管理委員會 . Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1959.

- Nan Qi shu 南齊書 . Compiled by Xiao Zixian 蕭子顯 (489-537). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1972.
- Nan shi 南史 . Compiled by Li Yanshou. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975.
- Ōbi Kōichi 小尾郊一 and Okamura Sadao 岡村貞雄 . Ko gafu 古樂府 . Tokyo: Tokai daigaku shuppankai 東海大學出版會, 1980.
- Ochi Shigeaki 越智重明 . "Rikuchō no ryō · sen o megutsute" 六朝の良・賤・をめぐって , Shigaku zasshi 史學雜誌 89.9(September 1980):1-35.
- Ogawa Tamaki 小川環樹 . "Fūryū no gogi no henka" 風流の語義の變化 , Kokugo Kokubun 國語國文 20.8(1951):48-60.
- Okamura Sadao 岡村貞雄 . "Setsu yōryu kō" 折楊柳考 , Shina gaku kenkyu 17(1957):33-41.
- . "Ryo no Butei to gafu shi" 梁の武帝と樂府詩 , Nihon Chūgoku gakkai hō 日本中國學會報 25(1973):71-86.
- Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢 (557-641) ed. Yiwen lei ju 藝文類聚 . Shanghai: Guji chubanshe 古籍出版社 , 1982.
- Pei Puxian 裴普賢 . Shi jing xiang tong ju ji qi ying xiang 詩經相同句及其影響 . Taipei: Sanmin shuju 三民書局 , 1974.
- Qian Daxin 錢大昕 (1728-1801) Nianer shi kaoyi 廿二史考異 . Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1958.
- Qiangcun congshu 彊村叢書 . Compiled by Zhu Zumo 朱祖謀 (1857-1931). Woodblock 1922.
- Qin li 琴歷 (pre-Tang). Yuhan shanfang ji yi shu.
- Qing shihua 清詩話 . Edited by Ding Fubao. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963
- Qiu Xieyou 邱燮友 . "Wuge xiqu yu Liang gu jue hengchui qu de bijiao" 吳歌兩曲與梁鼓角橫吹曲的比較 , Guowen xuebao 1(June 1972):79-89.
- . "Tang shi zhong shiyong he song sheng de xianxiang" 唐詩中使用和送聲的現象 , Guowen xuebao 國文月報 2(April 1973): 321-336.
- Qu pu 曲譜 . Compiled by Wang Yiqing 王奕清 (1664?-1736?) et al. 4 vols. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1937.
- Quan Tang shi 全唐詩 . Edited by Cao Yin 曹寅 (1658-1712) et al. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960.

- Rao Zongyi 饒宗頤 . *Chu ci yu ci qu yinyue 楚辭與詞曲音樂* .
Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong, 1958.
- . "Wei shi yue pu guankui" 魏氏樂譜管窺 , *Ciyue congkan*,
pp.149-223.
- . "Muhu ge kao" 穆護歌考 , *Dagong bao zai Xianggang fukan
sanshi zhounian jinian wenji 大公報在香港復刊三十周年
紀念文集* , vol.2, pp.733-772. Hong Kong: Dagong bao, 1978.
- . "Dunhuang qu dingbao" 敦煌曲訂補 , *BIHP* 51.1(1980):
115-123.
- Ren Erbei 任二北 . *Dunhuang chu chutan 敦煌曲初探* .
Shanghai: Wenyi lianhe chubanshe 文藝聯合出版社 , 1954.
- . *Dunhuang qu jiaolu 敦煌曲枝錄* . Shanghai: Wenyi
lianhe chubanshe, 1955.
- Sanguo zhi 三國志 . Compiled by Chen Shou 陳壽 (233-297).
Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962.
- Sanjia pingzhu Li Changji geshi 三家評注李長吉歌詩 .
Annotated by Wang Qi 王琦 (preface 1760); by Fang Shiju
方世舉 (1675-1759, preface 1751); by Yao Wenxie 姚文燮
(preface 1657). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962.
- Shang Binghe 尚秉和 . *Lidai shehui fengsu shiwu kao 歷代社會
風俗事物考* . Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1966.
- Shen Xiong 沈雄 (fl.1688). *Gujin cihua 古今詞話* .
Baohan lou 寶翰樓 woodblock, 1689.
- Shen Zufen 沈祖棻 . *Tangren qijueshi qianshi 唐人七絕詩
淺釋* . Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981.
- Sheng Hongzhi 盛弘之 (fl. fifth century). *Jingzhou ji 荊州記* .
Han Tang dilishu chao.
- Shi jing yanjiu lunwenji 詩經研究論文集* . Edited by
Renmin wenzue chubanshe bianjibu 人民文學出版社編輯部 . vol.1.
Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1959.
- Shi jing zhushu 詩經注疏* . *Shisan jing zhushu*.
Shisan jing zhushu 十三經注疏 . Edited by Ruan Yuan 阮元
(1764-1849). 1815; rpt. Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1965.
- Shou shen hou ji 搜神後記* . Attributed to Tao Qian 陶潛
(365-427). *Xuejin taoyuan*.

