

Wei-Jin Sacrificial Ballets: Reform versus Conservation

Kevin A. Jensen

A dissertation
submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

2012

Reading Committee:

David R. Knechtges, Chair

Patricia Buckley Ebrey

Zev J. Handel

Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

Asian Languages and Literature

©Copyright 2012

Kevin A. Jensen

University of Washington

Abstract

Wei-Jin Sacrificial Ballets: Reform versus Conservation

Kevin A. Jensen

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:

Professor David R. Knechtges

Asian Languages and Literature

This dissertation examines the sixteen extant Wei-Jin sacrificial ballet hymns of Wang Can, Fu Xuan, Xun Xu, and Zhang Hua to discover the impetus for and significance of the changes in sacrificial hymns during the Wei-Jin period. Chapter 1 examines the cosmological beliefs, sacrificial sites, sacrificial liturgies, and sacrificial hymns of the Zhou, Qin, Western Han, Xin, and Eastern Han dynasties. Chapter 2 examines the same for the Wei dynasty, provides translation and commentary for one extant series of sacrificial ballet hymns and for what little is known of another no longer extant series, and then analyzes their titles, use, authorship, dating, content, formal structure, and place in literary history. Chapter 3 examines the same for the Jin dynasty, provides translation and commentary for four extant series of sacrificial ballet hymns, and then analyzes the same.

This dissertation contends that the sacrificial ballet hymns and the changes evident therein reflect trends in sacrificial hymns as a whole. The change from having two out of six dynastic ballets purported to be extant in the Zhou system to having six out of six purported to be extant in the Qin system represents more likely an idealized recreation rather than an authentic recovery of lost hymns. The reduction to four or five dynastic ballets or indirect derivatives thereof in the Han dynasty, in conjunction with the disappearance of one series of four tribal ballets and the appearance of another series of four tribal ballets, represents a more believable change in style, as well as a loss due to internecine war. The abandonment of all direct derivatives of dynastic ballets and their replacement with indirect derivatives in

seeming imitation of the original six dynastic ballets in the Wei dynasty brings the process full circle to an idealized recreation, which continued into the Jin dynasty and reached its apex with the rewriting of all sacrificial ballets in the terse tetrameter style of the “Song” section of *Mao shi*, there to remain throughout the Southern-and-Northern Dynasties. Thus, we find changes in belief and style stemming from imperial preference and contemporary demands.

DEDICATION

To my grandfather Carl Edmund Frederik Petersen, who first taught me Chinese.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My first expression of gratitude must go to my doctoral advisor Prof. David R. Knechtges, who has guided and encouraged my studies for the last sixteen years. Even though I remained otherwise engaged elsewhere for all but five of these years, he unstintingly answered my questions at length through the post and took time from his busy schedule to meet with me whenever I passed through the area. Without the help of his grasp of the court culture and literature of the Han, Wei-Jin, and Southern-and-Northern Dynasties, I could never have completed this dissertation.

I owe a special debt to Prof. Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Prof. Zev J. Handel, my reading committee, who have prodded me along, off and on, for the last twelve years. Their patience and faith continue to inspire me. Their many explanations of later court culture and contemporary phonology eventually opened my eyes to issues within in my own topic that had baffled me for years.

Fourteen years ago, Prof. Lo Tzong-Tao 羅宗濤, Prof. Lü Kai 呂凱, and Prof. Chien Tsung-Wu 簡宗梧 led me through my Master's Degree. Each proved the perfect model of diligent instruction, encyclopedic knowledge, and cultural sensitivity. They introduced me to *yuefu* 樂府 hymns and ballads, *xuanxue* 玄學 and augury-weft texts, and Han *fu* 賦. As well, Prof. Chien introduced me to Prof. Knechtges. To them I am grateful.

Ten years before then, Prof. Michael B. Fishlen, Prof. Angela Jung Palandri 榮之穎, and Prof. Wendy Larson eased me through my Bachelor's Degree. They held their students to high standards and modeled even higher ones. From them, I learned Tang poetry, early Mandarin fiction, and modern Mandarin fiction, and so began my search for the story behind the story. To them I am grateful as well.

I owe a great deal to Dr. Howard L. Goodman, who has kindly served as my mentor for the last two years in all matters of Wei-Jin legitimation, prosody, and metaphysics. He explained these concepts to me again and again without complaint.

Others I wish to thank include my father Prof. Richard I. Jensen, my mother Mrs. Karen L. Jensen, my sister Mrs. Kari A. Teng, and my upperclassman Dr. Edmund Y. Lien

連永君, whose painstaking review of my dissertation rendered it more readable and more reasonable.

I am grateful to the Staff of the Asian Languages and Literature Department of the University of Washington for their patient technical support and to the Department of Foreign Languages of West Point for their generous financial support, both of which saw me through to graduation.

Finally, I also wish to thank all the mentors and teachers, colleagues and classmates, and friends and family who gave so freely of their time and expertise, but most of all I wish to thank my wife Hsueh Su-ying 薛宿瑩 and our children Anna, Christina, Kevin, and Leon, who so bravely endured my self-imposed seclusion for graduate school.

This page intentionally left blank.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures.....	iv
List of Tables.....	v
Introduction.....	1
1 Background: Theory versus Practice.....	11
1.1 Foundation: Zhou.....	13
1.1.1 Grand Music.....	20
1.1.1.1 Martial Ballets.....	23
1.1.1.2 Civil Ballets.....	27
1.1.1.3 Canticles.....	30
1.1.2 Music of the Four Tribes.....	31
1.1.3 Nine Processionals.....	36
1.1.4 Suburban Sacrificial Hymns.....	44
1.1.5 Soil and Millet Hymns.....	44
1.1.6 Ancestral Temple Hymns.....	46
1.1.6.1 King Wen.....	46
1.1.6.2 King Cheng.....	47
1.1.6.3 Assistance of Heirs of Previous Dynasties.....	48
1.1.6.4 Assistance of Feudal Lords.....	49
1.1.6.5 Shang Kings.....	49
1.1.6.6 Lu Dukes.....	51
1.1.7 Liturgy.....	52
1.2 Consolidation: Qin.....	53
1.2.1 Music of the Six Eras.....	58
1.2.2 Lesser Music.....	63
1.2.3 Liturgy.....	67
1.3 Reduction: Western Han.....	68
1.3.1 Grand Music.....	71
1.3.1.1 Suburban Sacrificial Ballets.....	72
1.3.1.2 Ancestral Temple Ballets.....	73

1.3.2	Ba Ditties.....	76
1.3.3	Processionals.....	79
1.3.4	Suburban Sacrificial Hymns.....	80
1.3.4.1	Trimeter Heaven and Earth Hymns.....	81
1.3.4.2	Irregular Meter Heaven and Earth Hymns.....	82
1.3.4.3	Tetrameter Heaven and Earth Hymns.....	82
1.3.4.4	Trimeter and Tetrameter Five Holy One Hymns.....	82
1.3.4.5	Trimeter, Irregular Meter, and Tetrameter Omen Hymns.....	84
1.3.5	Ancestral Temple Hymns.....	85
1.3.6	Liturgy.....	85
1.4	Reevaluation: Xin.....	86
1.5	Expansion: Eastern Han.....	87
2	Wei Sacrificial Ballets: A Close Reading.....	101
2.1	Ditties.....	111
2.1.1	Title and Use of the Series.....	111
2.1.2	Authorship and Dating.....	116
2.1.3	Translation and Commentary.....	117
2.1.4	Content.....	130
2.1.5	Formal Structure.....	131
2.1.6	Place in Literary History.....	132
2.2	Grand Balance.....	134
2.2.1	Title and Use of the Series.....	134
2.2.2	Authorship and Dating.....	137
2.2.3	Translation and Commentary.....	137
2.2.4	Content.....	141
2.2.5	Formal Structure.....	141
2.2.6	Place in literary history.....	141
3	Jin Sacrificial Ballets: A Close Reading.....	167
3.1	Promulgating Civility.....	188
3.1.1	Title and Use of the Series.....	188
3.1.2	Authorship and Dating.....	189

3.1.3 Translation and Commentary.....	189
3.1.4 Content.....	206
3.1.5 Formal Structure.....	206
3.1.6 Place in Literary History.....	207
3.2 Promulgating Martial Deeds.....	207
3.2.1 Title and Use of the Series.....	208
3.2.2 Authorship and Dating.....	209
3.2.3 Translation and Commentary.....	209
3.2.4 Content.....	219
3.2.5 Formal Structure.....	220
3.2.6 Place in Literary History.....	220
3.3 Correct Virtue.....	221
3.3.1 Title and Use of the Series.....	221
3.3.2 Authorship and Dating.....	224
3.3.3 Translation and Commentary.....	224
3.3.4 Content.....	237
3.3.5 Formal Structure.....	239
3.3.6 Place in Literary History.....	240
3.4 Grand Delight.....	242
3.4.1 Title and Use of the Series.....	243
3.4.2 Authorship and Dating.....	244
3.4.3 Translation and Commentary.....	245
3.4.4 Content.....	258
3.4.5 Formal Structure.....	259
3.4.6 Place in Literary History.....	260
Conclusion.....	275
Bibliography.....	287

LIST OF FIGURES

2.1 Wei Dynasty Rulers.....	144
3.1 Jin Dynasty Rulers.....	262

LIST OF TABLES

1.1 Meter and Rhyme of the Zhou and Qin Sacrificial Hymns.....	91
1.2 Meter and Rhyme of the Han Sacrificial Hymns.....	93
1.3 Zhou, Qin, and Han Sacrificial Ballets Compared.....	94
1.4 Music of the Four Tribes and Ba Ditties Compared.....	95
1.5 Zhou, Qin, and Han Processionals Compared.....	95
1.6 Zhou, Qin, and Han Canticles, Offertories, and Covenants Compared.....	96
1.7 Zhou, Qin, and Han Major Sacrificial Sites and Gods Compared.....	97
1.8 Zhou, Qin, and Han Liturgies Compared.....	98
1.9 Reconstructed Early Eastern Han Endings Compared.....	99
2.1 Wei Dynasty Rulers.....	145
2.2 Meter and Rhyme of the Wei Sacrificial Hymns.....	146
2.3A Zhou to Wei Ballet Titles.....	147
2.3B Zhou to Wei Processional Titles.....	148
2.3C Zhou to Wei Canticle and Offertory Titles.....	149
2.4 Wei Major Sacrificial Sites and Gods Compared.....	150
2.5 Wei Liturgies Compared.....	151
2.6 Examples of Fixed-Form Verse Compared.....	152
2.7 Six Wei-Jin Ballet Tunes and Titles Compared.....	153
2.8 Wei-Jin Lance Ditty Ballets Compared.....	154
2.9 Wei-Jin Crossbow Ditty Ballets Compared.....	156
2.10 Wei-Jin Dagger-Axe Ditty Ballets Compared.....	158
2.11 Wei-Jin Large-Board-Shield Ditty Ballets Compared.....	160
2.12 Han to Jin Feather and Flute Ballets Compared.....	162
2.13 Zhou to Jin Feather and Proclamation-Bell Ballets Compared.....	164
3.1 Jin Dynasty Rulers.....	263
3.2 Meter and Rhyme of the Jin Sacrificial Hymns.....	265
3.3A Jin to Sui Ballet Titles.....	267
3.3B Jin to Sui Processional Titles.....	268
3.3C Jin to Sui Canticle and Offertory Titles.....	269

3.4 Jin to Sui Major Sacrificial Sites and Gods Compared.....	270
3.5 Jin to Sui Liturgies Compared.....	271
3.6 Jin to Southern-and-Northern Dynasties Civil Ballets Compared.....	272
3.7 Jin to Southern-and-Northern Dynasties Martial Ballets Compared.....	273

INTRODUCTION

「樂合同，禮別異，禮樂之統，管乎人心矣。」《荀子》

“Music combines similarities, rites distinguish differences, and thus the interconnected system of rites and music controls the human heart.” *Xunzi*¹

Every culture expresses itself through the ceremonial use of music and rhythm, dance and gesture, and song and chant. In America, we use the “Star Spangled Banner” to introduce our nation and “Hail to the Chief” to introduce our president. Our graduations include “Pomp and Circumstance” and our marriages include the “Wedding March.” Our military begins the day with “First Call,” ends the day with “Taps,” and has seventeen more bugle calls in between.² Our religious services make use of church bells, prayer calls, responsive readings, hymns, and the like. Each of our holidays also enjoys associated music, dances, and songs. Whenever we hear the music, we know what to do – We stand up, we doff our hats, we salute, we respond appropriately to the occasion. At dances, the music tells us how to move. Whenever present, the lyrics tell us how to feel. We take advantage of these signals to control the response of the audience, whether at a large public ceremony or a small private ritual.

Such signals not only allow a complete stranger to participate in a ceremony or ritual and conform to expectations, but also inform the stranger of the goals and values of the group. The tone, tempo, and rhythm of the music alone can set the mood. The movements, gestures, and pace of the dance alone can set the scene. The lyrics, however, can set both the mood

¹ See XZ: 14.255.

² There are twenty-three bugle calls currently in use by U.S. Army Bands between “First Call” and “Taps,” but six of them are optional. See <http://bands.army.mil/music/bugle>.

and the scene, tell the story, and hint at much more. The “Star Spangled Banner” emphasizes the freedom and bravery born of revolutionary sacrifice. “Hail to the Chief” emphasizes the cooperation of the people and the aim of the president due an elected office. “Pomp and Circumstance” emphasizes the spread of hope and glory gained through legal freedoms. The “Wedding March” emphasizes the love and happiness that follow the wedding. Each bugle call and hymn has its own message and response. We understand the meaning of the music even without lyrics or explanation because of cultural knowledge and personal experience, because we have heard, seen, and done it before.³ In the world of diplomacy, we analyze the ceremonies and rituals of our neighbors to discover the hidden policies and affairs behind their press releases. From an historical perspective, we may also review ceremonies and rituals from the past to understand the hidden policies and affairs that led to public actions. Lacking the benefit of seeing or hearing these ceremonies and rituals in person or on line, we must rely on the lyrics, as well as on any extant description or explanation of the ceremony or ritual, to grasp its ultimate meaning, but once we have that meaning, we can understand the kind of circumstance that engendered the ceremony or ritual, as well as the desired outcome. This understanding, then, leads to more effective analysis of historical open-source material not directly related to ceremony or ritual.

Within the past three decades, four monographs have addressed Chinese sacrificial hymns from different perspectives and for different periods. In 1985, Howard J. Wechsler published his *Offerings of Jade and Silk: Ritual and Symbol in the Legitimation of the T'ang Dynasty*. He emphasized the power of ritual to legitimate a new dynasty and guide public expectations during the Tang 唐 (618-907) dynasty and pointed out the cultural and

³ While many cannot remember the lyrics to the first song and most are unaware of the lyrics to the other three, almost all are familiar with the tunes once they hear them.

theoretical debt owed to the innovations of the Jin 晉 (265-420) dynasty. In 1997, Martin Kern published his *Die Hymnen der chinesischen Staatsopfer: Literatur und Ritual in der politischen Repräsentation von der Hans-Zeit bis zu den Sechs Dynastien* (The Hymns of the Chinese State Sacrifices: Literature and Ritual in the Political Representation of the Han-Era through the Six Dynasties). He emphasized the power of the hymns to define the dynasty. Though he covered the millennium and a half from the founding of Zhou 周 (1056-256 BCE) to the founding of Tang, he focused on Western Han 西漢 (206 BCE-24 CE). In 2009, Wang Fuli 王福利 published his *Jiaomiao yanshe geci yanjiu* 郊廟燕射歌辭研究 (Study of Suburban Sacrificial, Ancestral Temple, Feasting, and Archery Hymnal Lyrics). The first volume in the series *Yuefu shiji fenlei yanjiu* 樂府詩集分類研究 (Categorical Study of *Yuefu shiji*) edited by Wu Xiangzhou 吳相洲, Wang's book might be expected to cover the sacrificial hymns from the Han 漢 (206 BCE-220 CE) through the Five Dynasties (907-960) found in the anthology of *yuefu* poetry compiled by Guo Maoqian 郭茂倩 (fl.1084-1126). Unfortunately, Wang presented a digest of the traditional accounts for only the Han dynasty sacrificial hymns. Also in 2009, Liang Haiyan 梁海燕 published his *Wuqu geci yanjiu* 舞曲歌辭研究 (Study of Ballet Tune Song Lyrics). Part of the same series, Liang's book covered the entire corpus of ballet hymns and songs found in that anthology, including the Ancestral Temple Ballet Hymns of the Wei 魏 (220-265) and Jin dynasties. Unfortunately, due to the volume of other material, Liang's contribution to the topic of sacrificial ballet hymns was still limited. Thus, there remains much room for further research in all areas of Chinese

sacrificial hymns, especially in the Wei-Jin era and in the Southern-and-Northern Dynasties that fall between Han and Tang.⁴

The **topic** of this dissertation is the “Wei-Jin Sacrificial Ballets: Reform versus Conservation.” The significance of the topic is that it may do for Wei-Jin what Kern’s book did for Han and Wechsler’s book did for Tang. This is to say that a brief review of the cosmological beliefs, sacrificial sites, sacrificial liturgies, and sacrificial hymns of the Wei-Jin period, as well as of periods that immediately preceded or followed, coupled with a close reading of the Wei-Jin Sacrificial Ballets, may expose hidden policies and affairs that led to public actions and may thereby inspire further analysis of historical material from the Wei-Jin period from a different perspective. Such analysis may then in turn enable us to better understand the dynasties that followed. I have chosen to focus on the sacrificial ballets because they were at the heart of every debate concerning the sacrificial liturgy. Their titles were the earliest recorded and they remained at the forefront throughout the imperial era. For the Wei-Jin period, poets with extant sacrificial ballet hymns comprise Wang Can 王粲 (177-217) for Wei and Fu Xuan 傅玄 (217-278), Xun Xu 荀勗 (ca.220-289), and Zhang Hua 張華 (232-300) for Jin. There were eighteen sacrificial ballet hymns divided into six series, though one series of two hymns is no longer extant. In turn, these series were divided into three sets with a total of six hymns each. The first of these sets was imperially commissioned during the Wei dynasty and the other two during the Jin dynasty, each set replacing the one before it. Why were these poets chosen? How much license did they have? What was the

⁴ See Wechsler (1985), Kern (1997), Wang Fuli (2009), Wu (2009), Liang (2009), and *YFSJ*. For Ming 明 (1368-1644) dynasty sacrifices and music, see Lam (1998). For a somewhat narrower view of Tang 唐 (618-907), Zhao-Song 趙宋 (960-1279), and Ming dynasty sacrificial systems, see Kojima (1989). For an excellent photostatic copy of a Zhao-Song edition of *Yuefu shiji* 樂府詩集 with extensive categorized indexes, as well as a study of all cited materials, see Nakatsuhama (1970).

driving force behind these changes? What was the relationship between earlier and later sets? What effect did these changes have on the liturgy and on the audience? All of these questions will be answered below.

For this dissertation I shall stipulate the following **definitions** of key terminology:⁵

Ballet (*wu* 舞): An artistic dance form performed by one or more dancers in costume with or without accompaniment of props, music, or song, using precise and highly formalized set steps and gestures that tell the story of a significant event as part of a sacrificial ceremony or as secular entertainment.⁶

Hymn (*ge* 歌): A formal song sung during a sacrificial or secular ceremony.⁷

Canticle: A short memorial hymn or chant, typically in the style of the “Song” 頌 section of *Mao shi* 毛詩, forming a regular part of a liturgical service.

Processional: A hymn or other piece of music sung or played while designated participants process into the site, or to another position within the site, at a specified point in the ceremony. Some processions may also be performed as recessions and so this term may refer to both.

Recessional: A hymn or other piece of music sung or played while designated participants process out of the site at a specified point in the ceremony.

Offertory: A hymn accompanying the offering at a sacrifice.

Covenant: A solemn agreement to engage in or refrain from a specified action.

⁵ With minor changes, definitions are based on those given in www.oxfordreference.com.

⁶ I borrow this term from Dr. Howard L. Goodman because it clearly emphasizes the separation between audience and dancers. See Goodman (2006a).

⁷ I borrow this term from Martin Kern because it emphasizes the formal nature of the piece. See Kern (1997).

Liturgy: A form according to which public worship is conducted, consisting of such segments as ballets, canticles, processions, recessions, and offertories. Due to time constraints, I shall not discuss other liturgical segments.⁸

Motif: A dominant or recurring word, phrase, or idea in a hymn.

Meter: The rhythm of a hymn determined by the number of characters in a line, with one character being monometer, two dimeter, three trimeter, four tetrameter, five pentameter, six hexameter, and seven heptameter.

Rhyme: The correspondence of sound between the endings of final characters in lines of a hymn, with like endings being grouped into different “rime categories” during the Wei-Jin period and earlier.⁹

Stanza: A group of lines forming the basic recurring metrical unit in a hymn, typically marked by a distinct break in content, rhyme pattern, or metrical pattern and usually consistent within the same hymn or within different versions of the same hymn, divided into a line, a couplet, a triplet, a quatrain, a cinquain, a sixain, a septain, an octave, a neuvain, a dizain, an onzain, a douzain, a treizain, a quatorzain, a quinzain, and a seizain.

Prelude (*yan* 豔): An introductory piece of music or the introductory part of a hymn or series of hymns.

Finale (*luan* 亂): The last part of a piece of music, especially when particularly dramatic or exciting. In written form, typically placed after all the stanzas, though if other stanzas are less frequently performed, the finale may be placed immediately after the first stanza.

⁸ For further discussion of liturgical texts, see Ebrey (1991), 6-7, 19, 21, and 35.

⁹ For further discussion of rime categories, see Ting (1975), Luo and Zhou (1958), and Li Fanggui (1980).

Refrain: A repeated line, number of lines, or pattern in a hymn, typically at the end of each stanza.

Proem: A short preamble to a hymn, typically forming an addition to the basic structure.

Coda: A short concluding passage to a hymn, typically forming an addition to the basic structure.

Extrametrical lines or phrases: Lines or phrases forming an addition to the basic structure of a hymn, typically phrased as an aside.

Fixed-form verse: A form of hymn having prescribed metrical patterns and stanza lengths, as well as possibly rhyme patterns and motifs.

The **scope** of this dissertation is limited to the earliest received versions of the Wei-Jin Sacrificial Ballets found in *Song shu* 宋書 with reference to later received versions found in the *Jin shu* 晉書, and *Yuefu shiji*. Reference will also be made to earlier sacrificial hymns, contemporary and near contemporary ritual texts, and the works of the Confucian Classics and the Philosophers, as well as to modern research. Due to time constraints, I shall not translate the Wei-Jin Sacrificial Hymns, Assembly Hymns and Ballets, Drum and Fife Hymns (*guchuige* 鼓吹歌), or other state sponsored ceremonial hymns or any hymns preceding or following the Wei-Jin period, nor shall I discuss the Han dynasty “Anshi fangzhong ge” 安世房中歌 (Hymns for the Pacification of the Age for Inside the Palace). These last hymns, while traditionally classified as Sacrificial Hymns, play a much debated

part in the sacrificial ceremony and may belong to a separate part of the liturgy from the sacrificial ballets.¹⁰

Literature on this topic is scarce. No full length treatment of this topic exists in any language and few articles cover it even in Chinese. Nonetheless, of particular note are the articles and books published in the last dozen years by Dr. Howard L. Goodman concerning Xun Xu, harmonics, and dynastic legitimation during the Wei-Jin period. Dr. Goodman continues in the fashion of Howard Wechsler, but manages to take harmonics and other aspects to a still higher level. Unfortunately, his research on the sacrificial hymns, though insightful, is still limited in volume. Also of note is the work of Liao Wei-ch'ing 廖蔚卿 in the mid-to-late '60s, in which she attempts to cover the full width and breadth of Jin through Sui 隋 (581-618) music and ballets. Her two long, ambitious articles followed the model of an earlier article by T'ai Ching-nung 臺靜農 on the music and ballets of the Han. While these articles broke more ground on the topic than ever before, their contribution was both limited and varied in accuracy due to the volume of other material covered. Kern relied at least in part on these articles for his treatment of post-Han sacrificial practices. Both Wang and Liang seemed unaware of these articles, but Liang at least came to the same general conclusions as T'ai and Liao. Thus, many basic questions still remain unanswered.¹¹

The earliest source for the extant hymns comprises *Song shu* edited by Shen Yue 沈約 (441-513). The earliest commentary on the Wei-Jin sacrifices comprises *Song shu* by

¹⁰ For further discussion of these hymns, see Kern (1997), 96-173. Although Chan Wai-leung 陳煒良 classifies these hymns and their derivatives as sacrificial ballets, I have found no primary sources or secondary material to corroborate his conjecture. See Chan (1970), 160.

¹¹ See T'ai (1950), Liao (1964), and Liao (1970). Prior to Liao Wei-ch'ing's 廖蔚卿 pioneering article, most scholars simply dismissed post-Han sacrificial hymns as unworthy of consideration for historical or literary studies. See Lu Kanru (1926), 12; and Frankel (1974), 75. For a comparison of Six Dynasties state-sponsored ceremonial hymns with the Western tradition of epic poetry, see Hung (1991).

Shen Yue, *Nan Qi shu* 南齊書 by Xiao Zixian 蕭子顯 (489-537), *Wei shu* 魏書 by Wei Shou 魏收 (506-572), *Sui shu* 隋書 by Wei Zheng 魏徵 (580-643), and *Jin shu* by Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 (578-648).¹² Of these five compilations, the earliest seem to be the most comprehensive and to have suffered the least excision and emendation.¹³

The **method** of this dissertation is a brief review of the cosmological beliefs, sacrificial sites, sacrificial liturgies, and sacrificial hymns of the Wei-Jin period, as well as of periods that immediately preceded and followed, coupled with a close reading of the Wei-Jin Sacrificial Ballets and a comparative analysis of the findings, to discover the impetus for and significance of the changes in sacrificial hymns during the Wei-Jin period. After establishing the historical precedents for changing sacrificial hymns, I shall first examine the recorded events surrounding the composition of the Wei-Jin sacrificial hymns and then analyze the extant Wei-Jin sacrificial ballets line by line to garner further details as to their lineage and intent. As nearly as possible, I shall base my translations on contemporary usage and exegesis. In an effort to avoid reinventing the wheel by another name, I shall endeavor to follow translations of terminology as used by Prof. David R. Knechtges in his *Wen xuan or Selections of Refined Literature*, by Charles O. Hucker in his *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, and by E. D. Edwards in his “A Classified Guide to the Thirteen Classes of Chinese Prose.”¹⁴ I shall transliterate rather than translate titles of well-known works, reign periods, personal names, posthumous names, temple names, and certain concepts, such as *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽. For convenience of reference, I shall cite helpful translations into Western European languages widely available to most readers. While a clever paraphrase

¹² See *SgS*, *NQS*, *WS*, *SuS*, and *JS*.

¹³ See Knechtges and Chang (2010), 451-55, 689-90; Fairbank (1994), 11-278; Rogers (1968), 15-16.

¹⁴ See *Selections*, Hucker (1985), and Edwards (1948).

may accurately convey both the meaning and the register of the original and a doggedly literal translation may require more explanation than no translation at all, I shall attempt to choose and make translations that maintain a balance of both ideals in order more easily to allow comparison of the same phrase in different settings, hence my preference for the works of such translators as Prof. Knechtges, Richard Wilhelm, and Bernhard Karlgren.¹⁵

This dissertation is **divided** into six parts. The Introduction explains the motive, definition, scope, literature, method, and division. Chapter 1 examines the cosmological beliefs, sacrificial sites, sacrificial liturgies, and sacrificial hymns of the Zhou, Qin 秦 (221-207 BCE), Western Han, Xin 新 (9-22), and Eastern Han 東漢 (25-220) dynasties. Chapter 2 examines the same for the Wei dynasty, provides translation and commentary for one extant series of sacrificial ballet hymns and for what little is known of another no longer extant series, and then analyzes their titles, use, authorship, dating, content, formal structure, and place in literary history. Chapter 3 examines the same for the Jin dynasty, provides translation and commentary for four extant series of sacrificial ballet hymns, and then analyzes the same. The Conclusion refines, reaffirms, and urges the acceptance of the findings of Chapter 1, Chapter 2, and Chapter 3 and then suggests further research. Finally, the Bibliography provides a list primarily of all works cited in the text and notes.

¹⁵ See *Selections, Dschuang Dsi, Gia Yü, Hiau Ging, I Ging, Laotse, Li Gi* (for *Da Dai li ji* 大戴禮記), *Lü Schü, Lun Yü, Mong Dsi*, “Documents,” and *Odes*. I also cite James Legge’s *Chuang-Tzu* (for passages not translated in *Dschuang Dsi*), *Li Chi* (for *Li ji* 禮記), *She King*, and *Tso Chuen*. Although Legge’s translations are often more readily available and sometimes easier to use, he tends to favor the exegesis of Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200) and later scholars making his translations less helpful for understanding earlier usage and exegesis.

1 BACKGROUND: THEORY VERSUS PRACTICE

「歌之為言也，長言之也：說之，故言之；言之不足，故長言之；長言之不足，故嗟歎之；嗟歎之不足，故不知手之舞之，足之蹈之也。」《禮記》

“As for singing’s being speech, it is that we lengthen our words: when something satisfies us, we therefore speak of it; when speaking of it proves inadequate, we therefore lengthen our words; when lengthening our words proves inadequate, we therefore sigh and sigh; and when sighing and sighing prove inadequate, we therefore unconsciously gesticulate with our hands and tap with our feet.”

*Li ji*¹

Music does have the power to make us move unconsciously, but what indeed was the music that served as the foundation for the sacrificial ceremonies, sites, music, ballets, and hymns of the Wei 魏 (220-265) and Jin 晉 (265-420) dynasties? In reviewing the sacrificial hymns that preceded the Wei-Jin period, we must consider the Wei-Jin perception of what these were rather than what these actually may have been.² For the Zhou 周 (1056-256 BCE) dynasty, we have two distinct traditional recreations of the sacrificial hymns and their pertinent ceremonies. The first recreation is that of the school of thought represented by Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-200)³ and *Li ji* 禮記. The second recreation is that of the school of thought represented by Wang Su 王肅 (195-256)⁴ and *Zhou li* 周禮.⁵ *Li ji* is a Han 漢 (206 BCE-220 CE) dynasty compilation that contains both Han and earlier documents that purport

¹ See *LJ*: 39.23a.

² For a contrast of the variance between Zhou reality and later perception, see Karlgren (1946), 199-365.

³ See *HHS*: 35.1207.

⁴ See *SGZ*: 13.414.

⁵ For discussion of these two and of the opposing schools they represented, see Wechsler (1985), 44-49; van Ess (1994); van Ess (1999); and Nylan (1994). For Zheng Xuan’s reliance on augury-*weft* (*chenwei* 讖緯) texts as a supplement to the Classics, see Lü (1977). For a different look at the divided views concerning the institutional tradition and personal belief surrounding the Western Han Ancestral Temple, see Baker (2006).

to expound the ritual practices of the Zhou dynasty.⁶ *Zhou li*, however, is a Qin 秦 (221-207 BCE) dynasty constitutional text based on a consolidation of earlier materials with an emphasis on ritual roles played by each office.⁷ Because of this distinction and for purposes of comparison, I shall consider the two works as representing the ceremonial practices of different periods, Zhou for *Li ji* and Qin for *Zhou li*. Regardless, until modern times many scholars including those of the Wei-Jin period believed *Zhou li* to be the work of the Duke of Zhou 周公 (r.1042-1036 BCE). For both periods, I shall use primarily the “Zhou song” 周頌 section of *Mao shi* 毛詩 as representative of the hymns themselves. This section comprises some of the oldest among the *Mao shi* odes, dating back as far as the beginning of the Zhou dynasty. Over the centuries, these odes gained significant symbolic meaning and many continued in use with varying degrees of modification in later dynasties. For the Han dynasty, I shall use the hymns and ceremonial practices described in *Shi ji* 史記 and *Han shu* 漢書 as representative of the Western Han 西漢 (206 BCE-24 CE) dynasty, those in *Han shu* and *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 for the Xin 新 (9-22) dynasty, and those in *Hou Han shu* for the Eastern Han 東漢 (25-220) dynasty. As necessary, I shall look to other historical texts to supplement my research. I shall also consult C. H. Wang’s 王靖獻 “The Countenance of the Chou: *Shih Ching* 266-296,” T’ai Ching-nung’s 臺靜農 “Liang Han yuewu kao” 兩漢樂舞考 (Examination of the Music and Ballets of the Two Han), Martin Kern’s *Die Hymnen der chinesischen Staatsopfer: Literatur und Ritual in der politischen Repräsentation von der Hans-Zeit bis zu den Sechs Dynastien* (The Hymns of the Chinese State Sacrifices: Literature and Ritual in the Political Representation of the Han-Era through the Six

⁶ See Knechtges and Chang (2010), 488-90; and Loewe (1993), 293-97.

⁷ See Schaberg (2010).

Dynasties), Liang Haiyan's 梁海燕 *Wuqu geci yanjiu* 舞曲歌辭研究 (Study of Ballet Tune Song Lyrics), and other modern works.

1.1 Foundation: Zhou

The Zhou dynasty sacrificial ballets and hymns played a key role throughout the centuries, both directly and indirectly, as the foundation for all later dynasties. As represented in *Li ji* and recreated by Zheng Xuan, the Zhou dynasty cosmological world comprised three categories of cosmological being: Heavenly Deities (*tianshen* 天神),⁸ Earthly Divinities (*diqi* 地祇),⁹ and Human Spirits (*rengui* 人鬼),¹⁰ with the character for the first term also serving as the generic term god (*shen* 神). Following dynasties continued to use this three-way division with few changes. The major ceremonies dedicated to these cosmological beings comprised sacrifices (*si* 祀) to deities, offerings (*ji* 祭) to divinities, and presentations (*xiang* 享)¹¹ to spirits, with the second term also serving as the generic term, though all three terms remain somewhat interchangeable. The third term also indicates a banquet with music. Initially, as music was considered a *yang* 陽 element, banquets were part of the ceremonies in the *yang* seasons, spring and summer, and dinners (*si* 食) without music were part of the ceremonies in the *yin* 陰 seasons, autumn and winter. Music, however, gradually crept into

⁸ In *Li ji* 禮記, also referred to as *qi* 氣 (aura).

⁹ In *Li ji*, written 祇 and also referred to as *jing* 精 (essence). On one occasion, it appears as *zhe* 折, which would seem to be a mistake for 祇, though I have found no-one to corroborate my assumption. See *LJ*: 46.6b.

¹⁰ In *Li ji*, also referred to as *hun* 魂 (soul) and *po* 魄 (ghost).

¹¹ In *Li ji*, also written 饗.

the ceremonies of autumn and winter as well.¹² Initially, the spring offering was called *Yue* 𤟎 (Meager),¹³ the summer offering *Di* 禘 (Meticulous), the autumn offering *Chang* 嘗 (Tasty), and the winter offering *Zheng* 烝 (Teeming), but eventually the *Yue* offering and the *Di* offering traded places at the instigation of Meng Xianzi 孟獻子 (d.542 BCE), a nobleman of the Lu 魯 state.¹⁴ In the *Yue* offering, the spirits were worshipped individually (*te* 牲), but in the other offerings the spirits were worshipped collectively (*xia* 禘). In discussions, the *Di* offering typically represented the *yang* offerings and the *Chang* offering the *yin* offerings.¹⁵ The participants in these ceremonies comprised the king, his blood relatives, his in-laws, the dukes, the feudal lords, the descendants of former dynasties, high officials, and various officiants, most notably an impersonator (*shi* 尸), upon whom the god or spirit was to descend.¹⁶

The major sacrificial sites, however, are a little more problematic in that Zheng Xuan breaks from *Li ji* to conjecture the existence of only seven major sites. *Li ji* clearly identifies nine major sacrificial sites:¹⁷ the Great Altar (*taitan* 泰壇) to August Heaven the Supreme Holy One (*huangtian shangdi* 皇天上帝)¹⁸ in the southern suburbs; the Great Barrow (*taizhe*

¹² Drinking was another *yang* element that crept into the ceremonies of autumn and winter. See *LJ*: 17.13a, 25.8a-8b, 47.1a-1b, and 49.22b.

¹³ In *Li ji*, also written *yue* 禴.

¹⁴ See *LJ*: 43.8b-9a. This perhaps indicates an increased emphasis on Five Elements theory, moving the major offering from the more *yang* position of summer to the beginning of the year. This move also puts it directly opposite its *yin* counterpart, instead of side by side.

¹⁵ See *LJ*: 12.16a-16b, 18a-18b, 21.6b-7a, 25.8a-8b, 31.10b, 43.8b-9a, 47.1a-1b, and 49.16b-17b

¹⁶ For a discussion of the dating and process of the transition from collective ceremonies to those led by officiants, see Shaughnessy (1995), 133-64

¹⁷ This perhaps indicates a greater emphasis on Heavenly Deities, associated with the number seven, than on Human Spirits, associated with the number nine.

¹⁸ This site is directly referred to only once. In this context, August Heaven the Supreme Holy One is referred to most often as Heaven, the Holy One, or the Supreme Holy One, but is referred to as August Heaven the Supreme Holy One only three times.

泰折) to Lord Earth (*houtu* 后土)¹⁹ in the northern suburbs; the Four Suburban Altars (*sijiaotan* 四郊[壇])²⁰ to the Five Holy Ones (*wudi* 五帝): Taihao 大皞,²¹ Yandi 炎帝,²² Huangdi 黃帝, Shaohao 少皞, and Zhuanyu 顓頊;²³ the Great Shrine (*taishe* 大社) to the Soil God (*sheshen* 社神) and the Millet God (*jishen* 稷神) to the southwest of the palace; the Royal Shrine (*wangshe* 王社) to the Soil God in the southern suburbs; and the Ancestral Temple (*zongmiao* 宗廟) to the royal ancestors to the southeast of the palace.²⁴ Confusion arises in that six out of nine of these sites are in the suburbs and in that five of these sites are dedicated to various Holy Ones, so that a discussion about suburban sacrifices or Holy Ones could refer to a variety of sites.²⁵ The matter is further complicated by Zheng Xuan's conjectures about a passage in *Li ji* discussing sacrificial sites dedicated to deities, divinities, and spirits. The passage begins with four terms juxtaposed with royal ancestors, transitions to sacrifices and sites dedicated to deities and divinities, and then returns to the same four terms juxtaposed with royal ancestors. The following passage goes on to discuss the appropriate number of generations of ancestors to receive offerings. The problem lies in the identification of the four terms: the *Di* offering juxtaposed with Diku 帝嚳 (legendary)²⁶ the tutelary Holy One from whom the Zhou dynasty claimed descent, Suburban juxtaposed with

¹⁹ This site is directly referred to only once. In this context, Lord Earth is referred to most often as Earth (*di* 地), but is referred to as Lord Earth only once.

²⁰ These sites are referred to most often simply as Suburban, but also as Southern Suburban (*nanjiao* 南郊) and so on.

²¹ More commonly known as Fuxi 伏羲.

²² Not to be confused with Shennong 神農. See Karlgren (1946), 212-18.

²³ In this context, the Five Holy Ones are referred to most often simply as Holy One, but also by their specific names. For this list, see *LJ*: 14.1a-17.26a. Wang Su 王肅 (195-256) also followed this list. See *KZJY*: 5.56-6.60.

²⁴ See *LJ*:46.12a, subcommentary, and 49.3b.

²⁵ There is a new book on the suburban sacrificial system: Xu Yinghua 徐迎花, *Han Wei zhi Nanbeichao shiqi jiaosi zhidu yanjiu* 漢魏至南北朝時期郊祀制度研究 (Harbin: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe, 2009). Unfortunately, I have not had access to it.

²⁶ One of an alternate list of Five Holy Ones. See below.

Lord Millet (*houji* 后稷) the Zhou ancestor who was first enfeoffed, Progenitor (*zu* 祖) juxtaposed with King Wen 文王 (r.1056-1050 BCE) the Zhou ancestor who first rose up against the Shang 商 (tr. sixteenth to eleventh century BCE) dynasty, and Predecessor (*zong* 宗) juxtaposed with King Wu 武王 (r.1049-1043 BCE) the Zhou ancestor who overthrew the Shang dynasty.²⁷

Zheng Xuan conjectured that based on the appearance of the single term Suburban in the list, all four terms must indicate sacrifices directed to deities with the four ancestors as coadjutors (*pei* 配) and that these sacrifices must be arranged according to primacy. He claimed that the *Di* offering must be the sacrifice at the Great Altar to August Heaven with Diku as coadjutor, that Suburban must be the sacrifice at the Southern Suburban Altar (*nanjiao* 南郊) to the Supreme Holy One with Lord Millet as coadjutor, that Progenitor must be the sacrifice at the Hall of Brilliance (*mingtang* 明堂)²⁸ to the Five Holy Ones with King Wen as coadjutor, and that Predecessor must be the sacrifice at the Hall of Brilliance to the Five Gods (*wushen* 五神): Goumang 句芒, Zhurong 祝融, Houtu 后土,²⁹ Rushou 蓐收, and Xuanming 玄冥, with King Wu as coadjutor. In order to make these claims, he had to make six assumptions: (1) that Diku cannot be a tutelary Holy One in that he is not part of the list of Five Holy Ones found earlier in *Li ji*, (2) that the *Di* offering must indicate two significantly different sacrifices, one at the Great Altar and one at the Ancestral Temple, (3) that August Heaven must be equivalent to his concept of the Six Heavens: the Supreme Holy One and the Five Holy Ones, hence the lack of distinction among them, (4) that August

²⁷ See *LJ*: 46.1a-7a. For these terms, see also *XJ*: 5.1a-2a, and *GY*: 4.165-71.

²⁸ For a good overview of the Hall of Brilliance, see Wechsler (1985), 195-211.

²⁹ This Houtu is Li 黎 as opposed to Goumang or Lord Earth. See *LJ*: 46.1a-7a.

Heaven must have greater prestige as the all-encompassing concept, (5) that the Five Holy Ones must receive sacrifices at the Hall of Brilliance per his own beliefs, instead of at the Four Suburban Altars, and (6) that the Hall of Brilliance must be somehow distinct from the Ancestral Temple per his own beliefs.³⁰ Most of these assumptions run counter to what appears elsewhere in *Li ji*. Instead, Zheng Xuan had to rely on other texts or upon conjecture to back these assumptions.³¹

From the context of *Li ji*, these four terms ought to focus instead on sacrifices at the Ancestral Temple. First, the passage begins and ends with these four sacrifices to the royal ancestors, it lists the sacrificial ceremonies and sites for deities and divinities, briefly discusses the distinctions among deities, divinities, and spirits, and is followed by further discussion on ancestor worship, but it does not directly mention the Ancestral Temple. Thus, these four sacrifices ought in some way to be connected to the Ancestral Temple. Second, the *Di* offering in most cases clearly refers to the collective seasonal offering at the Ancestral Temple and in no cases refers directly to the worship of deities, and a series of parallel passages using the graphically similar character for Holy One (*di* 帝) simply indicate which of the Five Holy Ones acts as tutelary Holy One for any given month.³² Thus, this usage of the *Di* offering ought to indicate the tutelary Holy One for use in the Ancestral Temple.

³⁰ See *LJ*: 46.1a-7a. For a discussion of Western Zhou religious architecture, see Xu and Wang (2003), 176-81; and Liu Xujie (2002a), 26-30.

³¹ For (1), see *LJ*: 14.1a-17.26a and Zheng Xuan's commentary to other classics. He consistently provides this list. (2) is self-explanatory. For (3) and (4), see *LJ*: 46.1a-7a, commentary. For (5) and (6), see *LJ*: 34.1a, commentary.

³² For the *Di* offering as a seasonal offering, see *LJ*: 12.16a-16b, 12.18a-18b, 18.19a-19b, 18.24b, 25.9a, 31.6b-7a, 36.5a-5b, 43.8b-9a, 47.1a-1b, 49.16b-17b, 49.22b-23a, 50.17a, and 52.16b-17a. For the *Di* offering as indicative of tutelary Holy One, see *LJ*: 21.18b, 32.7a, 32.12a, 34.1a-2a, and 46.1a-7a. Taking Diku as the coadjutor to Heaven also conflicts with the Old Text "Lesser Preface" to Ode 245 "Sheng min" 生民 and Ode 275 "Si wen" 思文, where Lord Millet is the coadjutor to Heaven. As well, the "Lesser Preface" to Ode 282 "Yong" 雝 and Ode 304 "Chang fa" 長發 has the Great Progenitor paired with the *Di* offering, seeming to indicate that the First Progenitor and the Great Progenitor shared in the sacrifice. See *MS*: 17-1.1a, 19-2.11a, 19-3.9a, and 20-4.1a. Finally, we may note that the meaning of the *Di* offering was already hazy by the time of Confucius. See *LY*: 3.6b-7a.

Third, as mentioned above, the term Suburban is too vague to assign specifically to the Supreme Holy One in all cases, especially considering that Lord Millet most often acted as the coadjutor to both Heaven and the Supreme Holy One and that there is no clear evidence that Diku ever acted as the coadjutor to any other god.³³ Thus, context ought to determine which site was in question. Fourth, although in *Li ji* the terms Progenitor and Predecessor do not clearly indicate the second and third temples of the Three Progenitors (*san zu* 三祖), which together with that of the nominal founder of the dynasty, usually make up the permanent ancestral temples, the temples of King Wen and King Wu clearly appear to be permanent. Moreover, their temples were commonly discussed as Progenitor or Wen and Predecessor or Wu prior to and during Zheng Xuan's time.³⁴ Thus, these terms ought to indicate sacrifices to these kings in their temples. Fifth, the term Progenitor also appears in *Li ji* as an alternate name for Attachment (*fu* 祔), the sixth of the seven Funeral Rites (*sang li* 喪禮), in which the deceased shares in a presentation in the courtyard of the Great Progenitor (*taizu* 太祖), King Wen, prior to interment (*zang* 葬).³⁵ Thus, this term ought to indicate sacrifices to King Wen in his temple.

Concerning the Hall of Brilliance, although it is discussed in *Li ji*, it is identified as equivalent to the Great Temple (*tai miao* 大廟), which is usually the temple of the Great Progenitor. From the central role that Lord Millet plays in the ancestral sacrifices, one might assume that Lord Millet would receive this designation. Nonetheless, while Wang Su's system does give this title to Lord Millet, Zheng Xuan's system gives it to King Wen and

³³ For Suburban as a sacrifice to Heaven, see *LJ*: 26.1a-7a, and *MS*: 19-2.1a. For Suburban as a sacrifice to the Holy One see, *LJ*: 22.17a, 24.7a-7b, 24.16a, 25.1a-1b, 26.1a-7a, and 31.5b. For Suburban as a sacrifice to the Supreme Holy One, see *LJ*: 52.16b-17a. For Lord Millet as coadjutor to Heaven, see *MS*: 17-1.1a, and 19-2.11a. For Lord Millet as coadjutor to the Holy One, see *LJ*: 26.6b, 31.5b, and *GYZ*: 15.7a-7b.

³⁴ See *SJ*: 10.436, *HS*: 5.137, 48.2231, and 73.3120.

³⁵ See *LJ*: 7.19a-19b, 7.23b, and 51.20a.

makes Lord Millet the First Progenitor (*shizu* 始祖); both traditions, however, usually make Lord Millet the occupant of the Great Temple with King Wen and King Wu as occupants of the two other permanent temples. Eventually, such titles developed into temple names (*miaohao* 廟號), Taizu, Taizong, and the like, and were used much like posthumous names (*shihao* 諡號), King Wen, King Wu, and so on. Confusion also arises in that the term Great Temple refers to the Ancestral Temple complex or to just the most important compound where important affairs of the ancestral cult were conducted, a sort of sanctum sanctorum. Similarly, the term Hall of Brilliance refers to both the Great Temple as the Ancestral Temple complex or to the second most important compound where important affairs of state were conducted.³⁶ Along with these three major sites, the Great Altar, the Southern Suburban Altar, the Ancestral Temple-Hall of Brilliance complex, Zheng Xuan also kept the Great Barrow, the Great Shrine, and the Royal Shrine, and added a Northern Suburban Altar (*beijiao* 北郊) to Earth for a total of seven.³⁷ Despite its possible inaccuracies, we shall use this system to represent the major sacrificial sites of the Zhou dynasty.

Zheng Xuan stays closer to *Li ji* for his recreation of the sacrificial music, ballets, and hymns that played a major role in the sacrificial ceremonies. For convenience of discussion and due to limited information,³⁸ I shall address the music along with the ballets and hymns it

³⁶ For Lord Millet as Great Progenitor, see *KZJY*: 3.26, and *GY*: 3.138. For Lord Millet as First Progenitor and King Wen as Great Progenitor, see *MS*: 19-3.9a, commentary; *ZL*: 20.13b, commentary. For the Great Temple as the temple of the First Progenitor, see *LJ*: 49.5b, commentary. For the Great Temple as the temple of the Great Progenitor, see *LJ*: 20.20b, commentary. For the Great Temple as the Hall of Brilliance, see *LJ*: 31.10b. For the Hall of Brilliance as secondary, see *ZuZ*: 18.10b, commentary. For King Wen as secondary, see *ZL*: 17.6a, commentary; 21.16b, commentary; *LJ*: 31.15b, commentary. For Lord Millet as secondary, see *ZL*: 20.13b, commentary; *LJ*: 39.14a, commentary.

³⁷ For the Northern Suburban Altar to Earth, see *ZL*: 13.1a, commentary; 20.20a, commentary; 22.13b, commentary.

³⁸ See Goodman and Lien (2009), Goodman (2006b), von Falkenhausen (1993), Hsueh (1983), Hsueh (1981), and Kaufmann (1976). For Tang 唐 (618-907) dynasty sacrificial music, see Yang (1993), Liang and Huang (1973), Kishibe (196), and Picken (1959).

accompanied, the ballets I shall divide between Grand Music (*dayue* 大樂) and the Music of the Four Tribes (*Si Yi zhi yue* 四夷之樂),³⁹ the hymns I shall divide among the Nine Processionals (*jiu xia* 九夏), Suburban Sacrificial Hymns (*jiaosi ge* 郊祀歌), Soil and Millet Hymns (*sheji ge* 社稷歌), and Ancestral Temple Hymns (*zongmiao ge* 宗廟歌), and finally I shall combine the three in a discussion of Liturgy (*jisi yishi* 祭祀儀式).

1.1.1 Grand Music

Li ji mentions the term Grand Music only twice,⁴⁰ but the context makes it clear that this term refers to the music of major sacrifices. Zheng Xuan makes it still clearer in his commentary by listing the music of the Four Eras (*sidai* 四代) in apparent example: “Grand Display” (*dazhang* 大章) of Yao 堯 (legendary), “Grand Succession” (*dashao* 大韶) of Shun 舜 (legendary), “Grand Capaciousness” (*daxia* 大夏) of Yu 禹 (legendary), “Grand Preservation” (*dahu* 大濩)⁴¹ of Tang 湯 (tr. sixteenth century BCE), and “Grand Martial Deeds” (*dawu* 大武) of King Wu. According to legend, Yao’s ancestor Huangdi won the empire by force and passed it down to Yao, Yao gave the empire to Shun, Shun gave the empire to Yu, Yu’s descendants lost the empire to Tang, and Tang’s descendants lost the empire to King Wu.

³⁹ This title could also be rendered “The Music of the Peoples of the Four Directions,” which might seem unwieldy. The term tribe, however, is also problematic in that the word *yi* 夷 has many meanings, including both “tribal” and “common,” such that the phrase *yiren* 夷人 can mean either “tribal person” or “common person.” Thus, the term *yi yue* 夷樂 also has overtones of being “common music.” The situation is further complicated by associations with *chusheng* 楚聲 (Chu Melodies), *zhengwei zhi sheng* 鄭衛之聲 (Melodies of Zheng and Wei), and *xinsheng* 新聲 (New Melodies), giving the term *yi yue* 夷樂 a sometimes pejorative taint. See Kaufmann (1976), 74.

⁴⁰ See *LJ*: 37.12b-13b, and 37.13b-15b.

⁴¹ Also written *dahu* 大濩 in later documents.

Each dynasty had its own Grand Music describing the virtue of its founder.⁴² *Li ji* and Zheng Xuan, however, count Yao and Shun as the same era, the Four Eras serve as the foundation for the standardization of rites throughout *Li ji*. In a later passage in the same record, *Li ji* gives basically the same list of titles, but inserts the title “Universal Bestowal” (*xianchi* 咸池) between the first and second titles, in which *chi* 池 (pool) is a loan word for *shi* 施 (granted). Despite the order, Zheng Xuan attributes this title as the music of Huangdi.⁴³ These six titles make up the list of music of what *Li ji* and Zheng Xuan call the Five Eras (*wudai* 五代).⁴⁴ Each title refers to both the music and an accompanying ballet. Presumably due to the nature through which each founder acquired the empire, Zheng Xuan divided these titles into two groups: Martial Ballets (*wuwu* 武舞), wielding shields (*gan* 干) and long-axes (*qi* 戚)⁴⁵ and consisting of “Universal Bestowal,” “Grand Display,” “Grand Preservation,” and “Grand Martial Deeds;” and Civil Ballets (*wenwu* 文舞), wielding feathers (*yu* 羽) and flutes (*yue* 籥)⁴⁶ and consisting of “Grand Succession” and “Grand Capaciousness.” Zheng Xuan seems to be responsible for both coining and popularizing these terms.⁴⁷ In the Zhou sacrifices as portrayed in *Li ji*, however, only two of these ballets came to play: “Grand Martial Deeds” and “Grand Capaciousness,” but they were

⁴² For more information on these legends, see Karlgren (1946), 278-83, 289-311, and 326-41.

⁴³ See *LJ*: 36.2a-3b.

⁴⁴ See *LJ*: 46.1a-3b. See also *DDLJ*: 11.1226. For a discussion of this list, see Kern (1997), 33-38.

⁴⁵ See *LJ*: 37.1b-3a, commentary. Martial Ballets also wielded dagger-axes (*ge* 戈). See *LJ*: 20.4b-5a, commentary.

⁴⁶ See *LJ*: 49.22a-23b, commentary. Civil Ballets also wielded oxtails (*mao* 旄). See *LJ*: 37.1b-3a, commentary. For *yue* 籥, see Kaufmann (1976), 169; and Hsueh (1983), 321-24. For the many meanings and implications of *wen* 文, see Kern (2001).

⁴⁷ For Civil Ballet, see *ZL*: 24.6a-6b, *LJ*: 37.1b-3a, 49.22a-23b, and 50.20a-23b. For Civil Music (*wenyue* 文樂), see *MS*: 13-2.2a-4a. For Martial Ballet, see *LJ*: 37.1b-3a, 38.13b-15a, 39.9b-10a, and 50.20a-23b. For Martial Music (*wuyue* 武樂), see *LJ*: 39.10a-10b, and 39.11b-13b. He Xiu 何休 (129-182) used the terms Civil Music and Martial Music, but these never became quite as popular. See *GYZ*: 3.4b-5b, and 15.18a-18b. For an abbreviated account of ballets in these groups, see Liang (2009), 44-49.

supplemented by another Zhou dynasty Martial Ballet, “Mime” (*xiang* 象), and another Zhou dynasty Civil Ballet, “Consideration” (*zhuo* 勺),⁴⁸ to make a pair of each, Martial and Civil, “Grand Martial Deeds” with “Grand Capaciousness” and “Mime” with “Consideration.” Additionally, though not a ballet, Ode 266 “Qing Miao” 清廟 (Clear Temple) also often appears as a canticle in prelude to “Mime” and “Consideration” during these sacrifices.⁴⁹ These four ballets and Ode 266 “Qing miao” comprised part of the young gentleman’s basic education, the ode and “Consideration” at thirteen, “Mime” at fifteen, and the other ballets at twenty.⁵⁰ Performances during sacrifices were designed to impress the audience with the magnificence of the ceremony, including Four Racks (*sixuan* 四縣) of instruments, one per side, holding bells (*zhong* 鍾), lithophones (*qing* 磬), large-bells (*bo* 罇), and drums (*gu* 鼓), and accompanied by other instruments.⁵¹ So, too, the ballets were performed by Eight Rows and Columns (*bayi* 八佾) for a total of 64 dancers. To preserve the dignity of this display, the Four Racks and Eight Rows and Columns were also designated a royal prerogative, as were these four ballets.⁵² Although *Li ji* does not state that these ballets had associated hymns, it does seem to imply so for “Grand Martial Deeds.” Since other sources make

⁴⁸ This character is normally pronounced *shao*, but here the pronunciation is stipulated as *zhuo*. See *LJ*: 28.20a-21a, commentary.

⁴⁹ For “Grand Martial Deeds” with “Grand Capaciousness,” see *LJ*: 31.6b-7a, 49.22b-23b, and 50.20a-20b. For “Mime” with “Consideration,” see *LJ*: 28.20b, 31.6b-7a, 49.22b-23b, and 50.20a-20b. For Ode 266 “Qing Miao” with “Mime” and “Consideration,” see *LJ*: 20.26b-27b, 28.20b, 31.6b-7a, 49.22b-23b, and 50.20a-20b.

⁵⁰ Ages given are according to Chinese usage, counting a child as one year old upon birth and adding another year with the passage of each New Year rather than waiting for the birthday proper. The *Li ji* list of subjects studied mentions simply *Shi* 詩 (Odes), but Ode 266 “Qing miao” may be understood from context in light of other usage of the same list in *Li ji*. The same list does not mention “Grand Martial Deeds,” but this too may be understood from context. *Li ji* refers to the students simply as sons (*zi* 子) of a certain age, but *Zhou li* more specifically to Scions of State (*guozi* 國子), sons of feudal lords and high-ranking officials, who among other duties performed the ballets for major sacrifices, leaving minor sacrificial ballets and secular ballets to be performed by professional dancers. See *LJ*: 28.20b. See also, *ZL*: 22.8b-9a.

⁵¹ See Kaufmann (1976), 71-91, 101-11, 115-16, and 125-32; and Hsueh (1983), 1-39, and 146-89.

⁵² For Four Racks, see *ZL*: 23.8b-9b, *LJ*: 25.15a-17a, 44.1a-2a, and *ZuZ*: 25.7a-7b. For Eight Rows and Eight Columns, see *ZuZ*: 3.26a, and *GYZ*: 3.3b. For a discussion of both, see Kern (1997), 27-30. For detailed discussion of the instruments and the music, see Kaufmann (1976), Hsueh (1981), Hsueh (1983), and von Falkenhausen (1993).

similar implications, commentators have spilt much ink on matching ballets with associated hymns as I shall discuss below.

1.1.1.1 Martial Ballets

The Martial Ballets comprised “Grand Martial Deeds” and “Mime.”

“Grand Martial Deeds”

According to traditional belief, “Grand Martial Deeds” was performed during offerings to the royal ancestors at the Ancestral Temple.⁵³ The dancers wore ceremonial caps (*mian* 冕) with a board on top extending front and back having strands of beads hanging from both ends.⁵⁴ They also wielded vermilion shields (*zhugan* 朱干) and long-axes decorated with jade (*yuqi* 玉戚).⁵⁵ The musicians played woodwinds (*guan* 管)⁵⁶ in the higher pitch-standard 11 (*wuyi* 無射), while the singers sang in the lower pitch-standard 4 (*jiazhong* 夾鐘).⁵⁷ The lyrics described how King Wu in service of all under Heaven had overthrown the Shang dynasty with only ten thousand soldiers.⁵⁸ *Li ji* tells us that Part One covers the forming of the image (*xiang cheng* 象成)⁵⁹ and the initial push north (*bei chu* 北出), Part Two the assembly of

⁵³ See *ZL*: 22.15a, *LJ*: 20.26b-30b, 25.15a-17a, 31.6b-9b, 49.22b-23b, and Table 1.3 below.

⁵⁴ See *LJ*: 25.15a-17a.

⁵⁵ See *LJ*: 25.15a-17a, 49.22a-23b.

⁵⁶ See Kaufmann (1976), 132-35; and Hsueh (1983), 425-37.

⁵⁷ See *ZL*: 22.15a, and *LJ*: 50.20a-20b. For a discussion of the twelve traditional pitch-standards that divide an octave, see Goodman (2010), 219-22; Goodman and Lien (2009); von Falkenhausen (1993), 287-91; and Kaufmann (1976), 139-50.

⁵⁸ See *LJ*: 37.13b-15b and commentary, *GYZ*: 15.18a and commentary.

⁵⁹ This odd phrase calls to mind two that appear earlier in *Li ji*: “In the heavens images form” (*zai tian cheng xiang* 在天成象), quoted from *Zhou yi* 周易, and “An obedient aura forms an image and harmonious music

arms (*zong gan* 總干) and the defeat of Shang (*mie Shang* 滅商), Part Three the regrouping of forces (*shan li* 山立) and the return south (*nan* 南), Part Four further development (*fayang* 發揚) and the establishment of the southern border (*nanguo shi jiang* 南國是疆), Part Five abiding by discipline (*daoli* 蹈厲) and the stationing of the Duke of Zhou in the west and the Duke of Shao 召公 (eleventh century BCE) in the east (*fen Zhougong zuo, Shaogong you* 周公左、召公右), and Part Six the Finale (*luan* 亂) and the return home in fulfillment (*fu chuo yi chong* 復綴以崇).⁶⁰ The “Xiao xu” 小序 (Lesser Preface) that precedes each ode in *Mao shi* identifies Ode 285 “Wu” 武 (Martial Deeds) as the hymn to be sung during the performance of “Grand Martial Deeds.”⁶¹ *Zuo zhuan* 左傳 identifies Part One or Part Two as Ode 285 “Wu,” Part Three as Ode 295 “Lai” 賚 (Give), and Part Six as Ode 294 “Huan” 桓 (Warlike).⁶² Ode 285 “Wu” describes the victory over Yin 殷,⁶³ another name for the Shang dynasty, so this ode fits with the description for Part Two. The “Xiao xu” identifies Ode 296 “Pan” 般 (Blithe) as a hymn performed during sacrifices following a tour of inspection,⁶⁴ such an occasion as described in Part Five. In his commentary to a different passage in *Li ji*, Zheng Xuan seems to identify “Wu Spent the Night” (*wu suye* 武宿夜) as the most important part.⁶⁵ He elsewhere identifies “Wan Ballet” (*wanwu* 萬舞) as “Grand Martial Deeds,”

arises therefrom” (*shunqi cheng xiang, er heyue xing yan* 順氣成象，而和樂興焉). See *LJ*: 37.20a-20b, 38.9b-10a, and *ZY*: 7.2b.

⁶⁰ See *LJ*: 39.9b-11b, *ZuZ*: 23.20a-21b.

⁶¹ See *MS*: 19-3.16a-16b.

⁶² See *ZuZ*: 23.20a-21b, and *MS*: 19-4.17b-20b.

⁶³ See *MS*: 19-3.16a-16b.

⁶⁴ See *MS*: 19-4.20b-23b.

⁶⁵ See *LJ*: 49.7a-7b.

though this title seems to predate King Wu.⁶⁶ Although some modern scholars have identified odes that might correspond to the two missing parts, other more conservative scholars list only the three specifically identified in *Zuo zhuan*.⁶⁷ All four odes listed here sing the praises of King Wu's martial deeds in rather formal language. They share a similar length of seven, six, seven, and nine lines respectively. The first and third odes comprise single stanzas in pure tetrameter and the other two make use of common tetrameter variants, the second having two stanzas each beginning with a single line of pentameter⁶⁸ and the fourth having a single stanza beginning with a couplet in trimeter. The first three odes have no discernible rhyme pattern and the fourth ode a minimal rhyme pattern, rhyming the fourth line with the sixth line and the fifth with the ninth.⁶⁹ Thus, their correspondence with the parts described in *Li ji*, their identification in *Zuo zhuan*, and their similarity in style, meter, rhyme, and length make a strong case for identifying these odes with the “Grand Martial Deeds” suite.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ See *LJ*: 25.15a-17a. For further discussion of this title, see *Songs*: 338-40; *MS*: 2-3.1b-3b subcommentary; and *GYZ*: 15.18a subcommentary.