- Shuo fu* 說郭 . Edited by Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀 (1320-1399). Yuanwei shangfang edition.
- Siku quanshu zhongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要 . Compiled by Ji Yun 紀昀 (1724-1805) et al. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1933.
- Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-1086). *Sima Wen gong wenji* 司馬溫公文集 . SBBY.
- Song shi* 宋史 . Compiled by Tuo Tuo 脫脫 (1238-1298) et al. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977.
- Song shu* 宋書 . Compiled by Shen Yue 沈約 (441-513). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974.
- Su Song 蘇頌 (1020-1101). *Su Weigong wenji* 蘇魏公文集 . *Siku quanshu zhenben si ji* 四集 . Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1973.
- Suichu tang shumu* 遂初堂書目 . Compiled by You Mou 尤袤 (1127-1194). *Congshu jicheng*.
- Sui shu* 隋書 . Compiled by Wei Zheng 魏徵 (580-643), Linghu Defen 令狐德棻 (583-661) et al. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973.
- Sun Kaidi 孫楷第 . "Jueju shi zenyang qilai de" 絕句是怎樣起來的 , *Xue yuan* 學原 1.4(1947):83-88.
- . "Qingshang qu xiao shi" 清商曲小史 , *Wenxue yanjiu* 文學研究 1(1957):98-100.
- Sun Zuoyun 孫作雲 . "Cong du shi de fangmian tantan Shi jing de shidai he diyuxing" 從讀史的方面談談詩經的時代和地域性 , in *Shijing yanjiu lunwen ji* 詩經研究論文集 , vol.1, pp.51-70.
- Suzuki Shūji 鈴木修次 . *Kan Gi shi no kenkyū* 漢魏詩の研究 . Tokyo: Daishukan 大修館 , 1967.
- Taiping guanji* 太平廣記 . Edited by Li Fang 李昉 (925-996) et al. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961.
- Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 . Edited by Li Fang 李昉 (925-996) et al. Bao Chongcheng 鮑崇城 woodblock, 1807.
- Taishō shinshū Daizokyō* 大正新修大藏經 . Edited by Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 et al. Tokyo: Taisho issaikyō kankokai, 1924-1934.

- Tan Qixiang 譚其驤 . "Jin Yongjia sangluan hou zhi minzu qianxi"
晉永嘉喪亂後之民族遷徙, *Yanjing xuebao* 15(1934):51-76.
- Tang huiyao 唐會要 . Compiled by Wang Pu 王溥 (922-982)
Taibei: Shijie shuju, 1960.
- Tang Jianyuan 唐健垣 . *Qin fu* 琴府 . 3 vols. Taibei: Lian-
guan chubanshe 聯貫出版社, 1971.
- Tang liu dian 唐六典 . Compiled by Lu Jian 陸堅 (fl.722) et
al. *Guangya shuju* 廣雅書局 woodblock, 1895.
- Tang sancai youtao 唐三彩釉陶 . Compiled by Zhang Wanli
張萬里 . 3 vols. Hong Kong: Yiwen chubanshe, 1977.
- Tang Yongtong 湯用彤 . *Han Wei liang Jin Nanbeichao fojiao shi*
漢魏兩晉南北朝佛教史 . 2 vols. Shanghai, 1938. Rpt.
Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1955.
- Tao Qian 陶潛 (365-427). *Jingjie xiansheng ji* 靖節先生集 .
SBBY.
- Tao Xisheng 陶希聖 . *Nanbeichao jingji shi* 南北朝經濟史 .
Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1937.
- Tian Qianjun 田倩君 . "Han yu Liuchao yuefu chansheng shi de
shehui xingtai" 漢與六朝樂府產生時的社會型態, *Dalu
zazhi* 大陸雜誌 17.9(1958):273-278.
- Tiantai xu ji 天台續志 . Edited by Li Geng 李庚 (fl.1145)
and Lin Sidian 林思菴 (fl. twelfth century). *Siku quanshu
zhenben chu ji* 初集, 1933.
- Tian Zhiweng 田芝翁 (Song dynasty). *Taigu yiyin* 太古遺音 .
Collected in *Qin fu*. (See under Tang Jianyuan).
- Tong dian 通典 . Compiled by Du You 杜佑 (735-812).
Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935.
- Tong zhi 通志 . Compiled by Zheng Qiao 鄭樵. (1104-1162).
3 vols. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935.
- Uchida Sennosuke 内田泉之助 . *Gyokudai shin'ei* 玉臺新詠 .
2 vols. Tokyo: Meiji shoin 明治書院, 1974.
- Uchida Tomoo 内田智雄 . "Shi kokufu kyo" 詩國風歌, *Shinagaku*
8.4(1936):505-531.
- Wan Shu 萬樹 (fl.1680-1692). *Ci lü* 詞律 . Preface dated
1687; 4 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1957.