⁶⁷ Fu Sinian 傅斯年 and C. H. Wang 王靖獻 identify Odes 271, 285, 293, 294, 295, and 296 as the six parts of “Grand Martial Deeds” due to varying correspondence with the description of the parts and similarity in style, meter, rhyme, and length. See Fu Sinian (1928), 95-117; and C. H. Wang (1974), 425-49. Edward L. Shaughnessy, however, takes the more conservative view and identifies only the three listed here. See Shaughnessy (1995), 133-64.

⁶⁸ Although ending in shorter lines is an unusual metrical pattern, this stanza ends in a line of trimeter. It also has another line of pentameter in the middle, possibly indicating a pattern.

⁶⁹ With few exceptions, rhyme patterns are based on reconstructions indicated in *Odes*, though my division into stanzas varies from Karlgren's based on content, rhyme, and meter. Due to limitations in time, I shall consider only end rhyme in this chapter. See *MS*: 19-3.16a-17b, 19-4.17b-23b; Karlgren (1950), 248, 252-53; and Table 1.1 below.

⁷⁰ Nonetheless, “Xiao xu” and Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574-648) objected to this identification with the exception of 285 “Wu.” See *MS*: 19-1.7a-8a, 19-3.16a-16b, 19-4.17b-18a, and 19-4.19b-20a.

“Mime”

“Mime” was performed during offerings to the royal ancestors at the Ancestral Temple.⁷¹ The dancers wielded shields and long-axes. The musicians played woodwinds.⁷² Zheng Xuan tells us that the ballet mimed King Wen’s techniques for smiting the enemy.⁷³ *Zuo zhuan* calls this ballet “Mimed Clubbing” (*xiangshao* 象箚)⁷⁴ and other sources call it “Martial Mime” (*wuxiang* 武象).⁷⁵ The “Xiao xu” identifies Ode 268 “Wei qing” 維清 (Indeed Clear) as the hymn to be sung during the performance of this ballet.⁷⁶ The lyrics of this ode do indeed mention King Wen, but as establishing statutes rather than as smiting enemies. Although at five lines this ode is slightly shorter than the previously discussed odes, it maintains a modified tetrameter and a simple rhyme pattern in two rime categories in a

⁷¹ See *LJ*: 20.26b-30b, 25.15a-17a, 31.6b-9b, and 49.22b-23b.

⁷² See *LJ*: 20.26b-28a, 31.6b-7b, 49.22b-23a, and 50.20a-20b.

⁷³ See *MS*: 19-1.13b-15a, and *LJ*: 49.22a-23b. For a discussion of this ode as descriptive of King Wu, see the *Mao shi* 毛詩 subcommentary.

⁷⁴ See *ZuZ*: 39.8b-20b. As pointed out by Kong Yingda in his subcommentary to this passage, Du Yu’s 杜預 (222-284) explanation of *shao* 箚 matches the use of *shao* 搯 (club) in Sima Xiangru’s 司馬相如 (c.179-127 BCE) “Shang lin fu” 上林賦, *WX*: 8.373: “shao fenghuang” 搯鳳凰, for which *Selections*: 2:103, has “Clubs the phoenix.”

⁷⁵ See *LJ*: 49.22a-23b, commentary, *SJ*: 87.2544, 117.3038, and *SgS*: 19.535-36. Late Wei dynasty usage recorded in *Song shu* clearly indicates that the two ballets “Martial Mime” and “Grand Martial Deeds” celebrate the achievements of King Wen and King Wu. The Qin and Han usages recorded in *Shi ji* are more problematic. In the first case, the two characters could indicate one ballet, balancing two binomes Zheng and Wei 鄭衛 (two states commonly appearing together) and Sangjian 桑間 (a city in the state of Wei) with “Succession of Yu” 昭虞 and “Martial Mime,” taking “Succession of Yu” as a variant of “Yu’s Succession” 虞韶 found in *HS*: 100a.4223. In the second case, they could indicate two ballets, balancing four single characters Jing 荆, Wu 吳, Zheng 鄭, and Wei 衛 (all state names) with four single characters “Succession” 韶, “Preservation” 濩, “Martial Deeds,” and “Mime” (all ballet names), as indicated by the Zhonghua editors and by the late Han / early Wei commentary to the same passage recorded in *Wen xuan*. See *WX*: 8.375, and *Selections*: 2:107. While the first two ballets could be taken as one ballet “Successive Preservation” 韶濩 as in *ZuZ*: 39.8b-20b, doing so would take away from the balance of the passage. Zheng Xuan’s own usage of “Martial Mime” could also be interpreted as predicative instead of nominative, but doing so also creates further problems. The key point in this study is the usage of this binome during the Wei-Jin period.

⁷⁶ See *MS*: 19-1.13b-15a, and Fu Sinian (1928), 95-117.

single stanza, rhyming on every line except the first. It also relies heavily on assonance.⁷⁷

Thus, this ode also fits the pattern for one that would accompany a ballet.

1.1.1.2 Civil Ballets

The Civil Ballets comprised “Consideration” and “Grand Capaciousness.”

“Consideration”

“Consideration” was performed during offerings to the royal ancestors at the Ancestral Temple.⁷⁸ The dancers wielded feathers and flutes. The musicians played flutes. *Li ji* more often refers to this ballet as “Flute” (*yue* 籥) and *Zuo zhuan* calls this ballet “Southern Flute” (*nanyue* 南籥).⁷⁹ The “Xiao xu” does not directly identify the hymn to be sung during the performance of this ballet, but it identifies Ode 293 “Zhuo” 酌 (Consideration) as the hymn to be sung to announce the completion of “Grand Martial Deeds.”⁸⁰ While the interchange of *zhuo* 勺 and *zhuo* 酌 with *yue* 籥 may seem odd in modern Mandarin, their Old Chinese pronunciations were *djakw 勺, *tjakw 酌, and *rakw 籥.⁸¹ The lyrics of this ode do not directly reveal the king whom it honors. Zheng Xuan states that this ode concerns King Wen,

⁷⁷ See *MS*: 19-1.13b-16a; Karlgren (1950), 240; and Table 1.1 below.

⁷⁸ See *LJ*: 10.5a-5b, 20.4b-7b, and 50.20a-20b.

⁷⁹ See *LJ*: 10.5a-5b, 20.4b-7b, 50.20a-20b, and *ZuZ*: 39.8b-20b. See also *GYZ*: 15.18a. The first term was also used for Civil Ballets in general as I shall discuss below.

⁸⁰ See *MS*: 19-4.15a-16a.

⁸¹ The asterisk (*) indicates a reconstructed pronunciation. These are my own reconstructions based on Li Fangui’s 李方桂 system. See Li (1971) and Li (1980).

whereas Mao Heng 毛亨 (third century BCE) states that this ode concerns King Wu.⁸² The style of this ode also follows the established patterns for a hymn accompanying a ballet, two unrhymed stanzas four lines each, the first in pure tetrameter and the second in a common variant alternating tetrameter with slightly longer lines.⁸³

“Grand Capaciousness”

“Grand Capaciousness” was performed during offerings to the royal ancestors at the Ancestral Temple and during offerings to major mountains and streams, spring and autumn offerings for good weather, and winter offerings to the Progenitor of Tillage (*tianzu* 田祖)⁸⁴ at the Suburban Altars.⁸⁵ The dancers went shirtless (*xi* 裋) and wore raw silk pleated lower garments (*suji* 素積) and white deerskin hats (*pibian* 皮弁) with a broad band connected to a button in the center by strands of beads.⁸⁶ They wielded feathers and flutes.⁸⁷ The musicians played flutes in the lower pitch-standard 7 (*ruibin* 蕤賓), while the singers sang in the higher pitch-standard 8 (*jiazhong* 林鐘).⁸⁸ The lyrics described the works of Yu.⁸⁹ Although *Li ji* and the “Xiao xu” provide no clues to the hymn to be sung during the performance of this ballet, *Zhou li* discusses a “Bin Flute” (*binyue* 鬲簫) piece, accompanied by flutes and clay

⁸² See *MS*: 19-4.16a-17a, tradition and commentary. See also *MS*: 19-4.15a-16a, subcommentary. Fu Sinian and C. H. Wang take this ode as part three of the six-part “Grand Martial Deeds” suite. See Fu Sinian (1928), 95-117; and C. H. Wang (1974), 425-49.

⁸³ See *MS*: 19-4.15a-17a; Karlgren (1950), 252; and Table 1.1 below.

⁸⁴ Another name for Shennong.

⁸⁵ See *ZL*: 22.15a, *LJ*: 28.20b-21a, 31.6b-7b, 49.22b-23b, 50.20a-20b, and Table 1.3 below.

⁸⁶ See *LJ*: 31.6b-7b. *GYZ*: 24.7a-7b reverses the props with “Grand Martial Deeds,” but this seems a likely corruption of the text.

⁸⁷ See *LJ*: 49.22a-23b, commentary.

⁸⁸ See *ZL*: 22.15a, and Goodman (2010), 219-22; von Falkenhausen (1993), 287-91; and Kaufmann (1976), 139-50.

⁸⁹ See *ZL*: 22.8b-9a, commentary.

drums (*tugu* 土鼓)⁹⁰ and performed during the Salted Meat (*la* 腊) sacrifice in winter and during offerings for fair weather in spring and autumn.⁹¹ Zheng Xuan identifies this piece of music as Ode 154 “Qi yue” 七月 (Seventh Month).⁹² The “Xiao xu” indicates that this ode describes the transformational influence of the Zhou ancestors at Bin, which happens to coincide with the founding of Yu’s Xia dynasty.⁹³ Flutes were the musical instrument of Civil Ballets; flutes and clay drums were musical instruments from Yao at the beginning of the Four Eras;⁹⁴ the Salted Meat sacrifice was offered to the royal ancestors at the Ancestral Temple, as well as to various gods at different locations;⁹⁵ offerings for fair weather went to the divinities of mountains and streams, as well as to Heavenly Deities;⁹⁶ and this ode was associated with events from the beginning of the Xia dynasty. Thus, I shall take Ode 154 “Qi yue,” also known as “Bin Flute,” as the hymn for “Grand Capaciousness” in contrast to Ode 293 “Zhuo,” as the hymn for “Consideration,” also known as “Southern Flute.” The lyrics of Ode 154 “Qi yue” describe in eight stanzas the activities of the agricultural year, including sacrifice. As well, the eight stanzas of this hymn, eight being a *yin* number, balances perfectly with the six parts of “Grand Martial Deeds,” six being a *yang* number.⁹⁷ The style of this ode, however, differs significantly from the previous odes. The stanzas and overall length is greater, the meter and rhyme is more regular, and the diction is less dense, seeming clearer and having a refrain. Seven of the eight stanzas are onzains and one is a douzain.

⁹⁰ See Kaufmann (1976), 128; and Hsueh (1983), 10-11.

⁹¹ See *ZL*: 24.6b-8b, commentary. *Zhou li* has 蜡 for 腊.

⁹² See *ZL*: 24.6b-8b, commentary.

⁹³ See *MS*: 8-1.7a-25a.

⁹⁴ See *LJ*: 31.15a.

⁹⁵ See *LJ*: 17.13b-15a, 21.1a-3a, 267a-11a, 31.10a, and 43.7b-8b. *Li ji* has 蜡 and 臘 for 腊.

⁹⁶ See *ZL*: 25.6b, commentary.

⁹⁷ In Five Elements theory, the number 5 corresponds with Earth, 6 with Water, 7 with Fire, 8 with Wood, and 9 with Metal; whereas in *Zhou li*, the number 1 corresponds with divinities of Streams and Meres, 2 with divinities of Mountains and Forests, 3 with divinities of Knolls and Hills, 4 with divinities of Shorelines and Floodplains, 5 and 8 with Earthly Divinities in general, 6 and 7 with Heavenly Deities in general, and 9 with Human Spirits in general. See *LJ*: 22.5a-16b, and *ZL*: 22.15b-21a.

The lines are almost entirely in tetrameter, four begin with slightly longer lines, four have slightly longer lines at regular intervals, one ends with a slightly longer line, and one is in pure tetrameter. Each stanza has multiple rime categories, but nearly every line is rhymed and six stanzas mark the refrain with a separate rime category.⁹⁸ When combined, these differences make for a striking alternative to the style of the previous odes.

1.1.1.3 Canticles

Ode 266 “Qing Miao” was performed *a cappella* in the hall during offerings to the royal ancestors at the Ancestral Temple as a canticle in prelude to the four ballets just discussed, which were performed in the court in front of the hall. The standard term for this kind of canticle is “Ascension Hymn” (*sheng ge* 升歌 / *deng ge* 登歌), originally a predicate meaning “ascend [to the hall] and sing.” *Yi li* 儀禮 and *Li ji* use the first version of this predicate, *sheng ge*, whereas *Zhou li* uses the second, *deng ge*.⁹⁹ The “Xiao xu” indicates that this hymn was sung during sacrifices to King Wen in the presence of the feudal lords. The lyrics describe the ceremony in two stanzas, but do not mention King Wen directly. The first stanza is in pure tetrameter and the second alternates between tetrameter and pentameter. Similarly, the rhyme pattern changes between the first stanza and the second, but the two quatrains are tied together by a repeated final character. The first stanza also uses assonance instead of rhyme for the first couplet.¹⁰⁰ Stylistically, this ode fits well as a prelude to “Mime” and “Consideration,” the ballets dedicated to King Wen. Initially, this canticle may have

⁹⁸ See *MS*: 8-1.7a-25a; Karlgren (1950), 97-99; and Table 1.1 below.

⁹⁹ See *ZL*: 23.14a-14b, classic and commentary; 23.17a; *LJ*: 20.26b-28a, 25.10a-12b, 29.11a, 31.6b-7b, 49.7a-7b, 49.22b-23a, 50.20a-20b; and Table 1.6 below. *Li ji* uses the second version, *deng ge* 登歌 (ascend [to the hall] and sing), in only one out of the seven passages in which this concept appears.

¹⁰⁰ See *MS*: 19-1.8a-11a; Karlgren (1950), 239; and Table 1.1 below.

served as a general purpose canticle for all ancestors, but eventually ancestor-specific canticles were composed as we shall discuss below.

1.1.2 Music of the Four Tribes

The origin of the term Music of the Four Tribes seems to be somewhat late. *Li ji* does not mention it directly. Instead, in a discussion of the ritual practices of the Lu state, it uses the term Music of the Eastern Tribes and Southern Tribes (*Yi Man zhi yue* 夷蠻之樂), stating that it was performed at the ducal Great Temple in order to spread Lu (i.e. Han-Chinese) culture.¹⁰¹ Although not directly stated, it follows that using the music of all four tribes was a royal prerogative. This purpose of spreading Han-Chinese culture is also mentioned in *Mao shi* and Zheng Xuan states directly that the purpose of performing the Music of the Four Tribes was to unify all under heaven.¹⁰² *Li ji* states that during sacrifices at the royal Ancestral Temple ceremonies were held at the temple's four gates for each of the four tribes.¹⁰³ These ceremonies likely included the Music of the Four Tribes. The term itself appears in *Zhou li* and *Baihu tong* 白虎通.¹⁰⁴ It is also known as “Tribal Music” (*Yi yue* 夷樂), “Dilou” 鞀鞀 / 鞀婁, and “Diju” 鞀履.¹⁰⁵ The music of each tribe has its own title named for a tribe or location and associated with a direction: “Mei” 昧 with the east, “Nan”

¹⁰¹ See *LJ*: 31.6b-7b.

¹⁰² See *MS*: 13-2.2b-4a, and *ZL*: 24.8b-9a, commentary.

¹⁰³ See *LJ*: 31.2a-2b.

¹⁰⁴ See *ZL*: 24.8b-9a, 34.6a, *BHT*: 3.107-15.

¹⁰⁵ See *ZL*: 17.11b, 24.6a, 24.8b, *LJ*: 4.12a, and *SWJZ*: 2a.38b.

南 with the south, “Zhuli” 朱離 with the west, and “Jin” 禁 with the north.¹⁰⁶ Each piece also had other transliterations, but almost all seemed to stem from the same pronunciation. Each piece was performed for a specific purpose and was accompanied by a ballet and a hymn in the native language of the appropriate tribe,¹⁰⁷ with each tribe having a foreign language interpreter (*didi* 狄鞮) specifically assigned to it.¹⁰⁸ All of these pieces were Martial Ballets, in that the dancers of each ballet wielded weapons. None of the hymns survived the transition from Zhou to Han and no information survives about the music. Certain details, however, survive about each ballet and its purpose.

“Mei”

“Mei” first appears in *Li ji* and *Zhou li*, but its details are first explained in *Baihu tong* in 79.¹⁰⁹ It was performed for the Eastern Tribes outside the east gate of the Ancestral Temple to promote the timely birth of livestock and sprouting of roots. The dancers wielded lances (*mao* 矛).¹¹⁰ The interpreter was called an Eastern Language Interpreter (*ji* 寄).¹¹¹ This piece is also transliterated as “Mei” 昧.¹¹² While both characters are pronounced the same in modern Mandarin, *mei*, and in Old Chinese, *məd^h, the first character also has the alternate

¹⁰⁶ See *MS*: 13-2.2b-4a, tradition; *ZL*: 24.8b-9a, commentary; 31.6b-9b, commentary; *LJ*: 20.4b-5a, commentary; *GYZ*: 24.7a-7b, commentary; and *BHT*: 3.107-15. I have allotted the titles according to their most common figuration, though there is some confusion among the titles for east, west, and north.

¹⁰⁷ See *ZL*: 24.8b-9a, commentary.

¹⁰⁸ See *LJ*: 12.26a-27a; *ZL*: 34.11a, commentary; and *LSCQ*: 17.211.

¹⁰⁹ See Loewe (1993), 347-57 and *BHT*: 3.107-15.

¹¹⁰ The ultimate source for this information seems to be *Baihu tong* 白虎通 and a chapter from a weft text of *Xiao jing* 孝經, “Xiao jing wei, gouming jue” 孝經緯·鉤命決. See *BHT*: 3.107-15; *MS*: 13-2.2b-4a, subcommentary; *ZL*: 24.8b-9a, subcommentary; *LJ*: 31.6b-9b, subcommentary; and Table 1.4 below.

¹¹¹ See *LJ*: 12.26a-27a; *ZL*: 34.11a, commentary.

¹¹² See *MS*: 13-2.2b-4a, tradition; *LJ*: 31.6b-9b; *GYZ*: 24.7a-7b, commentary; and *BHT*: 3.108.

pronunciation *mo* 𩇛 in modern Mandarin and *mat in Old Chinese.¹¹³ This piece is also associated with the Northern Tribes.¹¹⁴ There was a Mo 貉 / 貊 tribe, *mrak in Old Chinese, associated with both the east and the north and the character *mo* 貉 is also used as a loan word for *ma* 馬 / 禡 (a sacrifice to entreat the horse gods for good riding in war), *mragh in Old Chinese.¹¹⁵ Thus, the tribe indicated by the title may be the Ma Han 馬韓, famous for song and dance,¹¹⁶ given the association with the northeast, the similarity in pronunciation among *mat 𩇛, *mrak 貉, and *mragh 馬, and the shared component, *wei* 韋, between “Mei” 𩇛 and Han 韓.

“Nan”

“Nan” first appears in *Mao shi* and *Li ji*, but its details are first explained in *Baihu tong*. It was performed for the Southern Tribes outside the south gate of the Ancestral Temple to promote the timely growth of livestock and crops. The dancers wielded bows (*gong* 弓).¹¹⁷ The interpreter was called a Southern Language Interpreter (*xiang* 象).¹¹⁸ This piece is also

¹¹³ See *SWJZ*: 5b.39b-40a.

¹¹⁴ For this title as Northern Tribal music or as Western Tribal music, see *GYZ*: 24.7a-7b, commentary; and *BHT*: 3.108, text and commentary.

¹¹⁵ See *ZL*: 19.18a, classic, commentary, and subcommentary; 26.5a-5b, classic, commentary, and subcommentary; 29.8b-9b, classic, commentary, and subcommentary; 29.19a-19b, classic, commentary, and subcommentary; 33.9a-10a, classic, commentary, and subcommentary; 34.5a, classic and commentary; 36.16b; and 38.14b.

¹¹⁶ See *HHS*: 85.2818-20.

¹¹⁷ See *MS*: 13-2.2b-4a, subcommentary; *ZL*: 24.8b-9a, subcommentary; *LJ*: 31.6b-9b, subcommentary; and Table 1.4 below. For this title as Northern Tribal music, see *GYZ*: 24.7a-7b, commentary; and *BHT*: 3.108. For the dancers’ wielding feathers (*yu* 羽) instead of bows, see *BHT*: 3.109.

¹¹⁸ See *LJ*: 12.26a-27a; *ZL*: 34.11a, commentary.

known as “Ren” 任, and “Dou” 兜.¹¹⁹ The first two characters have similar Old Chinese pronunciations, *nəm 南 and *njəm 任 respectively, but the third character has a completely different Old Chinese pronunciation, *tug 兜, which seems to be another transliteration for a non-Chinese word. The tribe indicated by the title may be the Southern Yue (*nanyue* 南越 / 南粵), given the location and the same first character.¹²⁰

“Zhuli”

“Zhuli” first appears in *Mao shi zhuan* 毛詩傳, but its details are first explained in *Baihu tong*. It was performed for the Western Tribes outside the west gate of the Ancestral Temple to promote the timely slaughter of livestock and harvest of crops. The dancers wielded large-axes (*yue* 鉞).¹²¹ The interpreter was called a Western Language Interpreter (*didi* 狄鞮), which is also the generic term for foreign language interpreter.¹²² This piece is also known as “Zhuli” 侏離 / 株離, “Zhaoli” 朝離, and “Li” 離.¹²³ The first two modifiers are pronounced the same in modern Mandarin, *zhu* 朱 / 侏, and in Old Chinese, *tjug; and the third is the same in modern Mandarin and similar in Old Chinese, *trjug 株. The fourth modifier *zhao* 朝, *trjagw in Old Chinese, shows some similarity, but less than the third. Thus, the location indicated by the title appears to be the western tribal state of Dongli 東離,

¹¹⁹ See *ZL*: 24.8b-9a, commentary and sound gloss; *LJ*: 31.6b-9b, classic and sound gloss; and *GYZ*: 24.7a-7b, commentary.

¹²⁰ See *SJ*: 113.2967-78 and *HS*: 95.3841-59.

¹²¹ See *MS*: 13-2.2b-4a, subcommentary; *ZL*: 24.8b-9a, subcommentary; *LJ*: 31.6b-9b, subcommentary; and Table 1.4 below. For this title as Eastern Tribal music, see *GYZ*: 24.7a-7b, commentary; and *BHT*: 3.108. For the dancers’ wielding weaponry (*zhan* 戰) instead of large-axes, see *BHT*: 3.109.

¹²² See *LJ*: 12.26a-27a; *ZL*: 34.11a, commentary.

¹²³ See *ZL*: 24.8b-9a, commentary; *GYZ*: 24.7a-7b, commentary; and *BHT*: 3.108-9.

also known as Juli 車離,¹²⁴ given the location, the same second character, the association between *zhao* 朝 (morning) and *dong* 東 (east), and the shared medial and final between *trjagw 朝 and *kjag 車.

“Jin”

“Jin” first appears in *Mao shi zhuan*, but its details are first explained in *Baihu tong*. It was performed for the Northern Tribes outside the north gate of the Ancestral Temple to promote the timely stabling of livestock and storage of crops. The dancers wielded large-shields (*dun* 楯).¹²⁵ The interpreter was called a Northern Language Interpreter (*yi* 譯).¹²⁶ In 74 during the reign of Emperor Ming 明帝 (r.58-75), Zhu Fu 朱輔 (fl.74-76), the Regional Inspector of a region neighboring the western tribal district of Zuo 苻,¹²⁷ presented three versions of one of the hymns of the Music of the Four Tribes in a transcription of the original language and a translation by his clerk Tian Gong 田恭 (fl.74).¹²⁸ Two of these hymns are a perfect match for the stanza length of the first hymn of the “Ba Ditties” 巴俞 ballets inspired by the Music of the Four Tribes, and the third hymn is a close match.¹²⁹ While this location would seem to have little or no direct connection to that indicated by the title, it is clearly connected to the series itself.

¹²⁴ See *HHS*: 88.2922.

¹²⁵ See *MS*: 13-2.2b-4a, subcommentary; *ZL*: 24.8b-9a, subcommentary; *LJ*: 31.6b-9b, subcommentary; and Table 1.4. For this title as Western Tribal music, see *GYZ*: 24.7a-7b, commentary; and *BHT*: 3.108, commentary. For the dancers’ wielding shields (*gan* 干) instead of large-shields, see *BHT*: 3.109.

¹²⁶ See *LJ*: 12.26a-27a; *ZL*: 34.11a, commentary.

¹²⁷ See *HHS*: 86.2854.

¹²⁸ See *HHS*: 86.2854-57.

¹²⁹ See *HHS*: 86.2856-57 and below.

1.1.3 Nine Processionals

The origin of the term Nine Processionals also seems to be somewhat late. Here, I translate the term, *xia* 夏, as processional or recessional because it is “performed upon entry and exit” (*churu suo zou* 出入所奏) of specific participants in a ceremony, but it can also be synonymous with China and the Han-Chinese ethnic group and interchangeable with the term, *ya* 雅, referring to the “Ya” section of *Mao shi* and to formal or refined music and comportment in general. Earlier, we saw it as the Xia dynasty and as “Grand Capaciousness.” As a musical term, it evokes grand formality.¹³⁰ *Li ji* does not mention the term Nine Processionals itself, but does mention one of the processionals directly, “General Processional” (*sixia* 肆夏),¹³¹ and three more indirectly, “Royal Processional” (*wangxia* 王夏), “General Recessional” (*gaixia* 陔夏),¹³² and “Ducal Processional” (*aoxia* 鵞夏).¹³³ *Zuo zhuan* coins the term Three Processionals (*sanxia* 三夏), but names only one of them, “General Processional.” *Guo yu* 國語 effectively does the same.¹³⁴ These four appear variously in *Yi li*, *Da Dai li ji* 大戴禮記, and *Kongzi jiayu* 孔子家語.¹³⁵ *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 mentions the composition of Yu’s “Capacious Flute” (*xiayue* 夏籥) in nine parts, but provides no further details.¹³⁶ Only *Zhou li* gives the term itself and the names of all nine processionals, including the other five, “Victim Processional” (*zhaoxia* 昭夏), “Dignitary

¹³⁰ For a discussion of this term, see Kern (1997), 23-27.

¹³¹ The exact meaning of this title is highly problematic, but it appears elsewhere as a general purpose processional / recessional.

¹³² The exact meaning of this title is also highly problematic, but it appears elsewhere as a general purpose recessional.

¹³³ The exact meaning of this title is also highly problematic, but it appears elsewhere as a ducal recessional.

¹³⁴ See *GY*: 5.186.

¹³⁵ See below.

¹³⁶ This is of course another name for “Grand Capaciousness.” See *LSCQ*: 5.53. For further discussion, see Kern (1997), 39.

Processional” (*naxia* 納夏), “Official Processional” (*zhangxia* 章夏), “Feminine Processional” (*zhaixia* 齊夏), and “Clansman Processional” (*zuxia* 族夏). Moreover, the purpose of four of these processions, “Dignitary Processional,” “Official Processional,” “Feminine Processional,” and “Clansman Processional,” seems to have been lost until the dawn of the Eastern Han dynasty.¹³⁷ Thus, the bulk of these processions appear to be as late as the term itself.

“Royal Processional”

“Royal Processional” was performed upon the entrance and exit of the king.¹³⁸ This piece is also known as “Picking Puncture Vine” (*cai ci* 采茨), which is also written *cai ci* 采薺 and *cai ci* 采齊.¹³⁹ Aside from the designated participants, it further differs from “General Processional” in that one is for walking (*xing* 行) and the other is for hastening (*qu* 趨), though which is for what depends on the source.¹⁴⁰ Based on proximity to other attested processions in *Mao shi* and on appropriateness of content and provenance, I assess that Ode 272 “Wo jiang” 我將 (We Supply) was the hymn sung during the performance of this procession.¹⁴¹ The “Xiao xu” indicates that this hymn was sung during sacrifices to King Wen at the Hall of Brilliance. The lyrics start with a triplet-long proem introducing the sacrificial offerings and then proceed to a pair of stanzas, a quatrain and a triplet, describing the ceremony. The proem comprises two lines in tetrameter and a line of pentameter, the

¹³⁷ See below.

¹³⁸ See ZL: 22.21b and Table 1.5 below.

¹³⁹ See ZL: 23.1a-2a, 32.15a-16b, LJ: 30.12b-15b, 50.20a-20b, DDLJ: 3.352-58, 3.407-14, and KZJY: 6.65-66. For further discussion of “Picking Puncture Vine,” see below.

¹⁴⁰ See ZL: 23.1a-2a, LJ: 30.12b-15b, and DDLJ: 3.352-58, 3.407-14. See also HS: 22.1043.

¹⁴¹ See below, MS: 19-2.3a-5a.

first stanza begins with a line of heptameter and continues in tetrameter, and the second stanza uses pure tetrameter. The rhyme patterns use two rime categories to tie the proem and the two stanzas together.¹⁴² Aside from the proem, this is a typical ode from this section of *Mao shi*.

“General Processional”

“General Processional” was performed upon the entrance and exit of the impersonator and of participants in general.¹⁴³ As stated above, this processional seemed to overlap with the preceding one. *Zuo zhuan* and *Guo yu* give this processional in 569 BCE as the first of the Three Processionals and Lü Shuyu 呂叔玉 (first century BCE) tells us that Ode 273 “Shi mai” 時邁 (Seasonal Tour) was the hymn sung during the performance of this processional.¹⁴⁴ The “Xiao xu” indicates that this hymn was sung during sacrifices following a tour of inspection. The lyrics start with a couplet-long proem introducing the tour of inspection and then proceed to a pair of stanzas, a sixain and a septain, praising the royal virtues. The proem comprises a line of tetrameter and a line of pentameter, the first stanza begins with a line of pentameter and continues in tetrameter, and the second stanza uses pure tetrameter. It

¹⁴² See *MS*: 19-2.3a-5a; Karlgren (1950), 241; and Table 1.1 below.

¹⁴³ See *ZL*: 22.21b, 23.1a-2a, 32.15a-16b, *YL*: 15.19b-25a, 16.11b-13b, 17.2a, *LJ*: 25.10a-12b, 30.12b-15b, *DDLJ*: 3.352-58, 3.407-14, and Table 1.5 below. For further discussion of “General Processional,” see below.

¹⁴⁴ See *ZuZ*: 29.16b-20a; and *GY*: 5.186-88. All that is known of Lü Shuyu is that he was contemporary with or earlier than Du Zichun 杜子春 (c.30 BCE-c.58 CE), who cites him as an authority. Zheng Xuan, however, states that “General Processional” is a lost ode. See *ZL*: 24.1b-3a, commentary. For further discussion of Ode 273 “Shi mai” as “General Processional,” see Fu Sinian (1928), 95-117. For discussion of Ode 273 “Shi mai” as a hymn to the virtue of King Wen, see C. H. Wang (1974), 425-49.

is unrhymed throughout.¹⁴⁵ The proem and lack of rhymes makes this otherwise typical ode stand out among the other processional.

“Victim Processional”

“Victim Processional” seems somewhat later than the first two. We first hear of it from *Zhou li*, where we learn that this processional was performed upon the entrance and exit of the sacrificial victim.¹⁴⁶ Lü Shuyu tells us that this is the second of the Three Processionals, that it is also known as “The Barrier Holds Them Back” (*fan 'e* 樊遏), and that Ode 274 “Zhi jing” 執競 (Holding Strength) was the hymn sung during the performance of this processional, though he resorts to circumlocution to reconcile the three titles.¹⁴⁷ The “Xiao xu” indicates that this hymn was sung during sacrifices to King Wu. The first two stanzas, a quatrain and a triplet, extol the virtues of King Wu, King Cheng 成王 (r.1042-1006 BCE), and King Kang 康王 (r.1005-978 BCE), the third stanza, another triplet, focuses on the musical instruments, and the fourth stanza, another quatrain, turns to the blessings received. The entire ode uses pure tetrameter with the first three stanzas in one rime category and the fourth in another, a common rhyming pattern in this section of *Mao shi*.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ See *MS*: 19-2.5a-9a; Karlgren (1950), 241-42; and Table 1.1 below.

¹⁴⁶ See *ZL*: 22.21b and Table 1.5 below.

¹⁴⁷ See *ZL*: 24.1b-3a, commentary. Zheng Xuan also states that “Victim Processional” is a lost ode. Despite the wording in *Guo yu*, Wei Zhao 韋昭 (204-273) and Du Yu divide “The Barrier Holds Them Back” between “General Processional” and “Victim Processional” resulting in “Barrier” (*fan* 樊) and “Hold Back” (*e* 遏) respectively. See *ZuZ*: 29.16b, commentary; and *GY*: 5.186-88, commentary. For discussion of Ode 274 “Zhi jing” as a hymn to the virtue of King Wen, see C. H. Wang (1974), 425-49. For further discussion of “The Barrier Holds Them Back,” see below.

¹⁴⁸ See *MS*: 19-2.9a-11a; Karlgren (1950), 242-43; and Table 1.1 below.

“Dignitary Processional”

“Dignitary Processional” also seems somewhat later than the first two. We first learn the title from *Zhou li*, but we must wait for Du Zichun 杜子春 (c.30 BCE-c.58 CE) to tell us its purpose, visits from the feudal lords of the Four Directions. Lü Shuyu tells us that this is the third of the Three Processionals, that it is also known as “Canal” (*qu* 渠), and that Ode 275 “Si wen” 思文 (Oh, Civil) was the hymn sung during the performance of this processional. Here he also resorts to circumlocution to reconcile the three titles.¹⁴⁹ The “Xiao xu” indicates that this hymn was sung during sacrifices to Heaven with Lord Millet as coadjutor. The first stanza, a quatrain, sings the praises of Lord Millet and the second stanza, also a quatrain, describes the agrarian bounties he bequeathed. The first stanza uses pure tetrameter, the second a common variant, and each stanza has its own rime category, making for a typical ode for this section.¹⁵⁰

“Official Processional”

“Official Processional” seems somewhat later as well. Similarly, the title first appears in *Zhou li* and Du Zichun is first to discuss its purpose, meritorious officials.¹⁵¹ Based on proximity to other attested processionals in *Mao shi* and on appropriateness of content and provenance, I assess that Ode 276 “Chen gong” 臣工 (Officials and Artisans) was the hymn sung during the performance of this processional. The “Xiao xu” indicates that this hymn

¹⁴⁹ See *ZL*: 24.1b-3a, classic and commentary; and Table 1.5 below. Zheng Xuan also states that “Dignitary Processional” is a lost ode. For further discussion of “Canal,” see below.

¹⁵⁰ See *MS*: 19-2.11a-13a; Karlgren (1950), 243-44; and Table 1.1 below.

¹⁵¹ See *ZL*: 24.1b-3a, classic and commentary; and Table 1.5 below.

was sung during the dismissal of feudal lords following their assistance with sacrifices at the Ancestral Temple. The lyrics, however, address officials and artisans, exhorting them to diligence in their endeavors and promising them blessings from on high, all this in three stanzas, a quatrain, a sixain, and a cinquain, each with its own rime category and all in pure tetrameter.¹⁵²

“Feminine Processional”

“Feminine Processional” also appears somewhat later. *Zhou li* provides its name and Du Zichun provides its purpose, offerings by ladies.¹⁵³ Based on proximity to other attested processions in *Mao shi* and on appropriateness of content and provenance, I assess that Ode 279 “Feng nian” 豐年 (Plenitudinous Year) was the hymn sung during the performance of this processional. The “Xiao xu” indicates that this hymn was sung on the occasion of autumn and winter thanksgiving, *yin* ceremonies in which women did participate. In a single septain, the lyrics celebrate the bountiful harvest and the fine ales that will grace the sacrifices at the Ancestral Temple. It begins with a slightly longer line followed by six lines in tetrameter with the first two lines unrhymed and all the rest in the same rime category, another stylistically typical ode for this section of *Mao shi*.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² See *MS*: 19-2.13b-17b; Karlgren (1950), 244; and Table 1.1 below.

¹⁵³ See *ZL*: 24.1b-3a, classic and commentary; and Table 1.5 below.

¹⁵⁴ See *MS*: 19-3.3a-4a; Karlgren (1950), 245; and Table 1.1 below.

“Clansman Processional”

“Clansman Processional” is the last of the five later processionals. *Zhou li* provides its name and Du Zichun provides its purpose, relatives in attendance.¹⁵⁵ Based on proximity to other attested processionals in *Mao shi* and on appropriateness of content and provenance, I assess that Ode 277 “Yi xi” 噫嘻 (Alack, Oh!) was the hymn sung during the performance of this processional. The “Xiao xu” indicates that this hymn was sung on the occasion of spring and summer prayers to the Supreme Holy One for good harvest, *yang* ceremonies in which relatives did participate. In a single unrhymed octave in pure tetrameter, this ode celebrates King Cheng’s participation in the spring plowing to encourage active participation in agrarian activities.¹⁵⁶ The lack of rhymes marks this as the only other such ode not tied to a ballet. Otherwise, this is a typical ode for this section of *Mao shi*.

“General Recessional”

“General Recessional” was performed upon the exit of drunken guests and of guests in general. This title is also written *gaixia* 袞夏.¹⁵⁷ Based on proximity to other attested processionals in *Mao shi*, on appropriateness of content and provenance, and on usage in *Li ji* and *Kongzi jiayu*, I assess that Ode 282 “Yong” 雝 (Concord), also written *yong* 雍, was the hymn sung during the performance of this processional.¹⁵⁸ The “Xiao xu” indicates that this hymn was sung during the performance of the *Di* offering for the Great Progenitor. The first

¹⁵⁵ See ZL: 24.1b-3a, classic and commentary; and Table 1.5 below.

¹⁵⁶ See MS: 19-2.17b-21a; Karlgren (1950), 245; and Table 1.1 below.

¹⁵⁷ See ZL: 24.1b-3a, 24.3b-4a, LJ: 50.20a-20b, YL: 10.6a, 10.13b, 13.5b, 15.18a, 18.22a, KZJY: 6.65-66, and Table 1.5 below. For further discussion of “General Recessional,” see below.

¹⁵⁸ See MS: 19-3.9a-11b, LJ: 50.20a-20b, LY: 3.2a, and KZJY: 6.65.

quatrain introduces the celebrants, the second quatrain describes the offering, the third quatrain praises the ancestors, and the fourth quatrain concludes with the blessings and the offering. Each quatrain uses pure tetrameter and an alternating rhyme pattern with the rime categories from the second stanza repeated in the fourth.¹⁵⁹ Stylistically, this ode appears more regular and complex than most odes in this section of *Mao shi*, indicating a likely later date of composition.

“Ducal Processional”

“Ducal Processional” was performed upon the entrance and exit of dukes.¹⁶⁰ Based on proximity to other attested processionals in *Mao shi*, on appropriateness of content and provenance, on graphic similarity with *ao* 鷺, and on usage in *Li ji* and *Kongzi jiayu*, I assess that Ode 278 “Zhen lu” 振鷺 (Flocking Egrets), also written *zhen yu* 振羽 (Flocking Feathers), was the hymn sung during the performance of this processional.¹⁶¹ The “Xiao xu” indicates that this hymn was sung during offerings with the assistance of the descendants of the kings of the two previous dynasties. The first quatrain describes the guests flocking like egrets and the second quatrain extols their popularity. Each quatrain uses pure tetrameter, but different rhyme patterns, making for a typical ode for this section of *Mao shi*.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁹ See *MS*: 19-3.9a-11b; Karlgren (1950), 245; and Table 1.1 below.

¹⁶⁰ See *ZL*: 24.1b-3a, *YL*: 18.22b, *LJ*: 50.20a-20b, *KZJY*: 6.65, and Table 1.5 below.

¹⁶¹ See *MS*: 19-3.1a-3a, *LJ*: 50.20a-20b, and *KZJY*: 6.65.

¹⁶² See *MS*: 19-3.1a-3a; Karlgren (1950), 244; and Table 1.1 below.

1.1.4 Suburban Sacrificial Hymns

In our discussion at the beginning of this section on the Zhou dynasty, we noted that the most prestigious sacrifices were those dedicated to August Heaven (*huangtian shangdi* 皇天) at the Great Altar in the southern suburbs. In the terminology of *Mao shi* and Wang Su, August Heaven is usually referred to as Vast Heaven (*haotian* 昊天); naturally, the pre-eminent suburban sacrificial hymn in *Mao shi* is the one dedicated to this, the ultimate deity: Ode 271 “Haotian you cheng ming” 昊天有成命 (Vast Heaven Has Made the Appointment). The “Xiao xu” indicates that this hymn was sung during suburban sacrifices to Heaven and Earth. The lyrics describe how Heaven made the appointment of the Two Sovereigns (*er hou* 二后), King Wen and King Wu, and how King Cheng exerted himself in emulation. In a septain using irregular line length, this ode repeats a three-line alternating rhyme-pattern, inserting an unrhymed penultimate line for emphasis, for a strong example of style common to this section of *Mao shi*.¹⁶³ This hymn was likely sung as a ceremony-specific offertory in the part of the ceremony where the deity was believed to take part in the sacrificial offerings.

1.1.5 Soil and Millet Hymns

Soil and Millet Hymns were performed at the Great Shrine to the Soil God and the Millet God to the southwest of the palace and at the Royal Shrine to the Soil God in the southern suburbs. The core hymns for these sacrifices comprise Ode 290 “Zai shan” 載芟 (Thence

¹⁶³ See *MS*: 19-2.1a-3a; Karlgren (1950), 241; Table 1.1 below; and Table 1.6 below. For other hymns in this category, see the subsection on processions above.

Mowing), Ode 291 “Liang si” 良耜 (Good Ploughshares), and Ode 292 “Si yi” 絲衣 (Silk Robes). The “Xiao xu” indicates that the first was sung during sacrifices to Soil and Millet in spring, the second in autumn, and the third for feasting the impersonator. The first two hymns demonstrate parallel development. Both have two stanzas with the first stanza describing planting and the second harvesting, the first stanza of both hymns is one line longer than the second, both hymns use pure tetrameter throughout, both use multiple rime categories per stanza, and the final line of both hymns is unrhymed for emphasis. The greatest difference between these two hymns is the length, with the first having a seizain and a quinzain and the second a douzain and an onzain. Aside from the number of stanzas, these two hymns bear a striking similarity in style with “Grand Capaciousness” / Ode 154 “Qi yue” rather than with the other hymns thus far discussed from this section of *Mao shi*. The third hymn in this series differs from the previous two. In a single neuvain in pure tetrameter with every line in the same rime category, this hymn describes the impersonator’s inspection of the sacrificial animals, vessels, and ale.¹⁶⁴ While not as striking as the first two, this hymn also stands out for its regularity, suggesting that all three hymns may have been composed at a slightly later date than other hymns in this section of *Mao shi*. The first two likely served as ceremony-specific offertories and the third as a processional.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴ See *MS*: 19-4.3a-15a; Karlgren (1950), 250-52; and Table 1.1 below. For other hymns in this category, see the subsection on processionals above. The “Xiao xu” for Ode 292 “Si yi” has a statement attached from a later scholar claiming that this hymn was sung during sacrifices to the Numen Star (*lingxing* 靈星), a tutelary deity of planting and harvest. For a discussion of this claim, see the subcommentary to this ode. For discussion of these three odes as millet-field ballets, see Fu Sinian (1928), 95-117. For discussion of these odes and others used in sacrificing to Lord Millet, see C. H. Wang (1974), 425-49.

¹⁶⁵ See Table 1.5 and Table 1.6 below.

1.1.6 Ancestral Temple Hymns

Ode 266 “Qing miao,” as a canticle for King Wen, serves with few exceptions as the ultimate model for all later ancestral canticles.¹⁶⁶ Nonetheless, not all Ancestral Temple hymns served as canticles and not all of those preserved in *Mao shi* celebrated the Zhou kings. Some served as ballets, processions, offertories, or covenants; some celebrated the former Shang kings or Duke Xi 僖公 (r.659-627 BCE) of Lu. Below I shall discuss hymns celebrating the virtue of King Wen, the cautiousness of King Cheng, the assistance of heirs of previous dynasties in sacrifices, the assistance of feudal lords in sacrifices, the glory of former Shang kings, and the accomplishments of Duke Xi of Lu.

1.1.6.1 King Wen

In addition to Ode 266 “Qing miao,” two other hymns appear to be canticles to King Wen: Ode 267 “Wei tian zhi ming” 維天之命 (Indeed, It Is Heaven’s Appointment) and Ode 270 “Tian zuo” 天作 (Heaven Made). The “Xiao xu” indicates that the first was sung to announce to King Wen the establishment of peace and that the second was sung during sacrifices to King Wen and other pre-dynastic ancestors. The first ode uses two quatrains, both in common tetrameter variants, each with its own rime category, to praise his virtue and list his blessings, respectively. The second uses a single septain in a single rime category to

¹⁶⁶ See Kern (1997), 23. For a discussion of this and other odes as “prayers intoned as the rites were being performed,” see Shaughnessy (1995), 133-64 (esp.146ff).

list the labors of King Tai 大王 (twelfth century BCE) and of King Wen.¹⁶⁷ Both hymns are stylistically typical for this section of *Mao shi*.

1.1.6.2 King Cheng

Ode 286 “Min yu xiao zi” 閔予小子 (Distressed Am I the Little Child), Ode 287 “Fang luo” 訪落 (Inquiring upon Commencement), Ode 288 “Jing zhi” 敬之 (Revere It), and Ode 289 “Xiao bi” 小毖 (Lesser Cautious) present a covenant between King Cheng and the feudal lords that may have been sung as part of his succession ceremony.¹⁶⁸ The “Xiao xu” places all four of these odes at King Cheng’s succession. The first ode introduces King Cheng, the second promises continuity, the third promises diligence, and the fourth promises caution. The first uses two stanzas, a cinquain and a quatrain, both in pure tetrameter, and a couplet-length coda starting in tetrameter and finishing in pentameter, stanzas and coda each with its own rime category. The second and third odes each use three quatrains in common tetrameter variants; the second ties its quatrains together with intersecting rime categories, while the third uses one rime category for the first two quatrains and a second for the third. The fourth ode uses two quatrains, the first in an unrhymed tetrameter variant and the second in a pentameter variant beginning with a rime category from the first quatrain and continuing in a second rime category.¹⁶⁹ These odes clearly form a covenant between the new king and

¹⁶⁷ See *MS*: 19-1.11a-13b, 19b-21b; Karlgren (1950), 240-41; Table 1.1 below; and Table 1.6 below. For a discussion of these odes and others as an expression of the “meekness of King Wen,” see C. H. Wang (1974), 425-49.

¹⁶⁸ See Fu Sinian (1928), 95-117; C. H. Wang (1974), 425-49; and Shaughnessy (1995), 133-64.

¹⁶⁹ See *MS*: 19-3.20a-23b, 19-4.1a-3b; Karlgren (1950), 248-50; Table 1.1 below; and Table 1.6 below.

the feudal lords. Aside from the coda, these are also stylistically typical for this section of *Mao shi*.

1.1.6.3 Assistance of Heirs of Previous Dynasties

Ode 284 “You ke” 有客 (There Is a Guest) and Ode 280 “You gu” 有瞽 (There Are Pupilless-Blind [Musicians]) were sung during sacrifices in which the heirs of previous dynasties assisted.¹⁷⁰ The “Xiao xu” indicates that these odes were sung during a visit by the Viscount of Wei 微子 (eleventh century BCE), the heir to the Shang dynasty, to the Zhou Ancestral Temple and upon completion of the sets of musical instruments, respectively. In three quatrains in pure tetrameter, the first and third in separate rime categories and the second unrhymed, the first ode describes the arrival of the Viscount of Wei in the style of a processional.¹⁷¹ In two quatrains and a cinquain in pure tetrameter, the first and second in the same rime category and the third in a second rime category, the second ode describes the musicians and the instrument racks, the instruments, and the effect on the audience in the style of a general-purpose offertory.¹⁷² Both odes are stylistically typical for this section of *Mao shi*.

¹⁷⁰ See C. H. Wang (1974), 425-49.

¹⁷¹ See *MS*: 19-3.14a-16a; Karlgren (1950), 247; Table 1.1 below; and Table 1.5 below. Although not specifically named in the lyrics, he is identified by the color of his horses. See *LJ*: 6.11a-12b, 31.12b-13b, and *KZJY*: 6.59.

¹⁷² See *MS*: 19-3.4a-7b; Karlgren (1950), 245-46; Table 1.1 below; and Table 1.6 below. The instrument racks were tended by sighted musicians, while the blind musicians played smaller instruments and sang. See *ZL*: 23.18a-20a.

1.1.6.4 Assistance of Feudal Lords

Ode 269 “Lie wen” 烈文 (Eminent and Civil), Ode 283 “Zai xian” 載見 (Thence Appearing), and Ode 281 “Qian” 潛 (Fishing Hole) were sung during sacrifices in which feudal lords assisted.¹⁷³ The “Xiao xu” indicates that the first two odes were sung for such occasions and that the third ode was sung during winter and spring offerings of fish. The first two odes have three stanzas each, two quatrains and a cinquain and a couplet-length proem and three quatrains, primarily in tetrameter and changing rime categories with stanzas. The first exhorts the feudal princes to good conduct and the second lists their blessings. Both use the style of a processional. The third ode has a couplet-length proem and a quatrain, each with its own rime category, in pure tetrameter, the development of its content loosely mirroring that of the proem and first quatrain of the second ode. The proem introduces the topic and the following quatrain lists attributes, in the first example feudal lords and in the second, fish. The third ode, however, seems to be more in the style of a rather short ceremony-specific offertory.¹⁷⁴ With the exception of the proems, these odes are stylistically typical for this section of *Mao shi*.

1.1.6.5 Shang Kings

Ode 301 “Nuo” 那 (Manifold), Ode 302 “Lie zu” 烈祖 (Eminent Progenitor), Ode 303 “Xuan niao” 玄鳥 (Swallow), Ode 304 “Chang fa” 長發 (Long Emitting), and Ode 305 “Yin

¹⁷³ See C. H. Wang (1974), 425-49.

¹⁷⁴ See *MS*: 19-1.16a-19b, 19-3.7b-8b, 19-3.11b-14a; Karlgren (1950), 240-41, 246-47; Table 1.1 below; and Table 1.6 below.

wu” 殷武 (Yin Martial Deeds) comprise the “Shang song” 商頌 (Shang Eulogies). The “Xiao xu” indicates that these odes were sung during sacrifices to Tang, to Taiwu 太戊 (tr. fifteenth century BCE), to Wuding 武丁 (d.1189 BCE), to ancestors collectively in the *Di* offering, and to Wuding, respectively. The first ode concentrates on the sacrificial music, the second on the sacrificial offerings, and the third on the participants. These three odes each have two stanzas, both dizains, and a couplet-length coda, all primarily in tetrameter, with multiple rime categories in the first stanza, the first two odes having a single rime category in the second stanza, the third ode having multiple rime categories in the second stanza, and all codas also in rhyme. Stylistically similar to the first two Soil and Millet hymns, these three odes were likely also ancestor-specific offertories. The last two odes also seem to form a set. In seven stanzas, an octave, five septains, and another octave, five stanzas with single rime categories and two with multiple rime categories, primarily in tetrameter, the fourth ode focuses on the civil virtues that led up to Tang’s uprising against Jie 桀 (legendary), the bad last king of the Xia dynasty, but then the ode turns to the uprising itself, hailing Tang as the “Martial King” and making for an apparent Martial Ballet. In six stanzas, five sixains and a septain, four stanzas with single rime categories and two with multiple rime categories, primarily in tetrameter, the fifth ode describes Wuding’s martial deeds in pacifying the south, also making for an apparent Martial Ballet, hence the title.¹⁷⁵ Either of these odes could then be paired with “Grand Capaciousness” / Ode 154 “Qi yue” in the liturgy to provide a balance of Martial and Civil Ballets as was done with “Grand Martial Deeds.” Although similar to “Grand Martial Deeds” in structure, these two odes show much greater regularity. Overall, all five of these odes appear to be relatively late.

¹⁷⁵ See *MS*: 20-3.4a-18b, 20-4.1a-14a; Karlgren (1950), 261-66; Table 1.1 below; and Table 1.3 below.

1.1.6.6 Lu Dukes

Ode 300 “Bi gong” 闕宮 (Secret Palace), Ode 299 “Pan shui” 泮水 (Assessment Moat), Ode 298 “You bi” 有駉 (There Are Chargers), and Ode 297 “Jiong” 駉 (Plump) comprise the “Lu song” 魯頌 (Lu Eulogies). The “Xiao xu” indicates that these four odes were sung as eulogies to Duke Xi. The first ode uses fourteen stanzas, eight octaves, four neuvains, and two dizains in random order, primarily with multiple rime categories, and primarily in tetrameter. It extols the glories of the Lu house throughout the ages, culminating in the repair of the Lu Ancestral Temple, hence the title. This ode reads like a ceremony-specific offertory. With the content of the even stanzas expanding upon that of the odd stanzas that precede them, this ode may have been performed responsively between two or more singers at the opening ceremony of the repaired temple. The second ode uses eight stanzas, each an octave primarily with multiple rime categories, the entire ode in pure tetrameter except for one line in pentameter. It celebrates the duke’s attention to his Assessment Palace (*pangong* 泮宮), or State College, with its semicircular moat.¹⁷⁶ Similar to “Grand Capaciousness” / Ode 154 “Qi yue,” this ode also has an initial refrain, the first three lines of the first three stanzas and the first two lines of the last three stanzas. Nonetheless, this ode reads like a ceremony-specific offertory. The third ode uses three stanzas, each a neuvain with two rime categories, the first two stanzas with the same distinct metrical pattern, four lines in tetrameter, four in trimeter, and one in tetrameter, the third stanza replacing two of the trimeter lines with tetrameter lines. It compares the duke’s ministers and officials to chargers

¹⁷⁶ Written thus in *Mao shi*, but *pangong* 類宮 in *Li ji*. See *LJ*: 12.3a, 24.2a-2b, and 31.15b-16a.

and flocking egrets, describes their drinking, listening to music, and feasting, and prays for the duke's continued good fortune. This ode makes use of incremental repetition throughout and also reads like a general-purpose offertory. The fourth ode uses four stanzas, each an octave with two rime categories with the same distinct metrical pattern, six lines in tetrameter, one in trimeter, and one in tetrameter. It describes the horseman's never-ending concern for his horses, a metaphor for the labors of a meritorious minister as seen in Ode 162 "Si mu" 四牡 (Four Stallions). In the earlier ode, the horseman has four horses of the same kind, but in this ode the horseman has sixteen horses, each of a different kind, twice as many as King Mu 穆王 (r.956-918 BCE), famous for the opulence of his court. This ode makes use of both an initial refrain, the first three lines of each stanza, and incremental repetition thereafter. As with the other three, this ode reads like a general-purpose offertory.¹⁷⁷ The regularity and complexity of these odes makes them stand out as later, more mature productions.

1.1.7 Liturgy

Above we have discussed the sacrificial ceremonies, sites, ballets, and hymns of the Zhou dynasty. There were three kinds of ceremonies: sacrifices to deities, offerings to divinities, and presentations to spirits. There were seven major sites: the Great Altar to Heaven, the Southern Suburban Altar to the Supreme Holy One, the Great Barrow to Earth, the Northern Suburban Altar to Earth, the Great Shrine to Soil and Millet, the Royal Shrine to Soil, and the Ancestral Temple-Hall of Brilliance complex to the royal ancestors and to the Five Holy Ones. There were two kinds of ballet: Grand Music, representing current and past dynasties

¹⁷⁷ See *MS*: 9-2.5a-8a, 20-1.4b-21a, 20-2.1a-17a; *LZ*: 3.32; Karlgren (1950), 105, 253-61; Table 1.1 below; and Table 1.6 below.

and divided into Martial Ballets and Civil Ballets; and Music of the Four Tribes, representing non-Han-Chinese and divided among the Four Directions. Finally, there were four kinds of hymn: processions, canticles, offertories, and covenants. From our discussion of the ballets and hymns, we can determine that the external ceremonies in the suburbs had a basic five-part liturgy: “General Processional,” “Victim Processional,” ceremony-specific dynastic ballet, ceremony-specific offertory, and “General Processional.” The internal ceremonies at the Ancestral Temple had a basic nine-part liturgy: “General Processional,” “Victim Processional,” “Ascension Hymn,” ancestor-specific Martial Ballet, “Grand Martial Deeds,” “Grand Capaciousness,” ancestor-specific Civil Ballet, ceremony-specific or general-purpose offertory, and “General Processional.” The external ceremonies at the Ancestral Temple had a basic one-part liturgy: tribe-specific Martial Ballet. Other processions could be added according to the status of the participants. Covenants also took place at the Ancestral Temple and most likely played a similar role as offertories, in which case they may simply have preceded or replaced the general-purpose offertory in the basic nine-part liturgy.¹⁷⁸

1.2 Consolidation: Qin

The Qin pre-dynastic and dynastic consolidation of the ritual practices of defeated states periodically influenced the development of sacrificial ballets and hymns in later dynasties. As represented in *Zhou li* and recreated by Wang Su, the Zhou dynasty sacrificial system, which we are discussing here under the Qin dynasty due to the provenance of *Zhou li* and in order to distinguish this recreation from that discussed above, remained much the same. One major difference was the euhemerization of the Five Holy Ones, the Five Gods, the Soil God,

¹⁷⁸ See Table 1.3, Table 1.4, Table 1.5, Table 1.6, Table 1.7, and Table 1.8 below.

the Millet God, and certain other mythical figures. The Qin pantheon combined the beliefs of each of the conquered states, transforming each of these figures from gods into heroes, leaving only those of Qin supreme.¹⁷⁹

The Five Holy Ones became known as the Five Human Holy Ones (*wurendi* 五人帝) and were replaced by the Five Essential Holy Ones (*wujing zhi di* 五精之帝), though *Zhou li* still refers to both sets as the Five Holy Ones. In Five Elements (*wuxing* 五行) theory, the number 5 corresponds with Earth, 6 with Water, 7 with Fire, 8 with Wood, and 9 with Metal; whereas in *Zhou li*, the number 1 corresponds with divinities of Streams and Meres (*chuanze* 川澤), 2 with divinities of Mountains and Forests (*shanlin* 山林), 3 with divinities of Knolls and Hills (*qiuling* 丘陵), 4 with divinities of Shorelines and Floodplains (*fenyan* 墳衍), 5 and 8 with Earthly Divinities in general, 6 and 7 with Heavenly Deities in general, and 9 with Human Spirits in general.¹⁸⁰ Thus, Vast Heaven the Supreme Holy One, together with the Five Holy Ones, corresponds with the number for Heavenly Deities. In this context, the term Five Holy Ones refers to the Five Essential Holy Ones: the Blue Holy One (*qingdi* 青帝), the Scarlet Holy One (*chidi* 赤帝), the Yellow Holy One (*huangdi* 黃帝), the White Holy One (*baidi* 白帝), and the Black Holy One (*heidi* 黑帝), though these terms do not appear in *Zhou li*.¹⁸¹ The term Five Holy Ones also appears in conjunction with the term Three August Ones (*sanhuang* 三皇) in *Zhou li*. According to Zheng Zhong 鄭眾 (d.83), these two, together with the Nine August Ones (*jiuhuang* 九皇) and the Sixty-Four People (*liushisimin*

¹⁷⁹ For further discussion of euhemerization during this period, see Bodde (1961), 372-76; Chang (1976), 165-73, and 189-95.

¹⁸⁰ See *LJ*: 22.5a-16b, and *ZL*: 22.15b-21a. This is different from the system in *Zhou yi*, in which odd numbers are heavenly and even numbers are earthly. See *ZY*: 7.26b.

¹⁸¹ See *LJ*: 25.1a-7a, subcommentary. For further discussion of Five Elements (*wuxing* 五行) theory as it pertains to music in this period, see Kern (1997), 23-50.

六十四民), comprise the Four Classes (*silei* 四類), though the terms Nine August Ones and Sixty-Four People do not appear in *Zhou li*.¹⁸² In this context, the term refers to the corresponding Five Human Holy Ones: Shaohao, Zhuanxu, Diku, Yao, and Shun; the term Three August Ones refers to the legendary rulers Fuxi 伏羲,¹⁸³ Shennong 神農,¹⁸⁴ and Huangdi;¹⁸⁵ and the terms Nine August Ones and Sixty-Four People refer to nameless rulers without posterity from the ancient past. Of the eight named figures, Shennong, Huangdi, Yao, and Shun appear indirectly;¹⁸⁶ and the other four do not appear in *Zhou li*. Nonetheless, this explanation matches the list recorded much later by Huangfu Mi 皇甫謐 (215-282).¹⁸⁷ The fourth century forged Old Text preface to *Shangshu* 尚書, also follows this list.¹⁸⁸ In his commentary to *Zhou li*, however, Zheng Xuan explains the term Five Holy Ones in the first context as Cerulean Holy One (*cangdi* 蒼帝) and Fuxi, Scarlet Holy One and Yandi, Yellow Holy One and Huangdi, White Holy One and Shaohao, and Black Holy One and Zhuanxu,¹⁸⁹ but does not explain the term Five Holy Ones in the second context or the term Three August Ones. Of his five named figures, only Huangdi appears indirectly in *Zhou li* and the word cerulean appears only once in *Zhou li*, whereas the word blue is quite common.¹⁹⁰ His explanation seems to come from the list that appears in the “Yueling” 樂令 fascicle of *Li ji*.¹⁹¹ Zheng Xuan also equates the term Four Classes with the Sun (*ri* 日), the Moon (*yue* 月),

¹⁸² See *ZL*: 19.1b, commentary; and 27.21a, subcommentary.

¹⁸³ Another name for Taihao. Corresponding to the Heavenly August One (*tianhuang* 天皇).

¹⁸⁴ Corresponding to the Earthly August One (*dihuang* 地皇).

¹⁸⁵ Corresponding to the Human August One (*renhuang* 人皇).

¹⁸⁶ Shennong appears as the Progenitor of Tillage (*tianzu* 田祖). The dynastic music of Huangdi, Yao, and Shun appears in a key role. See *ZL*: 22.6b-25a and 24.6b-8b.

¹⁸⁷ See *SJ*: 1.1, commentary. For a discussion of this list, see *HHS*: 36.1237.

¹⁸⁸ See *ShS*: 1.3b-4a.

¹⁸⁹ See *ZL*: 19.1b.

¹⁹⁰ See *ZL*: 18.24b and *passim*.

¹⁹¹ See *LJ*: 14.1a-17.26a. Wang Su 王肅 (195-256) also followed this list. See *KZJY*: 5.56-6.60.

the Planets (*xing* 星), and the Celestials (*chen* 辰), even though these are Heavenly Deities already covered under the Actual and Kindling (*shichai* 實柴) rites.¹⁹² He also confuses the Five Sacrifices (*wusi* 五祀) with the sacrifices to the Five Essential Holy Ones, the Five Human Holy Ones, and the Five Gods. Although the Five Sacrifices later came to have this meaning, in *Zhou li*, as Zheng Zhong correctly tells us, they refer to Blood Offerings (*xieji* 血祭) to five Earthly Divinities: the Door God (*hushen* 戶神), the Hearth God (*zaoshen* 灶神),¹⁹³ the Courtyard (*zhongliu* 中廡),¹⁹⁴ the Gate God (*menshen* 門神), and the Well God (*jingshen* 井神).¹⁹⁵

The Millet God in particular decreased in emphasis. Lord Millet had been worshiped as the Millet God since the dawn of the Zhou dynasty, before which time a different figure, Zhu 柱, a descendent of Yandi, had held that honor. To confuse things further, Zhu was also known as Lord Millet. The Millet God no longer the ancestor of the ruling house was now added to local shrines alongside the Soil God. Nonetheless, even though agriculture remained a central concern in Qin, the cult dedicated to the worship of Lord Millet suffered with the fall of the Zhou dynasty.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹² See *ZL*: 19.1b, commentary; and 18.1a-2b.

¹⁹³ *Li ji* has *zao* 竈 (hearth) for *zao* 灶 (hearth).

¹⁹⁴ *Li ji* has *liu* 霤 (eaves) for *liu* 廡 (eaves).

¹⁹⁵ The term Five Sacrifices and the sacrifices themselves appear in *Li ji*, *Zuo zhuan* 左傳, *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋, and *Lun heng* 論衡, but only the Gate Sacrifice appears directly in *Zhou li*. *Li ji* also lists Seven Sacrifices (*qisi* 七祀), which includes the Five Sacrifices plus sacrifices to Appointment Officer (*siming* 司命), an astral deity of recording death, and Harsh Spirits (*ligui* 厲鬼), hungry ghosts without descendants to provide them presentations, and provides an alternate list of Five Sacrifices that includes these two but not the Hearth God or the Door God. Nonetheless, as Appointment Officer is a Heavenly Deity, this explanation of the term does not correspond with it as it appears in *Zhou li*. *Li ji* has *hang* 行 (path) for *jing* 井 (well). See *ZL*: 18.1b-2a; 18.5b-6a, commentary; 19.22a; *LJ*: 46.12b; *passim*; *ZuZ*: 53.5b-6b, classic and commentary; *LSCQ*: 10.95, original and commentary; and *LH*: 24.250.

¹⁹⁶ See *ZL*: 18.5b-6a, commentary; *LJ*: 25.1a-7a, subcommentary; 25.20a-24a, subcommentary; 46.14b-17a, classic, commentary, and subcommentary; *GY*: 4.165-71, original and commentary; *JS*: 19.591.

The major sacrificial sites as found in *Zhou li* vary only slightly from those found in *Li ji*. The Great Altar to August Heaven becomes the Round Mound (*yuanqiu* 圜丘) to Vast Heaven the Supreme Holy One, the Great Barrow to Lord Earth becomes the Square Mound (*fanqiu* 方丘) to Lord Earth, the Four Suburban Altars to the Five Holy Ones remain the same, the Great Shrine becomes the Soil and Millet Shrine (*sheji* 社稷), the Royal Shrine becomes combined with the Southern Suburban Altar, and the Ancestral Temple to the royal ancestors separates from the Hall of Brilliance, which disappears from the limelight, making for eight major sites instead of seven or nine.¹⁹⁷ Aside from changing the ruler's title from king (*wang* 王) to emperor (*huangdi* 皇帝), changes to the Ancestral Temple system also took place to secure legitimation. The system of temple names and posthumous names determined by posterity was exchanged for an ordinal system determined during the ruler's lifetime. The system of seven temples, one for the Great Progenitor and six for later generations, was exchanged for just one temple, that of the First Emperor 始皇 (r.221-210 BCE).¹⁹⁸

Much of the Zhou dynasty sacrificial music continued into the Qin dynasty. Grand Music became Music of the Six Eras (*liuyue* 六樂), Music of the Four Tribes gained in importance, Lesser Music (*xiaoyue* 小樂) was added to these, and the Nine Processionals also gained in importance. As before, I shall address the music along with the ballets it accompanied, the ballets I shall divide between Music of the Six Eras and Lesser Music, and

¹⁹⁷ Although *Zhou li* does mention a royal shrine (*wang zhi she* 王之社) once and shrines at lower administrative levels for defeated states (*shengguo zhi zhe* 勝國之社) and regions (*zhoushe* 州社) once each, the most common term for all levels is Soil and Millet Shrine. See ZL: 2.1a-24b, 4.10b-13a, 6.9b-13a, 8.22a-24a, 10.1a-30b, 11.1a-13b, 12.16a-18b, 12.22b-23b, 13.5b-7a, 18.1a-32a, 19.1a-11b, 21.6a-16a, 21.19a-21b, 22.6b-25a, 25.5b-19a, 26.1a-5a, 26.25b-26b, 30.7b-8b, 34.13a-19b, 35.1a-11b, 41.13a-16b, and 41.24b-30b.

¹⁹⁸ See Bodde (1986), 1: 53-54; Liu Xujie (2002b), 43-44; and Goodman (1998), 36-37.

finally I shall combine these with previous information in a discussion of Liturgy. I shall not devote another subsection to the Music of the Four Tribes or to the Nine Processionals here, as the information previously covered on these holds true for this period as well, and too little else survives on Qin sacrificial hymns to merit any specific subsection beyond the ballets.

1.2.1 Music of the Six Eras

Zhou li mentions the term Music of the Six Eras half a dozen times. The term also appears as Six Ballets (*liuwu* 六舞).¹⁹⁹ From context, we can tell that this refers to the six ballets of the Five Eras previously discussed, but in *Zhou li* these ballets appear under slightly different titles with a slightly different distribution: “Cloud Gate” (*yunmen* 雲門) for Huangdi, “Universal Bestowal” for Yao, “Grand Succession” for Shun, “Grand Capaciousness” for Yu, “Grand Preservation” for Tang, and “Grand Martial Deeds” for King Wu.²⁰⁰ The change in title from “Grand Music” to “Music of the Six Eras” likely stems from the new emphasis on a larger number of titles, the increased fascination with numerology, and the graphic similarity between the characters for “grand” (*da* 大) and “six” (*liu* 六).²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹ See *ZL*: 10.26b, 14.6b, 22.6b-25a, 23.7b, and 23.17b. Starting in 84 CE these hymns become collectively known as the Music of the Six Eras (*liudai zhi yue* 六代之樂), but this term appears only three times before the Jin dynasty, whereupon it becomes commonplace. See *MS*: 20-3.4a, register; *ZL*: 22.9a, commentary; and *HHS*: 79a.2562.

²⁰⁰ See *ZL*: 22.6b-25a.

²⁰¹ See Kern (1997), 33-50. Kern notes the differences in titles, but does not discuss the implications.

“Cloud Gate”

“Cloud Gate” was performed in a six-part suite during sacrifices to Heavenly Deities at the Round Mound, six being the number of Heaven. The dancers wielded shields and long-axes. The musicians played woodwinds in the lower pitch-standard 1 (*huangzhong* 黃鍾), while the singers sang in the higher pitch-standard 2 (*dalü* 大呂). No hymn is associated with this ballet. This ballet is also known as “Grand Display.”²⁰²

“Universal Bestowal”

“Universal Bestowal” was performed in an eight-part suite during offerings to Earthly Divinities at the Square Mound, eight being the number of Earth. The dancers wielded shields and long-axes. The musicians played woodwinds in the lower pitch-standard 3 (*taicu* 大簇), while the singers sang in the higher pitch-standard 12 (*yingzhong* 應鐘). No hymn is associated with this ballet. This ballet is also known as “Grand Entirety” (*daxian* 大咸) and “Grand Roll” (*dajuan* 大卷).²⁰³

²⁰² See ZL: 22.6b-25a; 22.9a-10a, commentary and subcommentary; Collation Record 22.3a; Goodman (2010), 219-22; and Table 1.3 below.

²⁰³ See ZL: 22.6b-25a; 22.9a-10a, commentary and subcommentary; Collation Record 22.3a; Goodman (2010), 219-22; and Table 1.3 below.

“Grand Succession”

“Grand Succession” was performed in a nine-part suite as the second ballet during offerings to Human Spirits at the Ancestral Temple, taking the place of “Grand Capaciousness,”²⁰⁴ nine being the number of Humans, and during sacrifices to the Four Gazes (*siwang* 四望)²⁰⁵ at the Suburban Altars. It was also believed that this ballet could summon phoenixes.²⁰⁶ The dancers wielded feathers and flutes. The musicians played flutes in the lower pitch-standard 5 (*guxian* 姑洗), while the singers sang in the higher pitch-standard 10 (*nanlü* 南呂). This ballet is also known as “Nine Successions” (*jiushao* 九韶 / 九招), “Succession Pan-Pipe” (*shaoxiao* 韶箛 / 招箛),²⁰⁷ “Pan-Pipe Succession” (*xiaoshao* 簫韶), “Yu’s Succession” (*Yu shao* 虞韶), and “Succession of Yu” (*shao Yu* 昭虞).²⁰⁸ The “Nine” likely came from the graphic similarity between the characters for “grand” (*da* 大) and “nine” (*jiu* 九) and was

²⁰⁴ The fall in status of “Grand Capaciousness” could be due to the rise in power of a non-Han country with the same name, Dalgra (*daxia* 大夏), identified as Bactria.

²⁰⁵ This term appears interchangeably for the Cleave and Dismember (*fugu* 鬪辜) offerings to the Hundred Plants and Creatures of the Four Directions (*sifang baiwu* 四方百物) at the Four Suburban Altars in *Zhou li*. Zheng Zhong explains this term as the Sun, the Moon, the Planets, and the Seas even though the Sun, the Moon, and the Planets are Heavenly Deities already covered under the Actual and Kindling rites. Zheng Xuan explains it as the Five Peaks (*wuyue* 五嶽), the Four Massifs (*sizhen* 四鎮), and the Four Drains (*sidu* 四瀆) even though the Five Peaks are already covered under the Blood Offering rites. This division, however, does include the Four Classes and the Four Massifs and may include the Four Drains and the Four Seas, which appear in other contexts in *Zhou li*. In *Zhou li*, the term Four Gazes seems to refer consistently to grander Earthly Divinities, or to the Four Directions themselves, rather than to lesser Plant-and-Animal Sprites (*wumei* 物魁). Nonetheless, on one occasion it clearly refers to Human Spirits worshipped at the Ancestral Temple during the Summer Solstice. This may be explained by the fact that Naked Creatures (*luowu* 裸物), written *luowu* 羸物 in *Zhou li*, are among the Hundred Plants and Creatures included in this division. Because humans are the highest form of Naked Creature, Human Spirits also come from Naked Creatures. Because the rulers of the Four Classes are not included among the former kings of the Zhou dynasty or of the Qin dynasty, they are not included in the presentations to Human Spirits. Nonetheless, because they were humans in life, they became Human Spirits in death and could be worshipped in the Ancestral Temple on appropriate occasions. See *ZL*: passim.

²⁰⁶ See *ShS*: 5.14a.

²⁰⁷ Here *shao* 箛 (club) is a loan word for *xiao* 簫 (pan-pipe). See *ZuZ*: 39.18b, subcommentary. For *xiao* 簫, see Kaufmann (1976), 118-22; and Hsueh (1983), 324-38.

²⁰⁸ See *ShS*: 5.14a; *ZL*: 22.6b-25a; 22.9a-10a, commentary and subcommentary; Collation Record 22.3a; Goodman (2010), 219-22; *ZuZ*: 39.8b-20b; *SWJZ*: 2a.21a, 9a.32a; *SJ*: 1.43, 31.1452-53, 87.2544; *HS*: 100a.4223; and Table 1.3 below. For “Succession of Yu,” see the note to “Martial Mime” above.

strengthened by numerological associations. This mistake would also have led to an association between this ballet and the original nine-part suite “Grand Capaciousness.” As an earlier ballet than “Grand Capaciousness,” using this ballet would also increase legitimation. The similarity in Old Chinese pronunciation among *djagw 韶 (succession), *tjagw 昭 / 招 (succession), *siagw 簫 / 筳 (pan-pipe), *rakw 簫 (flute), *djakw 勺 (consideration), and *tjakw 酌 (consideration)²⁰⁹ also led to an association between this ballet and Ode 293 “Zhuo,” previously associated with the ballet “Consideration,” now dropped from the sacrificial repertoire.

“Grand Capaciousness”

“Grand Capaciousness” / Ode 154 “Qi yue” has already appeared above. Now it was no longer performed during offerings to the royal ancestors at the Ancestral Temple, but only in a one-part suite during offerings to major Streams and Meres, a two-part suite during offerings to major Mountains and Forests, a three-part suite during offerings to major Knolls and Hills, or a four-part suite during offerings to major Shorelines and Floodplains at the Suburban Altars. It was also performed in an unspecified number of parts during spring and autumn offerings for good weather and winter offerings to the Progenitor of Tillage at the Suburban Altars.²¹⁰

²⁰⁹ As before, the reconstructions are my own.

²¹⁰ See ZL: 22.6b-25a; and Table 1.3 below.

“Grand Preservation”

“Grand Preservation” was performed in a seven-part suite as the fourth ballet during offerings to female ancestors in the Ancestral Temple, seven being the only remaining *yang* number, apparently providing balance. The dancers wielded shields and long-axes. The musicians played flutes in the higher pitch-standard 9 (*yize* 夷則), while the singers sang in the lower pitch-standard 6 (*xiaoliu* 小呂), besides “Grand Martial Deeds,” the only other ballet in which the music had a higher pitch than the song. This ballet is also known as “Successive Preservation” (*shaohu* 韶濩).²¹¹ As a Martial Ballet, this ballet presents an obvious association with the seven-part Ode 304 “Chang fa,” the Martial Ballet dedicated to Tang discussed above.²¹²

“Grand Martial Deeds”

“Grand Martial Deeds,” a six-part suite consisting of (1) “unknown,” (2) Ode 285 “Wu,” (3) Ode 295 “Lai,” (4) “unknown,” (5) Ode 296 “Pan,” and (6) Ode 294 “Huan,” has already appeared above. I assess that in this tradition Ode 268 “Wei qing,” which we have discussed as “Mime” (*xiang* 象), was also the “image” (*xiang* 象) of Part One. I also assess that in this tradition Ode 293 “Zhuo,” which we have discussed as “Consideration,” the completion of “Grand Martial Deeds,” was Part Four, marking the completion of the regrouping of forces after the defeat of Shang and the beginning of unification. This would make Part Two, the assembly of arms and the defeat of Shang, Ode 285 “Wu,” the key event, namely “Wu Spent

²¹¹ See the note to “Martial Mime” above.

²¹² See ZL: 22.6b-25a; and Table 1.3 below.

the Night.” This would also fit the statement in *Li ji* that ancient music begins with the “civil” (*wen* 文), meaning drums, and ends with the “martial” (*wu* 武), meaning bells.²¹³ Regardless, it was now no longer performed during offerings to the royal ancestors in general, but as a five-part suite as the fourth ballet during offerings to male ancestors in the Ancestral Temple, five being the only remaining *yin* number, providing balance to this hymn, as Part Four had been coopted for “Grand Succession.” When the First Emperor of Qin took the imperial title, he also gave “Grand Martial Deeds” the new title “Five Elements,” further emphasizing his philosophical leanings.²¹⁴

1.2.2 Lesser Music

Zhou li mentions the term Lesser Music once. The term also appears once as Lesser Ballets (*xiaowu* 小舞). Despite the actual number of pieces, it is later also known as Six Ballets (*liuwu* 六舞). From context, we can tell that this term refers to both “Tribal Music,” which we have already discussed, and “Adept Music” (*sanyue* 散樂). This second term, also referred to as “Local Ballets” (*yewu* 野舞), comprises “Gesture Ballet” (*renwu* 人舞),²¹⁵ “Pentachrome-Pole Ballet” (*fuwu* 帔舞), “Feather Ballet” (*yuwu* 羽舞), “Phoenix Ballet” (*huangwu* 皇舞), “Oxtail Ballet” (*maowu* 旄舞), and “Shield Ballet” (*ganwu* 干舞). These ballets were used for minor offerings and sacrifices, in contrast to “Grand Music” or “Music

²¹³ See *LJ*: 38.19b, classic and commentary.

²¹⁴ See *ZL*: 22.6b-25a, *HS*: 22.1044, *SgS*: 19.542-43, *NQS*: 11.190, and Table 1.3 below.

²¹⁵ I have translated this title as “Gesture Ballet” rather than as “Human Ballet” in order to convey the meaning that the dancers used themselves as props.

of the Six Eras,” which was used for major offerings and sacrifices.²¹⁶ This usage of the term Six Ballets likely stems from the number of ballets listed under “Adept Music” and from the graphic similarity between the characters for “lesser” (*xiao* 小) and “six” (*liu* 六).

“Gesture Ballet”

“Gesture Ballet” was performed during sacrifices to the deities of planets and constellations at the Suburban Altars. The dancers used their hands and sleeves.²¹⁷ No hymn is associated with this ballet, but it has clear connections to “Cloud Gate” because of its ties to Heavenly Deities and because of Huangdi’s correspondence with the Human August One (*renhuang* 人皇).

“Pentachrome-Pole Ballet”

“Pentachrome-Pole Ballet” was performed during sacrifices to the Soil God and the Millet God at the Soil and Millet Shrine. The dancers wielded pentachrome feathers like those of a phoenix.²¹⁸ No hymn is associated with this ballet, but it has clear connections to “Universal Bestowal” because of its ties to the earth and agriculture.

²¹⁶ See *ZL*: 12.19a-23b, 23.1a-1b, 23.17b, 24.6a; and *HS*: 22.1038, original and commentary.

²¹⁷ Zheng Xuan makes an unsupported claim associating this ballet with the Ancestral Temple, but this conflicts with its classification as a Lesser Ballet used for minor offerings and sacrifices. See *ZL*: 23.1a-2a, commentary; and Table 1.3 below.

²¹⁸ See *ZL*: 12.21a; 12.22b; 23.1a-2a, commentary; and Table 1.3 below.

“Feather Ballet”

“Feather Ballet” was performed during offerings to the Four Directions at the Suburban Altars. The dancers wielded feathers.²¹⁹ No hymn is associated with this ballet, but it has clear connections to “Grand Succession” because of the ties between the Four Gazes and the Four Directions and because of the specification of feathers as props.

“Phoenix Ballet”

“Phoenix Ballet” was performed during extemporaneous prayers for relief during droughts and floods at the Suburban Altars. The dancers wore phoenix costumes. As the name of this ballet, *huang* 皇 is also written *huang* 翬. This ballet is also associated with the “Rain Dance” (*yu* 雩) and the “Weather Prayer” (*yong* 禳).²²⁰ No hymn is associated with this ballet, but it has clear connections to “Grand Capaciousness” because of the ties between seasonal weather prayers and extemporaneous weather prayers.

At this point, let us reconsider these three ballets, “Pentachrome-Pole Ballet,” “Feather Ballet,” and “Phoenix Ballet,” and their connected ballets, “Universal Bestowal,” “Grand Succession,” and “Grand Capaciousness.” The first ballet uses phoenix colored feathers, the second is connected to a ballet that summons phoenixes, and the third uses a phoenix costume. We have already seen the close relationship between “Grand Succession” and “Grand Capaciousness” and we have seen that details on “Universal Bestowal” arrived

²¹⁹ Zheng Xuan makes an unsupported claim associating this ballet with the Ancestral Temple, but this conflicts with its classification as a Lesser Ballet used for minor offerings and sacrifices. See *ZL*: 12.22b; 23.1a-2a, commentary; and Table 1.3 below.

²²⁰ Zheng Zhong makes an unsupported claim associating this ballet with the Four Directions, but this conflicts with “Feather Ballet.” See *ZL*: 12.22b; 23.1a-2a, commentary; and Table 1.3 below.

late. Thus, I shall note here the possibility that these six ballets may have evolved from the same ballet.

“Oxtail Ballet”

“Oxtail Ballet” was performed during offerings to Former Sages (*xiansheng* 先聖) at the Circular Moat (*biyong* 辟雍). The dancers wielded oxtails.²²¹ No hymn is associated with this ballet, but it has clear connections to “Grand Preservation” because of the ties between the Ancestral Temple and the Circular Moat.

“Shield Ballet”

“Shield Ballet” was performed during offerings to minor Mountains and Streams at the Suburban Altars. The dancers wielded shields. This ballet is also known as “Weapon Ballet” (*bingwu* 兵舞).²²² No hymn is associated with this ballet, but it has clear connections to “Grand Martial Deeds” because of the specification of shields as props. It also has clear connections to the Music of the Four Tribes because of its alternate name indicating the use of weapons as props, namely lances, bows, large-axes, and large-shields.

At this point, let us reconsider the balance between Music of the Six Eras and Lesser Music. We previously noted that Music of the Six Eras has Two Civil Ballets and Four Martial Ballets. The use of feathers as props in “Pentachrome-Pole Ballet,” “Feather Ballet,”

²²¹ See *ZL*: 23.1a-2a, commentary; and Table 1.3 below.

²²² Zheng Zhong makes an unsupported claim associating this ballet with Military Affairs, which seems otherwise plausible. See *ZL*: 12.21a; 12.22b; 23.1a-2a, commentary; and Table 1.3 below.

and “Phoenix Ballet” clearly marks them as Civil Ballets. The use of shields or weapons in “Shield Ballet” clearly marks it as a Martial Ballet. If we take Music of the Four Tribes as subsidiary to “Shield Ballet” and if we take “Human Ballet” as a Martial Ballet, then we achieve a perfect balance between Civil and Martial with six each. Furthermore, when added together, they equal twelve, which is also the number of Heaven.²²³

1.2.3 Liturgy

Above we have discussed the sacrificial ceremonies, sites, and ballets of the Qin dynasty. There were three kinds of ceremonies: sacrifices to deities, offerings to divinities, and presentations to spirits. There were eight major sites: the Round Mound to Heaven, the Square Mound to Earth, the Four Suburban Altars to the Five Holy Ones, the Soil and Millet Shrine to the Soil God and the Millet God, and the Ancestral Temple to the royal ancestors. There were two kinds of ballet: Music of the Six Eras, representing past dynasties, three for Suburban sacrifices, two for the Ancestral Temple, and one for both; and Lesser Ballets, representing local and non-Han-Chinese sacrificial ballets divided according to props used. There were three kinds of hymn: processions, canticles, and offertories. From our discussion of the ballets and from previous information, we can assume that the major external ceremonies in the suburbs had the same basic five-part liturgy: “General Processional,” “Victim Processional,” ceremony-specific dynastic ballet, ceremony-specific offertory, and “General Processional.” The minor external ceremonies may have had a basic one-part liturgy: ceremony-specific Lesser Ballet. The internal ceremonies at the Ancestral Temple had a similar basic nine-part liturgy: “General Processional,” “Victim Processional,”

²²³ See *LJ*: 26.6a.

“Ascension Hymn,” ancestor-specific Martial Ballet, gender-specific dynastic Martial Ballet, “Grand Succession,” ancestor-specific Civil Ballet, general-purpose offertory, and “General Processional.” The external ceremonies at the Ancestral Temple had a basic one-part liturgy: tribe-specific Martial Ballet. Other processionals could be added according to the status of the participants.²²⁴

1.3 Reduction: Western Han

The founder of the Western Han dynasty, Emperor Gao 高帝 (r.206-195 BCE), reduced the extensive ritual practices built up by Zhou and Qin. On the one hand, the internecine war that had followed the collapse of Qin had left most of the ritual records scattered or burned and the ritual experts dispersed or dead. On the other hand, Emperor Gao, as a court outsider, espoused simpler tastes and desired only the minimum show to legitimate his fledgling dynasty. During the Western Han dynasty, Heaven continued to be addressed by both the *Li ji* term August Heaven and the *Zhou li* term Vast Heaven and to these were added the terms Great Unity (*taiyi* 泰一) and Great Primordial (*taiyuan* 泰元). Earth continued to be addressed as Lord Earth and to this was added August Lord (*houhuang* 后皇).²²⁵ The participants in these ceremonies remained much the same, with the exception of the impersonator, which was no longer used. The major sacrificial sites remained the same,²²⁶ but a fifth Suburban Altar was added and the names were changed. The Round Mound was

²²⁴ See Table 1.3, Table 1.4, Table 1.5, Table 1.6, Table 1.7, and Table 1.8 below. Kern points out that the Western Han liturgy was modeled on the Qin liturgy as indicated by *Han shu* 漢書. See Kern (1997), 38-41; and *HS*: 22.1043.

²²⁵ See Kern (1997), 176-78, 211, and 261.

²²⁶ For a discussion of these as Suburban sacrifices, see Bodde (1975), 212-14, 224, and 250. For Soil and Millet, see Bodde (1975), 20, 56, and 73.

first renamed the Great Sanctum (*taizhi* 泰峙), also known as the Great Unity Delubrum (*Taiyi ci* 泰一祠) or the Great Unity Altar (*Taiyi tan* 泰一壇) and then the Southern Suburban Altar. The Square Mound was first renamed the Lord Earth Sanctum (*houtu zhi* 后土峙), also known as the Lord Earth Delubrum (*houtu ci* 后土祠), and then the Northern Suburban Altar. The Four Suburban Altars first became the Five Sanctums (*wuzhi* 五峙): the Intimate Sanctum (*mizhi* 密峙) to the Blue Holy One, the Wuyang Upper Sanctum (*Wuyang shangzhi* 吳陽上峙) to the Scarlet Holy One, the Wuyang Lower Sanctum (*Wuyang xiazhi* 吳陽下峙) to the Yellow Holy One, the Fu Sanctum (*Fu zhi* 鄜峙) to the White Holy One, and the Northern Sanctum (*beizhi* 北峙) to the Black Holy One; and then the Five Suburban Altars.²²⁷ Suburban sacrifices also went without music. Soil and Millet sacrifices went without music as well and were degraded to the point that no hymns and scarce information survives on them for this period.²²⁸ Perhaps most influential on later dynasties was Emperor Gao's passion for the music of Chu 楚, a marginal and sometimes powerful Han-Chinese state closely associated with the Southern Tribes.²²⁹ Replete with the wild shamanism of "Jiu ge" 九歌 (Nine Hymns) found in *Chu ci* 楚辭, such music conveyed

²²⁷ For Great Sanctum, see *SJ*: 12.470, 22.1149, 28.1395, *HS*: 25b.1241-71, and *passim*. For the Great Unity Delubrum, see *SJ*: 12.469, *HS*: 24b.1173, 25a.1230, 25b.1265. For Great Unity Altar, see *SJ*: 12.456, 12.469, *HS*: 25a.1218-19, and 25a.1230. For Southern Suburban Altar, see *SJ*: 12.456, 28.1357, 28.1386, *HS*: 25b.1241-71, and *passim*. For Round Mound, see *HS*: 25b.1266. For Great Altar, see *HS*: 25b.1254. For Lord Earth Sanctum, see *HS*: 25b.1269. For Lord Earth Delubrum, see *SJ*: 12.461, *HS*: 6.183-84, 11.341, 24b.1173, 25a.1222, and 25b.1264-65. For Northern Suburban Altar, see *HS*: 25b.1241-71, and *passim*. For Square Mound, see *HS*: 22.1045 and 25b.1266. For Square Mere (*fangze* 方澤), see *HS*: 25b.1254, Note 6. For Great Barrow, see *HS*: 25b.1254. For the Intimate Sanctum, see *SJ*: 5.185, 14.575, 28.1360, *HS*: 25a.1196, and 25a.1199. For the Upper Sanctum, see *SJ*: 15.704, 28.1364, *HS*: 25a.1199, and 25b.1257. For the Lower Sanctum, see *SJ*: 15.704, 28.1364, *HS*: 25a.1199, 25a.1202, and 25b.1257. For the Fu Sanctum, see *SJ*: 5.179, 5.184, 14.537, 28.1358-60, and *HS*: 25a.1194-96. For the Northern Sanctum, see *SJ*: 26.1260, 28.1378, *HS*: 25a.1210, 25b.1257, and 25b.1264. For the Five Suburban Altars, see *HS*: 25b.1269.

²²⁸ See T'ai (1950), 267-69. For a good overview of Emperor Gao's ritual practices, see Goodman (1998), 37-39. For information about the Soil and Millet Shrines, see *JS*: 19.591.

²²⁹ See T'ai (1950), 256-62.

greater passion and favored trimeter or irregular meter lyrics over the predominantly tetrameter lyrics of the Zhou sacrificial hymns.²³⁰ This shift eventually rekindled the old debate of Ancient Music (*guyue* 古樂) versus New Melodies (*xinsheng* 新聲) that had raged in state courts at the end of the Zhou dynasty, the main concern being that New Melodies moved their audience to the point of passionate excess.²³¹ After his death, his successor, Emperor Hui 惠帝 (r.195-188 BCE), established multiple shrines for Emperor Gao throughout the empire.²³²

Emperor Wu 武帝 (r.140-87 BCE) revised the ritual system to a much greater extent than had his father, bringing back music and ballets seemingly to all sacrifices, much in the manner of the Qin dynasty. He as well had a passion for the music of Chu²³³ and a fascination with the concept later favored by Zheng Xuan of the Hall of Brilliance as a separate structure from the Ancestral Temple. Unable to build such a structure south of Chang'an as he had originally planned due to his mother's opposition, he built it instead at the foot of Mt. Tai 泰山. The description of the structure and the sacrifices held there bear a striking resemblance to the Wuyang Upper Sanctum and the Wuyang Lower Sanctum, with the Mt. Tai Hall of Brilliance having Upper Thrones (*shangzuo* 上坐) for the Great Unity and the Five Holy Ones and a Lower Room (*xiafang* 下房) for Lord Earth.²³⁴ His expanded sacrifices, however, could not be sustained. First, Emperor Yuan 元帝 (r.49-33 BCE) reduced services to save money and finally Emperor Cheng 成帝 (r.32-7 BCE) abolished

²³⁰ See *Songs of the South*: 15-66; and *CC*: passim.

²³¹ See Kern (1997), 33-38; and von Falkenhausen (1993), 53-55.

²³² See Goodman (1998), 62.

²³³ See T'ai (1950), 267-69; Kamatani (1992), 62-64; Knechtges (1994), 64-66; and Kamatani (1996), 44-47.

²³⁴ See *SJ*: 12.480-81, 28.1364, 28.1401, *HS*: 25a.1199, and 25a.1243.

Emperor Wu's ritual system to avoid its association with the stigma of Qin.²³⁵ Throughout Western Han the expectation remained that the ruler and his officials ought to transcend personal interests, even in the realm of the cosmological and the afterlife.²³⁶

Sacrificial music remained much the same but came under different names. Music of the Six Eras reverted back to Grand Music, minus “Grand Capaciousness”²³⁷ and “Grand Preservation,” which disappeared from sacrificial use, whereas Music of the Four Tribes was replaced by “Ba Ditties.”²³⁸ The processionals, canticles, and offertories also continued in importance, but received new names. As before, I shall address the music along with the ballets and hymns it accompanied, the ballets I shall divide between Grand Music and “Ba Ditties,” the hymns I shall divide among Processionals, Suburban Sacrificial Hymns, and Ancestral Temple Hymns, and finally I shall combine these with previous information in a discussion of liturgy.

1.3.1 Grand Music

Shi ji mentions the term Grand Music only twice,²³⁹ but the context makes it clear that this term refers to the music of major sacrifices. *Han shu* mentions the term nine times as the name of a musical office,²⁴⁰ but here the context also makes it clear that the music is the same. While this category likely also included the music for the sacrificial hymns, here I

²³⁵ See Kern (1997), 33-38; Goodman (1998), 62; and Puett (2010), 149.

²³⁶ For a good discussion of this trend, see Brown (2007), 24-29 and 36-39.

²³⁷ Though no longer part of the sacrifices, “Grand Capaciousness” seems to have enjoyed growing popularity as the source for other sacrificial hymns and for secular entertainment. See below and Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 below.

²³⁸ Later written *bayu* 巴渝.

²³⁹ See *SJ*: 24.188-89.

²⁴⁰ See *HS*: 16.601, 19b.779, 21a.965, 22.1043, 22.1070-74, and 96b.3904.

shall discuss only the Suburban Sacrificial Ballets and the Ancestral Temple Ballets and leave the sacrificial hymns for later.

1.3.1.1 Suburban Sacrificial Ballets

The Suburban Sacrificial Ballets comprised “Cloud Plumes” (*yunqiao* 雲翹) and “Engendering Life” (*yuming* 育命).²⁴¹

“Cloud Plumes”

“Cloud Plumes” appears to be the new name for “Cloud Gate” as the ballet performed during sacrifices to Heaven and during sacrifices to the Blue Holy One, the Scarlet Holy One, and the Yellow Holy One. The dancers wielded feathers and flutes in spring, peddler-drums (*tao* 鼗)²⁴² in summer, and shields and long-axes in late summer. This ballet is also known as “Cloud Beckoning” (*yunzhao* 雲招).²⁴³ I shall discuss the associated music and hymns below.

²⁴¹ For a discussion of traditional accounts of these ballets, including a later mistaken Eastern Han dating, see T'ai (1950), 267-269; and Liang (2009), 105-14.

²⁴² See Kaufmann (1976), 129-30; and Hsueh (1983), 127-28.

²⁴³ See Table 1.3 below. For general discussion of this ballet, see Bodde (1975), 197-98; and T'ai (1950), 267-69. For performance during sacrifices, see *HS*: 22.1072-74, *HHS*: Z5.3123, Z7.3161, Z8.3181-82, and Z30.3665. For a discussion of the props, see Liang (2009), 105-14.

“Engendering Life”

“Engendering Life” appears to be the new name for “Universal Bestowal” as the ballet performed during sacrifices to Earth and during sacrifices to the Yellow Holy One, the White Holy One, and the Black Holy One. The dancers wielded shields and long-axes in late summer and autumn and shields and dagger-axes (*ge* 戈) in winter.²⁴⁴ I shall discuss the associated music and hymns below.

1.3.1.2 Ancestral Temple Ballets

The Ancestral Temple Ballets comprised “Martial Virtue” (*wude* 武德) and other ancestor-specific Martial Ballets, “Civil Beginning” (*wenshi* 文始), “Four Seasons” (*sishi* 四時), and “Five Elements.”²⁴⁵

“Martial Virtue”

Known ancestor-specific Martial Ballets comprise “Martial Virtue” to Emperor Gao, “Revealed Virtue” (*zhaode* 昭德) to Emperor Wen 文帝 (r.179-157 BCE), and “Flourishing Virtue” (*shengde* 盛德) to Emperor Wu. Similar to previous performances, these ballets were preceded by canticles. Unlike previous performances, however, these ballets were performed in the hall, not the court in front of the hall, and so were not accompanied by

²⁴⁴ See Table 1.3 below. For general discussion of this ballet, see Bodde (1975), 197-98; and T'ai (1950), 267-69. For performance during sacrifices, see *HHS*: Z5.3123, Z7.3161, Z8.3181-82, and Z30.3665. For a discussion of the props, see Liang (2009), 105-14.

²⁴⁵ For a discussion of traditional accounts of these ballets, see T'ai (1950), 267-269; and Liang (2009), 114-28.

music. Additionally, each ballet was followed (*chu* 出) by a recessional known as “Revealed Department” (*zhaorong* 昭容) associated with “Victim Processional.” “Martial Virtue” was likely modeled on Ode 268 “Wei qing,” but with six lines instead of five and performed twice to balance with its sister Civil Ballet. It mimes the joy of all under heaven over Emperor Gao’s use of martial deeds to remove disorder. “Revealed Virtue” is modeled on “Martial Virtue” and mimes Emperor Wen’s civil achievements. “Flourishing Virtue” is modeled on “Revealed Virtue” and mimes Emperor Wu’s meritorious achievements.²⁴⁶

“Civil Beginning”

“Civil Beginning” was the new name for “Grand Succession.” Unlike previous performances, this ballet was performed in the hall, not the court in front of the hall, and so

²⁴⁶ See *SJ*: 10.436; *HS*: 5.137-38, 8.243, 22.1044, 75.3157; *HHS*: Z9.3195, note 3; and Table 1.3 below. The context of the term that I have translated as “followed” is *Han shu*: “‘Revealed Department’ follows (causes to exit, *chu* 出) ‘Martial Virtue.’...As for the dancers’ not having music, it is that they dare not use music when they go before the most respected; as for using music for the exit (*chu* 出) [of the ballet], this is to say that the ballet will not lose its sequence and indeed it can also be finished with music.” As discussed above, “exit” (*chu* 出) is a standard descriptor for the purpose of a recessional. Nonetheless, the first usage of *chu* 出 in this passage is later taken out of context in *Song shu* 宋書 and paraphrased as “born of” (*sheng yu* 生於), implying that ‘Revealed Department’ was derived from “Martial Virtue” for some unknown purpose, causing general confusion over this title thereafter. See *HS*: 22.1044 and *SgS*: 19.533-34. Later liturgical discussions describe this kind of recessional as performed “upon the exit of the Martial Ballet” (*wuwu chu* 武舞出). See *SuS*: 15.360. Lu Kanru 陸侃如, citing an unspecified document by Liu Fengshi 劉奉世 (1041-1113), known for his study of *Han shu*, correctly identifies these two hymns as ballet recessional. See Lu Kanru (1926), 36. Ch’i T’ing-t’ing 齊婷婷 is not as specific, but seems to identify the two hymns as special purpose Ancestral Temple hymns, differing from ballets, canticles, or offertories. See Ch’i (1980), 160-62. T’ai Ching-nung 臺靜農 mentions “Revealed Department” and its mate “Ritual Department” (*lirong* 禮容), but does not speculate on their use. See T’ai (1950), 272-73. Still, Liao Wei-ch’ing 廖蔚卿, Chan Wai-leung, and Martin Kern classify these hymns as sacrificial ballets. See Liao (1964), 111-12; Chan (1970), 160; and Kern (1997), 87-88.

was not accompanied by music. Additionally, it was followed by a recessional known as “Ritual Department” (*lirong* 禮容), associated with “Revealed Department.”²⁴⁷

“Four Seasons”

“Four Seasons” was performed as a general-purpose Ancestral Temple Martial Ballet to show the peace and harmony of all under heaven. Based on the formal structure of later hymns derived from this one, this ballet was likely modeled on “Grand Capaciousness” / Ode 154 “Qi yue.” It was likely also performed without music in the hall and followed by “Revealed Department.”²⁴⁸

“Five Elements”

“Five Elements” was the name given to “Grand Martial Deeds” in the Qin dynasty. It was also performed without music in the hall and followed by “Ritual Department.” This ballet appears to have completed the ceremony, because unlike previous performances, offertories earlier associated with the Ancestral Temple offerings were now performed as entertainment during the dinner that followed.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁷ See *SJ*: 10.436; *HS*: 5.137-38, 8.243, 22.1044, 75.3157; *HHS*: Z9.3195, Note 3; and Table 1.3 below. The purpose of “Ritual Department” is defined in the same passage from *Han shu* as that of “Revealed Department” with the same later result. See the note to “Revealed Department” above.

²⁴⁸ See *SJ*: 10.436; *HS*: 5.137-38, 8.243, 22.1044, 75.3157; *HHS*: Z9.3195, Note 3; Table 1.3 below; and Chapter 2 below.

²⁴⁹ See *SJ*: 10.436, *HS*: 5.137-38, 8.243, 22.1044, 75.3157, *HHS*: Z9.3195, Note 3, and Table 1.3 below.

1.3.2 Ba Ditties

Following Emperor Gao's defeat of the King of Chu (*Chuwang* 楚王), Xiang Yu 項羽 (232-202 BCE), his tribal soldiers from the Ba Region performed a series of four ballets for him to celebrate his victory, each ballet apparently having a different prop representing a different event from the campaign. Members of the Lao 獠 tribe, they had earned the nick-name Large-Board-Shield Southern Tribes (*bandun Man* 板楯蠻) in their many campaigns with the emperor. Upon seeing the performance, he exclaimed: "This is King Wu's hymn of smiting Zhou 紂 (r. 1075-1046 BCE, the bad last king of the Shang dynasty)." Thereupon, he had his court musicians choreograph the movements, compose the tune, and write down the lyrics. Although the title of this series first appears in *Han Shu*, its origin is first explained in *Hou Han shu* and the number and titles of its hymns are first mentioned in *Song shu*. Originally, it served as a general-purpose suite with drums in accompaniment, but Emperor Ai 哀帝 (r.6-1 BCE) had it included in Grand Music.²⁵⁰ The four ballets are "Lance Ditty" (*mao yu* 矛俞), "Crossbow Ditty" (*nu yu* 弩俞), "Dagger-Axe Ditty" (*ge yu* 戈俞), and "Large-Board-Shield Ditty" (*ban yu* 板俞). The first two titles are fairly consistent, but the last two are more problematic.²⁵¹

²⁵⁰ These ballets enjoyed great popularity throughout the dynasty and were the source for other ballets used purely as secular entertainment. See Chapter 2 below.

²⁵¹ See *SJ*:117.3039, Note 6; *HS*: 22.1072-74; *HHS*: 86.2842; *SgS*: 20.571-73; and *JS*: 22.693-94. For a good overview of traditional understanding, see T'ai (1950), 284; and Liang (2009), 130-46.

“Lance Ditty”

“Lance Ditty” consistently appears with this title. The event depicted in this ballet may have been the gathering of weaponry in preparation for the campaign.²⁵² This ballet has clear connections to “Mei.” Both are tribal Martial Ballets in which the dancers wielded lances. Both are associated with founding ballets, “Mei” with those of Zhou, and “Lance Ditty” with those of Western Han.²⁵³

“Crossbow Ditty”

“Crossbow Ditty” consistently appears with this title. The event depicted in this ballet is most likely Xiang Yu’s wounding of Emperor Gao with a crossbow due to Emperor Gao’s carelessness. This temporary setback eventually strengthened Emperor Gao as a leader.²⁵⁴ This ballet has clear connections to “Nan.” Both are tribal Martial Ballets. In “Nan” the dancers wielded bows and in “Crossbow Ditty” they wielded crossbows. Both are associated with founding ballets, “Nan” with those of Zhou, and “Crossbow Ditty” with those of Western Han.²⁵⁵

²⁵² No one event involving lances stands out in particular.

²⁵³ See *SgS*: 20.571-73, *JS*: 22.693-94, and Table 1.4 below. For “Mei,” see discussion above.

²⁵⁴ See *SJ*: 7.328 and 8.376.

²⁵⁵ See *SgS*: 20.571-73, *JS*: 22.693-94, and Table 1.4 below. For “Nan,” see discussion above.

“Dagger-Axe Ditty”

“Dagger-Axe Ditty” consistently appears with the title “Peaceful Terrace” (*antai* 安臺), but this breaks the pattern of the titles of the first two ballets. No one event involving a dagger-axe stands out for this campaign, but the phrase *antai* appears in a passage describing Emperor Wu’s preparation for an on-site devotional sacrifice following his victory over the Southern Yue (*nanyue* 南越) tribe.²⁵⁶ Thus, “Peaceful Terrace” may simply be a later version of the ballet. By the end of the Han dynasty, the only extant copy of the hymns that accompanied these ballets was written in an ancient script impossible to parse. Aside from obsolete versions of numerous characters, the practice of inserting musical notation into the texts may have compounded the difficulty.²⁵⁷ In his own version of this ballet, the Jin 晉 dynasty (265-420) poet laureate and ritual theorist Fu Xuan 傅玄 (217-278) tells us that the props for these ballets were swords (*jian* 劍), crossbows, dagger-axes, and lances. Since swords, crossbows, and lances are identified with the other three ballets, the prop for this ballet would seem to be dagger-axes. Thus, this ballet has clear connections to “Zhuli.” Both are tribal Martial Ballets. In “Zhuli” the dancers wielded large-axes and in “Dagger-Axe Ditty” they wielded dagger-axes. Both are associated with founding ballets, “Zhuli” with those of Zhou, and “Dagger-Axe Ditty” with those of Western Han.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁶ See *SJ*: 12.478. In this passage, *antai* may simply mean “set up a terrace [as an altar],” instead of naming or describing the terrace itself.

²⁵⁷ For a discussion of this practice, see *SgS*: 22.660, 22.666; Luo (1931), 32-34; and Yu (1953), 7-8.

²⁵⁸ See *SgS*: 20.571-73, *JS*: 22.693-94, and Table 1.4 below. For “Zhuli,” see discussion above.

“Large-Board-Shield Ditty”

“Large-Board-Shield Ditty” appears as either “Yu Sword” (*jian Yu* 劍俞) or “Ballad Lyrics” (*xingci* 行辭), the second of which also breaks the pattern of the titles of the first two ballets. The event depicted in this ballet is most likely Xiang Yu’s attempt to kill Emperor Gao with a sword dance after which Emperor Gao’s trusty companion, Fan Kuai 樊噲 (242-189 BCE), realizing something is amiss, pushes past Xiang Yu’s guards with a large shield and escorts Emperor Gao to safety.²⁵⁹ Although swords are attested as the props for this ballet, they are not the armament of preference of non-Han Chinese tribes in general, nor of the Lao tribe in specific. Instead, we would expect that at least one ballet would involve the large-board-shields that they preferred, especially since shields were such common props. Thus, this ballet has clear connections to “Jin.” Both are tribal Martial Ballets in which the dancers wielded large-shields. Both are associated with founding ballets, “Jin” with those of Zhou, and “Large-Board-Shield Ditty” with those of Western Han.²⁶⁰

1.3.3 Processionals

Western Han general-purpose sacrificial processionals comprised “Endless Arrival” (*yongzhi* 永至), “Excellence Achieved” (*xiucheng* 休成), and “Fine Arrival” (*jiazhi* 嘉至) that could be used with drums in accompaniment at Suburban Sacrifices or at the Ancestral Temple. “Endless Arrival” and “Excellence Achieved,” the former a processional and the latter a recessional, were the new names for “Royal Processional,” its title having become obsolete.

²⁵⁹ See *SJ*: 7.312-13 and 7.336.

²⁶⁰ See *SgS*: 20.571-73; *JS*: 22.693-94; and Table 1.4 below. For “Jin,” see discussion above.

“Fine Arrival” was the new name for “General Processional,” its title having also become obsolete with the passing of the impersonator. Instead, this step in the liturgy was referred to as “calling down the god” (*jiangshen* 降神). Alternately, it was referred to as “welcoming the god” (*yingshen* 迎神) and “sending off the god” (*songshen* 送神), though the Han liturgy seems not to have performed this as a recessional.²⁶¹

1.3.4 Suburban Sacrificial Hymns

Han shu records twenty Suburban Sacrificial Hymns under nineteen titles, but provides little or no information on all but five of them. Twelve are longer trimeter or irregular meter hymns and only eight are terse tetrameter hymns in the style of the “Song” 頌 section of *Mao shi* 毛詩. Many scholars have tried to understand them as a single and complete liturgy, but to no avail. It appears rather more likely that they are in an almost completely random order. Martin Kern has traced fifteen of them to the reign of Emperor Wu and provides evidence that the other five originated at that time as well.²⁶² Upon comparing his information on the dates with the content and meter of the hymns, we get the striking appearance that at various times multiple hymns were composed on the same subject but in different meters: longer trimeter and irregular meter and terse tetrameter in the style of the “Song” section of *Mao shi*. Thus, I shall divide these hymns into five groups according to content and meter and arrange

²⁶¹ See *HS*: 22.1043; 22.1046, Note 3; 22.1073; and Table 1.5 below. Accompaniment of drums is specified for “Fine Arrival” and assumed for the other two, though a separate percussion instrument may have been used. See *HS*: 22.1073. For a brief discussion of these processions, see Kern (1997), 40.

²⁶² See Kern (1997), 174, 179, 293; Wang Fuli (2009), 50, and 88. Wang Fuli espouses the traditional belief that these hymns represent a single and complete liturgy and comes to slightly different conclusions as to dating, including assigning four of the hymns to Warring States Qi, despite the consistence of their rime categories, meter, and vocabulary with Western Han usage. See Wang Fuli (2009), 48-101. For alternate translations of ten of these hymns and a review thereof, see Birrell (1988), 29-44; and Knechtges (1990). See also Lee (1995).

them within each group from earlier to later date of composition for ease of discussion:

Trimeter Heaven and Earth Hymns, Irregular Meter Heaven and Earth Hymns, Tetrameter Heaven and Earth Hymns, Trimeter and Tetrameter Five Holy One and Five God Hymns, and Trimeter, Irregular Meter, and Tetrameter Omen Hymns.

1.3.4.1 Trimeter Heaven and Earth Hymns

Trimeter Heaven and Earth Hymns comprise Hymn 1 “Elect the Seasonal Day” (*lian shiri* 練時日), Hymn 15 “Splendor So Glittering” (*hua yeye* 華燦燦), and Hymn 19 “Scarlet Alligator” (*chijiao* 赤蛟). The first hymn honors the Great Unity in twelve quatrains of alternating rhymed and unrhymed lines in nine rime categories with a refrain consisting of “The...of the numens” (*ling zhi*... 靈之...). The second hymn honors Lord Earth in a sixain and eight quatrains of alternating rhymed and unrhymed lines in eight rime categories with a refrain consisting of “The...of the gods” (*shen zhi*... 神之...). The third hymn honors Heaven in seven quatrains of alternating rhymed and unrhymed line in six rime categories with a refrain consisting of “The numens...” (*ling*... 靈...).²⁶³ Each hymn reads like an offertory.

²⁶³ See *HS*: 22.1052-54, 22.1066, 22.1069-70, Kern (1997), 187-98, 263-67, 280-84, Table 1.2, and Table 1.6 below.

1.3.4.2 Irregular Meter Heaven and Earth Hymns

Irregular meter Heaven and Earth hymns comprise Hymn 8 “Heaven and Earth” (*tiandi* 天地), Hymn 11 “Heaven’s Gate” (*tianmen* 天門), and Hymn 9 “The Sun Comes Out and Goes In” (*ri churu* 日出入). The first hymn honors both Heaven and Earth in ten quatrains of alternating rhymed and unrhymed lines in eight rime categories. The second hymn honors Heaven in three dizains and two octaves of primarily alternating rhymed and unrhymed lines in five rime categories. The third hymn honors the sun in a sixain and a septain in widely separated rhymes in two rime categories.²⁶⁴ Each hymn reads like an offertory.

1.3.4.3 Tetrameter Heaven and Earth Hymns

Tetrameter Heaven and Earth Hymns comprise Hymn 14 “August Lord” and Hymn 7 “Indeed the Great Primordial” (*wei taiyua* 惟泰元). The first hymn honors the August Lord in two quatrains of alternating rhymed and unrhymed lines in two rime categories. The second hymn honors the Great Primordial in six quatrains of primarily alternating rhymed and unrhymed lines in five rime categories.²⁶⁵ Each hymn reads like an offertory.

1.3.4.4 Trimeter and Tetrameter Five Holy One Hymns

Trimeter and Tetrameter Five Holy One and Five God Hymns comprise Hymn 16 “Five Gods” (*wushen* 五神), Hymn 2 “The Holy One Draws Nigh” (*di lin* 帝臨), Hymn 3 “Blue

²⁶⁴ See *HS*: 22.1057-60, 22.1061-62, Kern (1997), 216-26, 241-47, Table 1.2, and Table 1.6 below.

²⁶⁵ See *HS*: 22.1057, 22.1065, Kern (1997), 210-15, 261-62, Table 1.2, and Table 1.6 below.

Yang” (*qingyang* 青陽), Hymn 4 “Vermilion Brilliance” (*zhuming* 朱明), Hymn 5 “Western Candescence” (*xihao* 西顛), and Hymn 6 “Xuanming” (*xuanming* 玄冥). *Shi ji*, *Han shu*, and *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 provide consistent information on how the last five were used. The first hymn honors the Five Gods, Goumang, Zhurong, Houtu, Rushou, and Xuanming, in five trimeter quatrains of primarily alternating rhymed and unrhymed lines in four rime categories. As the Five Gods were worshipped in conjunction with the Five Holy Ones, this hymn may have been performed on the same occasions as the five hymns that follow. The second hymn honors the Yellow Holy One in three tetrameter quatrains of alternating rhymed and unrhymed lines in four rime categories. It was performed with both “Cloud Plumes” and “Engendering Life” in late summer at the Yellow Suburban Altar (*huangjiao* 黃郊), also known as the Central Hypaethron (*zhongzhao* 中兆) or the Central Suburban Altar (*zhongjiao* 中郊).²⁶⁶ The third hymn honors the Blue Holy One in three tetrameter quatrains of primarily alternating rhymed and unrhymed lines in three rime categories. It was performed with “Cloud Plumes” in spring at the Eastern Suburban Altar (*dongjiao* 東郊), also known as the Blue Suburban Altar (*qingjiao* 青郊). The fourth hymn honors the Scarlet Holy One in three tetrameter quatrains of alternating rhymed and unrhymed lines in three rime categories. It was performed with “Cloud Plumes” in summer at the Southern Suburban Altar, also known as the Scarlet Suburban Altar (*chijiao* 赤郊). The fifth hymn, also written *xihao* 西皓 / 西暉 (Western Candescence), honors the White Holy One in three tetrameter quatrains of alternating rhymed and unrhymed lines in three rime categories. It was also known as “White Storage” (*baicang* 白藏). This hymn was performed with “Engendering

²⁶⁶ This hymn is often mistakenly identified as “Vermilion Brilliance.” See *HHS*: Z5.3123, Z8.3181-82, and Bodde (1975), 197, Note 26.

Life” in autumn at the Western Suburban Altar (*xijiao* 西郊), also known as the White Suburban Altar (*baijiao* 白郊). The sixth hymn honors the Black Holy One in three tetrameter quatrains of alternating rhymed and unrhymed lines in two rime categories. It was performed with “Engendering Life” in winter at the Northern Suburban Altar, also known as the Black Suburban Altar (*heijiao* 黑郊).²⁶⁷ Each hymn reads like an offertory.

1.3.4.5 Trimeter, Irregular Meter, and Tetrameter Omen Hymns

Trimeter, Irregular Meter, and Tetrameter Omen Hymns comprise Hymn 10a “Heavenly Horses” (*tianma* 天馬), Hymn 10b “Heavenly Horses” (*tianma* 天馬), Hymn 12 “Luminary Star” (*jingxing* 景星), Hymn 13 “Abstemious Room” (*zhaifang* 齋房), Hymn 17 “Facing the Head of Mt. Long” (*chao Long shou* 朝隴首), and Hymn 18 “Images Thence Paragonal” (*xiangzaiyu* 象載瑜). The first hymn honors the discovery of the Heavenly Horses of Ferghana²⁶⁸ in three trimeter quatrains of alternating rhymed and unrhymed lines in three rime categories. The second hymn also honors the discovery of the Heavenly Horses of Ferghana, but in six trimeter quatrains of primarily alternating rhymed and unrhymed lines in five rime categories. The third hymn honors the discovery of an ancient tripod (*ding* 鼎) in nine irregular meter quatrains of primarily alternating rhymed and unrhymed lines in five rime categories. The fourth hymn honors the discovery of a mysterious fungus (*zhi* 芝) in two tetrameter quatrains of primarily alternating rhymed and unrhymed lines in three rime

²⁶⁷ See *SJ*: 24.1178, *HS*: 22.1054-57, 22.1067-68, *HHS*: Z5.3123, Z7.3161, Z8.3181-82, Kern (1997), 199-209, 268-71, Table 1.2, and Table 1.6 below. For further discussion, see Liang (2009), 105-14, and Bodde (1975), 197-98.

²⁶⁸ See Waley (1955), 95-103.

categories. The fifth hymn honors the discovery of a white unicorn (*bailin* 白麟) in five trimeter quatrains of primarily alternating rhymed and unrhymed lines in six rime categories. The sixth hymn honors the discovery of a scarlet wild-goose (*chiyan* 赤鴈) in three trimeter quatrains of primarily alternating rhymed and unrhymed lines in four rime categories.²⁶⁹ Each hymn reads like an offertory.

1.3.5 Ancestral Temple Hymns

Western Han Ancestral Temple Hymns comprised only “Ascension Hymns” (*deng ge* 登歌), offertories previously associated with the Ancestral Temple offerings now being performed as entertainment during the dinner that followed. The “Ascension Hymns” were performed *a cappella* in two parts in the hall during offerings to the imperial ancestors at the Ancestral Temple as canticles in prelude to the four ballets discussed above, which were also performed in the hall. These hymns were based on Ode 266 “Qing miao.”²⁷⁰

1.3.6 Liturgy

Above we have discussed the sacrificial ceremonies, sites, and ballets of the Western Han dynasty. There were three kinds of ceremonies: sacrifices to deities, offerings to divinities, and presentations to spirits. There were ten major sites: the Great Sanctum or Southern Suburban Altar to Heaven, the Lord Earth Sanctum or Northern Suburban Altar to Earth, the

²⁶⁹ See *HS*: 22.1060-61, 22.1063-65, 22.68-69, Kern (1997), 180, 227-40, 248-60, 272-79, Table 1.2, and Table 1.6 below.

²⁷⁰ See *HS*: 22.1043 and Table 1.6 below.

Five Suburban Altars to the Five Holy Ones, the Soil and Millet Shrine to the Soil God and the Millet God,²⁷¹ the Ancestral Temple to the royal ancestors, and the Mt. Tai Hall of Brilliance to Heaven, Earth, and the Five Holy Ones. There were three kinds of ballet: Suburban Sacrificial Ballets, Ancestral Temple Ballets, and “Ba Ditties.” As before, there were three kinds of hymn: processions, canticles, and offertories. From our discussion of the ballets and from previous information, we can assume that the major external ceremonies in the suburbs had the same basic liturgy, minus the recessional for seeing off the gods, resulting in a liturgy of only four or five parts: “Fine Arrival,” “Victim Processional,” one or two ceremony-specific dynastic ballets, and a ceremony-specific offertory. The internal ceremonies at the Ancestral Temple, however, had increased to a basic eleven-part liturgy: “Fine Arrival,” “Victim Processional,” ancestor-specific canticle, ancestor-specific Martial Ballet, “Revealed Department,” “Civil Beginning,” “Ritual Department,” “Four Seasons,” “Revealed Department,” “Five Elements,” and “Ritual Department.” Ba and Yu Ballets may have been performed as one-part external ceremonies at the Ancestral Temple similar to Music of the Four Tribes. Other processions could be added according to the status of the participants.²⁷²

1.4 Reevaluation: Xin

As stated above, the sacrificial system of Emperor Wu had been abolished towards the end of the Western Han dynasty to save money and to reduce association with the Qin dynasty. At

²⁷¹ A separate shrine was maintained in conjunction with the Ancestral Temple, but sacrifices were not held to be as significant.

²⁷² See Table 1.3, Table 1.4, Table 1.5, Table 1.6, Table 1.7, and Table 1.8 below. For further discussion, see Kern (1997), 38-41, and T'ai (1950), 272-74.

this time, long before he usurped the throne, Wang Mang 王莽 (r.9-22) reevaluated the situation and began using his influence to make changes to the sacrificial system and legitimate his authority. He also relied heavily on augury-weft (*chenwei* 讖緯) texts. Holding a deep-seated belief in the power of ritual to inculcate moral conduct and loyal obedience, he wanted to recreate an idealized Zhou sacrificial system based on *Zhou li*, thereby rescuing it from obscurity. Although most aspects of sacrificial practice remained basically the same, he made certain significant changes. Shortly before assuming the imperial dignity, he moved the Five Altars closer to Chang'an and increased the number of gods. At this time, he also built the Hall of Brilliance in Chang'an that Emperor Wu had so badly wanted. Once enthroned as emperor, he set up the system of nine Ancestral Temples that Wang Su later espoused. He also instituted the practice implied in *Zhou li* of having female ancestors serve as coadjutors for offerings to Earthly Divinities. Mirroring the increasing emphasis on ostentatious display in ceremonies at all levels throughout society, these four changes led to economic difficulties and became sticking points in the ritual debates of dynasties to come.²⁷³

1.5 Expansion: Eastern Han

At the time of Emperor Guangwu's 光武帝 (r.25-57) restoration of Han rule that marked the beginning of the Eastern Han dynasty, there were 1,514 deities and divinities in the Chinese pantheon receiving sacrifices at the Altar to Heaven. Although forced to take some steps to assert his legitimacy, he also understood the need to limit extravagant expenses. Therefore,

²⁷³ See *HS*: 12.357, 22.1035, 25B.1264-65, 25B.1267-69, and *SgS*: 16.432; Goodman (1998), 39-40; Liu Xujie (2002b), 43-44; Lu Zongli (2003), 221; Puett (2010), 129-54; and T'ai (1950), 269.

he reduced the number of sacrifices and put off resuming the music and ballets for them until 37. He also attempted to curb ostentatious funerary ceremonies and the three-year mourning to what it had been under Emperor Gao. Regardless, as the central government had weakened at the end of the Western Han dynasty, the local elites had gained in power and prestige. The emperor had to work with their expectations in order to maintain control. Among their expectations was ostentatious display during the performance of ancestral rites at the ancestral tombs and at the Ancestral Temple. These often played out in ritual debates with the inner court supporting restraint and the outer court encouraging expansion.²⁷⁴ As a probable compromise, this emphasis on ancestral tombs allowed the consolidation of multiple Ancestral Temples into one Ancestral Temple with multiple fanes, thereby reducing at least some of the expense. Emperor Guangwu's successor, Emperor Ming 明帝 (r.58-75), more of a like mind with these local elite and in a position of greater stability, restored the sacrifices to their previous Xin levels and placed greater emphasis on tomb-site ceremonies, while maintaining the new Ancestral Temple configuration.²⁷⁵ As a result, "Ba Ditties" came to be performed during imperial funerals as well. He also took steps to legitimate himself further by correcting musical performance and even the concepts behind the music. As a symbolic gesture to this end, he renamed "Grand Music" as "Yu Music" (*yu yue* 予樂).²⁷⁶ Nonetheless, by the time of Emperor Ling 靈帝 (r.168-190), the cost of the display exceeded the economic ability of the central government and the number of sacrifices again decreased. Thus, with a few small changes, the Eastern Han sacrifices followed the Western Han precedent, using the same music for the Suburban Altars, the Hall of Brilliance, and the

²⁷⁴ For elite mourning practices and imperial input, see Ebrey (1991), 31-37.

²⁷⁵ For elite tomb-site ceremony participation, see Ebrey (1983), 537-39. For funerary inscriptions, see Ebrey (1980), 332-36; and Davis (2008), *passim*.

²⁷⁶ For further discussion, see Kern (1997), 51-61; and *Selections*: 1:154-56.