- Wang Rui 王叡 (fl. ninth century). *Zhi gu zi lu* 炙轂子錄 .
Shuo fu, Yuanwei shanfang edition.
- Wang Shunu 王書奴 . *Zhongguo changji shi*. 中國娼妓史 .
 Shanghai: Shenghuo shudian, 1935.
- Wang Yi 王易 . *Yuefu tonglun* 樂府通論 . 1932; rpt. Taipei:
 Guangwen shuju, 1964.
- Wang Yinlin 王應麟 (1223-1296). *Kunxue jiwen* 困學紀聞 .
 Edited by Weng Yuanqi 翁元圻 (1750-1825). 3 vols. Beijing: Shang-
 wu yinshuguan, 1959.
- . *Yu hai* 玉海 . Zhejiang shuju 浙江書局 , 1883.
- Wang Yunxi 王運熙 . *Liuchao yuefu yu ming* 六朝樂府與民歌 .
 Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957.
- . *Yuefu shi luncong* 樂府詩論叢 . Beijing: Zhonghua shuju,
 1962.
- . "Lun 'Kongjue dongnan fei' de chansheng shidai sixiang yishu
 ji qi wenti" 論孔雀東南飛的產生時代思想藝術及其問題 .
 in *Yuefu shi yanjiu lunwen ji* 樂府詩研究論文集 , vol.2,
 pp.108-123.
- . "Wu sheng xiqu zhong de Yangzhou" 吳聲西曲中的揚州 , *ibid.*,
 pp.105-107.
- . "Lue tan yuefu shi de quming benshi yu sixiang neiyong de
 guanxi" 略談樂府詩的曲名本事與思想內容的關係 , in
 his *Han Wei Liuchao Tangdai wenxue luncong* 漢魏六朝唐代文學
 論叢 , pp.1-11. Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1981.
- Wang Zhongluo 王仲羣 . *Wei Jin nanbeichao shi* 魏晉南北朝史 .
 2 vols. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1979.
- Wei Jin Nanbeichao wenxue shi cankao ziliao* 魏晉南北朝文學史參考
 資料 . Compiled by Beijing daxue Zhongguo wenxueshi jiaoyan
 shi 北京大學中國文學史教研室 . 2 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju,
 1956.
- Wei shu* 魏書 . Compiled by Wei Shou 魏收 (506-572).
 Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974.
- Wei Xun 韋絢 (fl.856). *Liu Binke jiahua lu* 劉賓客嘉話錄 .
Shuo fu, Yuanwei shanfang edition.
- Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考 . Compiled by Ma Duanlin 馬端臨 (ca.
 1254-1323). 2 vols. Shanghai: Shanwu yinshuguan, 1935.

- Wen xuan 文選 . Commentary by Li Shan 李善 (?-689). Edited by You Mou. 1181; rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974.
 . With six commentaries by Li Shan, Lü Yanji 呂延濟 (n.d.)
 Lü Xiang 呂向 (fl.723), Liu Liang 劉良 (n.d.), Zhang Xian 張銑 (n.d.) and Li Zhouhan 李周翰 (n.d.). End of Southern Song edition. Rpt. SBCK.
- Wenyuan yinghua 文苑英華 . Edited by Li Fang et al. Taipei: Hualian chubanshe 華聯出版社, 1965.
- Wu Jing 吳兢 (670-749). Yuefu guti yaojie 樂府古題要解 . Xuejing taoyuan.
- Wu Jun 吳均 (469-520). Xu Qixie ji 續齊諧記 . Han Wei congshu.
- Wu Mei 吳梅 . Cixue tonglun 詞學通論 . Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1932.
- Wu Ne 吳訥 (1372-1457). Wenzhang bian ti xushuo 文章辨體序說 . Hong Kong: Taiping shuju 太平書局, 1965.
- Wu Qian 吳騫 (1733-1813). Baijing lou shihua 拜經樓詩話 . Qing shihua.
- Wuse xian 五色線 . Anonymous. (Song dynasty). Jindai mishu.
- Wu Shu 吳淑 (947-1002). comp. Shilei fu 事類賦 . Taipei: Xinxing shuju, 1969.
- Wu Zeng 吳曾 (fl. 1153). Nenggai zhai manlu 能改齋漫錄 . Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1960.
- Wu Zhao 吳釗 . "Ye tan Chusheng de diaoshi wenti" 也談楚聲的調式問題 , Wenyi yanjiu 2(1980):76-85.
- Xiao Difei 蕭涤非 . Han Wei Liuchao yuefu wenxue shi 漢魏六朝樂府文學史 . Chongqing: Zhongguo wenhua fuwushe, 1944.
- Xiaoshi shanfang congshu 小石山房叢書 . Edited by Gu Xiang 顧湘 . Yushan Gu shi 虞山顧氏 woodblock, 1874.
- Xiao Yi 蕭繹 (508-554). Jin lou zi 金樓子 . Taipei: Shijie shuju 世界書局, 1967.
 . Zuan yao. 纂要 Yuhan shanfang ji yi shu.
- Xiaoyu pu 嘯餘譜 . Edited by Cheng Mingshan 程明善 (Ming dynasty). Woodblock 1619.