Ancestral Temple. None of the Eastern Han sacrificial hymns survives, with the exception of a single Ancestral Temple Ballet, which I shall discuss forthwith.²⁷⁷

“Grand Martial Deeds”

“Grand Martial Deeds” was the name given to the Ancestral Temple suite of Emperor Guangwu: “Ascension Hymn,” “*Yu* Music,” “Civil Beginning,” “Four Seasons,” and “Five Elements.” Only the canticle and the ballets were included in this list, whereas the processions were simply implied. The term “*Yu* Music” was used for both the category of sacrificial music and as the *de facto* title for Han ancestor-specific Martial Ballets, though “Martial Virtue” also appears as the generic title for these ballets. No other title survives specifically for Emperor Guangwu’s Martial Ballet. While the “Ascension Hymn” and “*Yu* Music” were ancestor-specific, the other ballets made do for all. *Dongguan Han ji* 東觀漢記 records most of these details as well as the hymn itself, composed by Liu Cang 劉蒼 (d.83) in 60, under the title “Martial Virtue.” *Nan Qi shu* 南齊書 records that the hymn had twenty-six lines. If we combine the fourteen lines of the received hymn with the twelve lines that we would expect from one stanza of “Four Seasons,” then we get this number, which makes sense in that these hymns would likely have been recorded together for ease of reference. The received hymn uses an octave and a sixain in pure tetrameter with primarily alternating rhymed and unrhymed lines in three rime categories. The first stanza ends with assonance and the second begins with it. The two stanzas are tied together with the second rime

²⁷⁷ See *LJ*: 24.7a, commentary; *HHS*: 2.106; Z5.3130, Note 5; Z6.3145; Z30.3668-69; *SgS*: 16.432; *JS*: 22.676; *WS*: 109.2842-43; Brown (2007), 54-64; Goodman (1998), 40-42, 234; and T’ai (1950), 267-71. For a good overview of the political public in late Eastern Han, see Goodman (1998), 4-6. For a good study of Eastern Han economic and social history, see Ebrey (1986).

category. Alternately, this hymn could be analyzed as three stanzas. Liang Haiyan has pointed out that the canticle and the ballet have been mistakenly taken as the same hymn, a theory that the meter, rhyme, and lyrics support when compared with Ode 266 “Qing miao” and Ode 268 “Wei qing.” The two odes use tetrameter variants and the hymn uses pure tetrameter. Similar to the hymn, each ode relies heavily on assonance. The two odes share several rime categories in common with the hymn; most notably the same rime category ends Ode 266, begins Ode 268, and ties the two stanzas of “Martial Virtue” together. Finally, “Martial Virtue” borrows many phrases and much syntax from the two odes and employs them in parallel positions. “Martial Virtue” presents a hymn that is more regular in meter and in rhyme than the two odes, but nonetheless clearly based upon them, hence my division of this hymn into an “Ascension Hymn” and “*Yu* Music.”²⁷⁸

²⁷⁸ See *HHS*: 2.106; *Z9*.3195, Note 3; *Z30*.3668-69; *SgS*: 19.543-44; *NQS*: 11.178; *JS*: 22.676; *WS*: 109.2842-43; Liang (2009), 19, 43, 114-28; Table 1.1, Table 1.2, Table 1.3, Table 1.6, and Table 1.9 below.

Table 1.1 Meter and Rhyme of the Zhou and Qin Sacrificial Hymns

Music	Ode	Meter	Rhyme
Martial Deeds	285	4444444 (7-4)	No rhymes
	295	544543 (6-X)	No rhymes
	296	4444444 (7-4)	No rhymes
	294	334444444 (9-4)	XXXABAXXB
Mime	268	44244 (5-4)	XAABB
Consideration	293	4444 / 4546 (8-4)	No rhymes
Capaciousness	154	44554455444 / 44444444446 / 44444444444 / 44445445444 / 66444444444 / 66444444444 / 55444454445 / 77544444444 (89-4)	AABBBBCCCCC / AADDDDDAAAA / AADDDDEEDDD / FFGGGCCHHHH / IIIIIXIII / FFFFFFFIII / IIFFXHHFFJJ / KKFFDDDDDDDD (Initial couplet refrain)
Canticle	266	4444 / 4545 (8-4)	AXBB / CACC
Royal	272	445 / 7444 / 444 (10-4)	ABB / XAAA / XXB (Proem)
General Pro.	273	45 / 54444 / 4444444 (15-4)	No rhymes (Proem)
Victim	274	4444 / 444 / 444 / 4444 (14-4)	AXAA / AAA / AAA / BBXB
Dignitary	275	4444 / 4455 (8-4)	AXXA / BBXB
Official	276	4444 / 444444 / 44444 (15-4)	AAXB / XXBBBX / XCCXX
Feminine	279	6444444 (7-4)	XXAAAAA
Clansman	277	44444444 (8-4)	No rhymes
General Rec.	282	4444 / 4444 / 4444 / 4444 (16-4)	ABAB / CDCD / EFEF / CDCD
Ducal	278	4444 / 4444 (8-4)	XAXA / BBCC
Suburban	271	5456334 (7-X)	ABAABXA
Soil / Millet	290	4444444444444444 / 4444444444444444 (31-4)	AABBXXCXXXXXDDD / EEFFFFFFGGHHXXX
	291	4444444444444 / 444444444444 (23-4)	AAXXBBBCCCCC / DDXDDEEXFFX
	292	4444444444 (9-4)	AAAAAAAAA
King Wen	267	4446 / 4454 (8-4)	AXAA / XBXB
	270	4434444 (7-4)	XAXAXAX
King Cheng	286	44444 / 4444 / 45 (11-4)	XAXAA / XBXB / CC (Coda)
	287	4444 / 4445 / 4445 (12-4)	XAX / ABXB / CCXB
	288	4446 / 4444 / 4745 (12-4)	AAAX / AAAA / BBXB
	289	3444 / 5455 (8-X)	XXAX / ABXB
Heirs	284	4444 / 4444 / 4444 (12-4)	XAAA / XXXX / BBBB
	280	4444 / 4444 / 44444 (13-4)	ABAA / AAXA / BBBXB
Lords	269	4444 / 6545 / 45456 (13-X)	ABAB / AAAA / BBXBA
	283	444444 / 4444 / 4446 (14-4)	AA / AAAA / XABB / CXXC
	281	444444 (6-4)	AA / BBBB
Shang	301	4444444444 / 4444444444 / 44 (22-4)	XAXAABXBBB / XBCCCCCCCC / DD (Coda)
	302	4444444444 / 4444454444 / 44 (22-4)	XAXAABXBXB / XCCCCCCCCC / CC (Coda)
	303	4455544445 / 4544445444 / 54 (22-4)	XAAAAXBXBB / XCCCBXXD / DD (Coda)
	304	44455445 / 4554444 / 4444446 / 5544444 / 5544444 / 4445444 / 44444445 (51-4)	AAAAAAAAA / BBBB BBB / CCCCCC / DDXDDDD / EEEEEEE / BBBB BBB / BBFFGGAA
	305	444444 / 444455 / 446444 / 444444 / 444445 / 4444444 (37-4)	AAAAAA / XBBBBB / BCCCCC / DDDXEE / EEEFFF / GGGGGGG
Lu	300	444444444 / 44444444 / 44444544 / 444444444 / 44444444 / 444444444 / 44444444 / 55444444 / 444444445 / 55445545 / 44444444 / 44444444 /	XAXAAXABB / XBBBCCCC / XDDDCXC / CCCXCXCC / EEXEXBBB / BBBBFFFCC / DDDDDDDD / DDDDGGGG /

Table 1.1 Meter and Rhyme of the Zhou and Qin Sacrificial Hymns

Music	Ode	Meter	Rhyme
		5445445444 / 4444444444 (121-4)	GGGXGGGGG / BBBBHHHH / IIEEEEEE / JJXJXXJJ / CCCCBBBBBB / XJJJJJJJ
	299	44444444 / 44444444 / 44444444 / 44444444 / 44444454 / 44444444 / 44444444 / 44444444 (64-4)	XAXABBBB / XCXCXCCC / XDXDDDDD / XEXEFFXF / XEXEXDXD / XGXGHIII / DDJJXJXJ / XGGGXGXG (Initial refrain: triplet in 1-3, couplet in 4-6)
	298	444433334 / 444433334 / 444443434 (27-X)	XAXAXBXBX / XCXCXDXX / XEXEFFXF (Incremental repetition)
	297	44444434 / 44444434 / 44444434 / 44444434 (32-4)	AAABBBBB / AAACCCCC / AAADDDDD / AAAAEEAE (Initial triplet refrain, incremental repetition thereafter)

Notes:

1. Music Column: Titles represent the title of the piece or category.
2. Ode Column: Numbers represent the *Mao shi* Ode number.
3. Meter Column: Each number in a series represents the length of a line in the hymn. Slashes (/) represent the beginning of a new stanza. Parenthetical numbers (#-#) represent the total number of lines and the line length, with the number “4” as a line length including hymns with pure tetrameter or tetrameter variants and the letter “X” including only hymns with irregular line length.
4. Rhyme Column: Letters “A” through “K” represent lines with individual rime categories. Letter “X” represents unrhymed lines. Slashes (/) represent the beginning of a new stanza. Other data is self-explanatory.
5. Data based on information from *Mao shi*.

Table 1.2 Meter and Rhyme of the Han Sacrificial Hymns

Music	Hymn	Meter	Rhyme
Heaven Earth Supreme Holy One	1	3333 / 3333 / 3333 / 3333 / 3333 / 3333 / / 3333 / 3333 / 3333 / 3333 / 3333 / 3333 (48-3)	XAXA / XBXB / XCXC / DDXD / DEDE / XFXF / XGXG / XAXA / XAXA / XHHH / XIXI / DADA (Refrain)
	15	333333 / 3333 / 3333 / 3333 / 3333 / 3333 / 3333 / 3333 / 3333 (38-3)	XAXAXA / BCBC / DDXD / EEXE / FFXF / XEEE / XCCC / XGXG / HGHG (Refrain)
	19	3333 / 3333 / 3333 / 3333 / 3333 / 3333 / / 3333 (28-3)	AAXA / BBXB / CCXC / DCDC / XEEE / XFFF / XBXB (Refrain)
Heaven/Earth Heaven Sun	8	4444 / 4444 / 4343 / 4343 / 4444 / 4333 / 4343 / 4343 / 4343 / 4343 (40-X)	XAXA / XBXB / XCXC / DDXD / EEEE / FFFF / XGXG / XHXH / XGXG / HGHG
	11	3333335344 / 3333333355 / 3333553333 / 43434343 / 43434343 (46-X)	XAAABXBAA / CX CABABAXA / CX CAXAXAXA / DDXDXEEE / XAXADDDD
	9	565444 / 6644446 (13-X)	AAXXXA / BBXXXXB
Earth Heaven	14	4444 / 4444 (8-4)	XAXA / ABAB
	7	4444 / 4444 / 4444 / 4444 / 4444 / 4444 (24-4)	XAAA / XAXA / XBBB / CDCD / XEXE / EEXE
Five Gods Five Holy Ones	16	3333 / 3333 / 3333 / 3333 / 3333 (20-3)	ABAB / XAAA / BCBC / XAXA / DEDE
	2	4444 / 4444 / 4444 (12-4)	ABAB / XBXB / CDCD
	3	4444 / 4444 / 4444 (12-4)	XAAA / BBXB / CCXC
	4	4444 / 4444 / 4444 (12-4)	XAXA / XBXB / CBCB
	5	4444 / 4444 / 4444 (12-4)	ABAB / XCXC / XCXC
	6	4444 / 4444 / 4444 (12-4)	XAXA / BBXB / XBXB
Omens	10a	3333 / 3333 / 3333 (12-3)	XAXA / XBXB / CCXC
	10b	3333 / 3333 / 3333 / 3333 / 3333 / 3333 (24-3)	AAXA / BBXB / CDCD / CCCC / XEEE / CCXC
	12	4444 / 4444 / 4444 / 4343 / 4343 / 4343 / 4343 / 4343 / 4343 (36-X)	XAXA / XBXB / CDCD / XEXE / XEXE / XEEE / XEEE / EEXE / XEEE
	13	4444 / 4444 (8-4)	ABAB / XCCC
	17	3333 / 3333 / 3333 / 3333 / 3333 (20-3)	ABAB / CCCC / XDXD / XEEE / BFBF
	18	3333 / 3333 / 3333 (12-3)	ABAB / CBCB / XDDD
Emperor Guangwu	X	44444444 / 444444 (14-4)	XAXAXAXB / XBXCXC (Assonance)

Notes:

1. Music Column: Titles represent the title of the piece or category.
2. Hymn Column: Numbers represent the *Han shu* Suburban Sacrificial Hymn number. "X" indicates that this unnumbered hymn is from a difference source.
3. Meter Column: Each number in a series represents the length of a line in the hymn. Slashes (/) represent the beginning of a new stanza. Parenthetical numbers (#-#) represent the total number of lines and the line length, with the number "3" as a line length including hymns with pure trimeter, with the number "4" as a line length including hymns with pure tetrameter, and the letter "X" including only hymns with irregular line length.
4. Rhyme Column: Letters "A" through "I" represent lines with individual rime categories. Letter "X" represents unrhymed lines. Slashes (/) represent the beginning of a new stanza. Other data is self-explanatory.
5. Data based on information from *Han shu*.

Table 1.3 Zhou, Qin, and Han Sacrificial Ballets Compared

Zhou Grand Music							
Suburban Sacrifices			Ancestral Temple				
Universal Bestowal	Grand Display	Grand Succession	Mime	Grand Capaciousness	Grand Preservation	Grand Martial Deeds	Consideration
None	None	Ode 293	Ode 268	Ode 154	Ode 304 Ode 305	Ode 268 Ode 285 Ode 295 Ode 293 Ode 296 Ode 294	Ode 293
Shields Long-Axes	Shields Long-Axes	Feathers Flutes	Shields Long-axes	Feathers Flutes	Shields Long-Axes	Shields Long-Axes	Feathers Flutes
?	?	?	Specific Martial Ballet	Dynastic Civil Ballet	?	Dynastic Martial Ballet	Specific Civil Ballet
Qin Music of the Six Eras and Lesser Music							
Suburban Sacrifices			Ancestral Temple				
Cloud Gate	Universal Bestowal	Grand Capaciousness	?	Grand Succession	Grand Preservation	Five Elements	?
Shields Long-Axes	Shields Long-Axes	Feathers Flutes	?	Feathers Flutes	Shields Long-Axes	Shields Long-Axes	?
Heaven	Earth	[Major] Mountains Streams	?	Dynastic Civil Ballet Four Gazes	Female Martial Ballet	Male Martial Ballet	?
Suburban Sacrifices							
Human Ballet	Pentachrome-Pole Ballet	Phoenix Ballet	?	Feather Ballet	Oxtail Ballet	Shield Ballet	?
Planets Constellations	Soil Millet	Droughts Floods	?	Four Directions	Former Sages	[Minor] Mountains Streams	?
Han Grand Music / Yu Music							
Suburban Sacrifices			Ancestral Temple				
Cloud Plumes	Engendering Life	Grand Capaciousness	Martial Virtue Yu Music	Civil Beginning	Grand Preservation	Five Elements	Four Seasons
Feathers Flutes	Shields Long-Axes	Feathers Flutes	Shields Long-Axes	Feathers Flutes	Shields Long-Axes	Shields Long-Axes	Feathers Flutes
Peddler-Drums	Shields Dagger-Axes						
Shields Long-Axes							
Heaven Five Holy Ones	Earth Five Holy Ones	?	Specific Martial Ballet	Dynastic Civil Ballet	?	Dynastic Martial Ballet	General Civil Ballet

Table 1.4 Music of the Four Tribes and Ba Ditties Compared

Music of the Four Tribes			
Mei	Nan	Zhuli	Jin
Lances	Bows	Large-Axes	Large-Shields
Four Directions, Grand Offerings			
Ba Ditties			
Lance Ditty	Crossbow Ditty	Dagger-Axe Ditty	Large-Board-Shield Ditty
Grand Music			

Table 1.5 Zhou, Qin, and Han Processionals Compared

Ode	Purpose	Zhou	Qin	Han
272	King / Emperor	Royal	Royal	Endless Arrival / Excellence Achieved
273	Impersonator God / Spirit Audience	General Processional	General Processional	Fine Arrival
274	Victim	?	Victim	?
275	Foreign Dignitaries	?	Dignitary	?
276	Officials	?	Official	?
279	Ladies	?	Feminine	?
277	Relatives	?	Clansman	?
282	Drunken Guests Feudal Lords	General Recessional	General Recessional	?
278	Dukes	Ducal	Ducal	?
269	Feudal Lords	?	?	?
283	Feudal Lords	?	?	?
284	Former Dynasties	?	?	?
292	Soil / Millet Victim	?	?	?
274	Ancestral Ballets	?	?	Revealed Department
274	Dynastic Ballets	?	?	Ritual Department

Table 1.6 Zhou, Qin, and Han Canticles, Offertories, and Covenants Compared

Dynasty	Canticles		Offertories		Covenants	
	Hymn	Purpose	Hymn	Purpose	Hymn	Purpose
Zhou	Ode 266	King Wen	Ode 271	Heaven	Ode 286	King Cheng
	Ode 267	King Wen	Ode 280	Anc. Temple	Ode 287	King Cheng
	Ode 270	King Wen	Ode 281	Anc. Temple	Ode 288	King Cheng
			Ode 290	Soil / Millet	Ode 289	King Cheng
			Ode 291	Soil / Millet		
			Ode 297	General		
			Ode 298	General		
			Ode 299	State College		
			Ode 300	Anc. Temple		
			Ode 301	Tang		
			Ode 302	Taiwu		
			Ode 303	Wuding		
Qin	Unnamed	Royal Ancestors, Imperial Ancestors	Unnamed	Various		
Han	Ascension Hymn	Imperial Ancestors	Hymn 1	Great Unity		
			Hymn 2	Yellow H. O.		
			Hymn 3	Blue H. O.		
			Hymn 4	Scarlet H. O.		
			Hymn 5	White H. O.		
			Hymn 6	Black H. O.		
			Hymn 7	Great Primordial		
			Hymn 8	Heaven / Earth		
			Hymn 9	Sun		
			Hymn 10a	Heavenly Horses		
			Hymn 10b	Heavenly Horses		
			Hymn 11	Heaven		
			Hymn 12	Tripod		
			Hymn 13	Fungus		
			Hymn 14	Lord Earth		
			Hymn 15	Lord Earth		
			Hymn 16	Five Gods		
			Hymn 17	White Unicorn		
			Hymn 18	Scarlet Wild-Goose		
		Hymn 19	Heaven			

Table 1.7 Zhou, Qin, and Han Major Sacrificial Sites and Gods Compared

Suburban Sacrifices				Ancestral Temple			
Zhou	Qin	Western Han	Eastern Han	Zhou	Qin	Western Han	Eastern Han
Great Altar: August Heaven	Round Mound: Vast Heaven the Supreme Holy One	Great Sanctum: Great Unity	Southern Suburban Altar: Great Unity	Ancestral Temple-Hall of Brilliance Complex: Great Progenitor, Supreme Holy One, Taihao, Yandi, Huangdi, Shaohao, Zhuanxu	Ancestral Temple: Royal Ancestors, Imperial Ancestors	Ancestral Temple: Great Progenitor	Ancestral Temple: Imperial Ancestors
Southern Suburban Altar: Supreme Holy One							
Great Barrow: Lord Earth							
Northern Suburban Altar: Lord Earth	Square Mound: Lord Earth	Lord Earth Sanctum: Lord Earth	Northern Suburban Altar: Lord Earth				
Great Shrine: Soil God, Millet God	Soil and Millet Shrine: Soil God, Millet God	Same	Same	Other Ancestral Temples: Other Royal Ancestors			
Royal Shrine: Soil God							
N/A	Eastern Suburban Altar: Blue Holy One	Intimate Sanctum: Blue Holy One	Eastern Suburban Altar: Blue Holy One	N/A	N/A	Mt. Tai Hall of Brilliance: Great Unity, Blue Holy One, Scarlet Holy One, Yellow Holy One, White Holy One, Black Holy One, Lord Earth	Hall of Brilliance: Great Unity, Blue Holy One, Scarlet Holy One, Yellow Holy One, White Holy One, Black Holy One, Lord Earth
N/A	Southern Suburban Altar: Scarlet Holy One, Yellow Holy One	Wuyang Upper Sanctum: Scarlet Holy One	Southern Suburban Altar: Scarlet Holy One				
		Wuyang Lower Sanctum: Yellow Holy One	Central Suburban Altar: Yellow Holy One				
N/A	Western Suburban Altar: White Holy One	Fu Sanctum: White Holy One	Western Suburban Altar: White Holy One				
N/A	Northern Suburban Altar: Black Holy One	Northern Sanctum: Black Holy One	Northern Suburban Altar: Black Holy One				

Table 1.8 Zhou, Qin, and Han Liturgies Compared

Suburban Sacrifices			Ancestral Temple		
周	秦	漢	周	秦	漢
肆夏	肆夏	嘉至	肆夏	肆夏	嘉至
昭夏	昭夏	昭夏	昭夏	昭夏	昭夏
X	X	X	登歌	登歌	登歌
X	X	X	象	?	武德
X	X	X	X	X	昭容
?	雲門	雲翹	大武	大韶	文始
X	X	X	X	X	禮容
X	X	X	大夏	?	四時
X	X	X	X	X	昭容
?	咸池 / 大夏	育命	勺	五行 / 大濩	五行
X	X	X	X	X	禮容
Ceremony-Specific Offertory	?	Ceremony-Specific Offertory	Ceremony-Specific or General-Purpose Offertory	X	X
肆夏	X	X	肆夏	X	X

Notes:

1. The minor external ceremonies may have had a basic one-part liturgy: ceremony-specific Lesser Ballet.
2. The external ceremonies at the Ancestral Temple had a basic one-part liturgy: tribe-specific Martial Ballet.
3. Covenants also took place at the Ancestral Temple and most likely played a similar role as offertories, in which case they may simply have preceded or replaced the general-purpose offertory in the basic nine-part liturgy.
4. Ba and Yu Ballets may have been performed as one-part external ceremonies at the Ancestral Temple similar to Music of the Four Tribes.
5. Other processions could be added according to the status of the participants.

Table 1.9 Reconstructed Early Eastern Han Endings Compared

Ode	Lyrics	Reconstructed Ending	Lyrics	Reconstructed Ending	Hymn
266	於穆清廟，A	*-jagw	於穆世廟，X	*-jagw	Martial Virtue
	肅雝顯相。X	*-jang	肅雍顯清。A	*-jieng	
	濟濟多士，B	*-rəg	俊乂翼翼，X	*-jək	
	秉文之德。B	*-ək	秉文之成。A	*-jieng	
	對越在天，C	*-iən	越序上帝，X	*-ieĩ	
	駿奔走在廟。A	*-jagw	駿奔來寧。A	*-ieng	
	不顯不承，C	*-jəng	建立三雍，X	*-jung	
	無射於人斯。C	*-jiən	封禪泰山。B	*-rən	
268	維清緝熙，X	*-jəg	章明圖讖，X	*-iəm	
	文王之典。A	*-iən	放唐之文。B	*-jən	
	肇禋，A	*-iən	休矣惟德，X	*-ək	
	迄用有成，B	*-jieng	罔射協同，C	*-ung	
			本支百世，X	*-jad	
	維周之禎。B	*-jieng	永保厥功。C	*-ung	

Notes:

1. Ode Column: Numbers represent the *Mao shi* Ode number.
2. Hymn Column: The title is a translation of the title that appears in *Dongguan Han ji*.
3. Lyrics Columns: Chinese characters and punctuation are the odes and the hymn as recorded. The blank line indicates that together the odes are one line shorter than the hymn. They are lined up to indicate matching rhyme patterns, rime categories, phrases, and syntax. Letters “A” through “C” represent lines with individual rime categories. Letter “X” represents unrhymed lines.
4. Reconstructed Ending Columns: The asterisk (*) indicates a reconstructed pronunciation. The hyphen (-) indicates that the initial is not included in the reconstruction. Reconstructions in this chart do not indicate tone. Reconstructions are my own based on Luo and Zhou (1958) and on Ting (1975).

This page intentionally left blank.

2 WEI SACRIFICIAL BALLETS: A CLOSE READING

「郊社之禮，所以事上帝也；宗廟之禮，所以祀乎其先也。明乎郊社之禮、禘嘗之義，治國其如示諸掌乎。」《禮記》

“The rites of the Suburban [Altars] and of the [Great] Shrine are those which [the king] uses to serve the Supreme Holy One; the rites of the Ancestral Temple are those which he uses to sacrifice to former kings. If he understands the rites of the Suburban [Altars] and of the [Great] Shrine and the significance of the spring and autumn sacrifices at the Ancestral Temple, then administering the state will be like looking at his own palm.” *Li ji*¹

Although the Wei 魏 (220-265) dynasty officially began with the abdication of the last Han emperor in 220, historians traditionally consider its effective beginning to be 196. This was the year that Cao Cao 曹操 (153-219),² who received the posthumous name Emperor Wu 武帝 (never reigned) and the temple name Taizu 太祖 during the Wei dynasty, gained control of Emperor Xian 獻帝 (r.190-220)³ and the Han court. To commemorate the new order, Emperor Xian declared the start of a new reign period with the hopeful name of Jian'an 建安 (196-220) or “Established Peace.”⁴ In the ninth month of the same year, Emperor Xian was able to continue basic sacrifices at the Ancestral Temple (*zongmiao* 宗廟) and at the Soil and Millet Shrine (*sheji* 社稷). The Ancestral Temple sacrifices seem to have used the eleven-part basic liturgy and the Soil and Millet Shrine the four- or five-part basic liturgy of the Eastern Han dynasty.⁵ Still, if Cao Cao had any ritual ambitions or ideals, he was temporally

¹ See *LJ*: 5.17a.

² See *SGZ*: 1.1-55; Goodman (1998), passim; Figure 2.1 below; and Table 2.1 below.

³ See *HHS*: 9.367-95.

⁴ See *SGZ*: 1.13-14.

⁵ See *SGZ*: 1.13.

and financially hampered by constant warfare. Previous premature attempts to assume the imperial dignity by erstwhile competitors may also have curbed his ambitions. Instead, Cao Cao seemed content to rule in fact rather than in name. Nine years after coming to power, he found it necessary to limit ritual excess by proscribing lavish burials.⁶ The situation continued in this manner until the fifth month of 213 when Cao Cao accepted the title of Duke of Wei 魏公, a major step on the road to usurpation.⁷ Leading up to this time, Cao Cao had surrounded himself with scholars of every sort from throughout the empire, but especially from the courts of defeated states. The two most important for this study are Wang Can 王粲 (177-217)⁸ and Du Kui 杜夔 (fl.180-225).⁹ Among other accomplishments, Wang Can composed new hymns for the “Ba Ditties” (*ba yu* 巴俞), which he entitled “Ditties” (*yu'er* 俞兒),¹⁰ and a series of eulogies for the Great Temple (*taimiao* 太廟) of the Dukes of Wei;¹¹ Du Kui re-established the system of musicology used at the Han court before it had fallen into turmoil.¹² These were then used two months later for ceremonies concerning the newly established Great Temple and Soil and Millet Shrine of the Wei state.¹³ Although the classics authorized five fanes (*miao* 廟) for the Great Temple of a feudal lord, the Wei Great Temple initially had only two, those required for the late father, Cao Song 曹嵩 (fl.153-168), who later received the posthumous name Emperor Tai 太帝 (never reigned), and the grandfather, Cao Teng 曹騰 (fl.120-147), who later received the posthumous name Emperor Gao 高帝 (never reigned). Both fanes would have been temporary in that Cao Cao

⁶ See Goodman (1998), 234.

⁷ See *SGZ*: 1.37.

⁸ See *SGZ*: 21.597.

⁹ See *SGZ*: 29.806-8.

¹⁰ See Table 2.3 below.

¹¹ See *CXJ*: 13.325 and Table 2.2 below.

¹² See Goodman (2006a), 69-76; and Goodman (2006b).

¹³ See Fu Xinian (2002), 65.

was the first in his line to hold the state of Wei.¹⁴ In the fifth month of 216, Cao Cao accepted the title of Prince of Wei 魏王, a noble rank second only to the emperor and previously limited to imperial relatives.¹⁵ A year later, Cao Cao established a Wei Assessment Palace (*pangong* 泮宮), or State College, with its semicircular moat, as an official organization for his ever-growing group of scholars.¹⁶ Nonetheless, Cao Cao was never willing to take the final step of usurping the imperial title as well as the authority. In this same year, he even banned auguries in an apparent attempt to limit further discussion of his accepting the imperial dignity.¹⁷

Upon inheriting the title of Prince of Wei, Cao Pi 曹丕 (187-226),¹⁸ who received the posthumous name Emperor Wen 文帝 (r.220-226) and the temple name Gaozu 高祖 and who titled his only reign period Huangchu 黃初 (220-226), or “Yellow Commencement,” immediately concerned himself with consolidating his power by usurping the throne. Although less renowned than his father, he faced fewer legitimation issues in that he inherited his legacy, which is to say that he was assumed to have his father’s talents and that he had not chosen to gain control of the emperor but had had control thrust upon him. Still, it was a tricky business that involved proving his own claim to the mandate more legitimate than that of the Han dynasty. This could be achieved by implying that the incumbent had lost the mandate or had never had it in the first place. Given the length of the Han dynasty, Cao Pi seems to have chosen the first argument. To this end, he first collected auguries to support

¹⁴ See *SGZ*: 1.42; *LJ*: 12.13b, 46.7b-11b; and *KZJY*: 8.79.

¹⁵ See *SGZ*: 1.47.

¹⁶ See *SGZ*: 14.356.

¹⁷ See Lu Zongli (2003), 38.

¹⁸ See *SGZ*: 2.57-90; Goodman (1998); Figure 2.1 below; and Table 2.1 below.

the changing of the mandate and then encouraged scholarly debate on the subject.¹⁹ Finally, in 220 when he had a consensus, he accepted Emperor Xian's abdication.²⁰

In 221, Cao Pi followed the truncated sacrifices instituted for the Han dynasty under his father, simply taking over the Suburban Altars to Heaven, Earth, and the Five Holy Ones (*wudi* 五帝) and the Hall of Brilliance (*mingtang* 明堂) of the Han dynasty and renaming the liturgical pieces. “Yu Music” (*yu yue* 予樂), the sacrificial music category, became “Great Music” (*taiyue* 太樂); “Martial Virtue” (*wude* 武德), the ancestor-specific martial ballet, became “Martial Eulogy” (*wusong* 武頌); “Five Elements” (*wuxing* 五行), the dynastic martial ballet, once again became “Grand Martial Deeds” (*dawu* 大武); “Civil Beginning” (*wenshi* 文始), the dynastic civil ballet, once again became “Grand Succession” (*dashao* 大韶); “Cloud Plumes” (*yunqiao* 雲翹), the ballet performed during sacrifices to Heaven and during sacrifices to the Blue Holy One, the Scarlet Holy One, and the Yellow Holy One, became “Phoenixes Circle Overhead” (*fengxiang* 鳳翔); “Engendering Life” (*yuming* 育命), the ballet performed during sacrifices to Earth and during sacrifices to the Yellow Holy One, the White Holy One, and the Black Holy One, became “Numens Answer” (*lingying* 靈應); “Ditties,” the martial ballet series now used both inside and outside the Ancestral Temple,²¹ became “Revealed Martial Deeds” (*zhaowu* 昭武); “Fine Arrival” (*jiazhi* 嘉至), the processional for calling down the gods, became “Welcome the Numens” (*yingling* 迎靈); and “Revealed Deportment” (*zhaorong* 昭容), the recessional for leading out “Martial Virtue” and the general-purpose civil ballet “Four Seasons” (*sishi* 四時), became “Revealed

¹⁹ See Goodman (1998), 29, 32; and Lu (2003), 38, 85. For a list of typical auguries foretelling the coming of a sage king, see *LJ*: 22.24b.

²⁰ See *SGZ*: 2.62. See also Knechtges (2005).

²¹ See Liang (2009), 132.

Enterprise” (*zhaoye* 昭業). The significance of these name changes is nowhere explained. Missing from this list, however, are the canticles; the offertories; “Four Seasons;” “Endless Arrival” (*yongzhi* 永至), the processional for signaling the emperor’s entrance; “Excellence Achieved” (*xiucheng* 休成), the recessional for signaling the emperor’s exit; and “Ritual Deportment” (*lirong* 禮容), the recessional for leading out “Five Elements” and “Civil Beginning,” as well as the pre-Han processions not specifically renamed during the Han dynasty. “Ritual Deportment” may have gone unchanged as the earliest title for this recessional and because of its association with dynastic ballets; the other titles may have seemed original enough or generic enough to forego changing.²²

Not content to change only titles, Cao Pi also made other changes to the hymns.²³ At this time, the scholar Wang Su 王肅 (195-256)²⁴ advocated a system of six ballets for sacrificing to Heaven, Earth, and imperial ancestors that combined the *Xia* Music (*xiayue* 夏樂)²⁵ of the Music of the Six Eras (*liuyue* 六樂) and the Tribal Music (*yi Yue* 夷樂) of the Music of the Four Tribes (*siyi zhi yue* 四夷之樂) found in *Zhou li* 周禮, thereby bringing “Revealed Martial Deeds” into the Ancestral Temple.²⁶ Of the original ten ballets, only two, “Grand Martial Deeds” and “Grand Succession,” were purported to exist relatively unchanged at that time, but the recorded details of all ten ballets overlapped to such an extent

²² See *SgS*: 19.534; *NQS*: 11.190; and Table 2.3 below. For a discussion of the earlier hymns, see Chapter 1 above. The melody for “Martial Virtue” seems to have been arranged for orchestra before this time; thus, this arrangement was also renamed “Martial Eulogy.”

²³ For Cao Pi as literary critic, see Cutter (2001).

²⁴ See *SGZ*: 13.414-23.

²⁵ As we discussed in Chapter 1 above, the term *xia* 夏 has several layers of meaning. When applied to music, even music that has clearly Han-Chinese roots, it is not merely Han-Chinese music, because it also has strong overtones of universal propriety. Thus, many of the peripheral non-Han-Chinese states adopted *Xia* music for their sacrifices without changing the nomenclature. See Zou (2009), 118-24.

²⁶ See *SgS*: 19.537-38; and Goodman (2006a), 84-87.

that one series of six could cover all ten.²⁷ Zuo Yannian 左延年 (fl.220-240)²⁸ also composed new music for many of the hymns with a more passionate beat than that of the hymns that Du Kui had orchestrated for Cao Cao, thereby stirring up the old controversy over Ancient Music (*guyue* 古樂) versus New Melodies (*xinsheng* 新聲) still further.²⁹ For unclear reasons, Cao Pi chose not to include a coadjutor during any of these sacrifices throughout his reign.³⁰

It was not until three years after his accession that Cao Pi finally replaced the old ducal Great Temple with a new imperial Ancestral Temple, followed in the next year by a Wei Great Academy (*taixue* 太學), or Imperial College, to replace the Wei State College.³¹ Although the classics authorized seven fanes for the Ancestral Temple of the Son of Heaven, the Wei Ancestral Temple still had only two, those required for the late father, Cao Cao, and the grandfather, Cao Song. Cao Cao's fane, however, would have been permanent. At this time, Shun 舜 (legendary), who received the temple name Shizu 始祖, was determined to be the nominal founder of the Wei imperial Cao family, whereas Yao 堯 (legendary) had been the nominal founder of the Han imperial Liu 劉 family. Since Yao had abdicated to Shun, this line of reasoning increased Wei legitimation. Nonetheless, as Shun was a remote ancestor and had never held the state of Wei, he did not receive a fane in the Wei Ancestral Temple.³² Like those of his father, Cao Pi's achievements were also limited by the temporal and financial drain of constant warfare and worse yet he was further hindered by ill health.

²⁷ See *SgS*: 19.533-34.

²⁸ See *SGZ*: 29.807.

²⁹ See *JS*: 22.675-76 and 22.679.

³⁰ See *JS*: 19.586-87; and *NQS*: 9.118-21. As with the Han dynasty, the emperor performed only the rites to Heaven, Earth, and the imperial ancestors, leaving the Five Holy Ones and the Soil God and the Millet God to his ministers.

³¹ See Fu Xinian (2002), 66.

³² See *SGZ*: 2.83, Note 1; *SgS*: 14.356; *LJ*: 12.13b, 46.7b-11b; and *KZJY*: 8.79.

Regardless of his reasons, Cao Pi appeared to some to be remiss in his sacrificial duties as emperor, and so natural disasters throughout his reign were blamed on his having “simplified the Ancestral Temple” (*jian zongmiao* 簡宗廟) and “abolished offerings and sacrifices” (*fei jisi* 廢祭祀), failings traditionally associated with such things.³³

Upon succession to the imperial dignity, Cao Rui 曹叡 (204-239),³⁴ who received the posthumous name Emperor Ming 明帝 (r.227-239) and the temple name Liezu 烈祖 and who titled his initial reign period Taihe 太和 (227-232), or “Great Harmony,” set about refining the rites and music. From this point of view, he played a similar role to that of Emperor Wu 武帝 (r.140-87 BCE) of the Han dynasty, greatly expanding ceremonial splendor along the lines of the followers of Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-200)³⁵ and exploring the metaphysical and the cosmological, even seeking sylphs.³⁶ Initially, however, he seems to have been influenced by Wang Su, who advocated the Han system of having single altars to Heaven and Earth instead of the dual altars favored by Zheng Xuan. Wang Su also advocated a single imperial level Soil and Millet Shrine instead of the dual shrines also favored by Zheng Xuan, though it appears that the dual system of shrines continued throughout the Wei dynasty.³⁷ Thus, when Cao Rui conducted his first sacrifices as emperor in the first month of 227, he took his grandfather Cao Cao as coadjutor to Heaven at the Southern Suburban Altar (*nanjiao* 南郊) and his father Cao Pi as coadjutor to the Supreme Holy One (*shangdi* 上帝) in the Hall of Brilliance.³⁸ Like his father before him, Cao Rui had a fondness for passionate

³³ See *HS*: 27a.1342; *HHS*: Z15.3305, *JS*: 27.812, and *SgS*: 33.949.

³⁴ See *SGZ*: 3.91-115; Goodman (1998), *passim*; Figure 2.1 below; and Table 2.1 below.

³⁵ See *HHS*: 35.1207.

³⁶ For Cao Rui’s interest in sylphs, see Goodman (1998), 66.

³⁷ See *SgS*: 16.423 and *JS*: 19.591.

³⁸ See *SgS*: 16.420, *JS*: 19.582-83, 19.586-87, *NQS*: 9.118-21, and 9.124.

music and continued to rely on Zuo Yannian to compose new music for court occasions, both formal and informal.³⁹ In this same year, the ancestor-specific martial ballet “Martial Eulogy” was renamed “Grand Balance” (*dajun* 大鈞), accompanying hymns were composed for Cao Cao and Cao Pi, and one was planned for Cao Rui. From later developments, however, it appears that Cao Cao’s ballet was based on a version of “Martial Eulogy” that had been doubled in length and recast as a longer irregular meter hymn, whereas Cao Pi’s was based on “Four Seasons,” making for a Martial Ballet and a Civil Ballet.⁴⁰ These in turn apparently replaced “Numens Answer” and “Phoenixes Circle Overhead” for use at the Suburban Altars.⁴¹ Wang Su also composed a series of twelve eulogies at this time for use in the Ancestral Temple, but these were never put to music. From later usage, these likely comprised two processions, one for the “evening inspection of the sacrificial victim” (*xisheng* 夕牲), namely “Victim Processional” (*zhaoxia* 昭夏), and another for “calling down the god” (*jiangshen* 降神), namely “Welcome the Numens,” now second in the liturgy; seven canticles, one each for the three emperors and for four earlier ancestors; and three offertories, one each for the collective pentennial *Di* 禘 (Meticulous) offerings, the collective triennial *Xia* 禘 (Joint) offerings, and for the individual seasonal (*shi* 時) offerings.⁴² In 229, Cao Rui had the Ancestral Temple moved from Ye 鄴 to Luoyang 洛陽. Although the system remained much the same, there were now four fanes, those of Cao Teng, Cao Song, Cao Cao,

³⁹ See *JS*: 22.684.

⁴⁰ See *SgS*: 19.535-38 and Table 2.3 below. *Jin shu* tells us that these hymns were derived from the extant tunes of the Three Eras, which at that time comprised “Grand Succession,” “Grand Capaciousness” in the form of “Four Seasons,” “Grand Martial Deeds,” and “Mime” in the form of “Martial Eulogy,” though there was much confusion as to the distinction between “Grand Succession” and “Grand Capaciousness.” *Song shu* implies more specifically that these hymns were derived from “Martial Virtue” and “Four Seasons,” which in turn, it states, were derived from “Grand Martial Deeds” and “Mime” and from “Grand Succession.” *Nan Qi shu* states directly that the first hymn of this series was derived from “Martial Virtue.” See *SgS*: 19.535-36, *NQS*: 11.190, *JS*: 22.693-94, and Chapter 1 above.

⁴¹ See *SgS*: 19.537-38 and *NQS*: 11.167.

⁴² See *CXJ*: 13.325, *SgS*: 19.537-38, *NQS*: 11.178-79, and Guo (2007).

and Cao Pi.⁴³ In 237, Cao Rui turned further away from Wang Su's system. In the fifth month of this year, the Ancestral Temple system was codified with three permanent fanes and four rotating fanes as advocated by Zheng Xuan as opposed to the three permanent fanes and six rotating fanes advocated by Wang Su.⁴⁴ Still enamored with Wang Su's system of six ballets, Cao Rui had the two "Grand Balance" ballets recast at this time as Civil Ballets, thereby achieving the traditional balance with the four martial ballets of "Revealed Martial Deeds" of two civil ballets and four martial ballets.⁴⁵ In the twelfth month of the same year, Cao Rui commenced sacrifices to the Most August Holy One Heaven (*huanghuang ditian* 皇帝天) with Shun as coadjutor at the Round Mound (*yuanqiu* 圜丘), reinstating the system of dual altars to Heaven and Earth espoused by Zheng Xuan.⁴⁶ As with Cao Cao and Cao Pi, the financial burden of defending the borders and reclaiming lost territory remained the only restraint against Cao Rui's ritual aspirations.

As a child, Cao Fang 曹芳 (231-274),⁴⁷ Prince of Qi 齊王 (r.240-253), the adopted son of Cao Rui, whose initial reign period was titled Zhengshi 正始 (240-249), or "Correct Beginning," inherited the throne with Cao Shuang 曹爽 (d.249),⁴⁸ an adopted relation of Cao Rui's generation, as regent. Sima Yi 司馬懿 (179-251)⁴⁹ served as co-regent, but being a non-relative he initially held less influence than Cao Shuang. Sacrifices and ceremonies continued as they had under Cao Rui, becoming more and more extravagant.⁵⁰ Having even more fascination with rhetoric and metaphysics than had Cao Rui, Cao Shuang formed a

⁴³ See *SGZ*: 3.96-97.

⁴⁴ See *LJ*: 241-1, *SGZ*: 3.109, *SgS*: 16.447; and *TD*: 49.285

⁴⁵ See *JS*: 22.693-94.

⁴⁶ See *JS*: 19.582-83.

⁴⁷ See *SGZ*: 4.117-31.

⁴⁸ See *SGZ*: 9.282-92.

⁴⁹ See *JS*: 1.1-24; and Fairbank (1994), *passim*.

⁵⁰ See *JS*: 19.586-87.

coterie of *xuanxue* 玄學 (Abstruse Learning) scholars and *xuanfeng* 玄風 (Abstruse Style) aficionados, appointing them to high office and giving them free rein to do as they pleased. Sima Yi, on the other hand, was much more pragmatic. An admirer of Wang Su's expedient interpretation of fewer sacrifices, but with a greater variety of music and ballets, Sima Yi arranged for his second son, Sima Zhao 司馬昭 (211-265),⁵¹ to marry Wang Su's daughter, Wang Yuanji 王元姬 (217-268).⁵² As the nepotism increased and Cao Shuang garnered more imperial prerogatives, Sima Yi bided his time. In 249 Cao Shuang and his entourage accompanied the young emperor to Gaoping Tumulus 高平陵, his adoptive father's tomb, for an opulent memorial service as had become popular. Sima Yi, then, took advantage of their absence to stage a coup with the nominal help of the Empress Dowager, née Guo 郭 (d.264).⁵³ Thereafter, Sima Yi ruled in fact if not in name, much as had Cao Cao before him, making policy decisions and replacing emperors as he saw fit. Consequently, all major sacrifices ceased for the duration of the dynasty, allowing Sima Yi and his successors to concentrate on securing the realm.⁵⁴

Thus, despite the many changes within sacrificial music during the Wei dynasty, there were relatively few new hymns composed and of these only a few ballets and processions survive. For our discussion, I shall treat only the ballets "Ditties" and "Grand Balance."

⁵¹ See *JS*: 2.32-47.

⁵² See *JS*: 31.950-52.

⁵³ See *SGZ*: 5.168-69.

⁵⁴ See *SGZ*: 3.123, 9.286-88, *SgS*: 16.420, and *JS*: 19.582-83.

2.1 Ditties

I shall now conduct a close reading of Wang Can's "Ditties." For ease of reference, I shall divide each hymn into quatrains, sixains, or septains according to natural breaks in rhyming stanzas or content flow. To save time and space, I shall not include Romanization with the Chinese characters in the translation below, except in the main text or in my notes. Where necessary, I shall comment on any other odd features of translation. Otherwise, I shall simply point out and verify the stated and implied information. Finally, I shall conclude with a summary of my findings.

2.1.1 Title and Use of the Series

The title of this series tells us that these hymns were to be performed individually or as a suite in accompaniment to Martial Ballets during external ceremonies at the Ancestral Temple or at imperial tombs.⁵⁵ As we discussed above, it was not until 221 that Cao Pi first renamed this series "Revealed Martial Deeds" and brought these hymns inside the Ancestral Temple. To better understand the reasoning behind this action, I shall first review the six ballets of the Wei Ancestral Temple and the chain of events that formed them. These ballets comprise the four Martial Ballets of "Revealed Martial Deeds" and the two Civil Ballets of "Grand Balance," imitating the four-two split in the original Zhou-Qin series of six dynastic ballets, covering the props of the six Han-Chinese ballets as well as those of the four tribal ballets, and providing greater opportunity for opulent display than the Han system of one Martial Ballet and one Civil Ballet.

⁵⁵ See Chapter 1 above.

Though frowned upon in the West since the romantic revival, imitation lies at the foundation of all art and learning, for it offers the twofold advantage of recognition and reliability and as readily expresses emulation as opposition. We find an example of this in “God Save the King” and “My Country ‘Tis of Thee.” Both songs have the same number of lines with the same number of syllables and even their rime categories and rhyme patterns are similar, though not exactly the same.⁵⁶ Both songs stir in the listener great emotions, not only through association but also through simple, emphatic repetition, yet the second song expresses loyalty to the soil in opposition to loyalty to the king. Indeed it is this recognition and reliability that has made such fixed-form verse popular for centuries in many different cultures as both high and low art.

In China, fixed-form verse is most readily associated with the technique used in the composition of Song 宋 dynasty (960-1280) *ci* 詞 (lyric) poetry, otherwise known as “filling in the lyrics” (*tian ci* 填詞). Each *ci* has a designated number of lines of specific lengths, as well as a designated rhyme pattern. The challenge to the poet is to create an original piece within the stipulated parameters of the given *ci* pattern (*ci pai* 詞牌). We find an example of this in Yan Shu’s 晏殊 (991-1055) and Wang Anguo’s 王安國 (1030-1076) “Clear and Even Music” (*qingping yue* 清平樂). Both *ci* have the same number of lines with the same number of characters, their rime categories are similar, and their rhyme patterns are the same.⁵⁷

Xiao Difei 蕭滌非 traces this practice back to the Wu 吳 dynasty (222-280) exegete Wei Zhao 韋昭 (204-273), who composed a series of twelve “Drum and Fife Hymns”

⁵⁶ See Table 2.6 below.

⁵⁷ See Table 2.6 below. For more on filling in the lyrics, see Liu Dajie (1941), 539-74 and 687-742.

(*guchuige* 鼓吹歌) along the model of a series of twelve by the Wei dynasty poet Miao Xi 繆襲 (186-245), who had in turn based his on twelve from a now fragmentary anonymous Han dynasty series of twenty-two.⁵⁸ These three series in turn served as the model for a fourth series of twenty-two by the Jin 晉 (265-419) dynasty poet Fu Xuan 傅玄 (217-278).⁵⁹ Placed side by side, their relationship becomes obvious. The three later hymns display great similarity in line length and number as well as in rhyme pattern. The Han fragment also displays certain possible parallels. The other hymns in the four series also maintain the same degree of similarity.⁶⁰

“Ba Ditties” developed in the same manner. Throughout the Han, Wei, and Jin dynasties, they steadily gained in popularity. Wang Can composed new hymns for the series during the Wei dynasty and Fu Xuan composed new hymns for the series during the Jin dynasty. The hymns of both series share the same stanza length and much the same metrical pattern and content. Thus, we may assume that the lost Han hymns were also similar. During the Eastern Han dynasty, Emperor Zhang 章帝 (r.76-88) was particularly fond of “Ba Ditties” and had them recast as the less formal “Horseback-Wardrum Ballet” (*piwu* 鞞舞)⁶¹ as entertainment for dinners following the New Year’s Assembly (*yuanhui* 元會). This series includes stanza lengths and similar meter from the four “Ba Ditties” plus a fifth ballet that has exactly double the stanza length of “Martial Virtue,” which, like the canticle that preceded it, may have been performed in two parts. “Martial Virtue,” however, seems to have been based on a sixain tetrameter version of “Mime” (*xiang* 象), whereas the metrical

⁵⁸ See Xiao (1944), 147-51; and Masuda (1975), 64-69. See also *JS*: 23.697-98.

⁵⁹ See Masuda, 72-74. For biographical information on Fu Xuan, see *JS*: 47.1317-23; Paper (1987); and Wang Hui-chie (1997).

⁶⁰ See Table 2.6 below.

⁶¹ See Kaufmann (1976), 158; and Hsueh (1983), 122 and 133.

pattern of the fifth hymn of the “Horseback-Wardrum Ballet” calls to mind a cross between that of “Martial Virtue” and that of “Grand Capaciousness” (*daxia* 大夏). This is the longer dynastic Civil Ballet that was replaced for use in the Ancestral Temple by “Grand Succession” during the Qin dynasty, perhaps because of the rise in power of a non-Han country with the same name, Dalgra (*daxia* 大夏), identified as Bactria, and perhaps because it did not match the terse tetrameter dynastic Martial Ballet “Grand Martial Deeds” that was also used in the Ancestral Temple. Regardless, hymns with longer stanzas in irregular meter were on the rise thereafter and such a hymn could easily have been co-opted for less formal purposes as was the case with “Ba Ditties” and with other sacrificial hymns in later dynasties. New hymns were written for this series following the successions of Emperor Wen and Emperor Ming of the Wei dynasty and of Emperor Wu 武帝 (r.265-290) of the Jin dynasty. These hymns also continued the same length and similar pattern. During the Eastern Jin dynasty, “Horseback-Wardrum Ballet” seems to have been anonymously recast as the even less formal “Whisk Ballet” (*fuwu* 拂舞) also as entertainment for dinners following the New Year’s Assembly. The five hymns of this series, as well, have the same length and similar pattern as the two earlier series.⁶²

⁶² See *SgS*: 19.551-52, 22.625-35; *JS*: 23.710; *NQS*: 11.191; *SuS*: 15.376-77; and Table 2.6 through Table 2.11 below. For further discussion of this phenomenon, see Chapter 3. Guo Maoqian 郭茂倩 (fl.1084-1126) denies the structural similarity between the hymns of the “Ba Ditties” ballets and those of the “Horseback-Wardrum Ballet” series and so discredits any relationship between them. Liang Haiyan follows Guo Maoqian and so does not consider the source of the fifth hymn of the “Horseback-Wardrum Ballet” series. Neither Guo nor Liang actually compares the two series at any length. If compared in their received order, the series do not match up; but if reordered according to the derivation of their titles, they match up as seen in Table 2.8 through Table 2.12 below. See *YFSJ*: 53.771-72; and Liang (2009), 163. To the best of my knowledge, the relationship between the “Whisk Ballet” series and the other two series has not been previously identified. A fourth series, the anonymous Eastern Jin “White Gauze” (*baizhu* 白紵) ballets may have been inspired by the pattern of these three. Performed on less formal occasions, it also comprises five hymns. Only three of the Eastern Jin hymns remain, but these share the same stanza length as the first three hymns of the other three series. The meter, however, is pure heptameter. See *SgS*: 636-37.

“Grand Capaciousness,” or something very much like it, did indeed gain in popularity throughout the Han, Wei, and Jin dynasties. This ballet, rather than “Grand Succession,” may have been the model for “Four Seasons” in that the longer irregular meter more suited the tastes of its composer, Emperor Wen 文帝 (r.179-157 BCE). Additionally, the onzain stanzas of this hymn would have provided greater balance with the two sixains of “Martial Virtue.”⁶³ Based on stanza length and metrical patterns, “Proclamation-Bell Ballet” (*duowu* 鐸舞)⁶⁴ also seems to have been derived from “Grand Capaciousness” via “Four Seasons” some time around 85.⁶⁵ The contents fit well with Emperor Zhang’s fondness for extolling the martial accomplishments of Emperor Guangwu 光武帝 (r.25-57) and the ritual accomplishments of Emperor Ming 明帝 (r.58-75) of the Han dynasty, whereas the vocabulary matches some of the peculiarities of the era, for example the odd phrase “recent emperors” (*jindi* 近帝) as a reference to newer arrivals in the Ancestral Temple. During the reign of Emperor Ming of the Wei dynasty and of Emperor Wu of the Jin dynasty, new hymns were written for this ballet as well. During the Eastern Han dynasty, “Proclamation-Bell Ballet” seems to have been anonymously recast as the even less formal “Kerchief Ballet” (*jinwu* 巾舞) also as entertainment for dinners following the New Year’s Assembly. This hymn, as well, has the same length and similar pattern as the two earlier hymns.⁶⁶

⁶³ For a discussion of these hymns, see Chapter 1 above.

⁶⁴ See Kaufmann (1976), 166; and Hsueh (1983), 309-13.

⁶⁵ In the third month of 85, Emperor Zhang visited Confucius’ old home and listened to “Music of the Six Eras.” See *HHS*: 3.149-50, 35.1202-3, 79a.2562, Table 2.7, and Table 2.13 below.

⁶⁶ See *HHS*: Z9.3197, Z18.3359, *SgS*: 19.551, 22.632-33, 22.635-36, and Table 2.7, Table 2.12, and Table 2.13 below. For another example of a ballet that follows this pattern, see the anonymous Western Jin “Cup and Tray Ballet” (*beipanwu* 杯槃舞), *SgS*: 22.635. Based on their usage, the no longer extant Western Jin “Pennant Ballet” (*fanwu* 幡舞) and Southern Qi “Fan Ballet” (*shanwu* 扇舞) may also have been alternate titles for this series. See *SgS*: 19.551 and *JS*: 23.718.

The longer ballet series were grouped with the shorter ballet series for performance for a combined total of six ballets each. Aside from the association of the number six with Heavenly Deities, it appears also that six different drum beats or rhythms had developed to accompany these ballets such that each ballet may have had a unique beat. “Ba Ditties” was grouped with “Martial Virtue” and “Four Seasons” during the Han dynasty and “Revealed Martial Deeds” with “Grand Balance” during the Wei dynasty for the Ancestral Temple; and “Horseback-Wardrum Ballet” was grouped with “Proclamation-Bell Ballet” during the Han, Wei, and Jin dynasties and “Whisk Ballet” with “Kerchief Ballet” during the Eastern Jin dynasty for dinners following the New Year’s Assembly. During Eastern Jin and thereafter, these last four became known as the “Four Ballets” (*siwu* 四舞). Initially the balance was five Martial Ballets with one Civil Ballet, but as mentioned above that balance changed to four Martial Ballets with two Civil Ballets for the Ancestral Temple, perhaps in imitation of the balance among the six dynastic ballets.⁶⁷ Thus, for questions of scansion and parsing, we may also turn for further understanding beyond the hymns themselves to other hymns, which were based upon these or upon which these were based, for reliable comparison.

2.1.2 Authorship and Dating

Song shu, *Nan Qi shu*, and *Jin shu* all give 213 as the date that Wang Can composed these four hymns. *Song shu* gives 221 as the date for the name change whereas *Jin shu* gives 222.

⁶⁷ See *SgS*: 19.540, 551, 20.572, 573; *NQS*: 11.190-92; *JS*: 22.693-94, 23.718; and *SuS*: 15.376-77. For drum beats, see *LJ*: 58.18a-19a; *SgS*: 19.551; *JS*: 23.718; and Liang (2009), 146-48.

As the other hymns whose names were changed at the same time were used in the first month of 221, then it is reasonable to take the dating in *Jin shu* as a typographical error.⁶⁸

2.1.3 Translation and Commentary

This series comprises “New Hymn of Felicity of the Lance Ditty” (*maoyu xinfuge* 矛俞新福歌), “New Hymn of Felicity of the Crossbow Ditty” (*nuyu xinfuge* 弩俞新福歌), “New Hymn of Felicity of the Peaceful Terrace” (*antai xinfuge* 安臺新福歌), and “New Hymn of Felicity of the Ballad Lyrics” (*xingci xinfuge* 行辭新福歌).

“New Hymn of Felicity of the Lance Ditty”⁶⁹

Commentary: The title of this hymn tells us that it was to be performed individually or as part of a suite in accompaniment to Martial Ballets during external ceremonies at the Ancestral Temple or at imperial tombs. The Han antecedent was “Lance Ditty.” The Zhou counterpart for this hymn, “Mei” 秣, was performed for the Eastern Tribes (*dongyi* 東夷) outside the east gate of the Ancestral Temple to promote the timely birth of livestock and sprouting of roots. The dancers wielded lances (*mao* 矛). The Han and Zhou antecedents for this hymn are no longer extant, but four later versions of this hymn still exist, a 266 version from the same series, “Indeed as for the Sagacious Emperor” (*wei shenghuang* 惟聖皇); a

⁶⁸ See *SgS*: 19.534; *NQS*: 11.178-79; and *JS*: 22.693-94.

⁶⁹ See *SgS*: 20.571 and Wu and Tang (1984), 28-29. Ronald C. Miao 繆文傑 devotes only half a sentence to Wang Can’s work with sacrificial hymns as occasional poems, but does not translate any of them. See Miao (1982), 40. Form: 14 lines of 2, 3, 4, or 5 syllables. End Rhyme: On odd lines, excluding Line 8, in 1 stanza of 14 lines in the *you* 幽 rime category, with contact with the *yu* 魚 rime category in Line 1. Variants: None. Pattern: “Lance Ditty” of the “Ba Ditties” ballets. Topic: Both stanzas, Han Emperor Gao.

220 version, “Refined Subtlety” (*jingwei* 精微), and a 269 version, “Monumental Enterprise” (*hongye* 洪業), from the alternate series “Horseback-Wardrum Ballet;” and a fourth century version, “White Dove” (*baijiu* 白鳩), from the alternate series “Whisk Ballet.” Upon comparison, we note several similarities in vocabulary, stanza length, meter, and rhyme. The 213, 266, and 269 versions use some parallel vocabulary, for example “Nine Regions” (*jiuzhou* 九州) in Line 3, “Four Seas” (*sihai* 四海) in Line 3, and “Four Seas” in Line 4 respectively. The 220 and fourth century versions do not exhibit parallel vocabulary with the other versions. The 213 and 266 versions both use quatorzains with a septain split indicated by meter and content. The 269 version also uses quatorzains, but the split alternates by stanza between octaves with sixains and sixains with octaves indicated by rhyme and content. The 220 and fourth century versions use seizains with an octave split indicated by rhyme and content. The 213 and 266 versions each have only one stanza, but the rest have multiple stanzas. The 213 and 266 versions both use similar irregular metrical patterns. The 269 version uses two pentameter variant patterns in alternating stanzas, which repeat a key pattern from the earlier irregular metrical patterns. The 220 and fourth century versions both use completely regular metrical patterns, pentameter and tetrameter respectively. The 213 and 266 versions both have irregular rhyme patterns, whereas the rest rhyme regularly on alternate lines. The 266 and 269 versions start in the same rime category, as do the 220 and fourth century versions. Thus, the 213 and 266 versions share a strong resemblance with each other, the 269 shares some resemblance with these two, the 220 and fourth century versions share a strong resemblance with each other, and there is a general resemblance shared by all five versions.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ See Table 2.8 below for side-by-side comparison.

Xia 夏 dynasty, will not rest until the empire is at peace. By doing this, the septain draws comparison between Cao Cao and an idealized empire founder and affirms Cao Cao's intentions.⁷⁵

- | | | |
|----|--------|--|
| 8 | 宴我賓師， | He feasts our guests and officers, |
| | 敬用御天， | And reverently makes offerings to Heaven, |
| 10 | 永樂無憂。 | Forever rejoicing without sadness. |
| | 子孫受百福， | His sons and grandsons receiving a hundred-fold felicity, |
| 12 | 常與松喬遊。 | May they always rove with Song and Qiao! ⁷⁶ |
| | 蒸庶德， | The teeming multitudes being virtuous, |
| 14 | 莫不咸歡柔。 | There are none who are not entirely pleased and compliant. |

Commentary: This septain states that Emperor Gao was generous in victory, that his descendants enjoyed great happiness and sought immortality, and that the people were virtuous and remained content. The allusions imply that the excesses of Emperor Wu and other members of the Han imperial house who sought immortality were tolerated due to the virtue of the people. By doing this, the septain indicates that Cao Cao is following the model of Emperor Gao more closely than had the Han emperors themselves.

⁷⁵ For references to this and other quatrain/sixain/septain commentary, see the notes to the appropriate translation.

⁷⁶ This line, *chang yu Song Qiao you* 常與松喬遊, calls to mind the two lines in Selection 3, Ban Gu 班固 (32-92), “Xidu fu” 西都賦, WX: 1.18: “*shu songqiao zhi qunlei, / shiyong cong hu si ting*” 庶松喬之羣類，/ 時遊從乎斯庭, for which *Selections*: 1:135, has “He hoped men like Song and Qiao, / Would often sport with him in his court.” Qiao and Song are famous immortals. See notes to this passage, WX: 1.18 and *Selections*: 1:134.

“New Hymn of Felicity of the Crossbow Ditty”⁷⁷

Commentary: The title of this hymn tells us that it was to be performed individually or as part of a suite in accompaniment to Martial Ballets during external ceremonies at the Ancestral Temple or at imperial tombs. The Han antecedent was “Crossbow Ditty.” The Zhou counterpart for this hymn, “Nan” 南, was performed for the Southern Tribes (*nanyi* 南夷) outside the south gate of the Ancestral Temple to promote the timely growth of livestock and crops. The dancers wielded bows (*gong* 弓). The Han and Zhou antecedents for this hymn are no longer extant, but four later versions of this hymn still exist, a 266 version, “Military Garrison” (*junzhen* 軍鎮), from the same series, a 220 version; “Indeed as for the Sagacious Emperor” (*wei shenghuang* 惟聖皇), and a 269 version, “Heavenly Appointment” (*tianming* 天命), from the alternate series “Horseback-Wardrum Ballet;” and a fourth century version, “So Numerous” (*jiji* 濟濟), from the alternate series “Whisk Ballet.” Upon comparison, we note several similarities in vocabulary, stanza length, meter, and rhyme. The 213 and 266 versions use some parallel vocabulary, for example “crossbow” (*nu* 弩) in Lines 1 and 2 respectively. The 266 and 269 versions use some parallel vocabulary, for example “trigger” (*ji* 機) in Line 3. The 220 and 269 versions also use some parallel vocabulary, for example “sagacious emperor” (*shenghuang* 聖皇) and “sagacious progenitor” (*shengzu* 聖祖) in Line 1. All versions use octaves and all but the 266 version have a quatrain split indicated by meter, rhyme, and content. The 213 and 266 versions each have one stanza, but the rest

⁷⁷ See *SgS*: 20.571 and Wu and Tang (1984), 29. Form: 8 lines of 4 syllables. End Rhyme: On even lines, in 1 stanza of 8 lines in the *zhen* 真 rime category. Variants: None. Pattern: “Crossbow Ditty” of the “Ba Ditties” ballets. Topic: Han Emperor Gao.

have multiple stanzas. The 266, 220, and 269 versions also have finales indicated by an increased stanza length of nine, ten, and ten lines respectively. The finale of the 266 version is further indicated by its use of a trimeter variant common in finales.⁷⁸ The 213 version uses pure tetrameter, the 220 and 269 versions use pure pentameter, and the 266 and fourth century versions use irregular meter. The last two also share the same metrical pattern for the first quatrain. The 266 version has an irregular rhyme pattern, whereas the rest rhyme regularly on alternate lines. The 269 and fourth century start in the same rime category. Thus, the 213 and 266 versions share a strong resemblance with each other, the 269 shares some resemblance with these two and with the 220 version, the fourth century version shares some resemblance with the 266 and 269 versions, and there is a general resemblance shared by all five versions.⁷⁹

	材官選士，	His skilled soldiers and chosen elite,
2	劍弩錯陳，	They alternately arrange their swords and crossbows,
	應桴蹈節，	Answering to drumsticks and marking time,
4	俯仰若神。	Their feet bob up and down as if divine. ⁸⁰

⁷⁸ For examples of this pattern, see Table 2.10, Table 2.12, and Table 2.13 below.

⁷⁹ See Table 2.9 below for side-by-side comparison.

⁸⁰ These four lines, *caiguan xuanshi*, / *jian nu cuozhen*, / *yingfu daojie*, / *fuyang ruo shen* 材官選士， / 劍弩錯陳， / 應桴蹈節， / 俯仰若神， call to mind the passage in Fascicle 19, “Yue ji” 樂記, *LJ*: 39.20b-21a: “*yue zai zongmiao zhi zhong...zhi qi ganqi, xi qi fuying qushen, rongmao de zhuang yan*” 樂在宗廟之中...執其干戚，習其俯仰詘伸，容貌得莊焉， for which *Li Chi*: 2:127-28, has “Therefore in the ancestral temple...From the manner in which the shields and axes are held and brandished, and from the movements of the body in the practice with them, now turned up, now bent down, now retiring, now stretching forward, the carriage of the person receives gravity.” For the last line, see also Selection 3, Ban Gu, “Xidu fu,” *WX*: 1.14: “*fuying ru shen*” 俯仰如神, for which *Selections*: 1:125, has “Bobbed up and down like goddesses.”

Commentary: This quatrain describes Emperor Gao’s soldiers passing in review; at the same time it describes the dancers’ movements. The allusions imply that Cao Cao’s court approximates that of Emperor Gao and that of King Wu 武王 (r.1049-1043 BCE) of the Zhou dynasty. By doing this, the quatrain further exalts Cao Cao’s rule.

- 綏我武烈， Having comforted us with his eminent martial deeds,⁸¹
- 6 篤我淳仁， He magnanimously bestows upon us his pure
benevolence,⁸²
- 自東自西， From east and from west,⁸³
- 8 莫不來賓。 There are none who do not come to submit to him.⁸⁴

Commentary: This quatrain states that Emperor Gao’s generosity in victory is universally known. The allusions imply that Cao Cao is equally magnanimous and admired. By doing this, the quatrain continues the comparison of Cao Cao to the founders of Zhou and of Han.

⁸¹ For *suiwo* 綏我, see Stanza 4, Ode 282, “Yong” 雝, *MS*: 19-3.11a: “*sui wo mei shou*” 綏我眉壽, for which *Odes*: 246, has “He comforts me with a vigorous old age.” The “Xiao xu” states that this ode concerns sacrificing to King Wen 文王 (r.1056-1050 BCE). For *wulie* 武烈, see Fascicle 41 “Luo gao,” *ShS*: 15.21b: “*yang Wen Wu lie*” 楊文武烈, for which “Documents:” 52, taking *delie* 德烈 for *lie* 烈, has “extol the virtuous deeds of Wen and Wu.” The “Xiao xu” states that this fascicle concerns the announcement by the Duke of Zhou 周公 (r.1042-1036 BCE) after he arrived at Chengzhou 成周 to establish a capital.

⁸² For *chunren* 淳仁, see the line in praise of the Han emperors in Selection 444, Wang Bao 王褒 (first century BCE), “*Si zi jiang de lun*” 四子講德論, *WX*: 51.2256: “*jin chunren*” 進淳仁 (brining in pure benevolence).

⁸³ This line and the next, *zi dong zi xi* / *mo bu lai bin* 自東自西, / 莫不來賓, call to mind the three in Stanza 6, Ode 244, “*Wen wang you sheng*” 文王有聲, *MS*: 16-5.13b-14a: “*zi xi zi dong*, / *zi nan zi bei*, / *wusi bufu*” 自西自東, / 自南自北, / 無思不服, for which *Odes*: 198-99, has “from west, from east, from south, from north, there were none who thought of not submitting.” The “Xiao xu” states that this ode concerns the praise of King Wen and King Wu 武王 (r.1049-1043 BCE).

⁸⁴ This line, *mo bu lai bin* 莫不來賓, calls to mind the one in praise of Emperor Xuan 宣帝 (r.73-49 BCE) in *HS*: 100b.4238: “*mo bu lai ting*” 莫不來庭 (There are none who do not come to court).

“New Hymn of Felicity of the Peaceful Terrace”⁸⁵

Commentary: The title of this hymn tells us that it was to be performed individually or as part of a suite in accompaniment to Martial Ballets during external ceremonies at the Ancestral Temple or at imperial tombs. The Han antecedent was “Dagger-Axe Ditty” (*ge yu* 戈俞). The Zhou counterpart for this hymn, “Zhuli” 朱離, was performed for the Western Tribes (*xiyi* 西夷) outside the west gate of the Ancestral Temple to promote the timely slaughter of livestock and harvest of crops. The dancers wielded large-axes (*yue* 鉞) and probably wore red and yellow feathers. The Han and Zhou antecedents for this hymn are no longer extant, but four later versions of this hymn still exist, a 266 version, “Exhausted Martial Deeds” (*qiongwu* 窮武), from the same series, a 220 version; “Grand Wei” (*dawei* 大魏), and a 269 version, “Emperor Jing” (*jinghuang* 景皇), from the alternate series “Horseback-Wardrum Ballet;” and a fourth century version, “Whirlpool” (*dulu* 獨祿), from the alternate series “Whisk Ballet.” Upon comparison, we note several similarities in stanza length, meter, and rhyme. These hymns do not display parallel vocabulary. The 213 and 266 versions use dizains with a quatrain/sixain split indicated by meter and content and the rest use octaves with a quatrain split indicated by rhyme and content. The 213 and 269 versions also have extrametrical lines, that is individual lines inserted into a stanza, despite metrical and rhyme patterns, making it longer than other stanzas. The 213 and 266 versions each have one stanza, but the rest have multiple stanzas. The 266, 220, and 269 versions also have

⁸⁵ See *SgS*: 20.571 and Wu and Tang (1984), 30. Form: 10 lines of 3, 4, or 5 syllables with a 3 syllable extrametrical line between the Lines 8 and 9. End Rhyme: On even lines, in 1 stanza of 10 lines in the *zhen* 真 rime category. Variants: *YFSJ*: 53.768 has *wu* 武 for *wo* 我 in Line 1. Pattern: “Dagger-Axe Ditty” of the “Ba Ditties” ballets. Topic: Han Emperor Gao.

finales indicated by an increased stanza length of ten, eighteen, and sixteen lines respectively. The finale of the 266 version is labeled as such and is further indicated by its use of a trimeter variant common in finales.⁸⁶ The 213 and 266 versions use irregular meter, the 220 and 269 versions use pentameter variants, and the fourth century version uses pure tetrameter. All versions rhyme regularly on alternate lines, with the exception of extrametrical lines, but the fourth century version initially rhymes on every line. Thus, the 213 and 266 versions share a strong resemblance with each other, the 269 shares some resemblance with these two and with the 220 version, the fourth century version shares only a general resemblance with the other versions, and there is a general resemblance shared by all five versions.⁸⁷

	我功既定，	Our merit heretofore established,
2	庶士咸綏。	The multitudinous elite soldiers are entirely comforted.
	樂陳我廣庭，	The music set forth in our broad audience chamber,
4	式宴賓與師。	We observantly feast the guests and officers. ⁸⁸

Commentary: This quatrain turns from martial deeds to the feast at hand. The allusions continue to call up images from the founding of Zhou and Han. By doing this, the quatrain promises appreciation and reward to those who follow Cao Cao.

	昭文德，	Revealing his civil virtue,
--	------	-----------------------------

⁸⁶ For examples of this pattern, see Table 2.9, Table 2.12, and Table 2.13 below.

⁸⁷ See Table 2.10 below for side-by-side comparison.

⁸⁸ This line, *shiyān bīn yú shī* 式宴賓與師, calls to mind the refrain in Stanzas 1 to 4, Ode 171 “Nān yóu jiāyú” 南有嘉魚, *MS*: 10-1.1a-3b: “*jiābīn shīyān*” 嘉賓式燕, for which *Odes*: 115-16, has “fine guests feast.” The “Xiao xu” states that this ode concerns the lord’s rejoicing with the worthy during times of great peace.

- 6 宣武威。 He promulgates his martial dignity.
 平九有， Having brought peace to the Nine Holdings,⁸⁹
- 8 撫民黎。 He calms the black-haired people.
- 8a 荷天寵， He receives heavenly favor,⁹⁰
 延壽尸， And it prolongs his longevity,⁹¹
- 10 千載莫我違。 So for a thousand years none will disobey us.⁹²

Commentary: This septain states that thanks to Emperor Gao's balance of martial deeds and civility all his subjects enjoy peace and Heaven supports him. The allusions imply that Cao Cao, like Emperor Gao, was following the model of Tang 湯 (sixteenth century BCE?), the founder of the Shang dynasty. By doing this, the septain asserts that Cao Cao will be as generous in victory as was Tang.

⁸⁹ The Nine Holdings are also known as the Nine Regions (*jiuzhou* 九州). See Stanza 6, Ode 304 "Chang fa" 長發, *MS*: 20-4.6b: "jiuyou you jie" 九有有截, for which *Odes*: 266, has "the nine possessions were brought into order." The "Xiao xu" states that this ode concerns the *Di* offering to Heaven held once every five years. This is an ode to Tang 湯 (sixteenth century BCE?), the founder of the Shang dynasty.

⁹⁰ This line, *he tianchong* 荷天寵, calls to mind the one in Stanza 5, Ode 304 "Chang fa," *MS*: 20-4.6b: "*he tian zhi chong*" 何天之寵, for which *Odes*: 265, has "he received the favour of Heaven." The "Xiao xu" states that this ode concerns the *Di* offering to Heaven held once every five years. This is an ode to Tang, the founder of the Shang dynasty.

⁹¹ The third character in this line, *shi* 尸, which we have seen earlier as the impersonator in the pre-Han Ancestral Temple sacrifice, seems distinctly out of place. Wu Yun and Tang Shaozhong gloss this line as "It prolongs his longevity" (*yanchang shouming* 延長壽命), but do not explain further. This gloss is perhaps just a guess, but for lack of a better explanation I follow it here. See Wu and Tang (1984), 30.

⁹² This line, *qianzai mo wo wei* 千載莫我違, calls to mind the one in Stanza 6, Ode 304 "Chang fa," *MS*: 20-4.7a: "*ze mo wo gan he*" 則莫我敢曷, for which *Odes*: 265, has "and so there was nobody who could dare to check us." The "Xiao xu" states that this ode concerns the *Di* offering to Heaven held once every five years. This is an ode to Tang, the founder of the Shang dynasty.

“New Hymn of Felicity of the Ballad Lyrics”⁹³

Commentary: The title of this hymn tells us that it was to be performed individually or as part of a suite in accompaniment to Martial Ballets during external ceremonies at the Ancestral Temple or at imperial tombs. The Han antecedent was “Large-Board-Shield Ditty” (*ban yu* 板俞). The Zhou counterpart for this hymn, “Jin” 禁, was performed for the Northern Tribes (*beiyi* 北夷) outside the north gate of the Ancestral Temple to promote the timely stabling of livestock and storage of crops. The dancers wielded large-shields (*dun* 楯). The Han and Zhou antecedents for this hymn are no longer extant, but four later versions of this hymn still exist, a 266 version, “Short Weapon” (*duanbing* 短兵), from the same series, a 220 version; “Late Winter” (*mengdong* 孟冬), and a 269 version, “Grand Jin” (*dajin* 大晉), from the alternate series “Horseback-Wardrum Ballet;” and a fourth century version, “Mt. Jieshi” (*jieshi* 碣石), from the alternate series “Whisk Ballet.” Upon comparison, we note several similarities in vocabulary, stanza length, meter, and rhyme. The 213 and 269 versions draw comparison between current rulers and legendary rulers and so have many parallels throughout. The finales of the 220 and 269 versions begin with “sagacious emperor” (*shenghuang* 聖皇) and “former kings” (*xianwang* 先王) respectively. The 213 and 266 versions use dizains with a quatrain/sixain split indicated by meter and content, the 220 and 269 versions use douzains with quatrain splits indicated by meter, rhyme, and content, and the fourth century version uses quatorzains with a quatrain splits and a couplet final refrain. The 269 version also has an extrametrical line in the first stanza. The 213 and 266 versions

⁹³ See *SgS*: 20.572 and Wu and Tang (1984), 30-31. Form: 10 lines of 3, 4, or 5 syllables. End Rhyme: On even lines, in 1 stanza of 10 lines in the *ji* 祭 rime category, contact with the *tai* 泰 rime category in Line 6. Variants: None. Pattern: “Yu Large-Board-Shield” of the “Ba Ditties” ballets. Topic: Han Emperor Gao.

each have one stanza, but the rest have multiple stanzas. The 220 and 269 versions also have finales indicated by an increased stanza length of sixteen and fourteen lines respectively. The finale of the 220 version is labeled as such. The 213 version uses irregular meter, the 266, 220, and fourth century versions use tetrameter, and the 269 version uses irregular meter in the first stanza, but tetrameter in the following stanzas. The finale of the 220 version uses tetrameter and that of the 269 version uses a tetrameter variant. All versions rhyme regularly on alternate lines, with the exception of extrametrical lines and refrains, but the first stanza the fourth century version uses irregular rhyme. Thus, the 213 and 266 versions share a strong resemblance with each other, the 269 shares some resemblance with these two and with the 220 version, the fourth century version shares only a general resemblance with the other versions, and there is a general resemblance shared by all five versions.⁹⁴

神武用師，	As for the Divinely Martial's use of the army, ⁹⁵
2 士素厲。	His elite soldiers had to be simply severe. ⁹⁶
仁恩廣覆，	For benevolence and kindness to broadly envelope,
4 猛節橫逝。	Fierce discipline he widely spread.

⁹⁴ See Table 2.11 below for side-by-side comparison.

⁹⁵ For *shenwu* 神武, see Wing 6 “Xici shang” 繫辭上, ZY: 7.27b: “*qi shou neng yu ci zai? gu zhi congming ruizhi, shenwu er bu shazhe fu*” 其孰能與此哉? 古之聰明叡知, 神武而不殺者夫, for which *I Ging*: 1:241, has “Wer ist es, der das alles kann? Nur die Vernunft und Klarheit der Alten, ihre Erkenntnis und Weisheit, ihre göttliche Kraft ohne Nachlassen” (Who is it that can do everything? Only the reason and clarity of the ancients, their knowledge and wisdom, their divine power without lessening).

⁹⁶ This line, *shi suli* 士素厲, calls to mind the two in *HS*: 39.2997: “*shi bu suli, ze nan shi si di*” 士不素厲, 則難使死敵 (If elite soldiers are not simply severe, then it will be difficult to cause the enemy to die). The *Zhonghua shuju* editors take this couplet as a single line as do Wu Yun and Tang Shaozhong. I have divided thus to fit the pattern followed by later poets using the same series. See Table 2.11 below.

Commentary: This quatrain states that serious times required serious measures. The allusions imply that Cao Cao did simply what was required of a divinely inspired ruler. By doing this, the quatrain puts Cao Cao at the level of legendary founding rulers.

- | | | |
|----|--------|--|
| | 自古立功， | As for those from ancient times who erected merit, |
| 6 | 莫我弘大。 | None were as enormously grand as us. |
| | 桓桓征四國， | How warlike was his quelling of the Four States, ⁹⁷ |
| 8 | 爰及海裔。 | Hence he came up to the edge of the sea. |
| | 漢國保長慶， | The Han State having preserved long felicity, |
| 10 | 垂祚延萬世。 | The blessings handed down shall extend for a myriad generations. |

Commentary: This sixain states that no rulers before Emperor Gao were more successful and that the blessing will continue for much longer. The allusions imply that Cao Cao, like the Duke of Zhou 周公 (r.1042-1036 BCE), has contributed much to the stability and happiness of the state. By doing this, the sixain affirms the appropriateness of Cao Cao's taking the reins of state in place of a young and weak-willed monarch.

⁹⁷ For *huanhuan zheng* 桓桓征, see Stanza 6, Ode 299 "Pan shui" 泮水, *MS*: 20-1.17b: "桓桓于征, for which *Odes*: 257, has "martially they went on the warlike expedition." The "Xiao xu" states that this ode concerns eulogizing the ability of Duke Xi 僖公 (r.659-627 BCE) to repair the ducal state college. The Four States are the four states to the east quelled by the Duke of Zhou: Guan 管, Cai 蔡, Shang 商, and Yan 奄. See also Stanza 6, Ode 262, "Jiang Han" 江漢, *MS*: 18-4.18b: "*qia ci siguo*" 洽此四國, for which *Odes*: 234, has "and unites these (states of the) four quarters." The "Xiao xu" states that this ode concerns celebrating victory in the south.

2.1.4 Content

On the surface, these hymns celebrate Emperor Gao, but very clearly their real subject is Cao Cao. Even though the first hymn begins with “the commencement of the Han dynasty” and the last hymn ends with the “Han State” prolonging “for a myriad generations,” the allusions when applied to current events can hardly evoke anyone beside Cao Cao. The first hymn alludes to Yu, the legendary first ruler of the Xia dynasty to whom Shun abdicated; the second hymn alludes to King Wen and King Wu, the founders of the Zhou dynasty who took the empire by force; the third hymn alludes to Tang, the founder of the Shang dynasty who also took the empire by force; and the last hymn alludes to the Duke of Zhou, the Zhou dynasty regent who stabilized the empire for the young ruler.

The identification of Cao Cao as the true subject of these hymns is further driven home through the use of three elements common to many earlier sacrificial hymns: euphemistic description of military action, autoreference to the sacrificial event, and declamation of political ideology.⁹⁸ First, the hymns speak of “rectifying the Nine Regions,” “bringing peace to the Nine Holdings,” and “quelling the Four States” instead of being more specific. The first hymn also mentions the yielding of the “Southern Tribes of the Jing Region,” a common reference to the kingdom of Wu, whose royal family was first ennobled by Cao Cao through Emperor Xian in 198, but also a likely reference to the surrender of the contemporary Jing Region to Cao Cao by Liu Cong 劉琮 (third century) in 208. Second, the hymns spend more time describing the feasting of the envoys and the army, the movements of the dancers, and the performance of the music during the ceremony than they do the

⁹⁸ For further discussion, see Kern (1997), 144.

military action. In these descriptions, each hymn also uses the first person pronoun *wo* 我 (I/we) and the emphatic negative pronoun *mo* 莫 (none), emphasizing the present rather than the distant past. Third, the political message that runs through each of these hymns is lenience for those who submit and generosity for those who assist.

Finally, a word on motifs, sacrificial hymns, like the ballads that sprung up with and sometimes from them, develop motifs that consist of topics or key words. Of course, major motifs for these hymns comprise the weapons that serve as props for the dancers. These are mentioned directly or indirectly in each hymn. Another example of a major motif would be the comparison between current rulers and legendary rulers in the last hymn of several versions. Minor motifs comprise the repetition of key words or classes of words at specific places or intervals, such as the numerical binome generic place names “Nine Regions” and “Four Seas” in the second couplet of the first hymn of several versions.

2.1.5 Formal Structure

Despite the fragmented nature of the no longer extant Han hymns from which they were derived, these hymns present the stylistically consistent formal structure that we would expect from fixed-form verse.⁹⁹ In the 213 version of the series, the first hymn uses a quatorzain in irregular meter with irregular rhyme, the second hymn uses an octave in tetrameter with regular rhyme, the third and fourth hymns use dizains in irregular meter with regular rhyme, and none of the hymns have finales. The greater regularity of the second hymn may simply be the result of greater fragmentation of the Han hymn giving later authors

⁹⁹ For further discussion of the Han hymns, see Chapter 1 above.

greater freedom to maneuver. In the 266 version, the hymns are much the same, but the second and third hymns both have finales. Only that of the third hymn, however, is marked as such. The other versions present increasingly regular formal structure, favoring octaves, douzains, and seizains with quatrain splits, as well as regular metrical and rhyme patterns. In the 220 and 269 versions, the second, third and fourth hymns all have finales, indicating that the fourth hymn of the 266 version may have had a finale as well.¹⁰⁰ In the fourth century version, however, none of the hymns have finales. Thus, the overall picture is one of great consistency between different versions of the same series and general consistency among different versions of alternate series.¹⁰¹

2.1.6 Place in Literary History

The “Ba Ditties” Martial Ballet series and its derivatives captivated audiences for a thousand years. At the court of Emperor Gao of the Western Han dynasty, the original series sprang from the memory of “Music of the Four Tribes” recast in honor of the emperor’s military exploits; and at the court of Emperor Zhang of the Eastern Han dynasty, the series spawned the first four hymns of the “Horseback-Wardrum Ballet,” celebrating the emperor’s achievements. At Cao Cao’s ducal court, new hymns were written for “Ba Ditties” and at his son’s imperial court they were elevated to an exalted position inside the Ancestral Temple.

Similarly, new hymns were written for “Horseback-Wardrum Ballet” at the courts of

¹⁰⁰ In the received order of these hymns, the fourth hymn appears between the first and the second hymns, putting the marked finale in the final position in the series. Liang Haiyan relies primarily on this order and on content to designate the marked finale as the finale for the entire series. He also notes the natural septain split in the first hymn and designates the first septain as the series prelude. This explanation, while attractive in isolation, does not take into account other developments in the series and so seems tentative at best. See Liang (2009), 133-38.

¹⁰¹ See Table 2.6 through Table 2.10 below.

Emperor Wen and Emperor Ming of the Wei dynasty. At the court of Emperor Wu of the Jin dynasty, new hymns were composed for both series, but in 273 the hymn “Grand Delight” (*dayu* 大豫) replaced the “Horseback-Wardrum Ballet” series and in 275 the same hymn replaced the “Ba Ditties” series.¹⁰² Nonetheless, the “Horseback-Wardrum Ballet” series was revived after 317 and in turn spawned the “Whisk Ballet” series. At the court of Emperor Xiaowu 孝武帝 (r.373-396), following the defeat of Fu Jian 苻堅 (338-385), the king of Former Qin 前秦 (350-394), and the recovery of traditionally trained musicians with the full Four Racks (*sixuan* 四縣) of instruments designated as the imperial prerogative, the old-style music enjoyed another burst of popularity that continued throughout the Southern Dynasties.¹⁰³ At the court of Emperor Wen 文帝 (r.581-604) of the Sui 隋 (581-618) dynasty, “Horseback-Wardrum Ballet” and “Whisk Ballet,” minus the props, both enjoyed one last revival.¹⁰⁴ During the Tang 唐 (618-907) dynasty, while individual hymns from all three series continued to inspire pentameter poetry with the same titles and same motifs in the manner of the *yuefu* 樂府 ballad tradition, court sponsorship for these series, and even the ballets themselves, ceased to exist.¹⁰⁵ Although the “Ba Ditties” tradition lasted a thousand years, it reached its apex of prestige and popularity within the first five hundred years and dwindled thereafter despite multiple attempts at revival.

¹⁰² See *SgS*: 19.539-40, *NQS*: 11.190, *JS*: 22.692-94, and *TD*: 147.769. For further discussion of “Grand Delight,” see Chapter 3 below.

¹⁰³ See *SgS*:19.551-52, *JS*: 23.697-98, 23.710, and *SuS*: 15.376-77. For biographical information on Fu Jian, see *JS*: 113.2883-114.2939; and Rogers (1968).

¹⁰⁴ See *SuS*: 15.376-77.

¹⁰⁵ See *YFSJ*: 53.769, 53.780, and 55.795. For the *yuefu* ballad tradition, see among many others Owen (2006), *passim*; and Allen (1992), *passim*.

2.2 Grand Balance¹⁰⁶

I shall now conduct an analysis of the anonymous “Grand Balance” ballets. Otherwise, I shall simply point out and verify the stated and implied information. Although the hymns themselves are no longer extant, information on their performance is readily available, as are several hymns derived from them. I shall examine both sources of information to establish general trends. Finally, I shall conclude with a summary of my findings.

2.2.1 Title and Use of the Series

The title of this series tells us that these hymns were to be performed individually or as a suite in accompaniment to Civil Ballets during internal ceremonies at the Ancestral Temple.¹⁰⁷ As we discussed above, this series was performed with the four Martial Ballets of “Revealed Martial Deeds” in apparent imitation of the four-two split in the original Zhou-Qin series of six dynastic ballets. The first hymn of this series, “Martial Beginning” (*wushi* 武始), was derived from a doubled version of “Martial Virtue.” and the second hymn of this series, “Entirely Abounding” (*xianxi* 咸熙), from “Grand Capaciousness” via “Four Seasons” in the manner of fixed-form verse. A third hymn, “Displayed Refinement” (*zhangbin* 章斌), was planned in honor of Emperor Ming, but appears never to have been completed.¹⁰⁸ Nothing is said of any relationship between the latter two hymns and “Revealed Virtue” (*zhaode* 昭德) dedicated to Emperor Wen 文帝 (r.179-157 BCE) and “Flourishing Virtue” (*shengde* 盛德)

¹⁰⁶ See *JS*: 22.693-94; *SgS*: 19.535-38, 542-43; and *NQS*: 11.190.

¹⁰⁷ See Chapter 1 above.

¹⁰⁸ See *SgS*: 19.535-36, and *JS*: 22.693-94.

dedicated to Emperor Wu, which were also based on “Martial Virtue.” These hymns may have been no longer extant by this time or they may have shared the same derivation as the Wei hymns.

Starting in 227, “Martial Beginning” and “Entirely Abounding” were performed at various sacrificial sites as a Martial Ballet and a Civil Ballet respectively, as indicated by the dancers’ headgear. The “Martial Beginning” dancers wore flat ceremonial caps (*pingmian* 平冕), black armor and kerchiefs (*hei jieze* 黑介幘), sable upper and lower garments (*xuan yichang* 玄衣裳), white collars and cuffs (*bai lingxiu* 白領袖), crimson inner garment collars and sleeves (*jiang lingxiu zhongyi* 絳領袖中衣), crimson trousers (*jiang hebiku* 絳合幅袴), crimson stockings (*jiang wa* 絳袜), and black leather moccasins (*hei weidi* 黑韋鞮) at the Round Mound and martial caps (*wuguan* 武冠), scarlet armor and kerchiefs (*chi jieze* 赤介幘), bright crimson gowns and light upper garments (*shengjiang paodanyi* 生絳袍單衣), crimson collars and cuffs (*jiang lingxiu* 絳領袖), ebony inner garment collars and cuffs (*zao lingxiu zhongyi* 皂領袖中衣), tiger-patterned trousers (*huwenhua hebiku* 虎文畫合幅袴), white cloth stockings (*baibu wa* 白布袜), and black leather moccasins at court. The “Entirely Abounding” dancers wore gathered semblance caps (*weimao* 委貌) and the rest the same as the “Martial Beginning” dancers at the Round Mound and presented worthy caps (*jinixan guan* 進賢冠), black armor and kerchiefs (*hei jieze* 黑介幘), bright yellow gowns and light upper garments (*shenghuang paodanyi* 生黃袍單衣), white trousers (*bai hebiku* 白

合幅袴), and the rest the same as the rest the same as the “Martial Beginning” dancers at court.¹⁰⁹

In 237, however, both ballets were recast as Civil Ballets with the dancers wielding feathers and flutes and wearing the civil attire with the “Revealed Martial Deeds” dancers wielding shields and long-axes and wearing the martial attire.¹¹⁰ At this time as well, the Civil Ballets were moved ahead of the Martial Ballets in the liturgy, reversing the historical order.¹¹¹ This change was likely inspired by the statement in *Li ji* 禮記 that ancient music begins with the “civil” (*wen* 文), meaning drums, and ends with the “martial” (*wu* 武), meaning bells.¹¹² As we also discussed above, “Four Seasons” begat “Proclamation-Bell Ballet,” which in turn begat “Kerchief Ballet.” The longer ballet series were grouped with the shorter ballet series for performance for a combined total of six ballets each. There were one set of two series for the Ancestral Temple and two sets of two series for the dinners following the New Year’s Assemblies. These last four series were also known as the “Four Ballets.” Because the sets were performed and recorded together, some scholars even mistook one set of two series for a single new series, particularly when an alternate name was used for “Proclamation-Bell Ballet” or for “Kerchief Ballet,” thereby causing great confusion.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ See *SgS*: 19.536. The gathered semblance cap is a cloth variant of the white deerskin hat (*pibian* 皮弁) worn by the “Grand Capaciousness” dancers. The presented worthy cap is also a civil cap. The color combination of the Civil Ballet court costume is also reminiscent of that of the “Grand Capaciousness” dancers. For further discussion of hats, see Chapter 1 above.

¹¹⁰ This is indicated by statements concerning the relationship between the props of these ballets and those of ballets that followed. See *NQS*: 11.190 and *TD*: 147.769.

¹¹¹ This is indicated by statements concerning the relative position of Civil Ballets and Martial Ballets in the liturgy from one dynasty to the next. We are given the Martial-Civil order for Zhou, Qin, and Han and the Civil-Martial order for Liu-Song, but we are also told that Liu-Song derived from Jin and Jin from Wei. See *SgS*: 19.541, *NQS*: 11.190, *TD*: 147.769, and Chapter 1 above.

¹¹² See *LJ*: 38.19b, classic and commentary.

¹¹³ See *SgS*: 19.551 and *SuS*: 15.376-77.

2.2.2 Authorship and Dating

Song shu and *Jin shu* both give 227 as the date that Emperor Ming commissioned these two hymns and 237 as the date that they were recast. Although no author is specifically mentioned, Wang Su wrote a series of twelve hymns for the Wei Ancestral Temple and was closely involved in the planning of these ballets. Thus, he may have been the author of these two no longer extant hymns as well.¹¹⁴

2.2.3 Translation and Commentary

This series comprises “Martial Beginning” and “Entirely Abounding.”

“Martial Beginning”¹¹⁵

Commentary: The title of this hymn tells us that it was to be performed individually or as part of a suite in accompaniment to Civil Ballets during internal ceremonies at the Ancestral Temple and external ones at the Round Mound. The Han antecedent was a doubled “Martial Virtue” composed in 60. The Zhou antecedent for this hymn, “Mime,” was performed during offerings to the royal ancestors at the Ancestral Temple. The dancers wielded shields and long-axes. The Han and Zhou antecedents for this hymn are still extant, as are four later versions of this hymn, a 266 version from the same series, “Feathers and Flutes” (*yuyue* 羽)

¹¹⁴ Although the name of the composer is not recorded, both Wang Su 王肅 (195-256) and Miao Xi 繆襲 (186-245) were closely involved, as was Zuo Yannian 左延年 (fl.220-240). See *SgS*: 19.535-38 and *JS*: 22.693-94.

¹¹⁵ See *JS*: 22.693-94, *SgS*: 19.535-38, 19.542-43, *NQS*: 11.190, and *TD*: 147.769 (Martial Beginning=Civil Beginning).

籥); a 220 version, “Numinous Fungus” (*lingzhi* 靈芝), and a 269 version, “Brilliant Lord” (*mingjun* 明君), from the alternate series “Horseback-Wardrum Ballet;” and a fourth century version, “Prince of Huainan” (*huainanwang* 淮南王), from the alternate series “Whisk Ballet.” Having compared the Han version with the Zhou version in Chapter 1, let us now compare the Han version with the four later extant versions. Upon comparison, we note several similarities in vocabulary, stanza length, meter, and rhyme. The 266, 220, and 269 versions use much parallel vocabulary in the first line of many quatrains throughout, for example “August One [Fu]xi” (*xihuang* 羲皇) in Line 1, “Shun of Yu” (*yushun* 虞舜) in Line 4, and “Brilliant Lord” (*mingjun* 明君) in Line 1 respectively. The finales of these three and of the fourth century version also use some parallel vocabulary throughout, for example “sage emperor,” “sage emperor,” “faithful official” (*zhongchen* 忠臣), and “Prince of Huainan” in Line 1 respectively. The 60 version shares no parallel vocabulary with the other four versions. All versions use douzains, but the 60 version has a sixain split indicated by rhyme and content, while the rest have quatrain splits indicated by rhyme, meter, and content. The 60 and fourth century versions each have one stanza, but the rest have multiple stanzas. Except for the 60 version, all versions also have finales indicated by an increased stanza length of sixteen lines, though the 220 version has a douzain finale labeled as a finale. The 266 and fourth century versions both use irregular metrical patterns, but the 266 version uses a trimeter variant for its finale. The 60, 220, and 269 versions all use completely regular metrical patterns, tetrameter for the first and pentameter for the other two. Only the 60 version has an irregular rhyme pattern, whereas the rest rhyme regularly on alternate lines. Thus, the 266, 220, and 269 versions share a strong resemblance with each other, the fourth

century version shares some resemblance with these three, and there is a general resemblance shared by all five versions.¹¹⁶

“Entirely Abounding”¹¹⁷

Commentary: The title of this hymn tells us that it was to be performed individually or as part of a suite in accompaniment to Civil Ballets during internal ceremonies at the Ancestral Temple and external ones at the Round Mound. The Han antecedent was the no longer extant “Four Seasons” composed in c.179 BCE. The Zhou antecedent for this hymn, “Grand Capaciousness,” was performed during offerings to the royal ancestors at the Ancestral Temple and during offerings to major mountains and streams, spring and autumn offerings for good weather, and winter offerings to the Progenitor of Tillage (*tianzu* 田祖) at the Suburban Altars. The dancers went shirtless (*xi* 裊) and wore raw silk pleated lower garments (*suji* 素積) and white deerskin hats (*pibian* 皮弁) with a broad band connected to a button in the center by strands of beads. They wielded feathers and flutes.¹¹⁸ The Zhou antecedent for this hymn is still extant, as are four later versions of this hymn, a 266 version from the same series, “Feathers and Proclamation-Bells” (*yuduo* 羽鐸); a c.85 version, “The Sage’s Institution of Rites and Music” (*shengren zhi liyue* 聖人制禮樂), and a 269 version, “Cloud Gate” (*yunmen* 雲門), from the alternate series “Proclamation-Bell Ballet;” and a second century version, “My Lord’s Hardship” (*gong mo* 公莫), from the alternate series

¹¹⁶ See Table 2.12 below for side-by-side comparison.

¹¹⁷ See *JS*: 22.693-94, *SgS*: 19.535-38, 19.542-43, *NQS*: 11.190, and *TD*: 147.769 (Martial Beginning=Civil Beginning).

¹¹⁸ For further discussion of the Zhou hymn, see Chapter 1 above.

“Kerchief Ballet.” Upon comparison, we note several similarities in vocabulary, stanza length, meter, and rhyme. The 266, c.85, and 269 versions use some parallel vocabulary, for example “of old” (*xi* 昔) in Line 1 of the 266 and c.85 versions and “[King] Wen and [King] Wu” (*wenwu* 文武) and “Yellow [Holy One]” (*huang* 黃) in Line 1 of the c.85 and 269 versions respectively. As well, Stanza 1 of the c.85 and 269 versions concerns past rulers and Stanza 2 past music. The Zhou and second century versions share no parallel vocabulary with the other three versions. The Zhou, c.85, and 269 versions use onzains with sixain/cinquain, septain/quatrain, or quatrain/septain splits; cinquain/sixain splits; or cinquain/sixain or sixain/cinquain splits respectively indicated by rhyme, meter, and content; though Stanza 5 of the Zhou version is a douzain. The 266 and second century versions use douzains with quatrain splits or a sixain split respectively indicated by rhyme, meter, and content. The c.85 and second century versions also have an extrametrical line in Stanza 1 of the first and Stanzas 3, 4, and 6 of the second. All versions have multiple stanzas. Only the 266 version has a finale indicated by an increased stanza length of sixteen lines. The c.85, 269, and second century versions all use irregular metrical patterns. The Zhou version uses a tetrameter variant and the 266 version uses pentameter for Stanza 1, tetrameter for Stanza 2, and a trimeter variant for its finale. The Zhou version rhymes on every line except four, the 266 version rhymes regularly on alternate lines, and the rest have an irregular rhyme pattern. Thus, the 266, c.85, and 269 versions share some resemblance with each other and there is a general resemblance shared by all five versions.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ See Table 2.13 below for side-by-side comparison.

2.2.4 Content

Even though the two hymns in this series are no longer extant, we may make some assumptions about their contents. The first hymn, as an erstwhile Martial Ballet dedicated to Cao Cao, likely compared him to the Three August Ones (*sanhuang* 三皇)¹²⁰ and other legendary rulers as did the 266, 220, and 269 versions for their subjects. As well, it probably used much other vocabulary parallel with that of other series. The second hymn, as a Civil Ballet dedicated to Emperor Wen, likely emphasized his cultural achievements in the regulation of rites and music as did the 266, c.85, and 269 versions for their subjects. Similarly, it probably used much other vocabulary parallel with that of other series.

2.2.5 Formal Structure

We may also make some assumptions about the formal structure of these two hymns. Both hymns likely used two stanzas in douzains in irregular meter and regular rhyme with a seizain finale in a trimeter variant and regular rhyme. Possibly the first hymn may have used a tetrameter variant for its stanzas to maintain a closer relationship with the 60 version.

2.2.6 Place in Literary History

The “Grand Balance” Civil Ballet series, its antecedents, and its derivatives held audiences for two millennia. At the court of King Wu of the Zhou dynasty, “Mime” was composed to

¹²⁰ For discussion of Three August Ones, see Chapter 1 above.

celebrate the military achievements of his father, King Wen; at the court of Emperor Gao of the Western Han dynasty, “Martial Virtue,” was derived from “Mime” to celebrate the emperor’s own military achievements; at the court of Emperor Ming of the Wei dynasty, “Martial Beginning” was derived from “Martial Virtue” to celebrate the military achievements of his grandfather, Cao Cao; and at the court of Emperor Wu of the Jin dynasty, “Feathers and Flutes” was derived from “Martial Beginning” to celebrate the emperor’s own cultural achievements.¹²¹ Attributed to the legendary past, “Grand Capaciousness” was performed at the Zhou court during the Spring and Autumn (770-481 BCE) period to celebrate cultural achievements; at the court of Emperor Wen, “Four Seasons” was derived from “Grand Capaciousness” to celebrate universal tranquility; at the court of Emperor Ming of the Wei dynasty, “Entirely Abounding” was derived from “Four Seasons” to celebrate the cultural achievements of his father, Emperor Wen; and at the court of Emperor Wu of the Jin dynasty, “Feathers and Proclamation-Bells” was derived from “Entirely Abounding” to celebrate the emperor’s own cultural achievements.¹²² At the court of Emperor Zhang of the Eastern Han dynasty, “Martial Virtue” spawned “Horseback-Wardrum Ballet, Number 5” and “Four Seasons” spawned “Proclamation-Bell Ballet,” both celebrating the emperor’s own cultural achievements. Similarly, new hymns were written for “Horseback-Wardrum Ballet, Number 5” and “Proclamation-Bell Ballet” at the courts of Emperor Wen and Emperor Ming of the Wei dynasty.¹²³ At the court of Emperor Wu of the Jin dynasty, new hymns were composed for both series, but in 273 the hymn “Grand Delight” replaced the “Horseback-Wardrum Ballet” series and the hymn “Correct Virtue” (*zhengde* 正德) replaced

¹²¹ For discussion of “Feathers and Flutes,” see Chapter 3 below.

¹²² For discussion of “Feathers and Proclamation-Bells,” see Chapter 3 below.

¹²³ I have found no evidence for a “Proclamation-Bell Ballet” hymn to match Cao Zhi’s “Horseback-Wardrum Ballet” hymns, but the pattern suggests that one likely was composed.

the “Proclamation-Bell Ballet” series. In 275 “Correct Virtue” also replaced the “Grand Balance” series.¹²⁴ Nonetheless, the “Horseback-Wardrum Ballet” series and the “Proclamation-Bell Ballet” were revived after 317 and “Horseback-Wardrum Ballet, Number 5” in turn spawned “Whisk Ballet, Number 5.” As early as Eastern Han, the “Proclamation-Bell Ballet” series had already spawned the “Kerchief Ballet” series, which also proved popular in Eastern Jin, appearing under this name and several others throughout the Southern Dynasties.¹²⁵ At the court of Emperor Wen 文帝 (r.581-604) of the Sui 隋 (581-618) dynasty, the “Four Ballets,” minus the props, enjoyed one last revival.¹²⁶ During the Tang 唐 (618-907) dynasty, while “Kerchief Ballet” continued to inspire heptameter poetry with the same title and same motifs in the manner of the *yuefu* ballad tradition, court sponsorship for these series, and even the ballets themselves, ceased to exist.¹²⁷ Although the tradition that started with the antecedents of “Grand Balance” lasted for two millennia, it reached its apex of prestige and popularity during Western Jin and dwindled thereafter despite multiple attempts at revival. The props and costumes for these Civil and Martial Ballets, however, continued in use with the Civil and Martial Ballets that replaced them for the rest of the Jin dynasty and throughout the Southern Dynasties.¹²⁸

¹²⁴ See *SgS*: 19.539-40, *NQS*: 11.190, *JS*: 22.692-94, and *TD*: 147.769. For further discussion of “Grand Delight” and “Correct Virtue,” see Chapter 3 below.

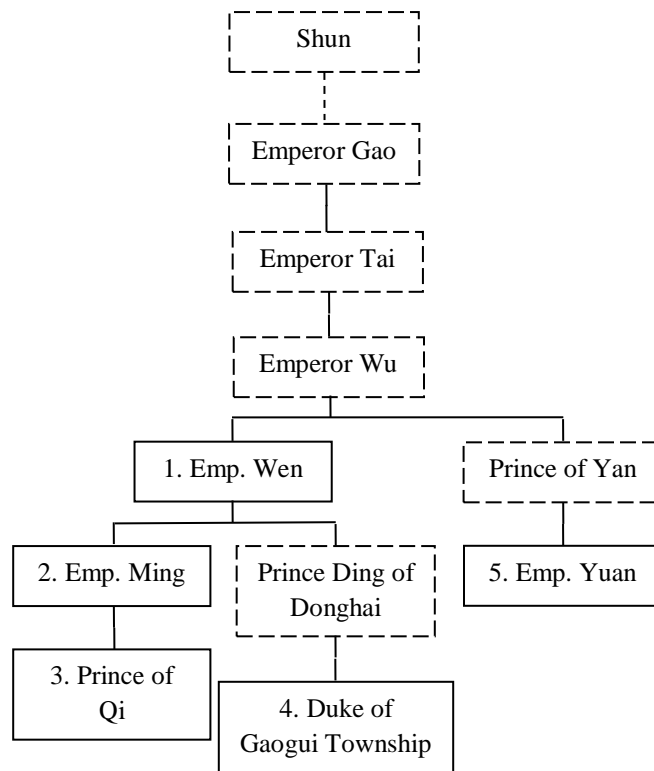
¹²⁵ See *SgS*: 19.551, *JS*: 23.718, and *SuS*: 15.376-77.

¹²⁶ See *SuS*: 15.376-77.

¹²⁷ See *YFSJ*: 54.788.

¹²⁸ See *NQS*: 11.190.

Figure 2.1 Wei Dynasty Rulers

**Notes:**

1. Solid boxes represent figures who reigned.
2. Dashed boxes represent figures who were posthumously titled or whose descendants inherited the throne.
3. Solid lines represent parent-child relationship.
4. Dashed lines represent remote relationship.
5. Data based on information from *Sanguo zhi* annals.
6. See Table 2.1 below for more information.

Table 2.1 Wei Dynasty Rulers

Temple Name 廟號	Posthumous Name 諡號	Birth Name 姓名	Remarks
Shizu 始祖	Shun 舜		Legendary
	Emperor Gao 高帝 (never reigned)	Cao Teng 曹騰 (fl.120-147)	Nominally descended from Shun
	Emperor Tai 太帝 (never reigned)	Cao Song 曹嵩 (fl.153-168)	Adopted son of Cao Teng
Taizu 太祖	Emperor Wu 武帝 (never reigned)	Cao Cao 曹操 (153-219)	Son of Cao Song
Gaozu 高祖	Emperor Wen 文帝 (r.220-226)	Cao Pi 曹丕 (187-226)	Eldest son of Cao Cao
	Prince of Yan 燕王 (never reigned)	Cao Yu 曹宇 (third century)	Ninth son of Cao Cao
Liezu 烈祖	Emperor Ming 明帝 (r.227-239)	Cao Rui 曹叡 (204-239)	Eldest son of Cao Pi
	Prince Ding of Donghai 東海定王 (never reigned)	Cao Lin 曹霖 (d.249)	Fifth son of Cao Pi
	Prince of Qi 齊王 (r.240-253)	Cao Fang 曹芳 (231-274)	Adopted son of Cao Rui
	Duke of Gaogui Township 高貴鄉公 (r.254-260)	Cao Mao 曹髦 (241-260)	Son of Cao Lin
	Emperor Yuan 元帝 (r.260-265) Prince of Chenliu 陳留王 (never reigned)	Cao Huan 曹奐 (246-302)	Son of Cao Yu

Notes: Data based on information from *Sanguo zhi* annals.

Table 2.2 Meter and Rhyme of the Wei Sacrificial Hymns

Music	Hymn	Meter	Rhyme
Victim Processional	Great Temple 1&2	44444444 / 44444444 (16-4)	XAXAXBXB / XCXCXDXD
General Processional	Ancestral Temple 1	[44]4444 / 444444 (12-4)	[XA]XAXA / XBXBXB ¹²⁹
Xia Offertory	Great Temple 3	3333 / 3333 / 3333 (12-3)	XAXA / XAXA / XAXA
	Ancestral Temple 2	4444 / 4444 / 4444 (12-4)	XAXA / XBXB / XBXB

Notes:

1. Music Column: Titles represent the title of the category.
2. Hymn Column: Titles represent the *Chuxue ji* title of the series. Numbers represent the number of the hymn within the series.
3. Meter Column: Each number in a series represents the length of a line in the hymn. Slashes (/) represent the beginning of a new stanza. Parenthetical numbers (#-#) represent the total number of lines and the line length, with the number “3” as a line length including hymns with pure trimeter and the number “4” as a line length including hymns with pure tetrameter.
4. Rhyme Column: Letters “A” through “D” represent lines with individual rime categories. Letter “X” represents unrhymed lines. Slashes (/) represent the beginning of a new stanza.
5. Data based on information from *Chuxue ji*.

¹²⁹ The received version of this hymn has a laguna where the first couplet should be. This configuration represents what the hymn would look like with the laguna filled.

Table 2.3A Zhou to Wei Ballet Titles

Purpose	Ode	周	秦	漢	魏		
Composed					221	227	237
Sacrificial Music Category	X	大樂	六樂	大樂	太樂	太樂	太樂
				予樂			
Huangdi Heaven	X	咸池	雲門	雲翹	鳳翔	咸熙 武始	大鈞 昭武
Yao Earth	X	大章	咸池	育命	靈應	咸熙 武始	大鈞 昭武
Shun Civil Ballet	293	大韶	大韶	文始	大韶	大韶	大鈞 咸熙
King Wen	293	勺	勺	?	?	?	
Yu Civil Ballet	154	大夏	大夏	四時	四時	咸熙	
King Wu	268	象	象	武德	武頌	武始	大鈞 武始
King Wu Martial Ballet	268 285 295 293 296 294	大武	五行	五行	大武	大武	昭武
Tang	304 305	大濩	大濩	?	?	?	
Four Tribes	X	夷樂	夷樂	巴俞	昭武	昭武	
Eastern Tribe	X	韎	韎	矛俞	矛俞	矛俞	矛俞
Southern Tribe	X	南	南	弩俞	弩俞	弩俞	弩俞
Western Tribe	X	朱離	朱離	戚俞	安臺	安臺	安臺
Northern Tribe	X	禁	禁	板俞	行辭	行辭	行辭

Notes:

1. Other ballets included those for other ancestors.
2. Data based on information *Shisanjing zhushu* and from *Shi ji*, *Han shu*, *Hou Han shu*, *Jin shu*, *Song shu*, *Nan Qi shu*, *Wei shu*, and *Sui shu* treatises.

Table 2.3B Zhou to Wei Processional Titles

Purpose	Ode	周	秦	漢	魏
Entrance of monarch 皇帝入	272	王夏	王夏	永至	?
Exit of monarch 皇帝出	272	王夏	王夏	休成	?
Ascension of monarch 皇帝升	X	X	X	X	X
Entrance and exit of impersonator 尸出入	273	肆夏	肆夏	X	X
Calling down of god 降神	X	X	X	嘉至	迎靈
Welcoming of god 迎神	X	X	X	X	X
Seeing off of god 送神	X	X	X	X	X
Entrance and exit of officials 群臣出入	276	章夏	章夏	?	?
Evening inspection of the sacrificial victim 夕牲	X	X	X	?	?
Entrance and exit of the sacrificial victim 牲出入	274	昭夏	昭夏	?	?
Furnishing of stemmed meat, pelt, and blood 薦豆毛血	X	X	X	X	X
Arranging of jade and silk 奠玉帛	X	X	X	X	X
Exit of ancestor-specific ballet 出廟舞	X	X	X	昭容	昭業
Entrance of Civil and Martial Ballets 入文武二舞	X	X	X	X	X
Exit of Civil and Martial Ballets 出文武二舞	X	X	X	禮容	禮容
Removal of food 撤饌	282	陔夏	陔夏	?	?
Drinking of felicitous ale 飲福酒	X	X	X	永安	X
End of proffering and removal of arrangements 終獻撤奠	X	X	X	休成	X
Taking of position for cremation 就燎位	X	X	X	X	X
Taking of position for burial 就埋位	X	X	X	X	X
Entrance and exit of foreign dignitaries 蕃客出入	275	納夏	納夏	?	?
Entrance and exit of dukes 公出入	278	驚夏	驚夏	?	?
Entrance and exit of consort 皇后出入	279	齊夏	齊夏	?	?
Entrance and exit of heir 太子出入	X	X	X	X	X
Feasting of relatives 宴族人	277	族夏	族夏	?	?
Presentation of longevity ale 上壽酒	X	X	X	上壽	上壽
Dining on whole offering 食舉	X	X	X	食舉	食舉

Notes:

1. Includes processional titles for the feast following the sacrifices.
2. 群臣出入 and 夕牲 are often the same step.
3. Data based on information *Shisanjing zhushu* and from *Shi ji*, *Han shu*, *Hou Han shu*, *Jin shu*, *Song shu*, *Nan Qi shu*, *Wei shu*, and *Sui shu* treatises.

Table 2.3C Zhou to Wei Canticle and Offertory Titles

Pupose	Ode	周	秦	漢	魏
Ancestral Temple	266	登歌	登歌	登歌	登歌
Suburban Sacrifices	X	樂舞	樂舞	樂舞	饗神
Collective Sacrifices	280	袷	?	?	饗神
	282	禘	?	?	饗神
Seasonal Sacrifices	298	時	X	X	饗神

Notes:

1. Zhou, Qin, Han, and Wei Ancestral Temple canticles had accompanying ancestor-specific ballets.
2. Data based on information *Shisanjing zhushu* and from *Shi ji*, *Han shu*, *Hou Han shu*, *Jin shu*, *Song shu*, *Nan Qi shu*, *Wei shu*, and *Sui shu* treatises.

Table 2.4 Wei Major Sacrificial Sites and Gods Compared

Suburban Sacrifices			Ancestral Temple		
Emperor Wen 221	Emperor Ming 227	Emperor Ming 237	Emperor Wen 221	Emperor Ming 229	Emperor Ming 237
Southern Suburban Altar: Great Unity	Southern Suburban Altar: Heaven	Round Mound: Most August Holy One Heaven	Ancestral Temple: Two generations	Ancestral Temple: Four generations	Ancestral Temple: Seven generations
		Southern Suburban Altar: Deities of August Heaven			
Northern Suburban Altar: Lord Earth	Northern Suburban Altar: Earth	Square Mound: Most August Lord Earth			
		Northern Suburban Altar: Divinities of August Earth			
Soil and Millet Shrine: Soil God, Millet God	Great Shrine: Soil God, Millet God	Same			
	Imperial Shrine: Soil God, Millet God	Same			
Eastern Suburban Altar: Blue Holy One	Same	Same	Hall of Brilliance: Great Unity, Blue Holy One, Scarlet Holy One, Yellow Holy One, White Holy One, Black Holy One, Lord Earth	Hall of Brilliance: Heaven, Blue Holy One, Scarlet Holy One, Yellow Holy One, White Holy One, Black Holy One, Earth	Hall of Brilliance: August Heaven, Blue Holy One, Scarlet Holy One, Yellow Holy One, White Holy One, Black Holy One, August Earth
Southern Suburban Altar: Scarlet Holy One	Same	Same			
Central Suburban Altar: Yellow Holy One	Same	Same			
Western Suburban Altar: White Holy One	Same	Same			
Northern Suburban Altar: Black Holy One	Same	Same			

Notes: See above and Kaneko (1979), 23-25 and 28-34.

Table 2.5 Wei Liturgies Compared

Suburban Sacrifices			Ancestral Temple		
Emperor Wen 221	Emperor Ming 227	Emperor Ming 237	Emperor Wen 221	Emperor Ming 227	Emperor Ming 237
迎靈	昭夏	昭夏	迎靈	昭夏	昭夏
昭夏	迎靈	迎靈	昭夏	迎靈	迎靈
X	X	X	登歌	登歌	登歌
X	X	X	武頌	武始	X
X	X	X	昭業	昭業	X
鳳翔	咸熙	大鈞	大韶	大韶	大鈞
X	X	X	禮容	禮容	禮容
X	X	X	四時	咸熙	X
X	X	X	昭業	昭業	X
靈應	武始	昭武	大武	大武	昭武
X	X	X	禮容	禮容	禮容
X	X	X	昭武	昭武	X
饗神	饗神	饗神	X	饗神	饗神

Notes: Other processionalists could be added according to the status of the participants.

Table 2.6 Examples of Fixed-Form Verse Compared

	God Save the King	My Country 'Tis of Thee	Clear and Even Music	
	Thomas Augustine Arne 1745 ¹³⁰	Samuel Francis Smith 1831 ¹³¹	Yan Shu eleventh century ¹³²	Wang Anguo eleventh century ¹³³
1	God save our gracious king!	My country 'tis of thee,	紅箋小字，A	留春不住。A
2	Long live our noble king!	Sweet land of liberty,	說盡平生意，A	費盡鶯兒語。A
3	God save the king!	Of thee I sing.	鴻雁在雲魚在水，A	滿地殘紅宮錦汙，A
4	Send him victorious,	Land where our fathers died,	惆悵此清難寄。A	昨夜南園風雨。A
5	Happy and glorious,	Land of the pilgrims' pride,	斜陽獨倚西樓，B	小憐初上琵琶，B
6	Long to reign over us!	From every mountainside,	遙山恰對簾鉤。B	曉來思繞天涯。B
7	God save the king!	Let freedom ring!	人面不知何處，	不肯畫堂朱戶，
8			綠波依舊東流。B	春風自在楊花。B
Drum and Fife Hymns, Number 15, Stanza 1				
	Anonymous first century ¹³⁴	Miao Xi 227 ¹³⁵	Wei Zhao 258 ¹³⁶	Fu Xuan 265 ¹³⁷
1	上邪，	惟太和元年，	玄化象以天，A	大晉承運期，
2	我欲與君相知，A	皇帝踐阼，A	陛下聖真。A	德隆聖皇。A
3		聖且仁，	張皇綱，	時清晏，
4	長命無絕衰。A	德澤為流布。A	率道以安民。A	白日垂光。A
5		災蝗一時，	惠澤宣流，	應籙圖，
6	山無陵，	為絕息，	而雲布，	陟帝位，
7		上天時雨露。A	上下睦親。A	繼天正玉衡。A
8		五穀溢田疇，	君臣酣宴樂，	化行象神明，
9		四民相率遵軌度。A	激發弦歌揚妙新。A	至哉道隆虞與唐。A

¹³⁰ See Scholes (1942), 12 and passim.¹³¹ See Scholes (1942), 57-58.¹³² See Wang Chung (1977), 19.¹³³ See Wang Chung (1977), 69.¹³⁴ See SgS: 22.643.¹³⁵ See SgS: 22.647.¹³⁶ See SgS: 22.660.¹³⁷ See SgS: 22.651.

Table 2.7 Six Wei-Jin Ballet Tunes and Titles Compared

Tribal Music (Zhou)				Mime (Zhou)	Consideration (Zhou)
1. Mei	2. Nan	3. Zhuli	4. Jin	Ode 268	Ode 293
Ba Ditties (203 BCE)				Martial Virtue (203 BCE)	Four Seasons (c.179 BCE)
1. Lance Ditty	2. Crossbow Ditty	3. Dagger-Axe Ditty	4. Large-Board-Shield Ditty	Ode 268 x 2	Ode 154
Ditties (213)				Grand Balance (227)	
1. Lance Ditty	2. Crossbow Ditty	3. Peaceful Terrace	4. Ballad Lyrics	Martial Beginning	Entirely Abounding
Promulgating Martial Deeds (266)				Promulgating Civility (266)	
1. Indeed as for the Sagacious Emperor	3. Military Garrison	4. Exhausted Martial Deeds	2. Short Weapon	Feathers and Flutes	Feathers and Proclamation-Bells
Horseback-Wardrum Ballet (c.85) ¹³⁸					Proclamation-Bell Ballet (c.85) ¹³⁹
1. East of the Passes There Is a Worthy Woman	2. During the Second Year of the Zhanghe Reign Period	3. Rejoicing for a Long Long Time	4. Emperor of the Four Directions	5. In Front of the Basilica Grew an Osmanthus Tree	The Sage's Institution of Rites and Music
Horseback-Wardrum Ballet (c.220)					
4. Refined Subtlety	1. Sage Emperor	3. Grand Wei	5. Late Winter	2. Numinous Fungus	
Horseback-Wardrum Ballet (c.227)					Proclamation-Bell Ballet (c.227)
1. How Brilliant the Wei Emperor	2. In the Taihe Reign Period There Is a Sage Emperor	3. The Wei Calendar Will Last Long	4. Heaven Gave Birth to the Thriving People	5. His Actions as Lord Heretofore Unchanging	In the Time of the Taihe Reign Period
Horseback-Wardrum Ballet (269)					Proclamation-Bell Ballet (269)
1. Monumental Enterprise	2. Heavenly Appointment	3. Emperor Jing	4. Grand Jin	5. Brilliant Lord	Cloud Gate
Whisk Ballet (fourth century)					Kerchief Ballet (second century)
1. White Dove	2. So Numerous	3. Whirlpool	4. Mt. Jieshi	5. Prince of Huainan	My Lord's Hardship

¹³⁸ This series is traditionally attributed to Emperor Zhang 章帝 (r.76-88) and three of the hymns point to the year 85. Hymn 2 indicates the second year of the Zhanghe reign period (88), but seems a likely mistake for the second year of the Yuanhe 元和 reign period (85). Hymn 3 is also known as “Han Is Propitious and Prosperous” (*Han jichang* 漢吉昌). Hymn 4, also known as “Clever Rabbit” (*jiaotu* 狡兔), seems to indicate his new four-part calendar and his tour of the Four Directions both from the second month of 85. Hymn 5 seems to indicate the sighting of phoenixes in a Chinese scholartree (*huai* 槐) in front of a pavilion (*ting* 亭) also in the second month of 85. Prior to 90, this series was already mentioned in at least one rhapsody. By the time of Emperor Ling 靈帝 (r.168-189), there were musicians known for their expertise in this series. See *HHS*: 3.149-50; 3.153, Note 1; *SgS*: 19.551; *NQS*: 11.191; *JS*: 23.710; and *SuS*: 15.376-77.

¹³⁹ In the third month of 85, Emperor Zhang visited Confucius old home and listened to “Music of the Six Eras.” See *HHS*: 3. 149-50, 35.1202-3, and 79a.2562.

Table 2.8 Wei-Jin Lance Ditty Ballets Compared

	Ditties	Promulgating Martial Deeds	Horseback-Wardrum Ballet		Whisk Ballet
	Wang Can 213	Fu Xuan 266	Cao Zhi 220	Fu Xuan 269	Anonymous fourth century
	1. Lance Ditty ¹⁴⁰	1. Indeed as for the Sagacious Emperor ¹⁴¹	4. Refined Subtlety ¹⁴²	1. Monumental Enterprise ¹⁴³	1. White Dove ¹⁴⁴
1.1	漢初，X	惟聖皇，X	精微爛金石，X	宣文創洪業，X	翩翩白鳩，X
1.2	建國家，X	德巍巍，X	至心動神明，A	盛德在泰始，A	再飛再鳴，A
1.3	匡九州，A	光四海，A	杞妻哭死夫，X	聖皇應靈符，X	懷我君德，X
1.4	蠻荊震服，X	禮樂猶形影，X	梁山之為傾。A	受命君四海。A	來集君庭。A
1.5	五刃三革休，A	文武為表裏，A	子丹西質秦，X	萬國何所樂，X	白雀呈瑞，B
1.6	安不忘備，X	乃作巴俞，X	烏白馬角生，A	上有明天子，A	素羽明鮮，B
1.7	武樂修。A	肆舞士。A	鄒羨囚燕市，X	唐堯禪帝位，X	翔庭舞翼，X
1.8	宴我賓師，X	劍弩齊列，X	繁霜為夏零。A	虞舜惟恭己。A	以應仁乾。B
1.9	敬用御天，X	戈矛為之始，A	關東有賢女，X	恭己正南面，X	交交鳴鳩，X
1.10	永樂無憂，A	進退疾鷹鷂，X	自字蘇來卿，A	道化與時移，B	或丹或黃，C
1.11	子孫受百福，X	龍戰而豹起，A	壯年報父仇，X	大赦濫萌漸，X	樂我君惠，X
1.12	常與松喬遊，A	如亂不可亂，X	身沒垂功名。A	文教被黃支，B	振羽來翔。C
1.13	蒸庶德，X	動作順其理，A	女休逢放書，X	象天則地，X	東壁餘光，X
1.14	莫不咸歡柔。A	離合有統紀。A	白刃幾在頸，A	體無為。B	魚在江湖，D
1.15			俱上列仙籍，X		惠而不費，X
1.16			去死獨就生。A		敬我微軀。D
2.1			太倉令有罪，X	聰明配日月，X	策我良駟，X
2.2			遠徵當就拘，B	神聖參兩儀，B	習我驅馳，E
2.3			自悲居無男，X	雖有三凶類，X	與君周旋，X
2.4			禍至無與俱。B	靜言無所施，B	樂道亡飢。E
2.5			緹縈痛父言，X	象天則地，X	我心虛靜，X
2.6			荷擔西上書，B	體無為。B	我志露濡，F
2.7			繫桓北闕下，X	稷契並佐命，X	彈琴鼓瑟，X
2.8			泣淚何漣如。B	伊呂升王臣，C	聊以自娛。F
2.9			乞得并姊弟，X	蘭芷登朝肆，X	陵雲登臺，X
2.10			沒身贖父軀，B	下無失宿民。C	浮游太清，A
2.11			漢文感其義，X	□□□□□，X	扳龍附鳳，X
2.12			肉刑法用除。B	□□□□□，C	日望身輕。A
2.13			其父得以免，X	□□□□□，X	□□□□，X
2.14			辨義在列圖，B	□□□□□。C ¹⁴⁵	□□□□，G
2.15			多男亦何為，X		□□□□，X
2.16			一女足成居。B		□□□□。G ¹⁴⁶
3.1			簡子南渡河，X	聲發響自應，X	
3.2			津吏廢舟船，C	表立景來附，D	
3.3			執法將加刑，X	虓虎從羈制，X	
3.4			女媧擁權前。C	潛龍升天路。D	
3.5			「妾父聞君來，X	備物立成器，X	
3.6			將涉不測淵，C	變通極其數，D	

¹⁴⁰ See SgS: 20.571.¹⁴¹ See SgS: 20.572.¹⁴² See SgS: 22.628.¹⁴³ See SgS: 22.629.¹⁴⁴ See SgS: 22.633.¹⁴⁵ A quatrain needs to go here to complete the metrical pattern.¹⁴⁶ A quatrain needs to go here to complete the metrical pattern.