- Xie Wuliang 謝玉量 . *Cixue zhi'nan* 詞學指南 . Taibei: Taiwan Zhonghua shuju, 1961.
- Xin Tang shu 新唐書 . Compiled by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072) et al. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975.
- Xiuxing benqi jing 修行本起經 . Translated by Kang Mengxiang (fl.194-199) and Zhu Dali 竺大力 (fl.197). *TS*, III, no.184.
- Xu baichuan xuehai 續百川學海 . Edited by Wu Yong 吳來 (Ming dynasty). Taibei: Xinxing shuju, 1970.
- Xu Chengyu 徐澄宇 ed. *Yuefu gu shi* 樂府古詩 . Hong Kong: Jindai tushu gongsi 今代圖書公司 , n.d..
- Xu Guangqi 徐光啓 (1562-1633). *Nongzheng quanshu*. 農政全書 Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1956.
- Xu Jian 徐堅 (659-729) et al. comp. *Chu xue ji* 初學記 . 3 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962.
- Xu Ling 徐陵 (507-583) comp. *Yutai xingyong* 玉臺新詠 SBBY.
- Xu mo ti nu jing 須摩提女經 . Translated by Zhi Qian 支謙 (fl.223-253). *TS*, II, no.128.
- Xu Shen 許慎 (30-124). *Shuo wen jie zi* 說文解字 . Annotated by Duan Yucai 段玉裁 (1735-1815). Taibei: Lantai shuju 蘭臺書局 , 1974.
- Xu Shizeng 徐師曾 (fl.1554). *Wenti ming bian xu shuo* 文體明辨序說 . Hong Kong: Taiping shuju, 1965.
- Xu Song 許嵩 (Tang dynasty). *Jiankang shilu* 建康實錄 . *Siku quanshu zhenben liu ji* 六集 . Taibei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1975.
- Xu Xianzhong 徐獻忠 (1493-1569). *Yuefu yuan* 樂府原 . Zhang Suowang 張所望 woodblock, 1609.
- Xuejin taoyuan 學津討原. Edited by Zhang Haipeng 張海鵬 (1755-1816). Taibei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi 新文豐出版公司 , 1980.
- Yan Kejun 嚴可均 (1762-1843) ed. *Quan shanggu Sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen* 全上古三代秦漢三國六朝文 . Guangzhou: Guangya shuju 廣雅書局 , 1887.
- Yan Yu 嚴羽 (fl. thirteenth century). *Canglang shihua* 滄浪詩話. *Lidai shihua*.

- Yan Zhitui 顏之推 (531-591). *Yan shi jiaxun* 顏氏家訓 .
 Edited with commentary by Zhou Fagao 周法高 , *Yan shi jiaxun huizhu* 顏氏家訓彙注 . Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1960.
- Yang Bonyan 楊伯璽 (?-1254). *Liu tie bu* 六帖補 . *Siku quanshu zhenben qi ji* 七集 . Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1977.
- Yang Kuangmin 楊匡民 . "Chu sheng jinshi chutan" 楚聲今昔初探 .
Jiangnan luntan 江漢論壇 5(1980): 93-96.
- Yang Shen 楊慎 (1488-1559). *Ci pin* 詞品 . *Baibu congshu jicheng* no.21.
 — . *Danyan zhonglu* 丹鉛總錄 . *Siku quanshu zhenben si ji* 四集 .
 Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1973.
 — . *Gujin feng yao* 古今風謠 . Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe 古典文學出版社 , 1958.
 — . *Shen'an shihua* 升菴詩話 . *Lidai shihua xubian*.
- Yang Yinliu 楊蔭瀏 . *Zhongguo yinyue shigang* 中國音樂史綱 .
 Beijing: Yinyue chubanshe, 1955.
 — . *Zhongguo gudai yinyue shi gao* 中國古代音樂史稿 . 2 vols.
 Beijing: Yinyue chubanshe, 1981.
 — . "San lü kao" 三律考 , *Yinyue yanjiu* 24(1982):30-39.
- Yao Jiheng 姚際恆 (1647-?). *Shi jing tonglun* 詩經通論 .
 Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1963.
- Yasuda Jirō 安田二郎 . "Shin Sō kakumei to Yoshū (Jōyō) no kyōmin" 晉宋革命と雍州(襄陽)の僑民 , *Tōyō shi kenkyū* 42.1(June 1983): 110-135.
- Ye Riguang 葉日光 "Gongti shi xingcheng zhi shehui beiqing" 宮體詩形成之社會背景 , *Zhonghua xueyuan* 中華學苑 10 (September 1972): 111-178.
- Yi'nan gu huaxiang shimu fajue baogao 沂南古畫石墓發掘報告 .
 Compiled by Zeng Zhaoyue 曾昭燏 et al. Shanghai: Wenhua bu wenwu guanliju, 1956.
- Yiqie jing yinyi 一切經音義 . Compiled by Huijiao 慧皎 (737-820). *TS*, LIII, no.2128.
- Yin Falu 陰法魯 . "Han yuefu yu Qingshang yue" 漢樂府與清商樂

- in *Yuefu shi yanjiu lunwen ji*, vol.2, pp.24-31.
- . "Zhongguo gudai shige zhong de changhe xingshi" 中國古代詩歌中的唱和形式, in *Ci kan* 詞刊 1(1980):35-43; 2(1980):19-22.
- Yin jiuchao juanziben jieshi diao you lan* 影著鈔卷子本石碣石調幽蘭.
Attributed to Qiu Ming 丘明 (Liang dynasty). *Congshu jicheng*.
Yoshikawa Kōjirō 吉川幸次郎 . "Sesetsu shingo no bunshō" 世說新語の文章, in *Yoshikawa Kōjirō zenshū* 吉川幸次郎全集, vol.7, pp.454-472. Tokyo: Chikuma shobo 筑摩書房, 1978.
- Yudi jisheng* 輿地紀勝. Compiled by Wang Xiangzhi 王象之 (fl.1196). Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe 文海出版社, 1962.
- Yu Guanying 余冠英 . *Yuefu shi xuan* 樂府詩選. Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1954.
- . *Han Wei Liuchao shi luncong* 漢魏六朝詩論叢. Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1956.
- . *Han Wei Liuchao shi xuan* 漢魏六朝詩選. Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1978.
- Yuhan shanfang ji yi shu* 玉函山房輯佚書. Edited by Ma Guohan 馬國翰. Changsha Langhuan guan 長沙榔園館 woodblock, 1883.
- Yu Jiayi 余嘉錫 . *Siku quanshu bianzheng* 四庫全書辨證. 1958; rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980.
- . "Shi cangchu" 釋滄楚, in his *Yu Jiayi lunxue zazhu*, 227-234. 1963; rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977.
- . "Yinian lu jiyi" 疑年錄稽疑, *ibid.*, pp.491-538.
- Yu Shinan 虞世南 (558-638) ed. *Beitang shuchao* 北堂書鈔
Guangdong Fuwen zhai 富文齋, 1888.
- Yu Xin 庾信 (512-580). *Yu Zishan ji* 庾子山集.
Annotated by Ni Fan 倪璠 (Qing dynasty); *Yu Zishan ji zhu* 庾子山集注. SBBY.
- Yu Zhengxie 俞正燮 (1775-1840). *Guisi leigao* 癸巳類稿. Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1960.
- Yuan Zhen 元稹 (779-831). *Yuan shi changqing ji* 元氏長慶集. Beijing: Wenxue guji kanxingshe 文學古籍刊行社, 1957.
- Yuefu shi yanjiu lunwen ji* 樂府詩研究論文集. Edited by Zuo-jia chubanshe bianji bu 作家出版社編輯部. Beijing: Zuo-jia chubanshe, 1957.

- . vol.2. Edited by Zhongguo yuwen xueshe 中國語文學社 . Beijing: Zhongguo yuwen xueshe, 1970.
- Yue Shi 樂史 (930-1107). *Taiping huanyu ji* 太平寰宇記 . Jinling shuju 金陵書局, 1882. Rpt. Hangzhou: Guji chubanshe 古籍出版社. 1982.
- Zhai Hao 翟灝 (?-1788). *Tongsu bian* 通雅編 , Hanhai.
- Zhang Ji 張籍 (768-830). *Zhang Siye shi ji* 張司業詩集 . SBCK.
- Zhang Pengchuan 張朋川 . "Jiuquan Dingjiazha gumu bihua yishu" 酒泉丁家灣古墓壁畫藝術 , *Wenwu* 277(1979):18-21.
- Zhang Pu 張溥 (1602-1641) ed. *Han Wei Liuchao baisan jia ji* 漢魏六朝百三集 . Xinshu tang 信述堂 edition, 1879.
- Zhang Shibin 張世彬 . *Zhongguo yinyue shi lun shu gao* 中國音樂史論述稿 . 2 vols. Hong Kong: Youlian chubanshe, 1975.
- Zhang Xitang 張西堂 . *Shi jing liulun* 詩經六論 . Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1957.
- Zhang Zhixiang 張之象 (1496-1577) ed. *Gushi lei yuan* 古詩類苑 . Yu Xianmo 俞顯謨 woodblock, 1602.
- Zhang Zhuo 張鷟 (ca. 657-730) *You xian ku* 遊仙窟 . Shanghai: Zhongguo gudian wen xue chubanshe, 1955.
- Zheng Qiao 鄭樵 (1104-1162). *Yuefu yuanti* 樂府原題 . Xiaoyu pu 嘯餘譜 .
- Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸 . *Zhongguo suwenxue shi* 中國俗文學史 1938. Rpt. Beijing: Zuoja chubanshe, 1954.
- Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* 中國歷史地圖集 . Compiled by Zhongguo lishi ditu bianji zu 中國歷史地圖編輯集 . vol.4. Shanghai: Zhonghua ditu xueshe, 1975.
- Zhongguo minge* 中國民歌 . Compiled by Wenhua bu wenxue yishu yanjiuyuan yinyue yanjiusuo 文化部文學藝術研究院音樂研究所 Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 1980.
- Zhongguo yinyue shi cankao tupian* 中國音樂史參考圖片 . Compiled by Zhongyang yinyue xueyuan minzu yinyue yanjiusuo 中央音樂學院民族音樂研究所 . 8 vols. Beijing: Yinyue chubanshe, 1954-1959.