Table 2.8 Wei-Jin Lance Ditty Ballets Compared

	Ditties	Promulgating Martial Deeds	Horseback-Wardrum Ballet		Whisk Ballet
	Wang Can 213	Fu Xuan 266	Cao Zhi 220	Fu Xuan 269	Anonymous fourth century
3.7			畏懼風波起，X	百事以時敍，X	
3.8			禱祝祭名川。C	萬機有常度。D	
3.9			備禮饗神祇，X	訓之以克讓，X	
3.10			為君求福先，C	納之以忠恕，D	
3.11			不勝酬祀誠，X	羣下仰清風，X	
3.12			至令犯罰艱。C	海外同歡慕，D	
3.13			君必欲加誅，X	象天則地，X	
3.14			乞使知罪讐，C	化雲布。D	
3.15			妾願以身代」，X		
3.16			至誠感蒼天。C		
4.1			國君高其義，X	昔日貴雕飾，X	
4.2			其父用赦原，C	今尚儉與素，D	
4.3			河激奏中流，X	昔日多纖介，X	
4.4			簡子知其賢。C	今去情與故，D	
4.5			歸娉為夫人，X	象天則地，X	
4.6			榮寵超後先，C	化雲布。D	
4.7			辯女解父命，X	濟濟大朝士，X	
4.8			何況健少年。C	夙夜綜萬機，E	
4.9			黃初發和氣，X	萬機無廢理，X	
4.10			明堂德教施，D	明明降疇咨。E	
4.11			治道致太平，X	臣譬列星景，X	
4.12			禮樂風俗移。D	君配朝日暉，E	
4.13			刑錯民無枉，X	事業並通濟，X	
4.14			怨女復何為，D	功烈何巍巍。E	
4.15			聖皇長壽考，X		
4.16			景福常來儀。D		
5.1				五帝繼三皇，X	
5.2				三王世所歸，E	
5.3				聖德應期運，X	
5.4				天地不能違。E	
5.5				仰之彌已高，X	
5.6				猶天不可階，E	
5.7				將復御龍氏，X	
5.8				鳳皇在庭棲。E	
5.9				□□□□□，X	
5.10				□□□□□，F	
5.11				□□□□□，X	
5.12				□□□□□，F	
5.13				□□□□□，X	
5.14				□□□。F ¹⁴⁷	

¹⁴⁷ A sixain needs to go here to complete the metrical pattern.

Table 2.9 Wei-Jin Crossbow Ditty Ballets Compared

	Ditties	Promulgating Martial Deeds	Horseback-Wardrum Ballet		Whisk Ballet
	Wang Can 213	Fu Xuan 266	Cao Zhi 220	Fu Xuan 269	Anonymous fourth century
	2. Crossbow Ditty ¹⁴⁸	3. Military Garrison ¹⁴⁹	1. Sage Emperor ¹⁵⁰	2. Heavenly Appointment ¹⁵¹	2. So Numerous ¹⁵²
1.1	材官選士，X	弩為遠兵，X	聖皇應曆數，A	聖祖受天命，X	暢飛暢舞，A
1.2	劍弩錯陳，A	軍之鎮，X	正康帝道休，A	應期輔魏皇，A	氣流芳，B
1.3	應桴蹈節，X	其發有機，A	九州咸賓服，X	入則綜萬機，X	追念三五，A
1.4	俯仰若神。A	體難動。X	威德洞八幽。A	出則征四方。A	大綺黃。B
1.5	綏我武烈，X	往必速，X	三公奏諸公，X	朝廷無遺理，X	去失有，X
1.6	篤我淳仁，A	重而不遲，A	不得久淹留，A	方表寧且康，A	時可行，C
1.7	自東自西，X	銳精分鏹，X	蕃位任至重，X	道隆舜臣堯，X	去來同時，X
1.8	莫不來賓。A	射遠中微。A	舊章咸率由。A	積德踰太王。A	此未央。C
2.1			侍臣省文奏，X	孟度阻窮險，X	時冉冉，X
2.2			陛下體仁慈，B	造亂天一隅，B	近桑榆，D
2.3			沈吟有愛戀，X	神兵出不意，X	但當飲酒，X
2.4			不忍聽可之。B	奉命致天誅。B	為歡娛。D
2.5			迫有官典憲，X	赦善戮有罪，X	衰老逝，X
2.6			不得顧恩私，B	元惡宗為虛，B	有何期，E
2.7			諸王當就國，X	威風震勁蜀，X	多憂耿耿，X
2.8			璽綬何纒纒。B	武烈懼強吳。B	內懷思。E
3.1			便時舍外殿，X	諸葛不知命，X	淵池廣，X
3.2			宮省寂無人，C	肆逆亂天常，C	魚獨希，E
3.3			主上增顧念，X	擁徒十餘萬，X	願得黃浦，X
3.4			皇母懷苦辛。C	數來寇邊疆。C	衆所依。E
3.5			何以為贈賜，X	我皇邁神武，X	恩感人，X
3.6			傾府竭寶珍，C	秉鉞鎮雍涼，C	世無比，F
3.7			文錢百億萬，X	亮乃畏天威，X	悲歌具舞，X
3.8			采帛若煙雲。C	未戰先仆僵。C	無極已。F
4.1			乘輿服御物，X		
4.2			錦羅與金銀，C		
4.3			龍旗垂九旒，X		
4.4			羽蓋參斑輪。C		
4.5			諸王自計念，X		
4.6			無功荷厚德，D		
4.7			思一效筋力，X		
4.8			糜軀以報國。D		
5.1			鴻臚擁節衛，X		
5.2			副使隨經營，E		
5.3			貴戚並出送，X		
5.4			夾道交輜駟。E		

¹⁴⁸ See SgS: 20.571.¹⁴⁹ See SgS: 20.572.¹⁵⁰ See SgS: 22.626.¹⁵¹ See SgS: 22.630.¹⁵² See SgS: 22.633.

Table 2.9 Wei-Jin Crossbow Ditty Ballets Compared

	Ditties	Promulgating Martial Deeds	Horseback-Wardrum Ballet		Whisk Ballet
	Wang Can 213	Fu Xuan 266	Cao Zhi 220	Fu Xuan 269	Anonymous fourth century
5.5			車服齊整設，X		
5.6			鞞曄耀天精，E		
5.7			武騎衛前後，X		
5.8			鼓吹簫笳聲。E		
F1		弩俞之樂，X	祖道魏東門，X	盈虛自然運，X	
F2		壹何奇！X	淚下霑冠纓，E	時變固多難，D	
F3		變多姿，A	扳蓋因內顧，X	東征陵海表，X	
F4		退若激，X	俛仰慕同生，E	萬里梟賊淵，D	
F5		進若飛。A	行行將日莫，X	受遺齊七政，X	
F6		五聲協，X	何時還闕庭？E	曹爽又滔天。D	
F7		八音諧，A	車輪為裴回，X	羣凶受誅殛，X	
F8		宣武象，X	四馬躡躡鳴，E	百祿咸來臻，D	
F9		讚天威。A	路人尚酸鼻，X	黃華應福始，X	
F10			何況骨肉情？E	王凌為禍先。D	

Table 2.10 Wei-Jin Dagger-Axe Ditty Ballets Compared

	Ditties	Promulgating Martial Deeds	Horseback-Wardrum Ballet		Whisk Ballet
	Wang Can 213	Fu Xuan 266	Cao Zhi 220	Fu Xuan 269	Anonymous fourth century
	3. Peaceful Terrace ¹⁵³	4. Exhausted Martial Deeds ¹⁵⁴	3. Grand Wei ¹⁵⁵	3. Emperor Jing ¹⁵⁶	3. Whirlpool ¹⁵⁷
1.a				景皇帝，A	
1.1	我功既定，X	窮武者喪，X	大魏應靈符，X	聰明命世生，X	獨祿獨祿，A
1.2	庶士咸綏，A	何但敗北，A	天祿方甫始，A	盛德參天地，A	水深泥濁，A
1.2a				帝王道，X	
1.3	樂陳我廣庭，X	柔弱亡戰，X	聖德致泰和，X	創基既已難，X	泥濁尚可，B
1.4	式宴賓與師。A	國家亦廢。A	神明為驅使。A	繼世亦未易。A	水深殺我。B
1.5	昭文德，X	秦始徐偃，X	左右宜供養，X	外則夏侯玄，X	雍雍雙雁，C
1.6	宣武威，A	既已作戒前世，A	中殿宜皇子，A	內則張與李，B	游戲田畔，C
1.7	平九有，X	先王鑒其機，X	陛下長壽考，X	三凶稱逆，X	我欲射雁，C
1.8	撫民黎，A	修文整武藝，A	羣臣拜賀咸說喜。A	亂帝紀。B	念子孤散。C
1.8a	荷天寵，X				
1.9	延壽尸，X	文武足相濟，X			
1.10	千載莫我違。A	然後得光大。A			
2.1			積善有餘慶，X	從天行誅，X	翩翩浮苹，D
2.2			榮祿固天常，B	窮其姦宄，B	得風遙輕，D
2.3			眾善填門至，X	過將御其漸，X	我心何合，X
2.4			臣子蒙福祥。B	潛謀不得起，B	與之同并。D
2.5			無患及陽遂，X	罪人咸伏辜，X	空牀低帷，X
2.6			輔翼我聖皇，B	威風震萬里，B	誰知無人，E
2.7			眾吉咸集會，X	平衡綜萬機，X	夜衣錦繡，X
2.8			凶邪姦惡並滅亡。B	萬機無不理。B	誰別偽真。E
3.a				召陵桓不君，C	
3.1			黃鵠游殿前，X	內外何紛紛，C	刀鳴削中，X
3.2			神鼎周四阿，C	眾小便成羣，C	倚牀無施，F
3.3			玉馬充乘輿，X	蒙昧恣心，X	父冤不報，X
3.4			芝蓋樹九華。C	治亂不分。C	欲活何為。F
3.5			白虎戲西除，X	叡聖獨斷，X	猛虎班班，X
3.6			舍利從辟邪，C	濟武常以文，C	游戲山間，G
3.7			騏驎躡足舞，X	從天惟廢立，X	虎欲囓人，X
3.8			鳳凰拊翼歌。C	掃霓披浮雲。C	不避豪賢。G
4.1			豐年大置酒，X	雲霓既已闕，X	
4.2			玉尊列廣庭，D	清和未幾間，D	
4.3			樂飲過三爵，X	羽檄首尾至，X	
4.4			朱顏暴已形。D	變起東南蕃。D	
4.5			式宴不違禮，X	儉飲為長蛇，X	
4.6			君臣歌鹿鳴，D	外則馮吳蠻，D	
4.7			樂人舞鞞鼓，X	萬國紛騷擾，X	
4.8			百官雷抃贊若驚。D	戚戚天下懼不安。D	
		亂曰：			
F1		高則亢，X	儲禮如江海，X	神武御六軍，X	
F2		滿則盈，B	積善若陵山，E	我皇秉鉞征，E	

¹⁵³ See SgS: 20.571.¹⁵⁴ See SgS: 20.572.¹⁵⁵ See SgS: 22.627.¹⁵⁶ See SgS: 22.630.¹⁵⁷ See SgS: 22.634.

Table 2.10 Wei-Jin Dagger-Axe Ditty Ballets Compared

	Ditties	Promulgating Martial Deeds	Horseback-Wardrum Ballet		Whisk Ballet
	Wang Can 213	Fu Xuan 266	Cao Zhi 220	Fu Xuan 269	Anonymous fourth century
F3		亢必危，X	皇嗣繁且熾，X	儉欽起壽春，X	
F4		盈必傾。B	孫子列曾玄，E	前鋒據項城，E	
F5		去危傾，B	羣臣咸稱萬歲，X	出其不意，X	
F6		守以平，B	陛下長樂壽年！E	並縱奇兵。E	
F7		沖則久，X	御酒停未飲，X	奇兵誠難御，X	
F8		濁能清，B	貴戚跪東廂，F	廟勝實難支，F	
F9		混文武，X	侍人承顏色，X	兩軍不期遇，X	
F10		順天經。B	奉進金玉觴。F	敵退計無施。F	
F11			此酒亦真酒，X	虎騎惟武進，X	
F12			福祿當聖皇，F	大戰沙陽陂，F	
F13			陛下臨軒笑，X	欽乃亡魂走，X	
F14			左右咸歡康。F	奔虜若雲披，F	
F15			杯來一何遲，X	天恩赦有罪，X	
F16			羣僚以次行，F	東土放鯨鯢。F	
F17			賞賜累千億，X		
F18			百官並富昌。F		

Table 2.11 Wei-Jin Large-Board-Shield Ditty Ballets Compared

	Ditties	Promulgating Martial Deeds	Horseback-Wardrum Ballet		Whisk Ballet
	Wang Can 213	Fu Xuan 266	Cao Zhi 220	Fu Xuan 269	Anonymous fourth century
	4. Ballad Lyrics ¹⁵⁸	2. Short Weapon ¹⁵⁹	5. Late Winter ¹⁶⁰	4. Grand Jin ¹⁶¹	4. Mt. Jieshi ¹⁶²
1.1	神武用師，X	劍為短兵，X	□□□□，X	赫赫大晉，X	東臨碣石，X
1.2	士素厲，A	其勢險危，A	□□□□，A	於穆文皇，A	以觀滄海，A
1.3	仁恩廣覆，X	疾踰飛電，X	□□□□，X	蕩蕩巍巍，X	水何澹澹，X
1.4	猛節橫逝。A	回旋應規。A	□□□□。A ¹⁶³	道邁陶唐。A	山島竦峙。A
1.5	自古立功，X	武節齊聲，X	孟冬十月，X	世稱三皇五帝，X	樹木叢生，B
1.6	莫我弘大，A	或合或離，A	陰氣厲清，B	及今重其光，A	百草豐茂，X
1.6a				九德克明，A	
1.7	桓桓征四國，X	電發星驚，X	武官誠田，X	文既顯，X	秋風蕭瑟，X
1.8	爰及海裔，A	若景若差，A	講旅統兵。B	武又章。A	洪波湧起。C
1.9	漢國保長慶，X	兵法攸象，X	元龜襲吉，X	恩弘六合，X	日月之行，B
1.10	垂祚延萬世。A	軍容是儀。A	元光著明，B	兼濟萬方，A	若出其中，X
1.11			蚩尤躡路，X	內舉元凱，X	星漢粲爛，X
1.12			風弭雨停。B	朝政以綱。A	若出其裏。C
1.13					幸甚至哉！D
1.14					歌以詠志。D
2.1			乘輿啟行，X	外簡虎臣，X	孟冬十月，X
2.2			鸞鳴幽軋，C	時惟鷹揚，A	北風裴回，E
2.3			虎賁采騎，X	靡從不懷，X	天氣蕭清，X
2.4			飛象珥鶡。C	逆命斯亡。A	繁霜霏霏。E
2.5			鍾鼓鏗鏘，X	仁配春日，X	鷓鴣晨鳴，X
2.6			簫管嘈喝，C	威踰秋霜，A	雁過南飛，E
2.7			萬騎齊鑣，X	濟濟多士，X	鷲鳥潛藏，X
2.8			千乘等蓋。C	同茲蘭芳。A	熊羆窟棲。E
2.9			夷山填谷，X	唐虞至治，X	錢鏹停置，X
2.10			平林滌藪，D	四凶滔天，B	農收積場，F
2.11			張羅萬里，X	致討儉欽，X	逆旅整設，X
2.12			盡其飛走。D	罔不肅虔。B	以通賈商。F
2.13					幸甚至哉！D
2.14					歌以詠志。D
3.1			翟翟狡兔，X	化感海外，X	鄉土不同，X
3.2			揚白跳翰，E	海外來賓，C	河朔隆寒，G
3.3			獵以青駁，X	獻其聲樂，X	流澌浮漂，X
3.4			掩以修竿。E	並稱妾臣。C	舟船行難。G

¹⁵⁸ See SgS: 20.572.¹⁵⁹ See SgS: 20.572.¹⁶⁰ See SgS: 22.628.¹⁶¹ See SgS: 22.631.¹⁶² See SgS: 22.634. This title comprises four works by Cao Cao that were incorporated into this ballet.¹⁶³ A quatrain needs to go here to complete the metrical and rhyme pattern. The first line of the received text seems rather improbable when compared with the rest of the series. The first quatrain may have been mistakenly excised to match the poem by Cao Cao in this same table. Regardless, this line appears as a medial line in two earlier works, the anonymous “Ode to the Yellow River Bridge” (*heliang zhi shi* 河梁之詩) and Sima Xiangru’s 司馬相如 (179-117 BCE) “Essay on the Sacrifices” (*fengshan wen* 封禪文). See WYQ: 10.288; and WX: 21.2144.

Table 2.11 Wei-Jin Large-Board-Shield Ditty Ballets Compared

	Ditties	Promulgating Martial Deeds	Horseback-Wardrum Ballet		Whisk Ballet
	Wang Can 213	Fu Xuan 266	Cao Zhi 220	Fu Xuan 269	Anonymous fourth century
3.5			韓盧宋鵠，X	西蜀獬豸，X	錐不入地，X
3.6			呈才騁足，F	僭號方域，D	豐籟深奧，H
3.7			噬不盡縹，X	命將致討，X	水竭不流，X
3.8			牽麋倚鹿。F	委國稽服。D	冰堅可蹈。H
3.9			魏氏發機，X	吳人放命，X	士隱者貧，X
3.10			養基撫弦，G	馮海阻江，E	勇俠輕非，E
3.11			都盧尋高，X	飛書告諭，X	心常歎怨，X
3.12			搜索猴猿。G	響應來同。E	戚戚多悲。E
3.13					幸甚至哉！D
3.14					歌以詠志。D
4.1			慶忌孟賁，X		神龜雖壽，X
4.2			蹈谷超巒，H		猶有竟時，E
4.3			張目決眚，X		騰蛇乘霧，X
4.4			髮怒穿冠。H		終為土灰。E
4.5			頓熊扼虎，X		老驥伏櫪，X
4.6			蹴豹搏狸，I		志在千里，C
4.7			氣有餘勢，X		烈士莫年，X
4.8			負象而趨。I		壯心不已。C
4.9			獲車既盈，X		盈縮之期，X
4.10			日側樂終，J		不但在天，G
4.11			罷役解徒，X		養怡之福，X
4.12			大饗離宮。J		可得永年。G
4.13					幸甚至哉！D
4.14					歌以詠志。D
			亂曰：		
F1			聖皇臨飛軒，X	先王建萬國，X	
F2			論功校獵徒，K	九服為蕃衛，F	
F3			死禽積如京，X	亡秦壞諸侯，X	
F4			流血成溝渠。K	序昨不二世。F	
F5			明詔大勞賜，X	歷代不能復，X	
F6			太官供有無，K	忽踰五百歲，F	
F7			走馬行酒禮，X	我皇邁聖德，X	
F8			驅車布肉魚。K	應期創典制。F	
F9			鳴鼓舉觴爵，X	分土五等，X	
F10			鍾擊位無餘，K	蕃國正封界，F	
F11			絕網縱麟麕，X	莘莘文武佐，X	
F12			弛罩出鳳雛。K	千秋邁嘉會，F	
F13			收功在羽校，X	洪業溢區內，X	
F14			威靈振鬼區，K	仁風翔海外。F	
F15			陛下長歡樂，X		
F16			永世合天符。K		

Table 2.12 Han to Jin Feather and Flute Ballets Compared

	Grand Delight	Promulgating Civility	Horseback-Wardrum Ballet		Whisk Ballet
	Liu Cang 60	Fu Xuan 266	Cao Zhi 220	Fu Xuan 269	Anonymous fourth century
	Martial Virtue ¹⁶⁴	Feathers and Flutes ¹⁶⁵	2. Numinous Fungus ¹⁶⁶	5. Brilliant Lord ¹⁶⁷	5. Prince of Huainan ¹⁶⁸
1.1	章明圖讖，X	羲皇之初，X	靈芝生玉地，X	明君御四海，X	我欲度河，X ¹⁶⁹
1.2	放唐之文，X	天地開元，A	朱草被洛濱，A	聽鑑盡物情，A	河無梁，A
1.3	休矣惟德，X	網罟禽獸，X	榮華相晃耀，X	顧望有譴罰，X	願化雙黃鵠，X
1.4	罔射協同，A	羣黎以安。A	光采暉若神。A	竭忠身必榮。A	還故鄉。A
1.5	本支百世，X	神農教耕，X	古時有虞舜，X	蘭茝出荒野，X	還故鄉，B
1.6	永保厥功。A	創業誠難，A	父母頑且嚚，A	萬里升紫庭，A	入故里，C
1.7	章明圖讖，X	民得粒食，X	盡孝於田隴，X	茨草穢堂階，X	徘徊故鄉，B
1.8	放唐之文，X	澹然無所患。A	烝烝不違仁。A	掃截不得生。A	苦身不已。C
1.9	休矣惟德，X	黃帝始征伐，X	伯瑜年七十，X	能否莫相蒙，X	繁舞寄聲，D
1.10	罔射協同，A	萬品造其端，A	采衣以娛親，A	百官正其名，A	無不泰，E
1.11	本支百世，X	軍駕無常居，X	慈母答不痛，X	恭己慎有為，X	徘徊桑梓，D
1.12	永保厥功。A	是曰軒轅。A	獻歎涕沾巾。A	有為無不成。A	遊天外。E
2.1		軒轅既勤止，X	丁蘭少失母，X	閻君不自信，X	
2.2		堯舜匪荒寧，B	自傷蚤孤斃，B	羣下執異端，B	
2.3		夏禹治水，X	刻木當嚴親，X	正直權譎潤，X	
2.4		湯武又用兵。B	朝夕致三牲。B	姦臣奪其權。B	
2.5		孰能保安逸，X	暴子見陵侮，X	雖欲盡忠誠，X	
2.6		坐致太平？B	犯罪以亡形，B	結舌不敢言，B	
2.7		聖皇邁乾乾，X	丈人為泣血，X	結舌亦何憚，X	
2.8		天下興頌聲。B	免戾全其名。B	盡忠為身患。B	
2.9		□□□□，X ¹⁷⁰	董永遭家貧，X	清流豈不潔，X	
2.10		穆穆且明明，B	父老財無遺，C	飛塵濁其源，B	
2.11		□□□□□，X	舉假以供養，X	歧路令人迷，X	
2.12		□□□□。B ¹⁷¹	傭作致甘肥。C	未遠勝不還。B	
3.1			責家填門至，X	邪臣多端變，X ¹⁷²	
3.2			不知何用歸，C	用心何委曲，C	
3.3			天靈感至德，X	便辟從情指，X	
3.4			神女為乘機。C	動隨君所欲。C	
3.5			歲月不安居，X	偷安樂目前，X	
3.6			烏乎我皇考，D	不問清與濁，C	
3.7			生我既已晚，X	積偽罔時主，X	
3.8			棄我何期蚤！D	養交以持祿。C	
3.9			蓼莪誰所興，X	言行恒相違，X	

¹⁶⁴ See *HHS*: Z9.3196, Note 3. Stanza doubled to match length. For discussion, see Chapter 1.

¹⁶⁵ See *SgS*: 20.573.

¹⁶⁶ See *SgS*: 22.626. This is a Martial Ballet used for other purposes.

¹⁶⁷ See *SgS*: 22.631. This is a Martial Ballet used for other purposes.

¹⁶⁸ See *SgS*: 22.635. This is a Martial Ballet used for other purposes.

¹⁶⁹ I have switched this stanza with the one that follows to complete the metrical pattern. Lines within the stanzas also reflect the content of those of other hymns in this pattern.

¹⁷⁰ A line needs to go here to complete the metrical pattern. The preceding and following lines reflect the content of those of other hymns in this pattern.

¹⁷¹ A couplet needs to go here to complete the metrical pattern. The preceding and following lines reflect the content of those of other hymns in this pattern.

¹⁷² I have switched this stanza with the one that follows to complete the metrical pattern. Lines within the stanzas also reflect the content of those of other hymns in this pattern.

Table 2.12 Han to Jin Feather and Flute Ballets Compared

	Grand Delight	Promulgating Civility	Horseback-Wardrum Ballet		Whisk Ballet
	Liu Cang 60	Fu Xuan 266	Cao Zhi 220	Fu Xuan 269	Anonymous fourth century
3.10			念之令人老，D	難饜甚谿谷，C	
3.11			退詠南風詩，X	昧死射乾沒，X	
3.12			灑淚滿禕抱。D	覺露則滅族。C	
			亂曰：		
F1		惟聖皇，C	聖皇君四海，X	忠臣立君朝，X ¹⁷³	淮南王，X ¹⁷⁴
F2		道化彰，C	德教朝夕宣，E	正色不顧身，D	自言尊，F
F3		激四海，X	萬國咸禮讓，X	邪正不並存，X	百尺高樓，X
F4		清三光。C	百姓家肅虔。E	譬若胡與秦。D	與天連。F
F5		萬機理，X	庠序不失儀，X	秦胡有合時，X	後園鑿井，G
F6		庶事康，C	孝悌處中田，E	邪正各異津，D	銀作牀，A
F7		潛龍升，X	戶有曾閔子，X	忠臣遇明君，X	金瓶素綬，G
F8		儀鳳翔。C	比屋皆仁賢。E	乾乾惟日新。D	汲寒漿。A
F9		風雨時，X	髻亂無夭齒，X	羣目統在綱，X	汲寒漿，X
F10		物繁昌，C	黃髮盡其年，E	衆星拱北辰，D	飲少年，F
F11		却走馬，X	陛下三萬歲，X	設令遭閹主，X	少年窈窕，X
F12		降瑞祥。C	慈母亦復然。E	斥退為凡民。D	何能賢？F
F13		揚仄陋，X		雖薄供時用，X	揚聲悲歌，X
F14		簡忠良，C		白茅猶可珍，D	音絕天，F
F15		百祿是荷，X		冰霜晝夜結，X	□□□□，X
F16		眉壽無疆。C		蘭桂摧為薪。D	□□□。F ¹⁷⁵

¹⁷³ I have switched this stanza with the one that precedes to complete the metrical pattern. Lines within the stanzas also reflect the content of those of other hymns in this pattern.

¹⁷⁴ I have switched this stanza with the one that precedes to complete the metrical pattern. Lines within the stanzas also reflect the content of those of other hymns in this pattern.

¹⁷⁵ A couplet needs to go here to complete the metrical pattern.

Table 2.13 Zhou to Jin Feather and Proclamation-Bell Ballets Compared

	Grand Capaciousness	Promulgating Civility	Proclamation-Bell Ballet		Kerchief Ballet
	<i>Mao shi</i>	Fu Xuan 266	Anonymous c.85	Fu Xuan 269	Anonymous second century
	Ode 154 ¹⁷⁶	Feathers and Proclamation-Bells ¹⁷⁷	The Sage's Institution of Rites and Music ¹⁷⁸	Cloud Gate ¹⁷⁹	My Lord's Hardship ¹⁸⁰
1.1	七月流火，A	昔在渾成時，X	昔皇文武邪，	黃雲門，X	吾不見公莫時，
1.2	九月授衣。A	兩儀尚未分，A	彌彌舍善，	唐咸池，X	吾何嬰公來？
1.2a			誰吾時吾？		
1.3	一之日霽發，B	陽升垂清景，X	行許帝道，	虞韶舞，A	嬰姥時吾哺聲：
1.4	二之日栗烈。B	陰降興浮雲。A	銜來治路萬邪，	夏夏殷濩，X	「何為茂時？
1.5	無衣無褐，B	中和含氛氳，A	治路萬邪。	列代有五。A	為來嬰，
1.6	何以卒歲。B	萬物各異羣，A	赫赫意黃運道吾，	振鐸鳴金，X	當思吾。」
1.7	三之日于耜，C	人倫得其序，X	治路萬邪。	近大武，A	明月之上轉起，
1.8	四之日舉趾。C	衆生樂聖君。A	善道明邪金邪，	清歌發倡，X	吾何嬰土來？
1.9	同我婦子，C	三統繼五行，X	善道明邪金邪。	形為主，A	嬰轉去吾哺聲：
1.10	饁彼南畝，C	然後有質文，A	[近]帝邪[武邪]， ¹⁸¹	聲和八音，X	「何為土轉？
1.11	田峻至喜。C	皇王殊運代，X	近帝武武邪邪。 ¹⁸²	協律呂。A	南來嬰，
1.12		治亂亦續紛。A			當去吾。」
2.1	七月流火，A	浩浩元氣，X ¹⁸³	聖皇八音，	身不虛動，X	城上羊下食草，
2.2	九月授衣。A	遐哉太清，B	偶邪尊來。	手不徒舉，A	吾何嬰下來？
2.3	春日載陽，D	五行流邁，X	聖皇八音，	應節合度，X	吾食草吾哺聲：
2.4	有鳴倉庚。D	日月代征。B	及來義邪同邪，	周其紘，A	「汝何三年針縮？
2.5	女執懿筐，D	隨時變化，X	烏及來義邪。	時奏宮商，X	何來嬰？
2.6	遵彼微行，D	庶物乃成，B	□□□□□□□□	雜之以徵羽。A	吾亦老。」
2.7	爰求柔桑。D	聖皇繼天，X	[烏及來義邪。] ¹⁸⁴	下饜眾目，X	吾平平門淫涕下，
2.8	春日遲遲，A	光濟羣生。B	善草供國吾，	上從鍾鼓，A	吾何嬰何來？
2.9	采芣苢。A	化之以道，X	咄等邪烏。	樂以移風，X	嬰涕下吾哺聲：
2.10	女心傷悲，A	萬國咸寧，B	近邪邪武邪，	與德禮相輔，A	「昔結吾馬，
2.11	殆及公子同歸。A	受茲介福，X	近帝武邪武邪。	安有失其所？X	客來嬰，
2.12		延于億齡。B			吾當行。」
3.1	七月流火，A		應節合用，		吾度四州洛四海，
3.2	八月萑葦。A		武邪尊邪。		吾何嬰海何來？
3.2a					嬰海何來？
3.3	蠶月條桑，D		應節合用，		嬰四海吾哺聲：

¹⁷⁶ See *MS*: 8-1.7a-25a.¹⁷⁷ See *SgS*: 20.573.¹⁷⁸ See *SgS*: 22.632-33. This is a Civil Ballet used for other purposes. It is traditionally considered unintelligible due to the insertion of onomatopoeia among the lyrics, though it may be understood if placed in the context of the series to which it belongs and if *yu* 邪 (oh!), *wu* 吾 (oh!), and *wu* 烏 (oh!) are taken as onomatopoeia. Other common onomatopoeia include *yang* 羊 (yang!), *yi* 夷 (oh!), *yi* 伊 (oh!), *na* 那 (then!), and *he* 何 (ho!). See *YFSJ*: 26.377.¹⁷⁹ See *SgS*: 22.633. This is a Civil Ballet used for other purposes.¹⁸⁰ See *SgS*: 22.635-36. This is a Civil Ballet used for other purposes. It is traditionally considered to be unintelligible due to the insertion of onomatopoeia, though it may be understood if placed in the context of the series to which it belongs and by taking *ying* 嬰 (infant) as *ying* 應 (answer, promise, accept), *bu* 哺 (suckle) as *hu* 呼 (call out), and so on. For a later example, see the anonymous Western Jin “Cup and Tray Ballet” (*beipanwu* 杯槃舞), *SgS*: 22.635.¹⁸¹ I have added these three characters to complete the pattern. See Line 2.10 and Line 3.10 below.¹⁸² For the phrase “recent emperors” (*jindi* 近帝), see *HHS*: Z9.3197 and Z18.3359.¹⁸³ I have switched this stanza with the one that follows to complete the metrical pattern. Lines within the stanzas also reflect the content of those of other hymns in this pattern.¹⁸⁴ I have added this couplet to complete the pattern. See Line 4 through Line 7 in each stanza.

Table 2.13 Zhou to Jin Feather and Proclamation-Bell Ballets Compared

	Grand Capaciousness	Promulgating Civility	Proclamation-Bell Ballet		Kerchief Ballet
	<i>Mao shi</i>	Fu Xuan 266	Anonymous c.85	Fu Xuan 269	Anonymous second century
3.4	取彼斧斨，D		酒期義邪同邪，		「矯西馬頭。
3.5	以伐遠揚，D		酒期義邪。		香來嬰，
3.6	猗彼女桑。D		□□□□□□，		吾洛道。」
3.7	七月鳴鵙，E		[酒期義邪。] ¹⁸⁵		吾治五丈度汲水，
3.8	八月載績。E		善草供國吾，		吾噫邪哺：
3.9	載玄載黃，D		咄等邪烏。		「誰當求兒母何？
3.10	我朱孔陽，D		近帝邪武邪，		意零邪錢健步哺。
3.11	為公子裳。D		近帝武武邪邪。		誰當吾求兒母何？
3.12					吾哺聲。」
4.1	四月秀夔，F		下音足木，		三針一發，
4.2	五月鳴蜩。F		上為鼓義邪。		交時還弩心。
4.3	八月其穫，G		應眾義邪，		意何零？
4.4	十月隕穰，G		樂邪邪延否已邪，		意弩心。
4.5	一之日于貉。G		烏已禮祥。		遙來嬰，
4.6	取彼狐狸，C		□□□□□□，		弩心哺聲。
4.7	為公子裘。C		[烏已禮祥。]		復相頭巾，
4.8	二之日其同，H		[善草供國吾，] ¹⁸⁶		意何零？
4.9	載纘武功，H		咄等邪烏。		何邪相哺？
4.10	言私其豳，H		素女有絕，		頭巾相。
4.11	獻豸于公。H		其聖烏烏武邪。		吾來嬰，
4.12					頭巾母何，
4.12a					何吾？
5.1	五月斯螽動股，I				復來推排，
5.2	六月莎雞振羽。I				意何零？
5.3	七月在野，I				[子以邪，] ¹⁸⁷
5.4	八月在宇，I				相哺推相。
5.5	九月在戶。I				[吾]來嬰， ¹⁸⁸
5.6	十月蟋蟀，X				推非母何？
5.7	入我床下。I				吾復車輪，
5.8	穹窒熏鼠。I				意何零？
5.9	塞向墮戶。I				子以邪，
5.10	嗟我婦子，X				相哺轉輪。
5.11	曰為改歲，X				吾來嬰，
5.12	入此室處。I				轉母何？
6.1	六月食鬱及薺，F				吾復車輪使君去時，
6.2	七月亨葵及藜。F				意何零？
6.3	八月剝棗，F				子以邪，
6.4	十月穫稻。F				使君去時。
6.5	為此春酒，F				使來嬰，
6.6	以介眉壽。F				去時母何？
6.7	七月食瓜，I				吾思君去時，
6.8	八月斷壺，I				意何零？ ¹⁸⁹
6.9	九月叔苴，I				子以邪，
6.10	采荼薪樗。I				思君去時。
6.11	食我農夫。I				思來嬰，

¹⁸⁵ I have added this couplet to complete the pattern. See Line 4 through Line 7 in each stanza.

¹⁸⁶ I have added this triplet to complete the pattern. See Line 4 through Line 8 in each stanza.

¹⁸⁷ I have added this line to complete the pattern. See Line 5.9, Line 6.3, and Line 6.9.

¹⁸⁸ I have added this character to complete pattern. See Line 5 and Line 11 in each stanza.

¹⁸⁹ *NQS*: 11.194 has “*wu he ling*” 吾何零.

Table 2.13 Zhou to Jin Feather and Proclamation-Bell Ballets Compared

	Grand Capaciousness	Promulgating Civility	Proclamation-Bell Ballet		Kerchief Ballet
	<i>Mao shi</i>	Fu Xuan 266	Anonymous c.85	Fu Xuan 269	Anonymous second century
6.12					吾去時母何， ¹⁹⁰
6.12a					何吾吾？ ¹⁹¹
7.1	九月築場圃，I				
7.2	十月納禾稼。I				
7.3	黍稷重穆，F				
7.4	禾麻菽麥。F				
7.5	嗟我農夫，X				
7.6	我稼既同，H				
7.7	上入執宮功。H				
7.8	晝爾于茅，F				
7.9	宵爾索綯。F				
7.10	亟其乘屋，J				
7.11	其始播百穀。J				
8.1	二之日鑿冰沖沖，K				
8.2	三之日納于凌陰。K				
8.3	四之日其蚤，F				
8.4	獻羔祭韭。F				
8.5	九月肅霜，D				
8.6	十月滌場。D				
8.7	朋酒斯饗，D				
8.8	曰殺羔羊。D				
8.9	躋彼公堂，D				
8.10	稱彼兕觥，D				
8.11	萬壽無疆。D				
F1		伊大晉，X ¹⁹²			
F2		德兼往古，C			
F3		越穡農，X			
F4		邈舜禹。C			
F5		參天地，X			
F6		陵三五，C			
F7		禮唐周，X			
F8		樂韶武。C			
F9		豈唯簫韶？X			
F10		六代具舉，C			
F11		澤露地境，X			
F12		化充天宇。C			
F13		聖明臨朝，X			
F14		元凱作輔，C			
F15		□□□□□，X ¹⁹³			
F16		普天同樂胥。C			

¹⁹⁰ NQS: 11.194 has “*wu qi shi mu na*” 吾去時母那。

¹⁹¹ NQS: 11.194 has “*he qu wu*” 何去吾。

¹⁹² I have switched this stanza with the one that precedes to complete the metrical pattern. Lines within the stanzas also reflect the content of those of other hymns in this pattern.

¹⁹³ A line needs to go here to complete the metrical pattern. The preceding and following lines reflect the content of those of other hymns in this pattern.

3 JIN SACRIFICIAL BALLETS: A CLOSE READING

「誦《詩》三百，不足以一獻。一獻之禮，不足以大饗。大饗之禮，不足以大旅。大旅具矣，不足以饗帝。」《禮記》

“Reciting the three hundred *Odes* is inadequate for the Single Proffering [of a minor sacrifice to the seven household gods at the palace]. The rites for the Single Proffering are inadequate for the Grand Presentation [of a collective offering to the ancestors at the Ancestral Temple]. The rites for the Grand Presentation are inadequate for the Grand Hecatomb [of a major offering to the Five Holy Ones at the Hall of Brilliance]. When the Grand Hecatomb has been fully prepared, it is inadequate for the Presentation to the [Supreme] Holy One [at the Southern Suburban Altar].” *Li ji*¹

As with the Wei 魏 (196/220-265) dynasty, historians traditionally date the effective beginning of the Jin 晉 (265-420) dynasty not to the abdication of Emperor Yuan 元帝 (r.260-265) of the Wei dynasty in 265, but to 249, the year Sima Yi 司馬懿 (179-251),² who received the posthumous name Emperor Xuan 宣皇 (never reigned) and the temple name Gaozu 高祖 during the Jin dynasty, took control of the government by force from his co-regent Cao Shuang 曹爽 (d.249), whereupon the child emperor declared a new reign period, Jiaping 嘉平 (249-253) or “Fine Stability.”³ Sima Yi was in many ways a man after the model of Cao Cao 曹操 (153-219),⁴ the nominal founder of the Wei dynasty. Though not as charismatic or as cultured as Cao Cao, Sima Yi was much more subtle and he better

¹ See *LJ*: 24.16b-17a.

² See *JS*: 1.1-24; Fairbank (1994), passim; Figure 3.1 below; and Table 3.1 below.

³ See *SGZ*: 9.282-92. For information on the abdication, see Chapter 2 above. For further discussion of the effective date of Jin rule, alternately placed as early as 240, see Goodman (2010), 335 and 373.

⁴ See *SGZ*: 1.1-55; Goodman (1998), passim; Figure 3.1; and Table 3.1 below.

understood the need for balance between ritual restraint and ceremonial splendor.⁵ Under Cao Shuang's regency, the ceremonies and feasts that attended major sacrifices had reached an apex of opulence. Though popular among the local elite, such displays had created a financial burden that lent itself to official corruption. As an economic measure that also took the puppet rulers out of the limelight, Sima Yi and his successors ceased all major imperial sacrifices for the duration of the dynasty.⁶ Like Cao Cao before him, Sima Yi also paid close attention to auguries that bode ill for his house and he took action to prevent their spread and fruition.⁷ Sima Yi was supported in his efforts by his trusted advisor Wang Su 王肅 (195-256),⁸ to whose daughter, Wang Yuanji 王元姬 (217-268),⁹ he married his second son, Sima Zhao 司馬昭 (211-265),¹⁰ who received the posthumous name Emperor Wen 文皇 (never reigned) and the temple name Taizu 太祖 during the Jin dynasty. Sima Zhao's elder brother, Sima Shi 司馬師 (208-255),¹¹ who received the posthumous name Emperor Jing 景皇 (never reigned) and the temple name Shizong 世宗 during the Jin dynasty, followed only four years after his father in death on the battlefield, leaving the reins of state to Sima Zhao. In the fifth month of 258, Sima Zhao accepted the title of Duke of Jin 晉公.¹² In the eleventh month of 263, the state of Shu-Han 蜀漢 (221-263) fell to Deng Ai 鄧艾 (197-264), one of Sima Zhao's generals.¹³ Finally, in the third month of 264, Sima Zhao accepted the title of Prince

⁵ See Goodman (1998), 227.

⁶ See *SGZ*: 3.123, 9.286-88; *SgS*: 16.420; and *JS*: 19.582-83.

⁷ See Lu Zongli (2003), 40 and 106.

⁸ See *SGZ*: 13.414-23.

⁹ See *JS*: 31.950-52.

¹⁰ See *JS*: 2.32-47, Figure 3.1, and Table 3.1 below.

¹¹ See *JS*: 2.25-31, Figure 3.1, and Table 3.1 below.

¹² See *JS*: 2.35.

¹³ See *JS*: 2.43. For biographical information on Deng Ai, see *SGZ*: 28.775-83.

of Jin 晉王.¹⁴ Although posthumous titles had been bestowed on Sima Zhao's ancestors on both occasions of ennoblement, no further steps seem to have been taken to establish a ducal Great Temple (*taimiao* 太廟) or a princely Ancestral Temple (*zongmiao* 宗廟). Perhaps in part to this end, Sima Zhao had Xun Yi 荀顗 (205-274)¹⁵ appointed to revise rites and ceremonies in the seventh month of 264.¹⁶ Before this was completed, however, Sima Zhao died.

Upon inheriting the title of Prince of Jin, Sima Yan 司馬炎 (236-290),¹⁷ who received the posthumous name Emperor Wu 武皇 (r.265-290) and the temple name Shizu 世祖 and who titled his first reign period Taishi 泰始 (265-274), or “Great Beginning,” immediately concerned himself with consolidating his power by usurping the throne. As had Cao Pi 曹丕 (187-226)¹⁸ before him, Sima Yan relied in part on auguries to support his claim to the throne¹⁹ and in the twelfth month of 265 the last Wei emperor abdicated to Sima Yan.²⁰ In response to a memorial by his second cousin the historian Sima Biao 司馬彪 (243-306),²¹ Sima Yan, also like Cao Pi, simply followed the established procedures and liturgy for sacrifices at the Suburban Altars (*jiaotan* 郊壇) and at the Ancestral Temple, making only minimal changes to the titles and lyrics of the associated hymns. Unlike Cao Pi, Sima Yan instituted a further reduction of sacrifices for ideological reasons advocated by his maternal grandfather, Wang Su, which also helped alleviate some of the economic demands of setting

¹⁴ See *JS*: 2.44.

¹⁵ Also known as Xun Ji 荀覲, see *JS*: 39.1150-52; and Goodman (2010), *passim*.

¹⁶ See *JS*: 2.44.

¹⁷ See *JS*: 3.49-87, Figure 3.1, and Table 3.1 below.

¹⁸ See *SGZ*: 2.57-90 and Goodman (1998).

¹⁹ See Lu Zongli (2003), 40 and 249.

²⁰ See *JS*: 3.50-51.

²¹ See *JS*: 82.2141-42.

up a new dynasty. Regardless of his reasons, Sima Yan appeared to some to be remiss in his sacrificial duties as emperor, and so natural disasters throughout his reign were blamed on his having “simplified the Ancestral Temple” (*jian zongmiao* 簡宗廟) and “abolished offerings and sacrifices” (*fei jisi* 廢祭祀), failings traditionally associated with such things.²² Thus, only a year after rising to the throne, he placed a ban on any further auguries.²³

For these sacrifices, Sima Yan initially had Fu Xuan 傅玄 (217-278)²⁴ compose thirty-two hymns divided into six series for these sacrifices.²⁵ The first and second series, which followed the Wei precedent with minimal changes to titles and lyrics, comprise the two Civil Ballet (*wenwu* 文舞) hymns of “Promulgating Civility” (*xuanwen* 宣文) and the four Martial Ballet (*wuwu* 武舞) hymns of “Promulgating Martial Deeds” (*xuanwu* 宣武). Five of these hymns were longer hymns in pure trimeter or irregular meter popularized by the Han 漢 (206 BCE-220 CE) emperors, whereas only one followed the model of shorter hymns in pure tetrameter common to the “Song” 頌 section of *Mao shi* 毛詩.²⁶ The tetrameter hymns relied heavily on *Mao shi* and Confucian texts for allusions. The trimeter and irregular meter hymns also had a small number of allusions to Daoist texts not present in the tetrameter hymns. These series were used with the following series to worship Heaven and Earth starting in the twelfth month of 265 and the imperial ancestors starting in the first month of 266.²⁷

²² See *HS*: 27a.1342; *HHS*: Z15.3305; *SgS*: 33.951; and *JS*: 27.813.

²³ See Lu Zongli (2003), 38.

²⁴ See *JS*: 47.1317-23.

²⁵ See *SgS*: 19.541-42. Jordan D. Paper mentions this in passing but confuses some the dates and part the purpose, taking the Hall of Brilliance for “one of the palace halls.” See Paper (1989), 46.

²⁶ See *SgS*: 20.572-73.

²⁷ See Chapter 2 above.

The third series of five hymns, which also followed the Wei precedent with minimal changes to titles and lyrics, comprised two processions, one for the “evening inspection of the sacrificial victim” (*xisheng* 夕牲) and another for “calling down the god” (*jiangshen* 降神); and an offertory each to Heaven, Earth, and the Supreme Holy One (*shangdi* 上帝). The processions and the offertory to the Supreme Holy One all followed the tetrameter model, but the offertories to Heaven and Earth followed the trimeter model.²⁸ This series was used to worship Heaven with Emperor Wen as coadjutor (*pei* 配) and Earth with Empress Wang as coadjutor at the Southern Suburban Altar in the twelfth month of 265 and Heaven with Emperor Xuan as coadjutor at the Southern Suburban Altar and the Supreme Holy One with Emperor Wen as coadjutor at the Hall of Brilliance (*mingtang* 明堂) in the second month of 266.²⁹

The fourth series of eleven hymns, which followed the Wei precedent with minimal changes to titles and lyrics as well, comprised two processions, one for the “evening inspection of the sacrificial victim” and one for both “welcoming the god” (*yingshen* 迎神) and “seeing off the god” (*songshen* 送神), reviving the Zhou practice of having a recessional for this as well; seven canticles, one each for the three nominal emperors and for four earlier ancestors; and two offertories, one each for the collective pentennial *Di* 禘 (Meticulous) offerings and for the individual seasonal (*shi* 時) offerings.³⁰ There may also have been a third offertory for the collective triennial *Xia* 禘 (Joint) offerings, bringing the total number to twelve hymns, which would match the number that Wang Su composed for the Wei

²⁸ See SgS: 20.567

²⁹ See SgS: 16.423, 33.951; JS: 3.50, 3.53, and 19.587.

³⁰ See SgS: 20.574-76 and Guo (2007).

Ancestral Temple.³¹ The processions, the canticles, and the collective offertory followed the tetrameter model, but the individual offertory was in irregular meter. This series was used in the first, fourth, and seventh months of 266 at the old Wei Ancestral Temple converted for Jin use and in the eleventh month of 266 and thereafter at the new Jin Ancestral Temple for seasonal sacrifices to the imperial ancestors.³² According to Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-200), collective offerings should be performed at the Round Mound (*yuanqiu* 園丘) and at individual fanes within the Ancestral Temple; but according to Wang Su, they should be performed at the fane of the Great Progenitor (*taizu* 太祖).³³ In the Wei-Jin period, only one record of a collective offering remains, that in *Jin shu* 晉書 for the third month of 289, wherein Emperor Wu performed the *Xia* offering according to Wang Su's prescription.³⁴ The change from the Han-Wei liturgical practice of using a hymn of "calling down the god" to the Zhou liturgical practice of using a hymn of "welcoming the god" and of "seeing off the god" may have been made to emphasize the rectitude of Jin practices.

The fifth series of five hymns, which also comprised two processions, one for the "evening inspection of the sacrificial victim" and one for both "welcoming the god" and "seeing off the god;" and an offertory each to Heaven, Earth, and the Five Essential Holy Ones (*wujing zhi di* 五精之帝), replaced the first series.³⁵ All of its hymns followed the tetrameter model. This series was used to worship Heaven at the Southern Suburban Altar in the eleventh month of 266, Earth and the Five Essential Holy Ones at the Northern Suburban Altar in the fourth month of 267, and so on thereafter. Both Emperor Xuan and Emperor

³¹ For Wang Su's hymns, see Chapter 2 above.

³² See *JS*: 3.53-55; and Fu Xinian (2002), 66. After 266, the tenth month would have been used instead of the eleventh month. See Chapter 1 above.

³³ See *SgS*: 55.1544-46; *JS*: 19.605-06, 19.606-07; *TD*: 49.285; and Chapter 1 above.

³⁴ See *JS*: 3.79.

³⁵ See *SgS*: 20.566.

Wen served as coadjutors for all three offerings.³⁶ The change in offertory terminology, however, was part of four broader changes advocated by Wang Su. First there was the belief that Heaven and the Supreme Holy One were one in the same and that the Southern Suburban Altar and the Round Mound of the Classics were also one in the same. Hence the Round Mound was superfluous and by extension so was the Square Mere (*fangze* 方澤). Second, there was the belief that the Five Holy Ones (*wudi* 五帝) were not avatars of the Supreme Holy One, but merely apotheosized heroes. Hence they belonged not at the Hall of Brilliance nor at the Southern Suburban Altar, but in a secondary position at the Northern Suburban Altar alone. Third, there was the belief that the Hall of Brilliance was the fane of the Great Progenitor rather than a separate structure dedicated to the Supreme Holy One and that this fane could not be filled until six generations of descendants had joined the Great Progenitor in the Ancestral Temple, which would hold up to nine generations, having three permanent fanes plus the six most recent generations.³⁷ In this case, Gaozu Emperor Xuan was to occupy the fane of the Great Progenitor, rather than Taizu Emperor Wen. A further compromise was to allow multiple emperors per generation to hold fanes. Still, Emperor Wu and four more generations would have to join the Ancestral Temple before the Hall of Brilliance could be filled. Fourth, there was the belief that coadjutors should be a father son pair who served jointly rather than alternately and that this pair should serve for coadjutors for Earth as well. The stylistic change from longer trimeter or irregular meter to terse tetrameter hymns, however, was not something advocated by Wang Su. In fact, it was quite the opposite in that Wang Su favored the use of a wider range of music and verse for a more

³⁶ See *SgS*: 16.423, 33.951, and *JS*: 19.583-84. The date for the offering to the Five Essential Holy Ones is based on the location of the remaining altars at the Northern Suburban Altar.

³⁷ The term Hall of Brilliance is also used in reference to the Eastern Han Hall-of-Brilliance/Imperial-College complex south of Luoyang, which was refurbished for Jin use in 276 and repaired in 284. See *SgS*: 14.356 and Fu Xinian (2002), 66.

narrow range of sacrifices. This change may have been suggested by Xun Yi in order to bring up the old Ancient Music (*guyue* 古樂) versus New Melodies (*xinsheng* 新聲) controversy that had previously resurfaced against Cao Pi and by so doing align Sima Yan with Cao Cao or earlier and thereby emphasize the rectitude of Jin practices.³⁸

The sixth series of five hymns also comprised two processional, one for the “evening inspection of the sacrificial victim” and one for both “welcoming the god” and “seeing off the god;” and an offertory each to the Soil God and the Millet God (*sheji* 社稷), the First Husbandman (*xiannong* 先農), and the First Sericulturalist (*xiancan* 先蠶).³⁹ Although the hymns are no longer extant, *Nan Qi shu* 南齊書 gives us their lengths, as well as the source for the offertory to the First Husbandman, Ode 290 “Zai shan” 載芟 (Thence Mowing) from *Mao shi*. The length of the first stanza of this hymn matches the length listed in *Nan Qi shu*; the content also matches. The length of the first stanza of Ode 291 “Liang si” 良耜 (Good Ploughshares) matches the length listed for the offertory to the Soil God and the Millet God; the content matches as well. Although the length of Ode 292 “Si yi” 絲衣 (Silk Robes) is slightly shorter than the length listed for the offertory to the Former Sericulturalist, the content matches. All three of these hymns use pure tetrameter. Given the naming convention for this series, the relative lengths, and the meter of the originals, I assess that the hymns of this series also followed the tetrameter model. This series may have been used as early as the first month of 266, but Sima Yan did not participate in the sacrifice to the First Husbandman until the first month of 268 and his empress and consorts did not participate in the sacrifice to the First Sericulturalist until the third month of 288. The Soil God and the

³⁸ See Goodman (1998), 6. For further discussion, see Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 above.

³⁹ For more information on these two and on the First Husbandman as Shennong, see Bodde (1975), 12, 19-20, 71, 223-24, 263-72, 329-30, 370, and 387-91.

Millet God received sacrifices from the emperor's agricultural officials in the second and eighth months of the year rather than from the emperor himself.⁴⁰

In 269, Fu Xuan, Xun Xu 荀勗 (ca.220-289),⁴¹ Zhang Hua 張華 (232-300),⁴² and Chenggong Sui 成公綏 (231-273)⁴³ received the task of rewriting the eighteen hymns divided into three series as processions and entertainment for the dinners following the New Year's Assembly (*yuanhui* 元會).⁴⁴ Thereupon proceeded a debate between Xun Xu and Zhang Hua on whether to use the longer trimeter and irregular meter model of the Wei hymns or the tetrameter model of the "Ya" 雅 section of *Mao shi*, with Xun Xu favoring the tetrameter model and Zhang Hua the trimeter and irregular meter model. The result was that Xun Xu and Fu Xuan used the tetrameter model, while Zhang Hua and Chenggong Sui used the trimeter and irregular meter model. Apparently the emperor preferred the tetrameter model since Xun Xu's and Fu Xuan's hymns are better preserved and since the hymns that Fu Xuan, Zhang Hua, and Chenggong Sui wrote four years later as entertainment for the dinners following the Lesser Assembly (*xiaohui* 小會) at the Winter Solstice also used the tetrameter model.⁴⁵ Sima Yan seems to have consciously balanced Confucian fundamentalist members of his government with those attracted to the modernism of *xuanxue* 玄學 (Abstruse Learning) in order to appease influential families and individuals hurt during the

⁴⁰ See *JS*: 3.53-55, 3.56, 3.61, 3.63, 3.78, 19.589-90, 31.955; *SgS*: 14.350, 19.538-42, 20.565-68, 574-76; *NQS*: 11.184; and Chapter 1 above.

⁴¹ Also known as Xun Xu 荀勗, see *JS*: 39.1152-57, Wang Zichu (1995), and Goodman (2010).

⁴² See *JS*: 36.1068 and Straughair (1973).

⁴³ See *JS*: 92.2371.

⁴⁴ See *SgS*: 20.581-93; and Goodman (2006a), 89-105.

⁴⁵ Four of the nine extant Lesser Audience hymns are tetrasyllabic and five pentasyllabic, but all use the terse and technical language of *Mao shi*, *Shangshu*, and ritual texts. Nonetheless, the Liu-Song 劉宋 (420-479), Southern Qi 南齊 (479-502), and Northern Qi 北齊 (550-577) New Year's Assembly hymns followed the example set by Zhang Hua and Chenggong Sui. See *JS*: 22.690-92; *SgS*: 20.581-96; *NQS*: 11.185-88; *SuS*: 14.325-28; and *XWNS*: *JS*: 2.569, 584.

xuanfeng 玄風 (Abstruse Style) purge leading up to the founding of the Jin dynasty.⁴⁶ Xun Xu, a nephew of Xun Yi, was a leader of a faction of established elite families associated with Confucian fundamentalism,⁴⁷ whereas Zhang Hua was a leader of a faction of meritorious elite on the rise associated with *xuanfeng*. The two factions disagreed on most topics, including the relative merits of reform versus reunification, with Xun's faction favoring the first and Zhang's the second. Though nearly the same age, Chenggong Sui was one of Zhang Hua's protégés. Fu Xuan, on the other hand, despite his lack of a privileged background, was more nearly of a mind with Xun Xu, albeit more pragmatic when it came to reform. At the time held to be the senior scholar among the four, it was Fu Xuan alone who rewrote the six ballets for these dinners, a Civil Ballet, "Proclamation-Bell Ballet" (*duowu* 鐸舞); and a series of five Martial Ballets, "Horseback-Wardrum Ballet" (*piwu* 鞀舞), which followed the Wei irregular meter precedent with minimal changes to titles and lyrics as discussed in Chapter 2 above.⁴⁸

In 273, Xun Xu received the task to completely redo the music and lyrics for these New Year's Assembly dinner ballets, which were likely used for the Lesser Assembly dinners as well. He had two composers for the music, Guo Xia 郭夏 (fl.273)⁴⁹ and Song Shi 宋識 (fl.273),⁵⁰ while he, Fu Xuan, and Zhang Hua rewrote the lyrics. For the music, Xun Xu sought to correct what he considered to be the technical mistakes of Du Kui 杜夔 (fl.180-225)⁵¹ and Zuo Yannian 左延年 (fl.220-240)⁵² from the Wei dynasty.⁵³ For the new

⁴⁶ See Wang Xiaoyi (1997), 20-28; and Mather (1970).

⁴⁷ For more on the Xun clan and their involvement in ritual, see Goodman (2009).

⁴⁸ See *SgS*: 20.572-73; Goodman (2010), 133-40, 147-48, and 168-71. For Zhang Hua's interest in auguries, see Lu Zongli (2003), 75-76.

⁴⁹ Also known as Guo Qiong 郭瓊, see *JS*: 22.692 and 22.694.

⁵⁰ See *JS*: 22.692, 22.694, and 23.716.

⁵¹ See *SGZ*: 29.806-8.

tetrameter hymns, he came up with only two titles, a Civil Ballet, “Correct Virtue” (*zhengde* 正德); and a Martial Ballet, “Grand Delight” (*dayu* 大豫). These hymns replaced the old irregular meter hymns that Fu Xuan had rewritten for these dinners with six titles divided among the two series “Proclamation-Bell Ballet” and “Horseback-Wardrum Ballet.” This time it appears that the emperor favored Zhang Hua’s hymns over the rest. In his discussion of Wei-Jin sacrificial hymns and ballets in his chapter on *yuefu* hymns and ballads, Liu Xie 劉勰 (c.465–c.521) mentions only Fu Xuan and Zhang Hua by name and seems to indicate that Zhang Hua’s “new” Ancestral Temple ballets replaced Fu Xuan’s old ones. While it mentions Xun Xu’s involvement in the composition of the music, *Jin shu* mentions only Zhang Hua as author of the lyrics and records only Zhang Hua’s hymns. *Nan Qi shu* as well mentions only Zhang Hua and Fu Xuan, but not Xun Xu. Only *Song shu* 宋書 records all three.⁵⁴

In 275, Xun Xu received the assignment to recompose the music to the new ballets to make it appropriate for the Ancestral Temple as well. At this time, these tetrameter hymns replaced the six titles of the two irregular meter series that Fu Xuan had written for the Ancestral Temple: “Promulgating Civility” and “Promulgating Martial Deeds.” Aside from the difference in music and lyrics, the greatest difference was that as of 275 the same tetrameter ballets were performed for the sacrificial ceremonies of the Suburban Altars and of the Ancestral Temple and for the secular entertainment of the dinners following the New Year’s Assembly and the Lesser Assembly.⁵⁵ Probably at this same time, Xiahou Zhan 夏侯

⁵² See *SGZ*: 29.807.

⁵³ See *JS*: 22.692, Goodman (2010), 179-80, and 234.

⁵⁴ See *WXDL*: 2.92, *SgS*: 19.539-40, 20.582, 20.587, 20.590, *NQS*: 11.190, *JS*: 22.692-94, 39.1151, and *TD*: 147.769.

⁵⁵ See *SgS*: 19.540, 19.551, 20.572-73; *NQS*: 11.191-92, *JS*: 22.693-94, and 23.718.

湛 (243-291),⁵⁶ who appears to be from the same camp as Xun Xu and Zhang Hua, composed a series of thirteen hymns for the Ancestral Temple to replace the eleven hymns and two ballet series by Fu Xuan. Xiahou Zhan, like Zhang Hua, preferred octaves over quatrains, but Emperor Wu seems to have preferred Fu Xuan's original series, since we hear nothing more of this no longer extant replacement series.⁵⁷

In 280, the Jin armies finally reunified the empire by defeating Wu 吳 (222-280), the last of the Three Kingdoms. With victory came an influx of southern scholars to the capital, bringing with them conservative ideas on ritual from a bygone era. In 198, Cao Cao had Sun Ce 孫策 (175-200)⁵⁸ ennobled as the Marquis of Wu (*wuhou* 吳侯) in exchange for tacit support of Cao Cao's control of Emperor Xian 獻帝 (r.190-220)⁵⁹ of the Han dynasty. Two years later, Sun Ce passed the title to his younger brother Sun Quan 孫權 (182-252).⁶⁰ In 220, Cao Pi declared himself emperor and further ennobled Sun Quan as Prince of Wu (*wuwang* 吳王). Two years later, Sun Quan, who received the posthumous name Emperor Da 大帝 (r.222-252) and the temple name Taizu 太祖 and who titled his first reign period Huangwu 黃武 (222-228), or "Yellow Martial Deeds," also declared himself emperor. Like Cao Pi, he was slow to set up sacrifices and was accused of "simplifying the Ancestral Temple" and "abolishing offerings and sacrifices."⁶¹ Perhaps because of his greater distance from the capital, his scholars may have been less versed in the sacrificial rites. At the very least, his court and those of his heirs paid more attention to secular entertainment than to

⁵⁶ See *JS*: 55.1491-99.

⁵⁷ See *NQS*: 11.179.

⁵⁸ See *SGZ*: 46.1101-13.

⁵⁹ See *HHS*: 9.367-95.

⁶⁰ See *SGZ*: 47.1115-49.

⁶¹ See *SgS*: 33.950 and *JS*: 27.812.

sacrificial hymns, thereby reaching a larger audience and keeping the powerful and prestigious local elite families happy.⁶² Thus, when the southern scholars arrived in Luoyang, they brought with them the expectation of grand public display.