- Zhong Rong 鍾嶸 (or Zhong Hong)(?-518). *Shi pin* 詩品 . Edited with commentary by Chen Yanjie 陳延傑 . *Shi pin zhu* 詩品注 . 1927; rpt. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1958.
- Zhong Xing 鍾惺 (1574-1624) and Tan Yuanchun 譚元春 (1586-1631) ed. *Gushi gui* 古詩歸 . Zhong Xing woodblock, 1617.
- Zhou Chengming 周誠明 . "Nanbeichao yuefushi yanjiu" 南北朝樂府詩研究 , M.A. theses, Sili Zhongguo wenhua xueyuan 和文中國文化學院 1970.
- . "Nanbeichao yuefu shi zhi yuanyuan" 南北朝樂府詩之淵源 , *Zhonghua shixue* 中華詩學 5.3(August 1971):15-20.
- . "Nanbeichao yuefu shi zhi tizhi" 南北朝樂府詩之體制 , *ibid.* 2.1 (January 1972) 24-32; 2.2(April 1972) 43-50.
- Zhou Duwen 周篤文 . *Song ci* 宋詞 . Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1980.
- Zhou Qufei 周去非 (fl.1163). *Lingwai daida* 嶺外代答 . *Congshu jicheng*.
- Zhou shu 周書 . Compiled by Linghu Defen et al. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1972.
- Zhou Xunchu 周勳初 "Liangdai wenlun sanpai shuyao" 梁代文論三派述要 . *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 5(1964):195-221.
- Zhou Yiliang 周一良 . "Nanchao jingnei zhi gezhong ren ji zhengfu duidai zhi zhengce" 南朝境內之各種人及政府對待之政策 , in his *Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi lunji* 魏晉南北朝史論集 , pp.30-93. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963.
- Zhou yi zhushu 周易注疏 . *Shisan jing zhushu*.
- Zhou Yingxiong 周英雄 . "Cong liangshou yuefu guci kan minjian geshi" 從兩首樂府古辭看民間歌詩 , in *Zhongguo gudian wenxue luncong* 中國古典文學論叢 , edited by Zhongwai wenxue bianjibu 中外文學編輯部 , pp.235-261. Taipei: Zhongwai wenxue yuekan-she, 1976.
- Zhu Changwen 朱長文 (1039-1098). *Qin shi* 琴史 . *Siku quan shu zhenben qi ji* 七集 . Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1979.
- Zhu Dawei 朱大渭 . "Nanchao shaoshu minzu gaikuang ji qi yu Hanzu de ronghe" 南朝少數民族概況及其與漢族的融合, *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 5(1980):57-76.

- Zhu Fu 朱輔 (fl. mid thirteenth century). *Ximan congxiao* 溪蠻叢笑 . *Xu baichuan xuehai*.
- Zhu Jianxin 朱建新 ed. *Yuefu shixuan* 樂府詩選 . Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju, 1964.
- Zhu Qian 朱乾 (fl. 1764) ed. *Yuefu zhengyi* 樂府正義 . 2 vols. Kyoto: Doho sha 同朋舍 , 1980.
- Zhu Ziqing 朱自清 (1898-1948). *Zhongguo geyao* 中國歌謠 Beijing: Zuoja chubanshe, 1957.
- Zizhi tongjian 資治通鑑 . Compiled by Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-1086). Beijing: Guji chubanshe, 1956.
- Zhong Lin 宗懷 (d. ca. 563). *Jin Chu suishi ji* 荆楚歲時記 . *Baoyan tang miji*.
- Zun qian ji 尊前集 (Song dynasty). *Jiangcun congshu*.

WESTERN LANGUAGE WORKS

- Auden, W.H. and Kallman, C., ed. *An Elizabethan Song Book*. New York: Doubleday, 1956.
- Baxter, Glen Williams. "Metrical Origins of the Tz'u," *HJAS* 16 (1953): 113-115. Also in John L. Bishop ed. *Studies in Chinese Literature*, Cambridge, Mass., 1965, pp. 186-225.
- Benson, L.D. "The Literary Character of Anglo-Saxon Formulaic Poetry," *Publication of the Modern Language Association* 81(1966): 334-341.
- Birrell, Anne. *New Songs from a Jade Terrace, An Anthology of Early Chinese Love poetry, Translated with Annotations and an Introduction*. London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1982.
- Bodde, Derk. "The Chinese Cosmic Magic Known as Watching for the Ethers," in *Studia Serica Bernhard Karlgren Dedicata*, edited by Søren Egerod and Else Glahu, pp. 14-35. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1959.
- Booth, Mark W. *The Experience of Songs*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981.
- Bryant, Daniel. *Lyric Poets of the Southern T'ang, Feng Yen-ssu,*

- 903-960, and Li Yü, 937-978. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1982.
- Bryum, David E. "The Bell, the Drum, Milman Parry, and the Time Machine," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 1.2 (July 1979): 241-253.
- Ch'en Kenneth. *Buddhism in China*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964.
- Child, Francis James. *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* 5 vols. 1882-1898; rpt. New York: Pagent Book Co., 1957.
- Cummins J.G. *The Spanish Traditional Lyrics*. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1977.
- Davis, A.R. ed. *The Penguin Book of Chinese Verse*. Penguin Book Ltd., 1962.
- Demiéville, Paul ed. *Anthologie de la Poésie Chinoise Classique*. Paris: Gallimard, 1962.
- and Rao Zongyi 饒宗頤 ed. *Airs de Touen-Houang 燉煌曲*. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1971.
- Dewoskin, Kenneth. "Early Chinese Music and the Origins of Aesthetic Terminology," in *Theories of the Arts in China*, edited by Susan Bush and Christian Murck, pp.187-214. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983.
- Diény, Jean-Pierre. *Les Dix-neuf poèmes anciens. Bulletin de la Maiso franco-japonais*, n.s.7. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1963.
- Doughtie, Edward. *Lyrics from English Airs, 1596-1622*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1970.
- Dronke, Peter. *The Medieval Lyric*. London: Hutchison and Co., 1968.
- Dubs, Homer H. "Han 'Hill Censers'," in *Studia Serica Bernhard Karlgren Dedicata*. pp.259-264. (see under Bodde).
- Evans, Marilyn Jane. "Popular Songs of the Southern Dynasties : A Study in Chinese Poetic Style." Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1966.
- Frankel. Hans H. "The Formulaic Language of the Chinese Ballad 'Southeast Fly the Peacocks'," *BIHP* 39.2 (1969):219-241.
- . "The Chinese Ballad 'Southeast Fly the Peacocks'," *HJAS* 34 (1974):248-271.

- . "Yüeh-fu Poetry," in *Studies in Chinese Literary Genre*, edited by Cyril Birch, pp.69-107. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974.
- . *The Flowering Plum and the Palace Lady : Interpretation of Chinese Poetry*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1976.
- . "Some Characteristics of Oral Narrative Poetry in China," in *Études d'histoire et de Littérature Chinoises Offertes au Professeur Jaroslav Průšek*. Bibliothèque de l'institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, vol. XXIV. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1976.
- . "Six Dynasties Yüeh-fu and their Singers," *Journal of Chinese Language Teachers Association* 13 (October 1978) :189-196.
- Frodsham, John D. *An Anthology of Chinese Verse: Han Wei Chin and the Northern and Southern Dynasties*. Oxford University Press, 1967.
- Fusek Lois M. "Review of *The Bell and the Drum* by C.H.Wang," in *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 1.1 (January 1979): 99-103.
- Gimm, Martin. *Das Yüeh-fu tsa-lu des Tuan An-chieh, Studien zur Geschichte von Musik, Schauspiel und Tanz in der T'ang Dynastie*. Asiatische Forschungen, vol.19. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1966.
- Hagerty, Michael J. "Tai K'ai-chih's *Chu-p'u*: A Fifth Century Monograph of Bamboo Written in Rhyme with Commentary," *HJAS* 11 (1948):372-440.
- Hatto, Arthur Thomas. *Eos: An Enquiry into the Theme of Lovers' Meetings and Partings at Dawn in Poetry*. London: Mouton, 1965.
- Hawkes, David. *Ch'u Tz'u: The Songs of the South*. 1959; rpt. Boston: Beacon Press, 1962.
- Hightower, James Robert. *Topics in Chinese Literature: Outlines and Bibliographies*. 1950; 1953; rpt. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962.
- . *The Poetry of T'ao Ch'ien*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970.
- Hsieh Sheau-Mann. "The Folk Songs of the Southern Dynasties (318-589 A.D.)." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1973.

- Hsu Sungnien. *Les Chants de Tseu-ye, et autre Poèmes d'amour*. Beijing: Imprimerie de la Politique de Pékin, 1932.
- Ing, Catherine. *Elizabethan Lyrics*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1951.
- Ingram, R.W. "Words and Music," in *Elizabethan Poetry*, edited by John Russel Brown and Bernard Harpis. London: E. Arnold, 1960.
- Karlgren, Bernard. *Grammata Serica Recensa*. Stockholm: The Museum of the Far Eastern Antiquities, 1957.
- Knechtges, David R. *The Han Rhapsody, A Study of the Fu of Yang Hsiung (53B.C.-A.D.18)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.
- . trans. *Wen xuan, or Selections of Refined Literature, Vol. 1: Rhapsodies on Metropolises and Capitals*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981.
- Lau, D.C. trans. *Mencius*. Penguin Books Ltd., 1970.
- . trans. *The Analects*. 1979; rpt. Penguin Books Ltd., 1982.
- Legge, James. trans. *The Ch'un Ts'ew with the Tso Chuen. The Chinese Classics, vol.5*. 1872; rpt. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960.
- Levy, Howard S. trans. *The Dwelling of the Playful Goddess*. Tokyo: Dai Nippon insatsu, 1965.
- . "T'ang Women of Pleasure," *Sinologica* 8 (1965): 89-114.
- Liu Ts'un-yan. "Traces of Zoroastrian and Manichaen Activities in Pre-T'ang China," in *Selected Papers from the Hall of Harmonious Wind*, pp.3-55. Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1976.
- Lord, Albert B. *The Singer of Tales*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960.
- . "Homer as Oral Poet," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 72(1968):1-46.
- . "Perspectives on Recent Works on Oral Literature," in *Oral Literature*, edited by Joseph Duggan, pp.3-24. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1975.
- Marney, John. *Liang Chien-wen Ti*. Boston: Twayne, 1976.
- Mather, Richard. *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü: A New Account of Tales of the World*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976.
- Mayhew, Lenore and McNaughton, William. *A Golden Orchid: The Love Poems of Tzu Yeh*. Rutland: Tuttle, 1972.