As late as 288, Emperor Wu was still trying to institute Wang Su's idealized sacrifices. In the third month of this year, he ordered that the Imperial Shrine to the Soil God (*dishu* 帝社) be abolished as superfluous, despite eloquent arguments from Fu Xuan's son, Fu Xian 傅咸 (d.294),⁶³ in defense of the status quo.⁶⁴ Just over a year later, in the sixth month of 289, Emperor Wu relented and reinstated the Imperial Shrine to the Soil God.⁶⁵ His change of heart was perhaps brought on not only by the natural disasters mentioned above, but also by a string of architectural disasters in the Ancestral Temple over the last five years. In the fifth month of 284, Emperor Xuan's fane collapsed and had to be rebuilt.⁶⁶ In the first month of 287, Emperor Xuan's fane again collapsed and had to be rebuilt.⁶⁷ Less than a year later, the entire Ancestral Temple was rebuilt at a new location not far from the original location, requiring the movement of the Great Shrine (*taishe* 太社) to the Soil God and the Millet God, whereupon Emperor Wu decided to reinstate the Imperial Shrine to the Soil God and the Millet God. Six months later, Emperor Xuan's fane once again collapsed.⁶⁸ Faced with this series of calamities, Emperor Wu seems to have finally given up Wang Su's agenda, agreed to reinstate the thrones of the Five Holy Ones at the Southern Suburban Altar and at the Hall of Brilliance, and agreed to re-establish the Hall of Brilliance at the Imperial College complex south of Luoyang. Implicitly, Fu Xuan's third series of five sacrificial hymns

⁶² See *SgS*: 33.951 and *JS*: 27.813.

⁶³ See *JS*: 47.1323-30.

⁶⁴ See *SgS*: 17:479-81, *JS*: 1.78, and 19:591-93.

⁶⁵ See *JS*: 1.79.

⁶⁶ See *JS*: 3.75 and 19.602-03.

⁶⁷ See *JS*: 3.77 and 19.591.

⁶⁸ See *JS*: 19.602-03.

would also replace his fifth series. Regardless, Emperor Wu was unable to accomplish any of these changes before passing on. His descendants, as well, were too preoccupied with the events around them to carry out any extensive changes. Thus, no Hall of Brilliance was established during the Jin dynasty.⁶⁹

Three more emperors finished out the Western Jin dynasty without having a significant impact on sacrificial practice due to lack of interest or resources. Emperor Hui 惠皇 (r.290-306), Sima Zhong 司馬衷 (259-306),⁷⁰ lacked both the aptitude and the inclination to rule. Instead, his empress Jia Nanfeng 賈南風 (256-300)⁷¹ ruled through him. Eventually her intrigues earned her both the ire and the envy of eight imperial relatives: Prince of Nunan 汝南王 Sima Liang 司馬亮 (d.291),⁷² Prince of Chu 楚王 Sima Wei 司馬瑋 (271-291),⁷³ Prince of Zhao 趙王 Sima Lun 司馬倫 (d.301),⁷⁴ Prince of Qi 齊王 Sima Jiong 司馬冏 (d.302),⁷⁵ Prince of Changsha 長沙王 Sima Yi 司馬乂 (276-303),⁷⁶ Prince of Chengdu 成都王 Sima Ying 司馬穎 (279-306),⁷⁷ Prince of Hejian 河間王 Sima Yong 司馬顥 (d.306),⁷⁸ and Prince of Donghai 東海王 Sima Yue 司馬越 (d.311),⁷⁹ most of whom fell casualty to their own infighting during the insurrection of the Eight Princes (*ba wang zhi luan* 八王之亂) that lasted from 291 to 306.⁸⁰ Finally, Sima Yue seized the capital, poisoned the emperor,

⁶⁹ See *SgS*: 33.951.

⁷⁰ See *SgS*: 33.952; *JS*: 4.89-113, 27.814; Lu Zongli (2003), 134; Figure 3.1; and Table 3.1 below.

⁷¹ See *JS*: 31.963-66.

⁷² See *JS*: 59.1591-93.

⁷³ See *JS*: 59.1596-97.

⁷⁴ See *JS*: 59.1597-1605.

⁷⁵ See *JS*: 59.1605-11.

⁷⁶ See *JS*: 59.1612-15.

⁷⁷ See *JS*: 59.1615-19.

⁷⁸ See *JS*: 59.1619-22.

⁷⁹ See *JS*: 59.1622-26.

⁸⁰ See Hu (2011); Zou (2009), 46-50; Lu Li (2005); and Zhou and Gao (2000).

and put Emperor Huai 懷皇 (r.307-313), Sima Chi 司馬熾 (284-313),⁸¹ in his place, who only four years later was captured in the sack of Luoyang by Liu Cong 劉聰 (d.318),⁸² the third ruler of the non-Han-Chinese Former Zhao 前趙 (304-329) dynasty, and so began the insurrection of the Yongjia Reign Period (*yongjia zhi luan* 永嘉之亂) that lasted from 311 to 317.⁸³ When Emperor Huai died in captivity, Emperor Min 愍皇 (r.313-317), Sima Ye 司馬業 (300-317),⁸⁴ succeeded to the throne as a child in Chang'an, only to surrender to Liu Yao 劉曜 (d.328),⁸⁵ the last ruler of the Former Zhao dynasty, in 316. When Emperor Min died in captivity in the following year, so ended the Western Jin dynasty.

Of the eleven emperors of the Eastern Jin 東晉 (317-420) dynasty, only three had a significant impact on sacrificial practice; the rest were children or puppets in times of turmoil. After learning of the death of Emperor Min, Emperor Yuan 元皇 (r.317-322), Sima Rui 司馬睿 (276-322),⁸⁶ consulted auguries and established himself as emperor with his capital at Jiankang 建康. During his five years on the throne, he established a new Ancestral Temple, Shrines to the Soil God and the Millet God, and a general-purpose Southern Suburban Altar for both Heaven and Earth, but no Hall of Brilliance.⁸⁷ Among his ritual advisers was Xun Song 荀崧 (d.329/30),⁸⁸ a descendant of Xun Yi. The reign of Emperor Ming 明皇 (r.322-325), Sima Shao 司馬紹 (298-325),⁸⁹ Emperor Yuan's successor, was engulfed by the

⁸¹ See JS: 5.115-25, Figure 3.1, and Table 3.1 below.

⁸² See JS: 102.2657-77.

⁸³ See Zou (2009), 55-59.

⁸⁴ See JS: 5.125-42, Figure 3.1, and Table 3.1 below.

⁸⁵ See JS: 103.2683-2705.

⁸⁶ See JS: 6.143-58; Lu Zongli (2003), 86; Figure 3.1; and Table 3.1 below.

⁸⁷ See SgS:16.424; JS: 6.145, 19.584-87; and Fu Xinian (2002), 67.

⁸⁸ See JS: 75.1975-80; and Goodman (2010), 354 and 358.

⁸⁹ See JS: 6.158-68, Figure 3.1, and Table 3.1 below.

insurrection of Wang Dun (*Wang Dun zhi luan* 王敦之亂) that lasted from 322 to 324.⁹⁰ The namesake of this uprising, Wang Dun (266-324), was part of a powerful émigré family vying for control of the new regime in the south.⁹¹

Although a child for most of his reign and initially hampered by the insurrection of Su Jun (*Su Jun zhi luan* 蘇峻之亂) that lasted from 327 to 328,⁹² Emperor Cheng 成皇 (r.325-342), Sima Yan 司馬衍 (321-342),⁹³ Emperor Ming's successor, gets credit for finishing construction on the Northern Suburban Altar, reintroducing a former empress as coadjutor in sacrifices to Earth, and re-establishing imperial sponsorship for the worship of sixty-two Heavenly Deities and forty-four Earthly Divinities, a far cry from the 1,514 deities and divinities in the Eastern Han pantheon.⁹⁴ Su Jun (d.328) was also an émigré, though he rose to power without the help of family influence.⁹⁵ The next five emperors, including one who was deposed, were either children or puppets and the strongmen in charge of them had little time for sacrifices.⁹⁶

Although a child for the first part of his reign, Emperor Xiaowu 孝武皇 (r.373-396), Sima Yao 司馬曜 (362-396),⁹⁷ contributed more to Jin sacrificial hymns than any emperor since Emperor Wu. In 383, during the Battle of Fei River (*feishui zhi zhan* 淝水之戰),⁹⁸ Fu Jian 苻堅 (338-385),⁹⁹ the ruler of the non-Han-Chinese Former Qin 前秦 (350-394) dynasty,

⁹⁰ See Zou (2009), 71-72; and Lin (2002).

⁹¹ See *JS*: 98.2553-66.

⁹² See Zou (2009), 72-74.

⁹³ See *JS*: 7.169-84, Figure 3.1, and Table 3.1 below.

⁹⁴ See *SgS*: 16.432; *NQS*: 9.121-22; *JS*: 19.584-85, 19.604; and Lu Zongli (2003), 38.

⁹⁵ See *JS*: 100.2628-31.

⁹⁶ See *NQS*: 9.126-28; *JS*: 7.184-9.224, 73.1927-30, 98.2568-80; Lu Zongli (2003), 38, 119; Figure 3.1; and Table 3.1 below.

⁹⁷ See *SgS*: 16.452-53; *NQS*: 9.121-22; *JS*: 9.224-47, 19.606-7; Lu Zongli (2003), 132; Figure 3.1; and Table 3.1 below.

⁹⁸ See Zou (2009), 81-87.

⁹⁹ See *JS*: 113.2883-114.2939; and Rogers (1968).

crossed the Fei River and was soundly defeated by Jin forces, leading to a push north to reclaim territory south of the Yellow River and resulting in the recovery of traditionally trained musicians with the full Four Racks (*sixuan* 四縣) of instruments designated as the imperial prerogative. Thereafter the old-style music and ballets enjoyed a burst of popularity. Prior to this time, sacrifices at the Suburban Altars and at the Ancestral Temple did not enjoy the full range of music, song, and ballets.¹⁰⁰ In 391, Emperor Xiaowu had the Ancestral Temple rebuilt¹⁰¹ and had Cao Pi 曹毗 (fl.342-391)¹⁰² compose a series of ten canticles for individual fanes, all following the tetrameter model and each in a single rime category as preferred by Xun Xu, and an individual offertory for the Seasonal offering following Fu Xuan's irregular meter model in irregular meter. At the same time or a little later, Wang Xun 王珣 (349-400)¹⁰³ composed two more canticles following the tetrameter model and each in a single rime category as preferred by Xun Xu.¹⁰⁴ The Suburban Altars, however, apparently remained without the full range of music, hymns, and ballets if any at all. Regardless, Emperor Xiaowu in the end lost himself in dinner, drink, and dance and the sacrifices again fell by the wayside. Thereafter followed two puppet emperors whose handlers were ever hampered by constant competition, thereby limiting any interest in sacrificial rites.¹⁰⁵ The insurrection of Sun En (*Sun En zhi luan* 孫恩之亂) lasted from 399 to 402;¹⁰⁶ its namesake, Sun En (d.402), was the religious leader of the Five Pecks of Rice (*wudoumi* 五斗米) sect of

¹⁰⁰ See *SgS*:19.551-52, *JS*: 23.697-98, 23.710, and *SuS*: 15.376-77.

¹⁰¹ See *JS*:9.238-39; and Fu Xinian (2002), 67.

¹⁰² See *JS*: 92.2386-88.

¹⁰³ See *JS*: 65.1756-57.

¹⁰⁴ See *SgS*: 19.541, 20.576-79, and *JS*: 23.697-98.

¹⁰⁵ See *JS*: 10.249-75, 29.879; Lu Zongli (2003), 121, 138, 139; Figure 3.1; and Table 3.1 below.

¹⁰⁶ See Zou (2009), 90-91; and Wan (2007), 139-47.

religious Daoism.¹⁰⁷ The insurrection of Huan Xuan (*Huan Xuan zhi luan* 桓玄之亂) lasted from 402 to 404;¹⁰⁸ its namesake, Huan Xuan (369-404), was part of a powerful southern family vying for control of the new regime in the south. He eventually declared himself emperor of the Huan-Chu 桓楚 (403-404) dynasty.¹⁰⁹ The insurrection of Lu Xun (*Lu Xun zhi luan* 盧循之亂) lasted from 404 to 410;¹¹⁰ its namesake, Lu Xun (d.411), was the brother-in-law of Sun En.¹¹¹ Throughout these uprisings, it was the faithful general Liu Yu 劉裕 (363-422) who saved the day. In the tenth month of 416 he was ennobled as Duke of Song (*songgong* 宋公),¹¹² a year later he was further ennobled as the Prince of Song (*songwang* 宋王),¹¹³ and in the sixth month of 420 he accepted the abdication of the last Jin emperor,¹¹⁴ becoming Emperor Wu 武帝 (r.420-422) of the Liu-Song 劉宋 (420-479) dynasty.¹¹⁵

The *locus classicus* for the system of six ballets can be traced back to *Zhou li* 周禮, but it was not until the Wei dynasty that it became an obsession. During Wei, Wang Su advocated a system for use at the Ancestral Temple and at the dinners following the New Year's Assembly of six Han-Chinese ballets, based on purported ballets associated with eras from the ancient and pristine past, and of four non-Han-Chinese ballets, based on purported ballets associated with the ancient ethnic groups of the Four Directions.¹¹⁶ There was, however, controversy over using non-Han-Chinese music for court ceremonies. As well, only two of the six Han-Chinese ballets, the original civil and martial ballets, were purported

¹⁰⁷ See *JS*: 100.2631-34.

¹⁰⁸ See Zou (2009), 88-91.

¹⁰⁹ See *JS*: 99.2585-2604.

¹¹⁰ See Zou (2009), 91-92; and Wan (2007), 139-47.

¹¹¹ See *JS*: 100.2634-36.

¹¹² See *SgS*: 2.36-41.

¹¹³ See *SgS*: 2.42-43.

¹¹⁴ See *SgS*: 2.45-48.

¹¹⁵ See *SgS*: 1.1-3.62.

¹¹⁶ See Chapter 1 above.

to exist at that time. Nevertheless, the recorded details of all ten ballets overlapped to such an extent that one series of six ballets could cover all ten. Fu Xuan's Jin Ancestral Temple Ballet Hymns, also known as "Liudai wuge" 六代舞歌 (Ballet Hymns of the Six Eras), were another attempt to actualize this system. In combining and rewriting the two Wei series, he had left out the title planned for Emperor Ming, keeping the number to six, but divided the remaining hymns into two series to maintain the balance between civil and martial. His "Horseback-Wardrum Ballet" hymns can also be traced back to the Han "Ba Ditties" 巴俞 that are the ultimate source for his "Promulgating Martial Deeds" hymns. Considering the structural similarities between his "Proclamation-Bell Ballet" hymn and his "Promulgating Civility" hymns, these may also go back to one source as well.¹¹⁷ Regardless, it seems that these ballets were performed to the same set of six drum ballet tunes (*guwuji liu qu* 鼓舞伎六曲). Thus, it appears that two titles, each with its own tune and three sets of competing lyrics, replaced twelve titles with six tunes and twelve sets of lyrics. The apparent result was that after 275, the Civil and Martial Ballets appeared in pairs of just two titles, two tunes, and two sets of lyrics, making the old Jin hymns the last set of six until an ephemeral revival in the Northern Zhou 北周 (557-581) dynasty.¹¹⁸

Some Historians speculate that the new hymns came from two Han recessionalals that seemed to disappear during the Wei dynasty, the "Two Departments" (*errong* 二容), "Revealed Department" (*zhaorong* 昭容) and "Ritual Department" (*lirong* 禮容). Others believe that the new hymns came from the original Civil and Martial Ballets, which also

¹¹⁷ See Chapter 2 above.

¹¹⁸ See ZL: 22.8b-9a, 23.1a-2a, 24.8b; JS: 22.675-76; SgS: 19.533-34, 537-38, 543-44, 551; NQS: 11.190; SuS: 14.331-33, 15.376-77; and Table 3.3C below.

seemed to disappear during the Wei dynasty.¹¹⁹ To a certain extent, both views appear to be correct. The two recessionals were a Han innovation used to follow the Civil and Martial Ballets. Use of these recessionals is directly documented for Han and Wei liturgies, but not for Jin. In the Liu-Song dynasty and thereafter, a recessional for the same liturgical purpose appears under the title “Stratifying the Steps” (*jiebu* 階步).¹²⁰ As late as 455, scholars still had access to “Correct Virtue,” “Grand Delight,” and “Ritual Department” in some form as an example of a past suite of Civil and Martial Ballets.¹²¹ Moreover, when the “Grand Balance” hymns were recast as Civil Ballets in 237, they seem to have replaced “Grand Succession” and the “Revealed Martial Deeds” hymns seem to have replaced “Grand Martial Deeds.” At this time, these two series would then have been followed by “Ritual Department” instead of by “Revealed Enterprise” (*zhaoye* 昭業), the Wei title for “Revealed Department,” thereby explaining why their second generation replacements “Correct Virtue” and “Grand Delight” would also be grouped with “Ritual Department” as a suite.

While *Jin shu* and *Song shu* remain silent concerning the source of inspiration for “Correct Virtue” and “Grand Delight,” *Wei shu* 魏書 and *Tongdian* 通典 tell us that they came from “Promulgating Civility” and “Promulgating Martial Deeds” respectively.¹²² In turn, *Jin shu* and *Song shu* tell us that these two series came from “Grand Balance” (*dajun* 大鈞) and “Revealed Martial Deeds” (*zhaowu* 昭武), which came from the “ritual music of the Three Eras” (*sandai zhi liyue* 三代之禮樂) and “Ba Ditties” respectively.¹²³ At that time, the extant “ritual music of the Three Eras” comprised “Grand Succession” (*dashao* 大韶),

¹¹⁹ See *HS*: 22.1044; *SgS*: 19.533-34; and *TD*: 147.769.

¹²⁰ See *NQS*: 11.188-89 and *SuS*: 15.358-59.

¹²¹ See *SgS*: 19.543-44. The *Zhonghua shuju* editors, however, do not punctuate “Ritual Department” as a title in this instance.

¹²² See *WS*: 109.2836-41; and *TD*: 147.769.

¹²³ See *SgS*: 19.540 and *JS*: 22.693-94.

“Grand Capaciousness” (*daxia* 大夏) in the form of “Four Seasons” (*sishi* 四時), “Grand Martial Deeds” (*dawu* 大武), and “Mime” (*xiang* 象) in the form of “Martial Virtue” (*wude* 武德). While “Promulgating Civility” had only two hymns, “Grand Balance” had three, a Martial Ballet, a Civil Ballet, and a third ballet, though the third ballet may never have left the planning stage.¹²⁴ *Song shu* implies specifically that the “Grand Balance” hymns were derived from “Martial Virtue” and “Four Seasons,” which in turn, it states, were derived from “Grand Martial Deeds” and “Mime” and from “Grand Succession.”¹²⁵ *Wei shu*, however, identifies “Grand Martial Deeds” and “Grand Succession” as the source for the series, whereas *Nan Qi shu* identifies “Martial Virtue” as the source for the Martial Ballet.¹²⁶ This apparent contradiction can be explained by the fact that the titles “Grand Capaciousness” and “Grand Succession” are often confused and that “Martial Virtue” came from “Mime,” which is part of the suite that comprises “Grand Martial Deeds.” As Martial Ballets, “Ba Ditties” also share many aspects in common with “Grand Martial Deeds.”¹²⁷ Thus, “Correct Virtue” and “Grand Delight” were closely associated with the “Two Departments” and came indirectly from the original Civil and Martial Ballets. For our discussion, I shall treat only the ballets “Promulgating Civility,” “Promulgating Martial Deeds,” “Correct Virtue,” and “Grand Delight.”

¹²⁴ See Chapter 2 above.

¹²⁵ See *SgS*: 19.535-36, *JS*: 22.693-94, and Chapter 1 above.

¹²⁶ See *NQS*: 11.190 and *WS*: 109.2836-41.

¹²⁷ See Chapter 1 above.

3.1 Promulgating Civility

I shall now conduct a close reading of Fu Xuan’s “Promulgating Civility.” For ease of reference, I shall divide each hymn into quatrains according to natural breaks in rhyming stanzas or content flow. To save time and space, I shall not include Romanization with the Chinese characters in the translation below, except in the main text or in my notes. Where necessary, I shall comment on any other odd features of translation. Otherwise, I shall simply point out and verify the stated and implied information. Finally, I shall conclude with a summary of my findings.

3.1.1 Title and Use of the Series

As a Jin sacrificial ballet marked with the word “civil” (*wen* 文), the title of this series tells us that these hymns were to be performed individually or as a suite in accompaniment to Civil Ballets during external ceremonies at the Suburban Altars and internal ceremonies at the Ancestral Temple. As we discussed above, this series was performed with the four Martial Ballets of “Promulgating Martial Deeds” in apparent imitation of the four-two split in the original Zhou-Qin series of six dynastic ballets. The dancers for both series wore the same costumes and carried the same props as did the dancers of the series from which they derived.¹²⁸

¹²⁸ For comparison with direct antecedents and derivatives, see Chapter 2 above.

3.1.2 Authorship and Dating

Song shu, *Nan Qi shu*, and *Jin shu* all credit Fu Xuan with the composition of these hymns, along with that of their sister series “Promulgating Martial Deeds,” but do not give us a specific date. All three, however, do give us the year 266 as the date that Fu Xuan composed his Jin sacrificial hymns. *Song shu*, in particular, tells us that Fu Xuan composed thirty-two such hymns in that year. Minus his twenty-six other sacrificial hymns elsewhere dated to 266, we are left with six titles for which these ballets comprise the only known correspondents. Nonetheless, the first Jin sacrifices that would have required these ballets was performed in the twelfth month of 265. Four other hymns from the total number would also have been required at this time.¹²⁹ Fu Xuan may not have composed the bulk of the thirty-two hymns until 266 when they were needed. Thus, I assess that Fu Xuan composed these ballets, as well as the other four hymns, in the twelfth month of 265.¹³⁰

3.1.3 Translation and Commentary

This series comprises “Feathers and Flutes” (*yuyue* 羽籥) and “Feathers and Proclamation-Bells” (*yuduo* 羽鐸).

¹²⁹ Two processions, one for the evening inspection of the sacrificial victim and one for calling down the gods, and two offertories, one for Heaven and one for Earth. See above and Table 3.3B below.

¹³⁰ See *SgS*: 19.537-38, 19.540-42, 20.573; *NQS*: 11.167, 11.179; *JS*: 3.50, 3.53, 22.679, and 22.693-94.

“Feathers and Flutes”¹³¹

Commentary: As a Jin sacrificial ballet marked with the words “feathers and flutes,” the title of this hymn tells us that it was to be performed individually or as part of a suite in accompaniment to Civil Ballets during internal ceremonies at the Ancestral Temple and external ones at the Suburban Altars. The Wei antecedent was the no longer extant “Martial Beginning” (*wushi* 武始) composed in 227, which was derived from a doubled version of the Han dynasty hymn “Martial Virtue” composed in 203 BCE and rewritten in 60 CE, which in turn came from the undated Zhou dynasty hymn “Mime.”¹³²

	羲皇之初，	As for the August One [Fu]xi’s commencement, ¹³³
2	天地開元，	When Heaven and Earth opened the epoch,
	網罟禽獸，	He made nets to ensnare fowl and beasts,
4	羣黎以安。	And the black-haired throng were thereby made secure.

Commentary: This quatrain states that Fuxi, the first of the Three August Ones (*sanhuang* 三皇), strove to meet the needs of the people by teaching them hunting and fishing. The

¹³¹ See *SgS*: 20.573. Jian (1987) does not include this hymn. Form: 40 lines of 3, 4, or 5 syllables, including two lagunae in Stanza 2. End Rhyme: On even lines, including Line 25 in the Finale, in 2 stanzas of 12 lines each and a finale of 16 lines, Stanza 1 in the *han* 寒 rime category, contacts with the *yuan* 元 rime category in Line 2 and Line 12; Stanza 2 in the *geng* 耕 rime category; the Finale in the *yang* 陽 rime category. Variants: *YFSJ*: 53.771, has *wang* 罔 for *wang* 網 in Line 3, *ji* 幾 for *ji* 機 in Line 29, and *ze* 側 for *ze* 仄 in Line 37. Pattern: “Martial Beginning” (*wushi* 武始). Topic: Stanza 1, Three August Ones (*sanhuang* 三皇); Stanza 2, Two Holy Ones (*erdi* 二帝), Three Kings (*sanwang* 三王), and Jin Emperor Wu; the Finale, Jin Emperor Wu. For Feathers and Flutes, see Chapter 1.

¹³² For comparison with direct antecedents and derivatives, see Chapter 2 above.

¹³³ Fuxi 伏羲 is the first of the Three August Ones (*sanhuang* 三皇), the other two being Shennong and Huangdi. See Chapter 1 above.

allusions imply that Emperor Wu has the mandate to open a new epoch, as had Fuxi. By doing this, the quatrain emphasizes the pristine model for Emperor Wu's actions.¹³⁴

- 神農教耕， Shennong taught humankind to till,¹³⁵
- 6 創業誠難， Creating an enterprise being truly difficult;
- 民得粒食， The people gaining grains to eat,¹³⁶
- 8 澹然無所患。 Were calm without the least concern.

Commentary: This quatrain states that Shennong, the second of the Three August Ones, strove to meet the needs of the people by teaching them farming. The allusions imply that Emperor Wu has the mandate to create an enterprise, as had Shennong. By doing this, the quatrain also emphasizes the pristine model for Emperor Wu's actions.

- 黃帝始征伐， Huangdi began to quell and smite,¹³⁷
- 10 萬品造其端， And as for the myriad articles he fashioned their original
form;¹³⁸
- 軍駕無常居， His military cortege had no permanent dwelling,

¹³⁴ For references to this and other quatrain/cinquain/sixain/septain commentary, see the notes to the appropriate translation.

¹³⁵ Shennong 神農 is the second of the Three August Ones. See Chapter 1 above.

¹³⁶ The term *lishi* 粒食 became common in the Jin dynasty, though it appears in the *Li ji* 禮記. See *LJ*: 12.26a-27a, *JS*: 104.2722, and 129.3193.

¹³⁷ This line, *Huangdi shi zhengfa* 黃帝始征伐, calls to mind the criticism of Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty in *HS*: 27b2.1427: “*zi shi shi zhengfa siyi, shi chu sanshi yu nian, tianxia hukou jian ban*” 自是始征伐四夷，師出三十餘年，天下戶口減半 (Hence he began to quell and smite the Four Tribes, his regiments going out for ten odd years and the households of all under Heaven reduced by half). Huangdi 黃帝 is the third of the Three August Ones. See Chapter 1 above.

¹³⁸ The term *wanpin* 萬品 became common in the Jin dynasty. See *JS*: 11.280, 16.473, and 36.1069.

- 12 是曰軒轅。 And for this he was called Xuanyuan (High-chariot Shaft).¹³⁹

Commentary: This quatrain completes the first stanza by stating that Huangdi, the third of the Three August Ones, strove to increase the lands and possessions of his people by such constant warfare that he had to live out of his war chariot. The allusions imply that Emperor Wu, like Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty and by extension Emperor Wu (Cao Cao) of the Wei dynasty, had to fight for the good of the people. By doing this, the quatrain compares Emperor Wu's military achievements to those of past heroes.

- 軒轅既勤止， Xuanyuan having been heretofore so diligent,¹⁴⁰
- 14 堯舜匪荒寧， Yao and Shun did not indulge in idleness and ease,¹⁴¹
- 夏禹治水， Yu of Xia tamed the waters,¹⁴²
- 16 湯武又用兵。 And Tang and Wu furthermore used weaponry.¹⁴³

¹³⁹ *Shi ji* explains that he got this nickname from a hill with the same name next to his home. See *SJ*: 1.1-10. *Han shu* explains that he got it from his form of dress. See *HS*: 21b.1012.

¹⁴⁰ This line, *xuanyuan ji qinzhi* 軒轅既勤止, calls to mind the one in Ode 295 “Lai” 賚, *MS*: 19-4.20a: “*Wen wang ji qinzhi*” 文王既勤止, for which *Odes*: 608, has “Wen Wang laboured.” The “Xiao xu” 小序 (Lesser Preface) states that this ode concerns the enfeifment of feudal lords in the Ancestral Temple. Each ode in *Mao shi* has a “Xiao xu” attributed to Zixia 子夏 (fifth century BCE) that can help us understand what early medieval Chinese thinkers thought of its overall meaning.

¹⁴¹ This line, *yao shun fei huangning* 堯舜匪荒寧, calls to mind the one in Fascicle 43 “Wu yi” 無逸, *ShS*: 10.16b: “*bu gan huangning*” 不敢荒寧, for which “Documents:” 58, has “He [Gaozong 高宗 (d.1189 BCE)] dared not be in useless repose.” The “Xiao xu” states that this fascicle was written by the Duke of Zhou 周公 (r.1042-1036 BCE). See also Fascicle 56 “Wenhou zhi ming” 文侯之命, *ShS*: 20.4b: “*wu huangning*” 無荒寧, for which “Documents:” 80, has “do not be in useless repose.” The “Xiao xu” states that this fascicle concerns King Ping’s 平王 (r.770-720 BCE) reward to Marquis Wen 文侯 (r.780-746 BCE) of Jin 晉 (780-369 BCE) for services rendered. Each document in *Shangshu* has a “Xiao xu” attributed to Confucius that can help us understand what early medieval Chinese thinkers thought of its overall meaning.

¹⁴² The Xia dynasty (twenty-second to eighteenth century BCE) and its founder, a great great grandson of Huangdi. See Chapter 1 above.

Commentary: This quatrain states that the Two Holy Ones, Yao and Shun, and the Three Kings, Yu, Tang 湯 (tr. sixteenth century BCE), and Wu, likewise engaged in numerous battles. The allusions imply that Emperor Wu fought not for himself but for the good of the people, like King Wen 文王 (r.1099-1050 BCE) of the Zhou dynasty, Gaozong 高宗 (d.1189 BCE) of the Shang dynasty, and Marquis Wen 文侯 (r.780-746 BCE) of the Jin 晉 (780-369 BCE) state. By doing this, the quatrain sings of Emperor Wu’s selflessness and promises reward for those who follow him.

- | | |
|----------|--|
| 孰能保安逸， | Which of them was able to protect peace and ease, ¹⁴⁴ |
| 18 坐致太平？ | And while sitting bring about Great Stability? ¹⁴⁵ |
| 聖皇邁乾乾， | Our sagacious emperor is exceedingly diligent and hard |
| | working, ¹⁴⁶ |

¹⁴³ Tang 湯 (tr. sixteenth century BCE), a descendent of Xie 契, a minister of Shun, founded the Shang dynasty. King Wu 武王 (r.1049-1043 BCE), a descendants of Houji 后稷, a minister of Yao and Shun, founded the Zhou 周 (eleventh to third century BCE) dynasty. See Chapter 1 above.

¹⁴⁴ This line, *shu neng bao anyi* 孰能保安逸, calls to mind Fascicle 19 “Yue ji” 樂記, *LJ*: 39.23a: “*fei ge shu neng bao ci*” 非歌孰能保此, for which *Li Chi*: 2:130, has “Who, without singing these songs, can assure himself that he will always preserve such bravery and righteousness?”

¹⁴⁵ This line, *zuo zhi taiping* 坐致太平, calls to mind the one from a discussion by Wang Can 王粲 (177-217) and others in *SGZ*: 15.467: “*fei shengren bu neng zhi taiping*” 非聖人不能致太平 (No-one but a sage can bring about Great Stability).

¹⁴⁶ This line, *shenghuang mai qianqian* 聖皇邁乾乾, calls to mind the one concerning the kingdom of Wu 吳 (222-280) in Wei Zhao 韋昭 (204-273), “Bo yi lun” 博弈論, *SGZ*: 65.1461: “*sheng chao qianqian*” 聖朝乾乾 (The sage holds court with diligence and hard work). The term *shenghuang* 聖皇, typically a reference to a sitting emperor, becomes popular in the Han dynasty. See Selection 12, Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53 BCE-18 CE), “Ganquan fu” 甘泉賦, *WX*: 7.332, for which *Selections*: 2:39, has “Our Sage Sovereign.” For *qianqian* 乾乾, see also Hexagram 1 “Qian” 乾, *ZY*: 1.3b and 1.9b: “*zhongri qianqian*” 終日乾乾, for which *I Ging*: 1:4 and 2:4, has “Der Edle ist den ganzen Tag schöpferisch tätig” (The superior man is creatively active throughout the day). The “Da xiang” 大象 (Grand Image) states that this hexagram concerns the gentleman’s going without rest in order to build strength. Each hexagram in *Zhou yi* has a “Da xiang” attributed to Confucius that can help us understand what early medieval Chinese thinkers thought of its overall meaning.

20 天下興頌聲。 Within all under heaven there arose tones of eulogy.¹⁴⁷

Commentary: This quatrain asks who is up to the job modeled by legendary leaders of the past and then answers that Emperor Wu has managed to do so. The allusions imply that Emperor Wu is the equal of Emperor Gao 高帝 (r.206-195 BCE) of the Han dynasty and, like King Cheng 成王 (r.1042-1006 BCE) of the Zhou dynasty, he has inherited the empire left to him by his grandfather, father, and uncle. By doing this, the quatrain emphasizes not only Emperor Wu's abilities, but also those of his forbears.

□□□□ ,¹⁴⁸

22 穆穆且明明， How profound and so brilliant!¹⁴⁹

□□□□□，

24 □□□□。 ¹⁵⁰

Commentary: This quatrain completes the second stanza, but because of the two lagunae we may only guess at what it originally said. The allusions may have turned to Emperor

¹⁴⁷ For *tianxia xing* 天下興, see the statement by Lu Jia 陸賈 (240-170 BCE) concerning Han Emperor Gao's 高帝 (r.206-195 BCE) continuation of the ways of the Three August Ones, *SJ*: 97.2698: “*wei tianxia xingli chuhai*” 為天下興利除害 (For all under heaven he caused to arise advantage and he removed harm). For *xing songsheng* 興頌聲, see the passage concerning King Cheng 成王 (r.1042-1006 BCE), *SJ*: 4.133: “*songsheng xing*” 頌聲興, for which *Mémoires*: 1:249, has “le son des odes s'éleva” (The sound of odes arose).

¹⁴⁸ A line needs to go here to complete the metrical pattern. The preceding and following lines reflect the content of those of other hymns in this pattern. For further discussion, see Chapter 2 above.

¹⁴⁹ This line, *mumu qie mingming* 穆穆且明明, calls to mind the lines in Stanzas 4 and 5, Ode 299 “Pan shui,” *MS*: 2:20-1.16b-17a: “*mumu Lu hou ... mingming Lu hou ...*” 穆穆魯侯 ... 明明魯侯 ..., for which *Odes*: 256, has “August is the prince of Lu ... Very bright is the prince of Lu.” The “Xiao xu” states that this ode concerns eulogizing Duke Xi 僖公 (r.659-627 BCE) of Lu 魯 (796-477 BCE) for his work on ritual buildings. For further discussion of the meaning of *mumu*, see Kern (1997), 201.

¹⁵⁰ A couplet needs to go here to complete the metrical pattern. The preceding and following lines reflect the content of those of other hymns in this pattern. For further discussion, see Chapter 2 above.

Wu's ritual achievements, like those of Duke Xi 僖公 (r.659-627 BCE) of Lu 魯 (796-477 BCE). By doing this, the quatrain would have used the common trope of returning to civility.

- | | |
|---------|---|
| 惟聖皇， | Indeed as for the sagacious emperor, ¹⁵¹ |
| 26 道化彰， | The transforming influence of his ways is evident; ¹⁵² |
| 澂四海， | He has cleared up the Four Seas, |
| 28 清三光。 | And has clarified the Three Brights. ¹⁵³ |

Commentary: This quatrain states that the sagacious emperor transforms the empire through his conduct of government. The allusions imply that Emperor Wu has the transformative ways of King Wen. By doing this, the quatrain emphasizes the emperor's ability to succeed in both war and peace.

- | | |
|---------|--|
| 萬機理， | The myriad critical tasks are well ordered, ¹⁵⁴ |
| 30 庶事康， | And the multitudinous affairs are settled; ¹⁵⁵ |

¹⁵¹ This line, *wei shenghuang* 惟聖皇, calls to mind the one in Stanza 10, Ode 257 “Sang rou” 桑柔, *MS*: 18-2.9a: “*wei ci shengren*” 維此聖人, for which *Odes*: 222, has “Now this wise man.” The “Xiao xu” states that this ode concerns criticism of King Li 厲王 (r.857-842 BCE). For this line, see also *HSWZ*: 5.12a; and *Han Shih*: 181.

¹⁵² For “*dao hua*” 道化, see “Xiao xu,” Ode 10, “Ru fen” 汝墳, *MS*: 1-3.7b: “*dao hua xing ye*” 道化行也, for which *She King*: 36], has “the transforming influence of [the king's] ways went abroad.” The “Xiao xu” states that this ode concerns the transforming ways of King Wen.

¹⁵³ This line, *qing sanguang* 清三光, calls to mind the one in *HSWZ*: 5.12a: “*sanguang qing*” 三光清, for which *Han Shih*: 181, has “the three radiances are clear.” The three lights are the sun, moon, and stars. See *BHT*: 4.131.

¹⁵⁴ This line, *wanji li* 萬機理, calls to mind the one describing the duties of Counselor-in-chief in *HS*: 19a.724: “*zhang cheng tianzi zhu li wanji*” 掌丞天子助理萬機 (in charge of assisting the Son of Heaven and helping him respond to a myriad opportunities). For *wanji*, see also Fascicle 4 “Gaoyao mo” 皋陶謨, *ShS*: 4.21b: “*yi ri er ri wan ji*” 一日二日萬幾, for which “Documents:” 8, has “in one day in two days there are ten thousand (minutiae =) first signs of happenings (sc. which you should be prepared for).” The “Xiao xu” states that this fascicle concerns the counsels of Gaoyao to Shun.

潛龍升， The hidden dragon has risen on high,¹⁵⁶

32 儀鳳翔。 And the exemplary phoenix is circling overhead.¹⁵⁷

Commentary: This quatrain states that the emperor has handled everything so well that miraculous auguries of peace have appeared. The allusions imply that the emperor has the merits of Shun and of Yu. By doing this, the quatrain re-emphasizes the message of the second stanza.

風雨時， While the wind and the rain come in season,¹⁵⁸

34 物繁昌， Products flourish in plenteous supply;

却走馬， He has forgone running horses,¹⁵⁹

36 降瑞祥。 And Heaven has sent down auspicious signs.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁵ For this line, *shushi kang* 庶事康, see Fascicle 5 “Yi Ji” 益稷, *ShS*: 5.17b: “*shushi kang zai*” 庶事康哉, for which “Documents:” 12, has “all the works (affairs) are quietly prosperous.” The “Xiao xu” states that this fascicle concerns the merit of Yu in service to Shun, though it also mentions Earl Yi and Lord Millet in passing. Although this portion is included in the New Text version of Fascicle 4 “Gaoyao mo,” it also appears in the fourth century forged Old Text Fascicle 5 “Yi Ji.” I have quoted it here as the latter to accord with *Shisanjing zhushu*.

¹⁵⁶ For *qianlong* 潛龍, see Hexagram 1 “Qian” 乾, *ZY*: 1.1b, 1.9a, 1.12a: 潛龍勿用, for which *I Ging*: 1:3, 2:4, and 2:8, has “Verdeckter Drache. Handle nicht” (Hidden dragon. Do not act) The “Da xiang” states that this hexagram concerns the gentleman’s going without rest in order to build strength.

¹⁵⁷ For *yifeng* 儀鳳, see Selection 38, Ban Gu, “Youtong fu” 幽通賦, *WX*: 14.645: “*yushao mei er yifeng xi*” 虞韶美而儀鳳兮, for which *Selections*: 3:101, has “Yu’s ‘Shao’ music was so beautiful it attracted a phoenix.”

¹⁵⁸ For this line, *fengyu shi* 風雨時, see *HSWZ*: 5.12a, for which *Han Shih*: 181, has “wind and rain are seasonable.”

¹⁵⁹ For this line, *que zouma* 却走馬, see Chapter 46, *LZ*: 2.28: “*que zouma yi fen*” 卻走馬以糞, for which *Laotse*: 80, has “so tut man die Rennpferde ab zum Dungführen” (so one dismisses racehorses to haul dung).

¹⁶⁰ For *jiang rui* 降瑞, see Liu Xin 劉歆 (c.50 BCE-23 CE), “Gong xian jun sangfu yi” 功顯君喪服議, *HS*: 99A.4091: “*Huangtian jiang rui*” 皇天降瑞, for which *Former Han*: 3:244, has “August Heaven has sent down auspicious presages.”

Commentary: This quatrain states that the empire is once again at peace, that warfare has ceased, and that Heaven has given signs of peace. The allusions imply that Emperor Wu's rule is that of the ideal past. By doing this, the quatrain re-emphasizes the message of the first stanza.

- | | |
|----------|--|
| 揚仄陋， | He has uplifted the mean and lowly, ¹⁶¹ |
| 38 簡忠良， | And has selected the faithful and estimable. |
| 百祿是荷， | A hundred-fold emoluments this may he shoulder, ¹⁶² |
| 40 眉壽無疆。 | With a boundlessly long lifespan! ¹⁶³ |

Commentary: This quatrain completes the finale with good wishes for the Emperor. The allusions imply that Emperor Wu will reward the skilled and loyal as did Yao and Wuding. By doing this, the quatrain finishes with further emphasis on the message of the second stanza.

¹⁶¹ For this line, *yang zelou* 揚仄陋, see Fascicle 1 “Yao dian” 堯典, *ShS*: 2.24a: “*mingming yang zelou*” 明明揚側陋, for which “Documents:” 4, has “(Make bright =) promote one (already) (bright =) illustrious, or raise one (side-placed =) humble and mean.” The “Xiao xu” states that this fascicle concerns the reign of Yao.

¹⁶² For this line, *bai lu shi he* 百祿是荷, see the one in Stanza 5, Ode 303, “Xuan niao,” *MS*: 20-3.15b: “*bai lu shi he*” 百祿是何, for which *Odes*: 263, has “a hundred blessings they (the Shang dynasty) bore.” The “Xiao xu” states that this ode concerns sacrificing to Gaozong of Shang.

¹⁶³ For this line, *meishou wu jiang* 眉壽無疆, see Kuang Heng 匡衡 (fl.36 BCE), “*Dao gaozu, xiaowen, xiaowu miao*” 禱高祖、孝文、孝武廟, *HS*: 73.3121: “*kaici huangdi meishou wu jiang*” 開賜皇帝眉壽亡疆 (May they [the ancestors] openly bestow on the emperor a boundlessly long lifespan).

“Feathers and Proclamation-Bells”¹⁶⁴

Commentary: As a Jin sacrificial ballet marked with the words “feathers and proclamation-bells,” the title of this hymn tells us that it was to be performed individually or as part of a suite in accompaniment to Civil Ballets during internal ceremonies at the Ancestral Temple and external ones at the Suburban Altars. The Wei antecedent was the no longer extant “Entirely Abounding” (*xianxi* 咸熙) composed in 227, which was derived from the undated Zhou dynasty version of “Grand Capaciousness” (*daxia* 大夏) via the Han dynasty “Four Seasons” composed in c.179 BCE.¹⁶⁵

- | | |
|----------|--|
| 昔在渾成時， | Of old when things were amorously formed, ¹⁶⁶ |
| 2 兩儀尚未分， | And the Two Modes had still not yet divided, ¹⁶⁷ |
| 陽升垂清景， | <i>Yang</i> went up and hung down the clear luminary, ¹⁶⁸ |
| 4 陰降興浮雲。 | While <i>yin</i> came down and gave rise to the floating clouds. |

¹⁶⁴ See *SgS*: 20.573. Jian (1987) does not include this hymn. Form: 40 lines of 3, 4, or 5 syllables, including a laguna in the Finale. End Rhyme: On even lines, including Line 5 of Stanza 1, in 2 stanzas of 12 lines each and a finale of 16 lines, Stanza 1 in the *wen* 文 rime category; Stanza 2 in the *geng* 耕 rime category; the Finale in the *yu* 魚 rime category. Variants: *YFSJ*: 53.771, has *he* 合 for *han* 含 in Line 5. Pattern: “Entirely Abounding” (*xianxi* 咸熙). Topic: Stanza 1, August Ones and Kings (*huangwang* 皇王); Stanza 2 and Finale, Jin Emperor Wu.

¹⁶⁵ For comparison with direct antecedents and derivatives, see Chapter 2 above.

¹⁶⁶ For *hun cheng* 渾成, see Chapter 25, *LZ*: 1.14: “*you wu hun cheng*” 有物混成, for which *Laotse*: 58, “Es gibt ein Ding, das ist unterschiedslos vollendet” (There is one thing that is accomplished without discrimination).

¹⁶⁷ For *liangyi* 兩儀, see Wing 6 “*Xici shang*” 繫辭上, *ZY*: 7.28b: *yi you taiji, shi sheng liangyi* 易有太極，是生兩儀, for which *I Ging*: 1:243, has “gibt es in den Wandlungen den großen Uranfang. Dieser erzeugt die zwei Grundkräfte” (there is in the Changes the great primal beginning. This creates the two basic forces).

¹⁶⁸ In this case and in later usage, *qingying* 清景 seems to mean the sun. See Selection 68, Cao Zhi 曹植 (192-232), “*Gong yan shi*” 公讌詩, *WX*: 20.943: “*mingyue cheng qingying, liexiu zheng cenci*” 明月澄清景，列宿正參差 (The brilliant moon is as transparent as the clear luminary); *ZS*: 41.743: “*ji qingying er fen qi hui*” 繼清景而奮其暉 (Continuing the clear luminary and exerting oneself to acquire its sunshine); and *NS*: 34.889: “*qingying li zhao*” 清景麗朝 (The clear luminary makes beautiful the daybreak).

Commentary: This quatrain sets the scene as the dawn of creation. The allusions imply a precedent more pristine than the Three Holy Ones. By doing this, the quatrain puts the emperor's precedent as far back as possible.

- 中和含氛氳， Equilibrium and harmony containing atmospheric ether,¹⁶⁹
- 6 萬物各異羣， A myriad things each had its different grouping;¹⁷⁰
- 人倫得其序， Human relations gaining their proper sequence,
- 8 衆生樂聖君。 Teeming throngs rejoiced in the sagacious lord.

Commentary: This quatrain states that after people were created they rejoiced in enlightened leadership. The allusions continue to imply a pristine precedent. By doing this, the quatrain continues the established motif.

- 三統繼五行， The Triple Concordance cycle follows the Five Elements,¹⁷¹
- 10 然後有質文， Thereafter were there simplicity and refinement;¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ For *zhonghe* 中和, see Fascicle 31 “Zhong yong” 中庸, *LJ*: 52.1a: “*zhi zhonghe, tiandi wei yan, wanwu yu yan*” 致中和，天地位焉，萬物育焉, for which *Li Chi*: 2:300-1, has “Let the State of Equilibrium and Harmony exist in perfection, and heaven and earth would have their (right) places, (and do their proper work), and all things would be nourished (and flourish).”

¹⁷⁰ For *wanwu* 萬物, see Hexagram 1 “Qian,” *ZY*: 1.6a: “*da zai qian yuan, wanwu zi shi, nai tong tian*” 大哉乾元，萬物資始，乃統天, for which *I Ging*: 2:2, has “Groß fürwahr ist die Erhabenheit des Schöpferischen, der alle Dinge ihren Anfang verdanken und die den ganzen Himmel durchdringt” (Truly great is the sublimity of Creativity to which all things owe their beginning and which penetrates all of Heaven). The “Da xiang” states that this hexagram concerns the gentleman’s going without rest in order to build strength.

¹⁷¹ The Three Unifiers are norms (*ji* 紀) of Heavenly Bestowal (*tianshi* 天施), Earthly Transformation (*dihua* 地化), and Human Affairs (*renshi* 人事). See *HS*: 21A.961. For the Triple Concordance, see Sivin (1969), 1-73. For the Five Elements, see also Chapter 1 above.

皇王殊運代， Each August One and King had a different cycle of rule,¹⁷³

12 治亂亦繽紛。 Order and disorder came also in variegated confusion.

Commentary: This quatrain completes the first stanza and finally turns to the [Three] August Ones, [Five Holy Ones], and [Three] Kings, foreshadowing them with the Three Unifiers and Five Elements. The allusions imply that Emperor Wu has inherited the ways of ideal rulers from the past. By doing this, the quatrain echoes the motif of the first hymn.

浩浩元氣， How vast and grand is the Primordial Aura!¹⁷⁴

14 遐哉太清， Far reaching indeed is the Great Clarity!¹⁷⁵

五行流邁， The Five Elements flow and proceed on,

16 日月代征。 While the sun and moon course in turn.

¹⁷² This line, *ranhou you zhiwen* 然後有質文, calls to mind the two in Fascicle 6 “Yong ye” 雍也, *LY*: 6.7a: “*wenzhi binbin, ranhou junzi*” 文質彬彬，然後君子, for which *Lun Yü*: 124, has “Bei wem Form und Gehalt im Gleichgewicht sind, der erst ist ein Edler” (Only he to whom form and content are in equilibrium is that which is a superior man). For a helpful discussion of what *zhi* 質 and *wen* 文 mean in this context, see Hsiao (1945), *passim*; and Mote (1979), *passim*.

¹⁷³ The August Ones and Kings are the Three August Ones, the Five Holy Ones, and the Three Kings. See *HS*: 91B.4174.

¹⁷⁴ I have switched this stanza with the one that follows to complete the metrical pattern. Lines within the stanzas also reflect the content of those of other hymns in this pattern. See Chapter 2 above. For *haohao* 浩浩, see Stanza 1, Ode 194 “Yu wu zheng” 雨無正, *MS*: 12-2.10b: “*haohao haotian*” 浩浩昊天, for which *Odes*: 140, has “The wide and great Heaven.” The “Xiao xu” states that this ode concerns criticism of King You 幽王 (r.781-771 BCE). For *yuanyi* 元氣, see *HS*: 21a.964: “*taiji yuanyi, han san wei yi*” 太極元氣，函三為一 (As for the Primordial Aura of the Great Extremity, it contained three but acted as one). The three are Heaven, Earth, and Man. See *HS*: 21a.964, commentary.

¹⁷⁵ For *xia zai* 遐哉, see Sima Xiangru 司馬相如 (c.179-127 BCE), “Fengshan wen” 封禪文, *WX*: 48.2140: “*xuanyuan zhi qian, xia zai miao hu, qi xiang bu ke de wen yi*” 軒轅之前，遐哉邈乎，其詳不可得聞已 (Before Xuanyuan, far-removed, verily! remote, my! the particulars can no longer be heard). For *taiqing* 太清, see *HNZ*: 8.113: “*taiqing zhe shi ye, heshun yi jimo, zhizhi er supu*” 太清之始也，和順以寂漠，質真而素樸 (As for the beginning of the Great Clarity, there were harmony and obedience in silence, and quality and truth with simplicity). The commentary explains Great Clarity as the beginning of inaction (*wuwei* 無為).

Commentary: This quatrain states that the pristine past is long gone and eras come and go in turn. The allusions imply that the time for peaceful inaction has once again arrived. By doing this, the quatrain emphasizes the emperor's success at waging peace.

- | | |
|----------|---|
| 隨時變化， | Following the seasons altering and transforming, ¹⁷⁶ |
| 18 庶物乃成， | The multitudinous things then take form; ¹⁷⁷ |
| 聖皇繼天， | The sagacious emperor continuing the will of Heaven, |
| 20 光濟羣生。 | His brilliant life succors the throngs of life. ¹⁷⁸ |

Commentary: This quatrain states that the emperor acts according to the situation and so the people benefit. The allusions imply that the emperor has achieved the level of

¹⁷⁶ For *suishi* 隨時, see Hexagram 17 “Sui” 隨, ZY: 3.1b: 大亨貞无咎，而天下隨時, for which *I Ging*: 456, has “Großes Gelingen und Beharrlichkeit ohne Makel, so folgt einem die ganze Welt” (Great success and perseverance, without blemish, the whole world will follow as one). The “Da xiang” states that this hexagram concerns the gentleman’s returning in the evening to relax and rest. For *bianhua* 變化, see Hexagram 1 “Qian” 乾, ZY: 1.6a-7b: *qiandao bianhua, ge zheng xingming, baohe taihe, nai lizhen* 乾道變化，各正性命，保合大和，乃利貞, for which *I Ging*: 2:3, has “Der Weg des Schöpferischen wirkt durch Veränderung und Umgestaltung, daß jedes Ding seine rechte Natur und Bestimmung erhält und in dauernde Übereinstimmung mit der großen Harmonie kommt: das ist das Fördernde und Beharrliche” (The way of Creativity works through change and transformation, that each thing receives its right nature and destiny and comes into permanent agreement with the great harmony: this is Promotional and Persistent). The “Da xiang” states that this hexagram concerns the gentleman’s going without rest in order to build strength.

¹⁷⁷ For *shuwu* 庶物, see Hexagram 1 “Qian” 乾, ZY: 1.7b: “*shou chu shu wu, wanguo xian ning*” 首出庶物，萬國咸寧, for which *I Ging*: 2:3, has “Wenn er sich mit seinem Haupt über die Menge der Wesen erhebt, so kommen alle Lande zusammen in Ruhe” (When he (the Holy One) rises with his head above the crowd of beings, all lands come together in peace). The “Da xiang” states that this hexagram concerns the gentleman’s going without rest in order to build strength.

¹⁷⁸ For *guangji* 光濟, see HS: 100a.4208: “*guangji sihai*” 光濟四海 (His brilliant life succors [all within] the Four Seas). This line describes Lord Millet 后稷 (legendary), the beginning progenitor of Zhou. For *qunsheng* 羣生, see Han 漢 (206 BCE-220 CE) Emperor Xuan 宣帝 Liu Xun 劉詢 (r.73-48 BCE), “Pingfa zhao” 平法詔, HS: 8.255: “*yuzhe wanmin zhi ming, suo yi jinbao zhixie, yangyu qunsheng ye*” 獄者萬民之命，所以禁暴止邪，養育羣生也, for which *Former Han*: 2:231-32, has “Criminal trials are that [on which] the fate of the myriad common people [hangs]. They are the means of arresting violence and of stopping evil, of rearing and developing all living beings.”

governance attained only by legendary rulers. By doing this, the quatrain emphasizes the emperor's timeliness.

- 化之以道， Transforming them with his ways,¹⁷⁹
- 22 萬國咸寧， The myriad states are all at peace;¹⁸⁰
- 受茲介福， We have received this great felicity,¹⁸¹
- 24 延于億齡。 May it be prolonged to a hundred million years.

Commentary: This quatrain completes the second stanza with good wishes for the people. The allusions imply that the emperor is tireless in his desire to set the example from the pristine past. By doing this, the quatrain continues the motif of idealized civil governance.

- 伊大晉， Ee, Grand Jin,¹⁸²
- 26 德兼往古， [The emperor's] virtue is double that of ancient times;

¹⁷⁹ This line, *hua zhi yi dao* 化之以道, calls to mind the one in Fascicle 45 “Xiang yinjiu yi” 鄉飲酒義, *LJ*: 61.13b: “*gu shengren zhi zhi yi dao*” 故聖人制之以道, for which *Li Chi*: 2:436, has “and therefore the sages instituted the observances in this ceremony to secure such a result.”

¹⁸⁰ For this line, *wanguo xianning* 萬國咸寧, see Hexagram 1 “Qian” 乾, *ZY*: 1.7b: “*shou chu shu wu, wanguo xian ning*” 首出庶物，萬國咸寧, for which *I Ging*: 2:3, has “Wenn er sich mit seinem Haupt über die Menge der Wesen erhebt, so kommen alle Lande zusammen in Ruhe” (When he (the Holy One) rises with his head above the crowd of beings, all lands come together in peace). The “Da xiang” states that this hexagram concerns the gentleman's going without rest in order to build strength.

¹⁸¹ For this line, *shou zi jiefu* 受茲介福, see Hexagram 35 “Jin” 晉, *ZY*: 4.12a: “*shou zi jiefu yu qi wangmu*” 受茲介福于其王母, for which *I Ging*: 152, has “Man bekommt dann großes Glück von seiner Ahnfrau” (Then one obtains great happiness from his ancestress). The “Da xiang” states that this hexagram concerns the gentleman's making of himself an example of brilliant virtue.

¹⁸² I have switched this stanza with the one that precedes to complete the metrical pattern. Lines within the stanzas also reflect the content of those of other hymns in this pattern. For *da Jin* 大晉, compare the use of *da Han* 大漢 in Selection 2, Ban Gu, “Liangdu fu xu” 兩都賦序, *WX*: 1.2, for which *Selections*: 1:93, has “the great Han dynasty,” of *da Wei* 大魏 (the grand Wei dynasty) in Cao Jiong 曹罔 (third century BC), “Liudai lun” 六代論, *SGZ*: 20.594, Note 1; and of *da Wu* 大吳 (the grand Wu dynasty) in Wei Zhao 韋昭 (also written Yao 曜) (third century), “Boyi lun” 博奕論, *SGZ*: 65.1461.

past. By doing this, the quatrain emphasizes that the emperor has reached the pinnacle of good government.

- 豈唯簫韶， How is it merely “Pan-Pipe Succession?”¹⁸⁷
- 34 六代具舉， From the Six Eras everything is provided;¹⁸⁸
- 澤霑地境， His grace soaking to the earthly boundaries,
- 36 化充天宇。 His transforming influence fills the entire realm.

Commentary: This quatrain states that the emperor’s music is not just the two Civil and Martial Ballets, but all six ballets of the Six Eras, which is the source of his transformative power. The allusions imply that the emperor is the equal of any of the founding rulers of the Six Eras. By doing this, the quatrain continues the motif of legendary rulers.

- 聖明臨朝， When the one of sagacious brilliance attends to court,
- 38 元凱作輔， With the Primary and Triumphant constituting aids,¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ “Pan-Pipe Succession” is another name for “Grand Succession.” See Chapter 1 above.

¹⁸⁸ The Six Eras are those of Huangdi, Yao, Shun, Xia, Shang, and Zhou. See Chapter 1 above. For *ju ju* 具舉, see Fascicle 46 “She yi” 射義, *LJ*: 62.5a: “*sizheng ju ju*” 四正具舉, for which *Li Chi*: 2:449, has “Presents your cups of grace.”

¹⁸⁹ The phrase *yuankai* 元凱 may originate with this hymn. For its meaning, see Year 18, Annal 6 “Wen gong” 文公, *ZuZ*: 20.14b- “*xi Gaoyang shi you caizi ba ren: Cangshu, Tuigui, Daozhuan, Dalin, Mangjiang, Tingjian, Zhongrong, Shuda, qisheng guangyuan, mingyun ducheng, tianxia zhi min, wei zhi bakai; gaoxinshi you caizi ba ren, Bofen, Zhongkan, Shuxian, Jizhong, Bohu, Zhongxiong, Shubao, Jili, zhongsu gongyi, xuanci huihe, tianxia zhi min, wei zhi ba yuan. Ci shiliu zu ye, shi ji qi mei, bu yun qi ming, yi zhi yu Yao, Yao bu neng ju; Shun chen Yao, ju bakai, shi zhu houtu, yi kui baishi, mo bu shi xu, di ping tian cheng; ju bayuan, shi bu wujiao yu sifang: fuyi, mucu, xiongyou, digong, xixiao, neiping, waicheng*” 昔高陽氏有才子八人：蒼舒、隤數、橈戴、大臨、彪降、庭堅、仲容、叔達，齊聖廣淵，明允篤誠，天下之民，謂之八愷；高辛氏有才子八人：伯奮、仲堪、叔獻、季仲、伯虎、仲熊、叔豹、季狸，忠肅共懿，宣慈惠和，天下之民，謂之八元。此十六族也，世濟其美，不隕其名，以至於堯，堯不能舉；舜臣堯，舉八愷，使主后土，以揆百事，莫不時序，地平天成；舉八元，使布五教于四方：父義、母慈、兄友、弟共、子孝，內平，外成, for which *Tso Chuen*: 282-83, has “The ancient [emperor] Kaou-yang (i.q. Chuen-hëuh) had eight descendants of ability

□□□□ , ¹⁹⁰

40 普天同樂胥。 Comprehensive Heaven rejoices as one concurrently.¹⁹¹

Commentary: This quatrain completes the finale and states that even Heaven rejoices over the emperor's choice of ministers and governance of the empire. The allusions imply that like Shun's appreciation of the Primary and Triumphant, who had been neglected by Yao, the emperor will make use of all loyal and skilled personnel, regardless of their position in the previous dynasty. By doing this, the quatrain continues the comparison to idealized rulers from the past and emphasizes the emperor's impartial employment and generous rewards.

[virtue]: -- Ts'ang-shoo; T'uy-gae; T'aou-yin; Ta-lin; Mang-hang; T'ing-k'een; Chung-yung; and Shuh-tah. They were correct and sagely, of wide comprehension and deep, intelligent and consistent, generously good and sincere: -- all under heaven called them the eight Harmonies. [The emperor] Kaou-sin [i.q. Kuh] had [also] eight descendants of ability [and virtue]: -- Pih-fun; Chung-k'an; Shuh-h'een; Ke-chung; Pih-hoo; Chung-h'ung; Shuh-p'aou; and Ke-le. They were leal and reverential, respectful and admirable, all-considering and benevolent, kind and harmonious: -- all under heaven called them the eight Worthies. Of these 16 men [after] ages have acknowledged the excellence, and not let their names fall to the ground. But in the time of Yaou, he was not able to raise them to office. When Shun, however, became Yaou's minister, he raised the eight Harmonies to office, and employed them to superintend the department of the minister of the Land. All matters connected with it were thus regulated, and everything was arranged in its proper season; -- the earth was reduced to order, and the influence of heaven operated with effect. He also raised the eight Worthies to office, and employed them to disseminate through the four quarters a knowledge of the duties, belonging to the five relations of society. Fathers became just and Mothers gentle; elder brothers kindly, and younger ones respectful; and sons became filial: -- in the empire there was order, and beyond it submission."

¹⁹⁰ A line needs to go here to complete the metrical pattern. The preceding and following lines reflect the content of those of other hymns in this pattern. See Chapter 2 above.

¹⁹¹ For *putian* 普天, see Ban Gu, "Dongdu fu," WX: 1.40: "*putian shuaitu*" 普天率土, for which *Selections*: 1:175, has "Under vast Heaven, over the entire earth." For *tongle* 同樂, see Fascicle 1b "Liang huiwang zhangju xia" 梁惠王章句下, MZ: 2a.2b: "*jin wang yu baixing tongle ze wang yi*" 今王與百姓同樂則王矣, for which *Mong Dsi*: 53, has "Ein König nun, der mit seinem Volke seine Freuden teilt, der wird der König der Welt" (A King now, who shares his joy with his people, is that which is king of the world). For *lexu* 樂胥, see Stanzas 1 and 2, Ode 215 "Sang hu" 桑扈, MS: 14-2.6b-7a: "*junzi lexu*" 君子樂胥, for which *Odes*: 168, has "the lords are joyful." The "Xiao xu" states that this ode concerns criticism of King You.

3.1.4 Content

Both hymns presented Jin Emperor Wu as equal or superior to idealized historic, legendary, and mythical rulers, using some vocabulary parallel with that of other series derived from the same source. Both hymns also used two elements common to many earlier sacrificial hymns: euphemistic description of military action and declamation of political ideology. For example, the first hymn, as an erstwhile Martial Ballet, spoke of Huangdi's military being so busy as to lack a permanent dwelling and of Emperor Wu's touring unceasingly. It also emphasized the temporary necessity of warfare, the transformative power of example, and reverence for the faithful and estimable. The second hymn, as a purely Civil Ballet, spoke of the cyclic nature of dynasties, rather than of military action. It also emphasized the transformative power of example and the promise of forgiveness and reward for those willing and capable of service to the dynasty. Curiously absent from both hymns was autoreference to the sacrificial event.¹⁹² As well, both hymns shared the same motifs of comparison of the "sagacious emperor" to the Three August Ones, the Five Holy Ones, and the Three Kings and of the insertion into the narrative as an aside of first person prayer for the benefit of the emperor or of the people.