- Miao, Ronald C. "Palace-Style Poetry: The Courtly Treatment of Glamour and Love," in *Studies in Chinese Poetry and Poetics*, edited by Ronald C. Miao, vol.1, pp.1-42. San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1978.
- Needham, Joseph. *Science and Civilization in China*, 5 vols. to date. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954. Vol.4, part 1: *Physics*, 1962.
- The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Edited by Stanley Sadie. London: MacMillan, 1980.
- Opland, Jeff. "'Scop' and 'Imbongi' - Anglo-Saxon and Bantu Oral Poets," *English Studies in Africa*, 14(1971):161-178.
- . *Anglo-Saxon Oral Poetry: A Study of the Traditions*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980.
- Parry, Milman. "Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making. 1. Homer and Homeric Style, 2. The Homeric Language as the Language of an Oral Poetry," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*. 41 (1930):73-147; 43(1932):1-50.
- Picken, L.E.R. "Tang Music and Musical Instruments," *T'oung Pao*, 55, 1-3(1969):74-122.
- . "Tunes apt for T'ang Lyrics from the Shō Part-Book of Tōgaku" in *Essays in Ethnomusicology: a Birthday Offering for Lee Hye-ku* 李惠求博士碩壽紀念音樂論叢, pp.401-420. Seoul: Han'guk kukhak hakhoe 韓國國樂學會, 1969.
- Průšek, Jaroslav. "Die chui-tsi-shu, erzählende Volksgesänge aus Honan," in *Asiatica Festschrift Friedrich Weller*, edited by Johannes Schubert, pp.453-483. Leipzig: O.Harrasowitz, 1954.
- . *Chinese History and Literature*. Prague: Czechoslovak Academy of Science, 1970.
- Pulleybank, E.G. "The Chinese and Their Neighbours in Prehistoric and Early Historic Times," in *The Origins of Chinese Civilization*. edited by David N. Knightley, pp.411-466. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.
- Read, Bernard E. *Chinese Materia Medica: Fish Drugs*. 1939; rpt. Taipei: Southern Material Center, 1977.
- . *Chinese Medicinal Plants from the Pen Ts'ao Kang Mu A.D.1596*. 1936; rpt. Taipei: Southern Material Center, 1977.

- Saville, Jonathan. *The Medieval Erotic Alba - Structure as Meaning*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1972.
- Sayce Olive. *The Medieval German Lyric, 1150-1300; The Development of Its Themes and Forms in Their European Context*. Oxford: Claredon Press, 1982.
- Schafer, Edward H. "The Early History of Lead Pigments and Cosmetics in China," *T'oung Pao* 44(1956):413-438.
- Shih, Vincent Yu-chung trans. *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959.
- Smith, Frederick Porter. *The Chinese Materia Medica: Vegetable Kingdom*. Revised by G.A. Stuart. 1911; rpt. Taipei: Ku T'ing Book House, 1969.
- Waley, Arthur. trans. *A Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems*. London: Constable, 1947.
- . *More Translations from the Chinese*. London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1919.
- . *The Book of Songs*. 1937; rpt. New York: Grove Press, 1960.
- . *Chinese Poems*. 1946, rpt. London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1948.
- Wang Chien-hsien. *The Bell and The Drum: Shih-ching as Formulaic Poetry in an Oral Tradition*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974.
- Watson, Burton. *Chinese Lyricism: Shih Poetry from the Second to the Twelfth Century*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1971.
- Wilhelm, Richard. trans. *The I Ching or Book of Changes*. Rendered into English by Cary F. Baynes. 1951; rpt. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978.
- Williams, Gary Shelton. "A Study of the Oral Nature of Han Yüeh-fu," Ph.D dissertation, University of Washington, 1973.
- Yang Lien-sheng. "A Note on the So-Called TLV Mirrors and the Game Liu-po 六博," *HJAS* 9(1946):202-206.
- . "An Additional Note on the Ancient Game of Liu-po," *HJAS* 15 (1952):124-139.
- Yoshikawa Kōjirō. "The Shih-shuo Hsin-yü and Six Dynasties Prose Style," translated into English by Glen William Baxter, *HJAS* 18 (1953):124-141; also in John L. Bishop ed. *Studies in Chinese Literature*, Cambridge, Mass., 1965, pp.166-187.