3.1.5 Formal Structure

Despite the absence of some of the Wei and Han antecedents, these hymns and those in parallel series derived from the same source present the stylistically consistent formal

¹⁹² For further discussion, see Kern (1997), 144.

structure that we would expect from fixed-form verse.¹⁹³ The first hymn uses douzains, primarily with multiple stanzas and finales in either irregular meter or pentameter. Fu Xuan's hymn has two twelve-line stanzas in irregular meter with a seizain finale in a trimeter variant. The second hymn uses multiple stanzas in primarily onzains without finales. Fu Xuan's hymn uses two twelve-line stanzas, one in pentameter and the other in tetrameter, with a seizain finale in irregular meter, giving this hymn greater similarity with its mate in this series. Thus, we have a picture of consistency between these versions and other in parallel series. As we noted in Chapter 2, the trend is also toward greater regularity in formal structure.¹⁹⁴

3.1.6 Place in Literary History

As we discussed above, this series has no commonly known specified derivatives, though parallel series derived from the same source continued to enjoy popularity on less formal occasions for centuries to come. We shall discuss the relationship between this series and the one that replaced it below.

3.2 Promulgating Martial Deeds

I shall now conduct a close reading of Fu Xuan's "Promulgating Martial Deeds." For ease of reference, I shall divide each hymn into quatrains, cinquains, sixains, or septains according to natural breaks in rhyming stanzas or content flow. To save time and space, I shall not

¹⁹³ For further discussion of Zhou, Han, and Wei antecedents, see Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 above.

¹⁹⁴ See Chapter 2 above.

include Romanization with the Chinese characters in the translation below, except in the main text or in my notes. Where necessary, I shall comment on any other odd features of translation. Otherwise, I shall simply point out and verify the stated and implied information. Finally, I shall conclude with a summary of my findings.

3.2.1 Title and Use of the Series

As a Jin sacrificial ballet marked with the word “martial” (*wu* 武), the title of this series tells us that these hymns were to be performed individually or as a suite in accompaniment to Martial Ballets during external ceremonies at the Suburban Altars and internal ceremonies at the Ancestral Temple. As we discussed above, this series was performed with the two Civil Ballets of “Promulgating Civility” in apparent imitation of the four-two split in the original Zhou-Qin series of six dynastic ballets. The dancers for both series wore the same costumes and carried the same props as did the dancers of the series from which they derived.

Fu Xuan, however, moved the original fourth hymn between the first and the second hymns, achieving the order presented below and putting the hymn with a marked finale in the final position in the series, but without explaining or even mentioning the change. This change was likely inspired by a misreading of the Han title for the third hymn, “Dagger-Axe Ditty,” as “Peaceful Terrace” due to the fact that by the end of the Han dynasty, the only extant copy of the hymns that accompanied these ballets was written in an ancient script impossible to parse. Ideally, military actions end in peace. The same is true for Martial Ballets, for to do otherwise would not be praiseworthy.¹⁹⁵ Liang Haiyan relies primarily on

¹⁹⁵ See Chapter 1 above. For comparison with direct antecedents and derivatives, see Chapter 2 above.

this new order and on content to designate the marked finale as the finale for the entire series. He also notes the natural septain split in the first hymn and designates the first septain as the series prelude, thereby giving the series a six-part division.¹⁹⁶ This explanation, while attractive in isolation, does not take into account other developments in the series and so seems tentative at best.

3.2.2 Authorship and Dating

As discussed above, Fu Xuan composed these ballets in the twelfth month of 265.

3.2.3 Translation and Commentary

This series comprises “Indeed as for the Sagacious Emperor” (*wei shenghuang* 惟聖皇), “Short Weapon” (*duanbing* 短兵), “Military Garrison” (*junzhen* 軍鎮), and “Exhausted Martial Deeds” (*qiongwu* 窮武).

“Indeed as for the Sagacious Emperor”¹⁹⁷

Commentary: The title of this hymn does not tell us how it was used, but we may surmise from its inclusion in this series that it was to be performed individually or as part of a suite in accompaniment to Martial Ballets during internal ceremonies at the Ancestral Temple or

¹⁹⁶ See Liang (2009), 133-38.

¹⁹⁷ See *SgS*: 20.572. Jian (1987) does not include this hymn. Form: 14 lines of 3, 4, or 5 syllables. End Rhyme: On odd lines in excluding Line 1, including Line 14, in 1 stanza of 14 lines in the *zhi* 之 rime category. Variants: None. Pattern: “Lance Ditty” (*mao yu* 矛俞). Topic: Composition of the ballet.

external ones at the Suburban Altars. Neither *Jin shu* nor *Song shu* tells us the *locus classicus* for this title, but from the context of Fu Xuan's use of this phrase here, in the series above, and in his series of Assembly hymns, we may deduce that it alluded to an ode in *Mao shi* quoted in *Han shi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳. The gist of the quoted couplet, “Indeed as for this sage, / he looks forward veritably a hundred miles” (*wei ci shengren, / zhan yan bai li* 惟此聖人, / 瞻言百里), is that when the people are rested and well fed the sage ruler has the foresight to teach them rites and music.¹⁹⁸ The Wei antecedent for this hymn was “Lance Ditty” (*mao yu* 矛俞), which was derived from the Han hymn of the same title. The Zhou counterpart for this hymn was “Mei” 秣.¹⁹⁹

惟聖皇，	Indeed as for the sagacious emperor, ²⁰⁰
2 德巍巍，	His virtue is so paramount,
光四海，	As to brighten the Four Seas; ²⁰¹
4 禮樂猶形影，	His rites and music are like form and shadow,
文武為表裏，	While his civility and martial deeds are as facing and lining;
6 乃作巴俞，	Thereupon he had composed “Ba Ditties,”
肆舞士。	And had arrayed the dancing elite soldiers. ²⁰²

¹⁹⁸ The three hymns borrow multiple lines and phrases from the two *Han shi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳 passages that quote this couplet. See Stanza 10, Ode 257 “Sang rou,” *MS*: 18-2.9a; *HSWZ*: 5.12a, 10.16a; *SgS*: 20.572-73, and 20.585.

¹⁹⁹ For a discussion of antecedents and derivatives, see Chapter 2 above.

²⁰⁰ For this line, see the note to the same in “Feathers and Flutes” above.

²⁰¹ This line, *guang sihai* 光四海, calls to mind the one in Chapter 16 “Ganying” 感應, *XJ*: 8.2a: “*guang yu sihai*” 光于四海, for which *Hiau Ging*: 19, has “und ihr Schein erfüllt die ganze Welt” (and its light fills the whole world). For further discussion on the principle of stimulus and reaction (*ganying* 感應), see Kern (1997), 44.

Commentary: This septain describes the sagacious emperor’s composition of the series.

The allusions imply that Emperor Wu had the foresight to have these hymns composed when the time was right and that the people will respond positively to this stimulus. By doing this, the septain continues the “sagacious emperor” motif established in the sister series of Civil Ballets.

- | | | |
|----|------------------|--|
| 8 | 劍弩齊列，
戈矛為之始， | When sword and crossbow are neatly arrayed,
Daggeraxe and lance make their beginning; |
| 10 | 進退疾鷹鷂，
龍戰而豹起， | Advancing and retreating as quickly as hawks and vultures,
Dragons battle and leopards rise; ²⁰³ |
| 12 | 如亂不可亂，
動作順其理， | As if disordered but not able to be disordered, ²⁰⁴
Their movements follow their proper rule, |
| 14 | 離合有統紀。 | Their parting and joining follows guiding principles. |

Commentary: This septain describes the dancers’ props and movements. The allusions imply that the achievements of Emperor Wu have attained the same level as those of the

²⁰² For the composition and use of the “Ba Ditties” 巴俞 ballets under Han Emperor Gao, see Chapter 1 above.

²⁰³ For *long zhan* 龍戰, see Hexagram 2 “Kun” 坤, ZY: 1.25b: “*long zhan yu ye, qi xie xuanhuang*” 龍戰于野，其血玄黃, for which *I Ging*: 38, has “Drachen kämpfen auf dem Anger. Ihr Blut ist Schwarz und gelb” (Dragons fight in the meadow. Their blood is black and yellow). The “Da xiang” states that this hexagram concerns the gentleman’s containing of matters through hospitable virtue.

²⁰⁴ This line, *ru luan be ke luan* 如亂不可亂, calls to mind Wing 6 “Xici shang” 繫辭上, ZY: 7.16b: *yan tianxia zhi zhi dong er bu ke luan ye* 言天下之至動而不可亂也, for which *I Ging*: 304, has “Sie reden von dem höchst Beweglichen, ohne daß sie Verwirrung veranlassen” (They speak of the highest movement without its causing confusion).

legendary rulers of yore. By doing this, the septain continues another motif from its sister series.

“Short Weapon”²⁰⁵

Commentary: As a sacrificial ballet with a weapon in the title, the title of this hymn tells us that it was to be performed individually or as part of a suite in accompaniment to Martial Ballets during internal ceremonies at the Ancestral Temple or external ones at the Suburban Altars. Neither *Jin shu* nor *Song shu* tells us the *locus classicus* for this title, but from its use with this ballet, we may deduce that it alluded to either the sword dance with which Xiang Yu 項羽 (232-202 BCE) attempted to kill Emperor Gao of the Han dynasty or to Xiang Yu’s death by his own hand with his own sword.²⁰⁶ The Wei antecedent for this hymn was “Ballad Lyrics” (*xingci* 行辭), which was derived from the Han hymn “Large-Board-Shield Ditty” (*ban yu* 板俞). The Zhou counterpart for this hymn was “Jin” 禁.²⁰⁷

劍為短兵，	The sword is a short weapon, ²⁰⁸
2 其勢險危，	But its force is perilously dangerous;
疾踰飛電，	Leaping as quickly as lightening in flight,
4 回旋應規。	Circling round it conforms to the ruler.

²⁰⁵ See *SgS*: 20.572. Jian (1987) does not include this hymn. Form: 10 lines of 4 syllables. End Rhyme: On even lines, in 1 stanza of 10 lines in the *zhi* 支 rime category. Variants: None. Pattern: “Ballad Lyrics” (*xingci* 行辭). Topic: Description of the ballet.

²⁰⁶ See *SJ*: 7.312-13 and 7.336.

²⁰⁷ For a discussion of antecedents and derivatives, see Chapter 2 above.

²⁰⁸ For *jian* 劍, see Xiang Yu’s 項羽 (232-202 BCE) plot to kill Han Emperor Gao with a sword dance in *SJ*: 7.312-13. For *duanbing* 短兵, see Xiang Yu’s death by his own sword and his own hand in *SJ*: 7.336.

Commentary: This quatrain describes the dancers' props and movements. The allusions imply that Emperor Wu is the equal to Emperor Gao of the Han dynasty. By doing this, the quatrain continues the comparison to past rulers.

- | | | |
|----|-------|---|
| | 武節齊聲， | With martial rhythms matching the music, |
| 6 | 或合或離， | Sometimes joining, sometimes parting, |
| | 電發星驚， | They issue forth like lightning, speed like stars, |
| 8 | 若景若差， | As if illumined [like lightning], as if dispatched [like shooting stars]; |
| | 兵法攸象， | They are emblems of the arts of war, |
| 10 | 軍容是儀。 | And military discipline on this is modeled. |

Commentary: This sixain describes the speed and precision of the dancers' movements. The allusions imply that Emperor Wu's military prowess are a match for those of great leaders of the past. By doing this, the sixain emphasizes the emperor's military achievements.

“Military Garrison”²⁰⁹

Commentary: The title of this hymn tells us that it was to be performed individually or as part of a suite in accompaniment to Martial Ballets during internal ceremonies at the Ancestral Temple or external ones at the Suburban Altars. Both *Jin shu* and *Song shu* remain silent on the *locus classicus* for this title. The Wei antecedent was “Crossbow Ditty” (*nu yu* 弩俞), which was derived from the Han hymn of the same title. The Zhou counterpart for this hymn was “Nan” 南 (Southern).²¹⁰

弩為遠兵，	The crossbow is a distance weapon, ²¹¹
2 軍之鎮，	At the military garrison;
其發有機，	As for its firing there is a trigger,
4 體難動。	But its body is difficult to move.

Commentary: This quatrain describes the outward appearance of the dancers’ main prop, the crossbow. The allusions imply that Emperor Wu, like Emperor Gao of the Han dynasty, overcame adversity to achieve his military success. By doing this, the quatrain continues to tie Emperor Wu into the glories of the past.

²⁰⁹ See *SgS*: 20.572. Jian (1987) does not include this hymn. Form: 17 lines of 3 or 4 syllables. End Rhyme: On Line 3, 6, and 8 of Stanza 1 and on Lines 3, 5, 7, and 9 of the Finale, in 1 stanza of 8 lines and a finale of 9 lines in the *zhi* 脂 rime category, contacts with the *jie* 皆 rime category in Line 7 of the Finale. Variants: *YFSJ*: 53.770, has *yi* 一 for *yi* 壹 in Line 10. Pattern: “Crossbow Ditty” (*nu yu* 弩俞). Topic: Stanza 1, Crossbow; the Finale, Description of the music.

²¹⁰ For a discussion of antecedents and derivatives, see Chapter 2 above.

²¹¹ For *nu* 弩, see Xiang Yu’s shooting of Emperor Gao with a crossbow in *SJ*: 7.328 and 8.376.

- 往必速， Going forth it is certain to fly swiftly,
 6 重而不遲， And when held steady it is not tardy;
 銳精分鏹， Essentially keen enough to divide a large bell,
 8 射遠中微。 It shoots far and hits the most minute mark.

Commentary: This quatrain completes the stanza and describes the crossbow’s capabilities. The allusions imply that Emperor Wu is also a ruler of great precision. By doing this, the quatrain continues the emphasis on the emperor’s military achievements.

- 弩俞之樂， As for the music of “Crossbow Ditty,”
 10 壹何奇！ Ee, how strange!
 變多姿， It changes with numerous postures,
 12 退若激， It retreats as if impelled back,
 進若飛。 And advances as if flying.

Commentary: This cinquain describes the ballet’s music. The allusions imply that the emperor as well can change at a moment’s notice whenever necessary. By doing this, the cinquain continues to play up the emperor’s martial skills.

- 14 五聲協， The Five Tones in consonance,²¹²
 八音諧， The Eight Timbres accord;²¹³

²¹² The Five Tones of the pentatonic scale are *gong* 宮 (do), *shang* 商 (re), *jue* 角 (mi), *zhi* 徵 (sol), and *yu* 羽 (la). For further discussion, see *HS*: 21a.957-60; and Goodman (2010), 223-25.

16 宣武象， “Promulgating Martial Deeds” are replicated,
 讚天威。 To praise Heaven’s dignity.

Commentary: This quatrain completes the finale, describes the completeness of the music, and presents the series as exemplary of such. The allusions imply that Emperor Wu is a complete ruler in both martial and civil areas. By doing this, the quatrain continues to emphasize the emperor’s ideal balance.

“Exhausted Martial Deeds”²¹⁴

Commentary: The title of this hymn tells us that it was to be performed individually or as part of a suite in accompaniment to Martial Ballets during internal ceremonies at the Ancestral Temple or external ones at the Suburban Altars. Both *Jin shu* and *Song shu* remain silent on the *locus classicus* for this title. The Wei antecedent was “Peaceful Terrace” (*antai* 安臺), which was derived from the Han hymn “Dagger-Axe Ditty” (*ge yu* 戈俞). The Zhou counterpart for this hymn was “Zhuli” 朱離.²¹⁵

窮武者喪， Those who deplete their martial prowess lose,

²¹³ These two lines call to mind *HS*: 21a.958: “*wusheng he, bayin xie, er yue cheng*” 五聲和，八音諧，而樂成 (If the Five Tones are in harmony and the Eight Timbres accord, then the music will succeed). For the Eight Timbres, see *HS*: 21a.957-60; and Goodman (2010), 180.

²¹⁴ See *SgS*: 20.572. Jian (1987) does not include this hymn. Form: 20 lines of 3, 4, 5, or 6 syllables. End Rhyme: On even lines, including Line 5 of the Finale, in 1 stanza and a finale of 10 lines each, Stanza 1 in the *ji* 祭 rime category, contacts with the *de* 德 rime category in Line 2 and the *tai* 泰 rime category in Line 10; Finale in the *geng* 耕 rime category. Variants: None. Pattern: “Peaceful Terrace” (*antai* 安臺). Topic: Stanza, History; Finale, Exhortation to balance civility and martial deeds.

²¹⁵ For a discussion of antecedents and derivatives, see Chapter 2 above.

- 2 何但敗北， But how is it only that they are defeated and flee!
 柔弱亡戰， When the compliant and frail suffer defeat in battle,
 4 國家亦廢。 Their states are also abolished.

Commentary: This quatrain states that rulers who overextend their military capabilities bring calamity upon all who depend on them. The allusions imply that Emperor Wu is a responsible leader like Emperor Gao of the Han dynasty rather than like Xiang Yu. By doing this, the quatrain continues to make use of the traditions associated with the series.

- 秦始徐偃， As for the First Emperor of Qin and King Yan of Xu,²¹⁶
 6 既已作戒前世， Since they had heretofore already constituted a warning for
 previous generations,²¹⁷
 先王鑒其機， The Former Prince [Emperor Wen] learning lessons from such
 critical situations,
 8 修文整武藝， Cultivated civility and made ready martial art;
 文武足相濟， With civility and martial deeds adequate for mutual
 benefit,²¹⁸
 10 然後得光大。 Thereafter did he gain glory and greatness.

²¹⁶ Two rulers who rose quickly to power and fell just as quickly. For the First Emperor of Qin, see *SJ*: 6.223-94. For King Yan of Xu, see *SJ*: 5.175 and 43.1779.

²¹⁷ This line, *ji yi zuo jie qianshi* 既已作戒前世, calls to mind the one in *HS*: 100b.4267: “*zuo jie houshi*” 作戒後世 (They constituted a warning for later generations).

²¹⁸ This line, *wenwu zu xiangji* 文武足相濟, calls to mind the one concerning Tang of the Shang dynasty and the Duke of Zhou in Selection 453, Lu Ji 陸機 (261–303), “*Wu deng lun*” 五等論, *WX*: 54.2334: “*wenzhi xiangji*” 文質相濟 (With civility and quality for mutual benefit).

Commentary: This sixain completes the stanza and contrasts the success of Emperor Wu's father with the failure of the First Emperor (r.221-210 BCE) of Qin and King Yan (tenth century BCE) of Xu. The allusions imply that the emperor was more like the founders of the Shang and Zhou dynasties than like the two examples listed. By doing this, the sixain continues the motif of comparison to idealized leaders from the past.

亂曰：	The finale says:
高則亢，	If one rises too high, one becomes haughty,
12 滿則盈，	And that which becomes too full overflows;
亢必危，	The haughty must meet danger,
14 盈必傾。	And that which overflows must be overturned.

Commentary: This quatrain states that excessive behavior leads to failure. The allusions imply that Emperor Wu's moderation will lead to success. By doing this, the quatrain continues to emphasize the wisdom of Emperor Wu's balanced governance.

去危傾，	Leave danger and overthrow,
16 守以平，	And defend against them with stability;
沖則久，	If one divests oneself of desire, one can long endure, ²¹⁹
18 濁能清，	And by being turbid one can become clear; ²²⁰

²¹⁹ This line, *chong ze jiu* 沖則久, calls to mind the one in Chapter 4, LZ: 1.3: “*dao chong er yong zhi huo bu ying*” 道沖而用之或不盈, for which *Laotse*: 37, has “Der SINN ist immer strömend. Aber er läuft in seinem Wirken doch nie über” (The SPIRIT is always flowing. But it goes into its action yet never exceeds it).

混文武， So mix civility and martial deeds,
 20 順天經。 And submit to Heaven's plan.

Commentary: This sixain completes the finale and exhorts the audience to balance civility and martial deeds. The allusions imply that a minimalist approach will be more successful than an impatient desire for immediate success. By doing this, the sixain once again emphasizes the wisdom of Emperor Wu's balanced governance.

3.2.4 Content

The four hymns of this series maintain tight semantic unity, functioning more as a single composition than as four separate hymns. The general topic of the first hymn comprises the composition of the series itself, that of the second a description of the ballet, that of the third a description of the music, and that of the fourth an exhortation to balance civility and martial deeds. In the area of euphemistic military action, this series stands in striking contrast with the one from which it derived in that this series has almost no military action in it at all, despite its being a Martial Ballet series. Only the fourth hymn of this series mentions military action and then it is primarily in a negative sense; the other hymns mention weapons, but only in the context of ballet props. In the area of autoreference, these hymns are much more typical of this genre in that three out of four discuss the ceremony directly, though

²²⁰ For this line, *zhuo neng qing* 濁能清, see Selection 424, Xiahou Zhan 夏侯湛 (243-291), “Dongfang Shuo hua zan” 東方朔畫贊, WX: 47.2119: “*ji zhuo neng qing*” 既濁能清 (The heretofore muddy can become clear). This line also calls to mind the lines in Chapter 15, LZ: 1.8: “*shu neng zhuo yi jing zhi xu qing, shu neng an yi jiu dong zhi xu sheng*” 孰能濁以靜之徐清，孰能安以久動之徐生, for which *Laotse*: 48, has “Wer kann (wie sie) das Trübe durch Stille allmählich klären? Wer kann (wie sie) die Ruhe durch Dauer allmählich erzeugen?” (Who can (as such) gradually clarify the turbid with silence? Who can (as such) gradually generate peace with time?).

perhaps to a greater extent than common as indicated by the general topics of the first three hymns. The declamation of political ideology found in these hymns is also internally consistent. The first hymn emphasizes a balance between civility and martial deeds, the middle two hymns emphasize the need for timeliness and precision, and the final hymn repeats the emphasis on balance, which fits with Fu Xuan's leanings toward Xun Xu's anti-war faction. Finally, this series continues motifs we saw in the first series. The first hymn begins with the "sagacious emperor" and the first three hymns each mention the ballet props by name, in this case, sword, crossbow, dagger-axe, and lance. All four hymns make use of comparison of Emperor Wu to past rulers, and the fourth hymn also contrasts Emperor Wu with past rulers. All in all, these hymns present a picture of carefully planned semantic unity.

3.2.5 Formal Structure

As discussed in Chapter 2, these hymns and their antecedents present the stylistically consistent formal structure that we would expect from fixed-form verse, the overall picture being one of great consistency between different versions of the same series and general consistency among different versions of alternate series.²²¹

3.2.6 Place in Literary History

As we discussed above, this series has no commonly known specified derivatives, though parallel series derived from the same source continued to enjoy popularity on less formal

²²¹ See Chapter 2 above.

occasions for centuries to come. We shall discuss the relationship between this series and the one that replaced it below.

3.3 Correct Virtue

I shall now conduct a close reading of three versions of “Correct Virtue” by Zhang Hua, Xun Xu, and Fu Xuan. For ease of reference, I shall divide each hymn into quatrains or sixains according to natural breaks in rhyming stanzas or content flow. To save time and space, I shall not include Romanization with the Chinese characters in the translation below, except in the main text or in my notes. Where necessary, I shall comment on any other odd features of translation. Otherwise, I shall simply point out and verify the stated and implied information. Finally, I shall conclude with a summary of my findings.

3.3.1 Title and Use of the Series

The title of this series does not tell us how it was used, but it seems to tell us what it hoped to accomplish. Though *Jin shu* and *Song shu* do not tell us, the *locus classicus* for this title is undoubtedly the passage in *Zuo zhuan* concerning the Jin state’s influence over its people through its use of the Nine Songs (*jiuge* 九歌) celebrating the Nine Merits (*jiugong* 九功) that comprise the Six Storehouses (*liufu* 六府): Water (*shui* 水), Fire (*huo* 火), Metal (*jin* 金), Wood (*mu* 木), Clay (*tu* 土), and Grain (*gu* 穀); and the Three Affairs (*sanshi* 三事): Correct Virtue (*zhengde* 正德), Advantageous Use (*liyong* 利用), and Hospitable Life (*housheng* 厚

生), a general concept also popular in *Zhou li*.²²² *Song shu* does tell us, however, that the ballet was meant to promulgate transformation (*xuanhua* 宣化).²²³ The characteristics of correcting virtue and promulgating transformation coincide with the nature of a Civil Ballet and with the content of the three hymns under this title. As such, one of these hymns was to be performed in accompaniment to a Civil Ballet during external ceremonies at the Suburban Altars and internal ceremonies at the Ancestral Temple. On the same occasion, the mate of this hymn from its sister Martial Ballet series was also to be performed. As discussed above, it appears that Zhang Hua's Civil and Martial Ballets were the pair that finally gained imperial recognition.

Upon comparing Zhang Hua's "Correct Virtue" with Fu Xuan's two "Promulgating Civility" hymns that it replaced and with his "Proclamation-Bell Ballet" hymn, we note that Fu Xuan's stanzas are on average about the same length as Zhang Hua's stanzas and that Fu Xuan's irregular lines lend themselves to more colloquial language and Zhang Hua's tetrasyllabic lines to terser language. Fu Xuan favors the popular technique of foreshadowing. In his first "Promulgating Civility" hymn, he uses the content of his first two stanzas to foreshadow the content of the narrative of his last stanza, which is his main point, but in his second hymn he uses the content of the first stanza to foreshadow the narrative of the second stanza and then returns to the imagery of the first stanza to reemphasize his implicit message in the third stanza. Zhang Hua applies this second technique to the three quatrains of his first stanza. In his "Proclamation-Bell Ballet" hymn, Fu Xuan takes a comparative approach, describing the perfection of the music to imply the perfection of the

²²² See *ZuZ*: 19a.16b-17b; *Tso Chuen*: 249-50; *ZL*: 6.13a, 6.19a, 6.21b, 22.17b, 23.18b; and *Tcheou-li*: 1:121, 127, 130, 2:35, 54.

²²³ See Yan Jun 顏竣 (d.459), "Jiaomiaoyue yi" 郊廟樂議, *SgS*: 19.543-44.

dynasty. Zhang Hua applies this technique to his second stanza. We also note that despite an approximately equal instance of allusions from *Zhou yi* 周易 or about the pristine past in Fu Xuan's hymns, Zhang Hua's hymn has more allusions from *Laozi* 老子 and *Zhuangzi* 莊子 and more abstruse vocabulary. Fu Xuan's "Proclamation-Bell Ballet" is about the same length, but his two "Promulgating Civility" hymns are three stanzas to Zhang Hua's two. Nonetheless, Zhang Hua's rhyme scheme is similar to those of Fu Xuan's "Promulgating Civility" hymns in that all three hymns begin with nasal rime categories and end with velar nasal rime categories. Although there are some similarities, the differences are much more striking.

Upon comparing Zhang Hua's "Correct Virtue" with those of Fu Xuan and Xun Xu, we note that all three hymns are equally terse. Unlike Zhang Hua's innovative technique, Xun Xu goes with a typical foreshadowing technique spread over two stanzas, while Fu Xuan chooses straight narration for his two stanzas. Although Xun Xu is also quite fond of *Zhou yi*, neither he nor Fu Xuan uses as many allusions from *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi* or as much abstruse language. Instead, Fu Xuan and Xun Xu are much more didactic and Xun Xu has a habit of quoting complete lines more often. Both Fu Xuan and Xun Xu favor allusions from *Mao shi* and *Shangshu* 尚書. Zhang Hua's and Xun Xu's two stanzas comprise twelve lines each, but Fu Xuan uses a sixain and quatrain combination of two stanzas. This metrical difference can be explained both by Fu Xuan's fondness for quatrains and sixains²²⁴ and by a possible compromise between the longer stanzas of "Promulgating Civility" and the shorter stanzas of "Promulgating Martial Deeds" in that both of Fu Xuan's new hymns were ten lines as opposed to the twenty-four lines of the other poets' new hymns. Zhang Hua's and Xun

²²⁴ For Fu Xuan's metrical predilection, see *NQS*: 11.179.

Xu's hymns both begin with velar nasal rime categories, whereas Fu Xuan's begins with a velar consonant rime category. Nonetheless, Fu Xuan's and Xun Xu's initial rime categories have a similar medial vowel. As well, Fu Xuan's and Xun Xu's final rime categories are the same, but Zhang Hua continues with another velar nasal. Thus, what sets Zhang Hua's hymn apart from the rest are his allusions to *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi* and his abstruse language.

3.3.2 Authorship and Dating

As discussed above, Zhang Hua, Xun Xu, and Fu Xuan composed these ballets in 273, with Xun Xu, Guo Xia, and Song Shi composing the music for these hymns at the same time and revising it in 275.

3.3.3 Translation and Commentary

This series comprises three versions of “Correct Virtue” by Zhang Hua, Xun Xu, and Fu Xuan.

Zhang Hua's “Correct Virtue”²²⁵

Commentary: We have discussed the title of this hymn with the title of the series.²²⁶

²²⁵ See *SgS*: 20.590. Form: 24 lines of 4 syllables. End Rhyme: On even lines, in 2 stanzas of 12 lines, including Line 1 of Stanza 2, Stanza 1 in the *yang* 陽 rime category; Stanza 2 in the *geng* 耕 rime category. Variants: *YFSJ*: 52.757, has *taozhen* 陶甄 for *zhentao* 甄陶 in Line 8, *yao* 耀 for *yao* 曜 in Line 9, *ying* 猷 for *ying* 英 in Line 20. Pattern: “Promulgating Civility.” Topic: Stanza 1, Jin Emperor Wu; Stanza 2, Ballet and Music.

²²⁶ See Table 3.6 below for side-by-side comparison with other hymns in this series.

- 曰皇上天， Oh, august is Supreme Heaven,²²⁷
- 2 玄鑿惟光， And as an abstruse mirror it is indeed bright;²²⁸
- 神器周回， The Sacred Vessels circling all around,²²⁹
- 4 五德代章。 The Five Virtues in turn display.²³⁰

Commentary: This quatrain states that we may look to Heaven to reflect the correct direction for the future and that dynasties rotate according to their association with the Five

²²⁷ This line, *yue huang shangtian* 曰皇上天, calls to mind the first line of a lost ode in “Gong fu” 公符, *DDLJ*: 38.1361: “*huanghuang shangtian*” 皇皇上天, for which *Li Gi*: 371, has “O erhabner, hoher Himmel” (O sublime, high Heaven). This line is also the first line of another lost ode quoted in Fascicle 15 “Liu ben” 六本, *KZJY*: 4.35, for which *Gia Yü*: 84, has “Vor Gott, dem Erhabenen” (Before God, the Sublime). This line calls to mind the first line of Stanza 1, Ode 207 “Xiao ming” 小明, *MS*: 13-1.22a: “*mingming shangtian*” 明明上天, for which *Odes*: 159, has “Bright is the high Heaven.” The “Xiao xu” states that this ode concerns the grand master’s regret at serving in a time of disorder. This assessment corresponds with the information given in *Jiayu*.

²²⁸ For *xuanjian* 玄鑿, a Daoist term, see Scroll 19, “Xiuwu xun” 脩務訓, *HNZ*: 19.344: “*chengde qingming zhi shi, zhi xuanjing yu xin, zhao wu mingbai, bu wei gujin yi yi*” 誠得清明之士，執玄鑿於心，照物明白，不為古今易意 (The elite who are so honest as to gain clear brilliance hold an abstruse mirror to their heart so that they may evince matters explicitly and not change the intent of ancient and modern).

²²⁹ For *shenqi* 神器, a Daoist term, see Chapter 29, *LZ*: 1.17: “*tianxia shenqi, bu ke wei*” 天下神器，不可為也, for which *Laotse*: 62, has “Die welt ist ein geistiges Ding, das man nicht behandeln darf” (The world is a spiritual thing with which one should not deal). Richard Wilhelm further explains: “»Geistiges Ding« (schen ki), ein alter Ausdruck, wörtlich »geistiges bzw. göttliches Gerät«. Der Ausdruck stammt wohl ursprünglich von den sagenhaften 9 Opfergefäßen, die, von dem großen Yü verfertigt, als Symbol der Herrschaft über die damaligen 9 Provinzen sich von Generation zu Generation vererbten. Hier in übertragenem Sinn von dem Reich gebraucht mit der Bedeutung daß es ein geistiger Organismus sei, dem nicht mit mechanischem Machen beizukommen ist.” (“Spiritual thing” (*shen qi*), an old expression, literally “spiritual or divine instrument.” The term probably comes originally from the legendary nine sacrificial vessels, manufactured by the great Yu, inherited as a symbol of the domination of the then nine provinces from generation to generation. Used here in a figurative sense of the kingdom, with the meaning that it is a spiritual organism that cannot be achieved through mechanical works.) See *Laotse*: 128. Prof. Knechtges also explains: “In Han times *shen qi* in the sense of ‘sacred vessels’ meant the symbols of imperial authority and by synecdoche the position of emperor. Liu De 劉德 (ob. 57 B.C.), for example, says ‘the sacred vessels are the imperial seals.’ Li Qi 李奇 (fl. ca. A.D. 200) defines them as the ‘emperor’s authority for reward and punishment’ (see *Han shu* 100A.4209, n. 29).” See *Selections*: 1:254.

²³⁰ For *wude* 五德 as *wuxing* 五行 (Five Elements), a Daoist interpretation of the term *wude*, see Fascicle 14 “Tian yun” 天運, *ZgZ*: 5.222: *xing zhi yi wu de* 行之以五德, for which *Dschuang Dsi*: 169, has “Sie wandelt sich nach den verschiedenen Daseinsformen” (It changes according to the different forms of existence). See also *SJ*: 6.237, 10.429, 13.488, 14.510, 26.1259, 1260, and 28.1268.

Elements. Zhang Hua uses allusions from a lost ode, *Huainanzi* 淮南子, *Laozi*, and *Zhuangzi* to describe a theoretical explanation for the rise and fall of dynasties from the pristine past. The lost ode just happens to be from *Kongzi jiayu* 孔子家語, a lost text promoted by Wang Su. The text itself explains the ode as following a time of disorder. Together these allusions imply that dynasties naturally fall to the wayside when they no longer serve their divine purpose; thus, Jin replaced Wei. By doing this, Zhang Hua begins the first stanza by foreshadowing his narrative middle stanza with a cascade of abstruse terminology: abstruse mirror, Sacred Vessels, and Five Virtues in the sense of Five Elements.

祚命于晉， [Heaven's] having bestowed the blessing of the appointment on
Jin,

6 世有哲王， Generations will have a wise king;²³¹

弘濟區夏， Enormously benefiting the Area of Xia,²³²

8 甄陶萬方。 He will mold the myriad directions.²³³

²³¹ For this line, *shi you zhewang* 世有哲王, see Stanza 1, Ode 243, “Xia wu” 下武, *MS*: 16-5.8a, for which *Odes*: 197, has “from generation to generation there have been wise kings.” The “Xiao xu” states that this ode concerns King Wu’s virtue and his inheritance of the mandate from King Wen.

²³² Zhang Hua first used this line, “*hongji qu Xia*” 弘濟區夏, in his “Shijushi, qi jiu” 食舉詩·其九. See *SgS*: 20.589. For *hongji* 弘濟, see Fascicle 50 “Gu ming” 顧命, *ShS*: 18.16a: *hongji yu jiannan* 弘濟于艱難, for which “Documents:” 70, has “and grandly help him over in the difficulties.” The “Xiao xu” states that this fascicle concerns King Cheng’s 成王 (r.1042-1006 BCE) deathbed appointment of Duke Shao 召公 (tenth century BCE) to assist King Kang 康王 (r.1005-978 BCE). For *quxia* 區夏, see Fascicle 37 “Kang gao” 康誥, *ShS*: 14.3a: *yong zhaozao wo quxia* 用肇造我區夏, for which “Documents:” 39, has “and so he created our (divisional Hia =) section of the Hia (i.e. Chinese speaking) countries.” The “Xiao xu” states that this fascicle concerns King Cheng’s announcement following his smiting of two of his uncles and his fiefdom of his uncle Kang 康 (tenth century BCE) with the remaining Shang people.

²³³ Variants: *taozhen* 陶甄 for *zhentao* 甄陶. Given the context of this line and the greater fidelity of *Song shu*, *zhentao* is correct. For *zhentao*, see Scroll 9 “Xian zhi” 先知, *YZFY*: 9.27: *zhentao tianxia* 甄陶天下 ([the sage] molds all under heaven). Contrast this image of the sage as divine potter with the earlier protest against this view in Fascicle 9 “Mati” 馬蹄, *ZgZ*: 4.149. For *wanfang* 萬方, see Fascicle 20 “Yao yue” 堯曰, *LY*: 20.1a-1b: “*zhen hong you zui, wu yi wanfang; wanfang you zui, zui zai zhen hong*” 朕躬有罪，無以萬方；萬方有罪，罪在朕躬, for which *Lun Yü*: 286, has “Wenn ich selbst Sünde habe, so rechne sie nicht den zehntausend

Commentary: This quatrain states that the Jin dynasty will last for many generations to the benefit of the people with the effect that even the lands beyond the empire will transform according to the imperial example. Zhang Hua uses allusions from *Shangshu* and *Mao shi* to compare the emperor to King Wu 武王 (r.1049-1043 BCE) and King Cheng, but he also uses an allusion from *Yangzi fayan* 揚子法言 to compare the emperor to the legendary sage rulers of the pristine past. By doing this, Zhang Hua returns to a Confucian present, but with a touch of the pristine past.

- 大明垂[耀]， Grand Brilliance lets down its shimmering brilliance,²³⁴
- 10 旁燭無疆， Everywhere boundlessly alight,²³⁵
- 蚩蚩庶類， Ingenuous and ignorant the multitudinous kinds of creatures,²³⁶
- 12 風德永康。 May teaching them virtue bring them endless repose!²³⁷

Gegenden zu; wenn die zehntausend Gegenden Sünden haben, so bleibe die Sünde auf meinem Leib” (If I myself have sin, I do not consider it the ten thousand regions; but if the ten thousand regions have sin, the sin remains on me).

²³⁴ Variants: *yao* 耀 for *yao* 曜. Given the Eastern Jin avoidance of *yao* 曜 and the context of the line, *yao* 耀 is correct, assuming that a Liu-Song scribe changed it to *yao* 曜 in an attempt to make up for this avoidance. For *daming* 大明, see Hexagram 35 “Jin” 晉, ZY: 4.11a: “Shun er li hu daming, rou jin er shang xing” 順而麗乎大明，柔進而上行, for which *I Ging*: 533, has “Hingebend und haftend an der großen Klarheit schreitet das Schwache fort und geht nach oben” (Surrendering and adhering to the great clarity the weak progress and go up). The “Da xiang” states that this hexagram concerns the gentleman’s making of himself an example of brilliant virtue. For its use as a Daoist term, see Fascicle 11, “Zai you” 在宥, ZgZ: 4.173: *wo wei nu sui yu daming zhi shang yi* 我為女遂於大明之上矣, for which *Dschuang Dsi*: 134, has “Dann will ich mit dir hinaufsteigen zu den Höhen der großen Klarheit” (Then I will go up with you to the heights of great clarity). The subcommentary explains *daming* as referring to the sun and moon, but in this case it is clearly the sun. See also, LJ: 24.9a. For *chuiyao* 垂耀, see Fascicle 32, “Shuo ri” 說日, LH: 11.113: *ti da guang sheng, gu neng chuiyao* 體大光盛，故能垂耀 (Its shape is grand and its brightness is flourishing; therefore, it can hang down shimmeringly).

²³⁵ For this line, *pang zhu wu jiang* 旁燭無疆, see “Fayan xu” 法言序, YZFY: 13.44.

²³⁶ This line, *chichi shulei* 蚩蚩庶類, calls to mind the one in Cai Yong 蔡邕 (133-192), “Shi hui” 釋誨, HHS: 50b.1983: *chichi shulei* 泚泚庶類 (How neat the multitudinous classes). For *chichi* 蚩蚩, see Scroll 10 “Zhong li” 重黎, YZFY: 10.29: *liuguo chichi* 六國蚩蚩 (The Six States were ingenuous and ignorant).

Commentary: This quatrain completes the stanza and states that the sun is visible for everyone to see how bright it really is, that the people are ingenuous and honest, and that a good example is enough to bring eternal stability. Zhang Hua here returns to abstruse allusions from *Zhuangzi* and *Yangzi fayan* once more to compare the emperor to the sun. By doing this, Zhang Hua closes the stanza firmly with images of the pristine past, only lightly tempered with Confucianism.

皇道惟清， The august way indeed clear,²³⁸

14 禮樂斯經， The rites and music these he planned;

金石在懸， Metal and stone are upon the suspension racks,

16 萬舞在庭。 And “Wan Ballet” is in the court.²³⁹

Commentary: This quatrain states that having set up the government, the emperor set up the rites and music, to include the requisite musical instruments and dancers. Zhang Hua uses an allusion from *Mao shi* to compare the emperor to King Wu. By doing this, Zhang Hua opens

²³⁷ For *feng de* 風德, see Fascicle 7, “Shi Kuang lun yue” 師曠論樂, *GY*: 14.460: *feng de yi guang zhi* 風德以廣之 (Inculcate virtue in order to broaden them).

²³⁸ This line, *huangdao wei qing* 皇道惟清, calls to mind the one in Cai Yong, “Shi hui,” *HHS*: 50b.1983: *huangdao wei rong* 皇道惟融 (The august way indeed influential).

²³⁹ This line, *wanwu zai ting* 萬舞在庭, calls to mind the one in Stanza 2, Ode 38 “Jianxi” 簡兮, *MS*: 2-3.2a: “*gongting wanwu*” 公庭萬舞, for which *Odes*: 25, has “he performs the great dance in the prince’s courtyard.” The “Xiao xu” 小序 states that this ode concerns criticism of Wei 衛 for failing to make proper use of its worthy men. *Wanwu* can mean either myriad dancers or “Wan Ballet.” The myriad dancers are a hyperbolic reference to the Eight Rows and Columns 八佾 of dancers reserved for use by the Son of Heaven. “Wan Ballet” is sometimes identified as another name for “Grand Martial Deeds,” a ritual musical movement associated with King Wu, modeling the myriad soldiers with whom he conquered Shang. See *MS*: 2-3.2a-2b and 20-2.10b.

the second stanza with vivid imagery of replete rites and music, which by comparison indicates that the emperor's government is also replete.

- 象容表慶， Modeling deportment and exemplifying celebration,
- 18 協律被聲， The Commandant of Musical Harmony set them to music;
- 軼武超濩， Excelling “[Grand] Martial Deeds” and exceeding “[Grand] Preservation,”²⁴⁰
- 20 取節六英。 They borrow the tempo from “Six Ying.”²⁴¹

Commentary: This quatrain states that the musical instruments and dancers act as melodious examples of proper conduct going beyond that of King Wu and even those of Tang and Diku 帝嚳 (legendary) in the pristine past. Zhang Hua uses allusions from *Zhou li* for the first two ballets, but the third ballet, “Six Ying,” associated with the term Six Unifications (*liuhe* 六合) that refers to the sun, the moon, and the Four Directions, is part of a fascination with the number six that seems to have started in Qin and crested in Eastern Jin. By doing this, Zhang Hua takes us from the present into the pristine past before Confucianism.

同進退讓， In unison advancing and retreating they give way,²⁴²

²⁴⁰ “Grand Martial Deeds” is associated with King Wu. “Grand Preservation” is associated with Tang. See *ZL*: 22.8b-9a.

²⁴¹ Variants: *ying* 韻 for *ying* 英. Given the context of this line and the greater fidelity of *Song shu*, *ying* 英 is correct. *Liuying* 六英 (a title of unclear significance) is a ritual musical movement associated with Diku 帝嚳 (a legendary ruler before Shun) and with the Six Unifications 六合, a term referring to the sun, the moon, and the Four Directions. See *HS*: 22.1038; *SuS*: 13.288, 75.1713; *BS*: 82.2757; *LJ*: 16.7a, 38.3a; and Fascicle 2, “Qiwu lun” 齊物論, *ZgZ*: 1.41.

- 22 化漸無形， Their transforming influence suffuses without form;²⁴³
 太和宣洽， The Great Harmony promulgating widespread,²⁴⁴
 24 通于幽冥。 It penetrates to Delitescent Obscurity.²⁴⁵

Commentary: This quatrain states that the dancers move as one body, back and forth, left and right, always changing, ever in unison, and that the message of peace has spread far and wide even to the underworld. Zhang Hua again borrows from *Zhou yi* and *Zhuangzi* for allusions with a nod to more Confucian texts. This time he chooses Hexagram 1 “Qian” 乾 (Pure Yang), a frequent favorite in typical ceremonial hymns, but he gives it a Daoist spin by choosing the term Great Harmony, which also appears in *Zhuangzi*, as does the phrase “without form.” The phrase “transform gradually” and the term Delitescent Obscurity are also quite abstruse. The concept of transformation was popular with Daoism as with Confucianism and the term Delitescent Obscurity later became a common Buddhist

²⁴² For *tuirang* 退讓, see Fascicle 1 “Quli shang” 曲禮上, *LJ*: 1.11a: “*tuirang yi mingli*” 退讓以明禮, for which *Li Chi*: 1:64, has “retiring and yielding; — thus illustrating (the principle of) propriety.”

²⁴³ For *huajian* 化漸, see Fascicle 8 “Shuai xing” 率性, *LH*: 2.15: “*you suo jianhua wei shan’e*” 有所漸化為善惡 (There is that which gradually transforms into altruistic or evil). For *wu xing* 無形, see Fascicle 5 “De chong fu” 德充符, *ZgZ*: 2.85: “*gu you buyan zhi jiao, wuxing er xincheng zhe ye*” 固有不言之教，無形而心成者邪, for which *Dschuang Dsi*: 86, has “Gibt es denn wirklich eine Belehrung ohne Worte, eine unsichtbare Beeinflussung des Inneren?” (Is there really a lesson without words, an invisible influence on the inside?).

²⁴⁴ For *taihe* 太和, see Hexagram 1 “Qian” 乾, *ZY*: 1.6a-7b: “*qiandao bianhua, ge zheng xingming, baohe taihe, nai lizhen*” 乾道變化，各正性命，保合大和，乃利貞, for which *I Ging*: 368, has “Der Weg des Schöpferischen wirkt durch Veränderung und Umgestaltung, daß jedes Ding seine rechte Natur und Bestimmung erhält und in dauernde Übereinstimmung mit der großen Harmonie kommt: das ist das Fördernde und Beharrliche” (The way of Creativity works through change and transformation, that each thing receives its right nature and destiny and comes into permanent agreement with the great harmony: this is Promotional and Persistent). The “Da xiang” states that this hexagram concerns the gentleman’s going without rest in order to build strength. See also Fascicle 14 “Tian yun” 天運, *ZgZ*: 5.222. For *xuanqia* 宣洽, see Zhang Heng, “Ying xian” 應閒, *HHS*: 59.1904: “*huangzi xuanqia*” 皇澤宣洽 (August richness promulgating widespread).

²⁴⁵ This line, *tong yu youming* 通于幽冥, calls to mind the one in Chapter 16 “Gan ying” 感應, *XJ*: 8.2a: “*tong yu shenming*” 通於神明, for which *Hiau Ging*: 19, has “dringen hinauf bis in den lichten Himmel!” (penetrate up into Clear Heaven). For *youming* 幽冥, see Fascicle 16, “Shu xu” 書虛, *LH*: 4.35: “*fu youming zhi shi shang ke zhi*” 夫幽冥之實尚可知 (As the actuality of Delitescent Obscurity, it can still be known). This later becomes a Buddhist term.

euphemism for the underworld. By doing this, Zhang Hua closes this stanza with a clever juxtaposition of “without form” and Great Harmony in a seeming attempt to use non-analytic reasoning, as if his message were for the emperor to continue his road to success he now needed to swing with the pendulum back from activity (*youwei* 有為) to inactivity (*wuwei* 無為).

Xun Xu’s “Correct Virtue”²⁴⁶

Commentary: We have discussed the title of this hymn with the title of the series.²⁴⁷

- 人文垂則， Men’s texts hand down regulations,²⁴⁸
- 2 盛德有容， Their flourishing virtue has tolerance,²⁴⁹
- 聲以依詠， Their tone depends on their cant,
- 4 舞以象功。 And their ballets model their merit.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁶ See *SgS*: 20.587. Form: 24 lines of 4 syllables. End Rhyme: On even lines, in 2 stanzas of 12 lines, Stanza 1 in the *dong* 東 rime category; Stanza 2 in the *hao* 豪 rime category, contacts with *xiao* 宵 in Lines 20, 22, and 24. Variants: None. Pattern: “Feathers and Proclamation-Bells.” Topic: Stanza 1, Description of the ballet; Stanza 2, Jin Emperor Wu.

²⁴⁷ See Table 3.6 below for side-by-side comparison with other hymns in this series.

²⁴⁸ For *renwen* 人文, see Hexagram 22 “Bi” 賁, *ZY*: 3.14a-14b: “*wen ming yi zhi, renwen ye...guan hu ren wen, yi huacheng tianxia*” 文明以止，人文也...觀乎人文，以化成天下, for which *I Ging*: 2:96, has “Formvoll, klar und ruhig: das ist die Form der Menschen...Wenn man die Formen der Menschen betrachtet, so kann man die Welt gestalten” (Perfectly formed, clear and calm: this is the form of man...If one looks at the forms of men, one can shape the world). The “Da xiang” states that this hexagram concerns the gentleman’s governance through brilliance rather than legislation.

²⁴⁹ For *you rong* 有容, see Fascicle 58 “Qin shi” 秦誓, *ShS*: 20.13a: *qi ru you rong* 其如有容, for which “Documents:” 81, has “and possessed of generosity.” The “Xiao xu” states that this fascicle concerns the statement of the Duke of Qin following defeat in the field.

²⁵⁰ This couplet, *sheng yi yi yong, wu yi xiang gong* 聲以依詠，/ 舞以象功, calls to mind that in Liu Zhen 劉珍 (second century), *Dongguan Han ji* 東觀漢記, in *HHS*: Z9.3196, Note 3: “*ge suo yi yong de, wu suo yi xiang gong*” 歌所以詠德，舞所以象功 (The purpose of the hymns is to intone virtue; the purpose of the ballets is to imitate merit).

Commentary: This quatrain states that lyrics should emphasize virtue and show tolerance, that music should match the lyrics, and that ballets should mime meritorious deeds. The allusions from *Zhou yi* and *Shangshu* imply that the ruler who is in touch with Heaven and reacts accordingly will bring success to himself and prosperity to his empire. By doing this, the quatrain emphasizes the need to act according to situational requirements.

- 干戚發揮， As for the shields and long-axes emitting and waving,²⁵¹
- 6 節以笙鏞， They are timed with reed-pipes and big-bells,²⁵²
- 羽籥雲會， As for the feathers and flutes cloudlike assembling,²⁵³
- 8 翊宣令蹤。 They expeditiously promulgate their sterling traces.

Commentary: This quatrain describes in brief both the Martial Ballet and the Civil Ballet. The allusions from *Mao shi*, *Li ji*, and *Zhou li* imply that there are standards for to be followed for both ballets and that there are only two ballets, since the props of the other four are not listed. By doing this, the quatrain further emphasizes the need for standards.

²⁵¹ For *ganqi* 干戚, see Fascicle 19 “Yue ji” 樂記, *LJ*: 39.20b-21a: “yue zai zongmiao zhi zhong...zhi qi ganqi, xi qi fuying qushen, rongmao de zhuang yan” 樂在宗廟之中...執其干戚，習其俯仰詘伸，容貌得莊焉，for which *Li Chi*: 2:127-28, has “Therefore in the ancestral temple...From the manner in which the shields and axes are held and brandished, and from the movements of the body in the practice with them, now turned up, now bent down, now retiring, now stretching forward, the carriage of the person receives gravity.”

²⁵² For *sheng* 笙, see Kaufmann (1976), 158-65; and Hsueh (1983), 456-512. For *yong* 鏞, see Kaufmann (1976), 109; and Hsueh (1983), 171-72.

²⁵³ For *yuyue* 羽籥, see Stanza 3, Ode 38 “Jian xi” 簡兮, *MS*: 2-3.3a: “zuoshou zhi yue,/ youshou bing di” 左手執籥，/ 右手秉翟，for which *Odes*: 25, has “The left hand holds the flute, the right hand grasps the pheasant plume.” The “Xiao xu” states that this ode concerns criticism of Wei 衛 for failing to make proper use of its worthy men. See also Office 36 “Yue shi” 籥師, Fascicle 3 “Chunguan zongbo” 春官宗伯, *ZL*: 24.6b: “jisi, ze gu yuyue zhi wu” 祭祀，則鼓羽籥之舞，for which *Tcheou-li*: 2:65, has “Quand il y a un sacrifice, il bat la mesure sur le tambour pour la danse de la plume et de la flûte” (When there is a sacrifice, he beats the drum for the dance of the feather and flute).

- 敷美盡善， Proclaiming beauty and utterly altruistic,
 10 允協時邕， Their sincerity and consonance are thus concordant;²⁵⁴
 煥炳其章， Lustrously remarkable their display,²⁵⁵
 12 光乎萬邦。 They brighten, my, the myriad countries.²⁵⁶

Commentary: This quatrain completes the stanza and describes the effect of the two ballets as admirable enough to enlighten the entire empire. The allusions from *Shangshu* and *Lunyu* imply that as a ruler Emperor Wu is the equal of Yao. By doing this, the quatrain returns to the message of the first quatrain and emphasizes the emperor's ability to act according to situational requirements.

- 萬邦洋洋， The myriad countries are so limitless,²⁵⁷
 14 承我晉道， And they acknowledge the way of our Jin [emperor],²⁵⁸

²⁵⁴ This line, *yunxie shi yong* 允協時邕, calls to mind the passage in Fascicle 1 “Yao dian,” *ShS*: 2.8a: “*baixing zhaoming, xiehe wanbang. limin yu bian, shi yong*” 百姓昭明，協和萬邦。黎民於變，時雍，for which “Documents:” 1, taking *yu bian* 於變 as *yufan* 飫蕃, has “When the hundred clans had become (bright =) illustrious, he harmonized the myriad states. The numerous people were amply nourished and prosperous and then became concordant.” The commentary, however, takes *yu bian* as transformation. The “Xiao xu” states that this fascicle concerns the reign of Yao.

²⁵⁵ This line, *huanbing qi zhang* 煥炳其章, calls to mind the one in Fascicle 8 “Tai bo” 泰伯, *LY*: 8.6b: “*huan hu qi you wenzhang*” 煥乎其有文章, for which *Lun Yü*: 155, has “strahlend waren seine Lebensordnungen” (bright were his [Yao’s] rules of life).

²⁵⁶ Taking *guang* 光 as the main verb, this line, *guang hu wanbang* 光乎萬邦, is a clever play on the syntax of the one in 266 Suburban Sacrificial hymn by Fu Xuan, “Tian di jiao mingtang xisheng ge” 天地郊明堂夕牲歌, *SgS*: 20.566: “*guang ji wanguo*” 光濟萬國 (The totality are benefited within the myriad states).

²⁵⁷ This line, *wanbang yangyang* 萬邦洋洋, calls to mind the one in Stanza 4, Ode 300 “Bigong” 闕宮, *MS*: 20-2.6a: “*wanwu yangyang*” 萬舞洋洋, for which *Odes*: 260, has “the wan dance is grand.” The “Xiao xu” states that this ode concerns praise for the repair of ritual buildings by Duke Xi of Lu.

²⁵⁸ This line, *cheng wo Jin dao* 承我晉道, calls to mind the one in the 269 Assembly hymn by Xun Xu, “Long hua” 隆化, *SgS*: “*deng wo Jin dao*” 登我晉道 (Ascending the way of our Jin [emperor]).

配天作享， By providing a coadjutor to Heaven and by making our
presentation,

16 元命有造。 The epochal appointment has been fashioned.

Commentary: This quatrain states that all the world acknowledges Emperor Wu as overlord, even Heaven, now that the proper sacrifices have been made. The allusion from *Mao shi* implies that the emperor has taken all the appropriate actions. By doing this, the quatrain continues the message of the necessity for ritual standards and timeliness.

上化如風， [The emperor] above transforming such as the wind,

18 民應如草， The people answer such as grass,²⁵⁹

穆穆斌斌， How profound and so refined!²⁶⁰

20 形于綴兆。 They form into a trillion stitches.

Commentary: This quatrain states that by following ritual standards and timelines the people shall bend to the emperor like grass to the wind. The allusions from *Han shu*, *Mao shi*, and *Lunyu* imply that like Emperor Gao of the Han dynasty and others, Emperor Wu has

²⁵⁹ For this line, *min ying ru cao* 民應如草, see the one concerning Han Emperor Gao in *HS*: 100b.4237. This line and the one before it, *shang hua ru feng*, / *min ying ru cao* 上化如風， / 民應如草, call to mind those in Fascicle 12 “Yan yuan” 顏淵, *LY*: 12.8b: “*junzi zhi de feng, xiaoren zhi de cao, cao shang zhi feng bi yan*” 君子之德風，小人之德草，草上之風必偃, for which *Lun Yu*: 197, has “Das Wesen des Herrschers ist der Wind, das Wesen der Geringen ist das Gras. Das Gras, wenn der Wind darüber hinfährt, muß sich beugen” (The essence of the ruler is wind, the essence of the lowly is grass. Grass, when wind goes forth, must bow).

²⁶⁰ This line, *mumu binbin* 穆穆斌斌, calls to mind Stanzas 4 and 5, Ode 299 “Pan shui” 泮水, *MS*: 20-1.16b-17a: *mumu Lu hou ... mingming Lu hou ...* 穆穆魯侯 ... 明明魯侯 ..., for which *Odes*: 256, has “August is the prince of Lu ... Very bright is the prince of Lu.” The “Xiao xu” states that this ode concerns eulogizing Duke Xi of Lu for his work on ritual buildings. For further discussion of the meaning of *mumu*, see Kern (1997), 201.

earned the respect of the people through appropriate action. By doing this, the quatrain maintains the message from earlier in the stanza.

- 文武旁作， His civility and martial deeds everywhere made,²⁶¹
- 22 慶流四表， Celebration flows to the Four Externals;²⁶²
- 無競維烈， Without contention indeed eminent,²⁶³
- 24 永世是紹。 May endless generations this carry on!²⁶⁴

Commentary: This quatrain completes the second stanza, states that the emperor’s civility and martial deeds are celebrated beyond the realm of mortal men, and wishes for the emperor’s heirs to carry on forever as he has done. The allusions from *Mao shi* and *Shangshu* imply that like King Wu and his heirs, Emperor Wu’s dynasty will last for centuries. By doing this, the quatrain revels in the success of the emperor’s new hymns.

²⁶¹ For *pangzuo* 旁作, see Fascicle 41 “Luo gao” 洛誥, *ShS*: 15.21b: “*pang zuo mumu*” 旁作穆穆, for which “Documents:” 51, has “On every hand appears your deep reverence.” The “Xiao xu” states that this fascicle concerns the announcement by the Duke of Zhou after he arrived at Chengzhou 成周 to establish a capital.

²⁶² The Four Externals (*sibiao* 四表) are the areas beyond the Four Directions (*sifang* 四方), extending above Heaven and below Earth. See *ShS*: 2.6b-7b, classic, commentary, and subcommentary.

²⁶³ For this line, *wujing wei lie* 無競維烈, see Stanza 1, Ode 274 “Zhi jing,” *MS*: 19-2.9b, for which *Odes*: 243, has “was it not strong, his ardour!” The “Xiao xu” states that this ode concerns sacrificing to King Wu. For this line, see also Ode 285 “Wu” 武, *MS*: 19-3.16b, for which *Odes*: 248, has the same. The “Xiao xu” states that this ode concerns sacrificing to King Wu.

²⁶⁴ For *yongshi* 永世, see Stanza 1, Ode 286 “Min yu xiaozi” 閔予小子, *MS*: 19-3.19a: “*yongshi ke xiao*” 永世克孝, for which *Odes*: 248, has “for (long=) endless generations you deserve to be piously revered.” The “Xiao xu” states that this ode concerns inheritance of the appointment by King Cheng at the moot.

Fu Xuan's "Correct Virtue"²⁶⁵

Commentary: We have discussed the title of this hymn with the title of the series.²⁶⁶

- 天命有晉， Heaven having appointed the possessor of Jin,²⁶⁷
- 2 光濟萬國， The totality are benefited within the myriad states;²⁶⁸
- 穆穆聖皇， How profound is the sagacious emperor!²⁶⁹
- 4 文武惟則， Civility and martial deeds are indeed his regulation;²⁷⁰
- 在天斯正， In heaven this is correct,
- 6 在地成德。 And on earth he has achieved virtue.

²⁶⁵ See *SgS*: 20.582. Jian (1987) does not include this hymn. Form: 10 lines of 4 syllables. End Rhyme: On even lines, in 2 stanzas of 6 and 4 lines, Stanza 1 in the *de* 德 rime category; Stanza 2 in the *hao* 豪 rime category. Variants: None. Pattern: "Promulgating Civility" and "Promulgating Martial Deeds." Topic: Both stanzas, Jin Emperor Wu.

²⁶⁶ See Table 3.6 below for side-by-side comparison with other hymns in this series.

²⁶⁷ For *tianming* 天命, see Fascicle 31 "Zhong yong" 中庸, *LJ*: 52.1a: "*tianming zhi wei xing*" 天命之謂性, for which *Li Chi*: 2:300, has "What Heaven has conferred is called the Nature." For *you Jin* 有晉, compare the use of *you Xia* 有夏, *you Yin* 有殷, and *you Zhou* 有周 in *ShS*: 1:8.2a, 15.7b, 9a-9b, for which "Documents": 20, 49, has "The lord of Hia," "the lords of Yin," and "our Chou."

²⁶⁸ This line, *guangji wanguo* 光濟萬國, calls to mind the one describing Lord Millet in *HS*: 100a.4208:

"*guangji sihai*" 光濟四海 (The totality were benefited within the Four Seas). For *wanguo*, see Hexagram 1 "Qian" 乾, *ZY*: 1.7b: "*shou chu shu wu, wanguo xian ning*" 首出庶物，萬國咸寧, for which *I Ging*: 2:3, has "Wenn er sich mit seinem Haupt über die Menge der Wesen erhebt, so kommen alle Lande zusammen in Ruhe" (When he (the Holy One) rises with his head above the crowd of beings, all lands come together in peace). The "Da xiang" states that this hexagram concerns the gentleman's going without rest in order to build strength.

²⁶⁹ This line, *mumu shenghuang* 穆穆聖皇, calls to mind the one in Stanza 4, Ode 299 "Pan shui" 泮水, *MS*: 2:20-1.16b-17a: *mumu Lu hou* 穆穆魯侯, for which *Odes*: 256, has "August is the prince of Lu." The "Xiao xu" states that this ode concerns eulogizing Duke Xi of Lu for his work on ritual buildings. For this line, see also Xun Xu's "Grand Delight" (*dayu* 大豫) below. For further discussion of the meaning of *mumu*, see *Hymnen*: 201.

²⁷⁰ For *wei ze* 惟則, see Stanza 3, Ode 243 "Xia Wu" 下武, *MS*: 16-5.8b: "*xiaosi wei ze*" 孝思維則, for which *Odes*: 197, has "filial and thoughtful he is a norm (to others)." The "Xiao xu" states that this ode concerns King Wu's virtue and his inheritance of the mandate from King Wen.

Commentary: This sixain describes the emperor as an example of heavenly virtue on earth, emphasizing his perfect balance of civility and martial deeds. The allusions from *Mao shi*, *Zhou yi*, and *Li ji* imply that the emperor is also the equal of the founders of the Zhou dynasty. By doing this, the sixain compares the emperor with idealized past rulers and emphasizes the need for balance.

- 載韜政刑， Thence he has sheathed administrative punishment,
 8 載崇禮教。 And thence he has esteemed ritual doctrine;
 我敷玄化， We proclaim abstruse transformation,
 10 臻于中道。 Acquired in the way of equilibrium.

Commentary: This quatrain states that having ascended to the throne, Emperor Wu forgave erstwhile enemies and took up the appropriate sacrifices; thus, his balanced governance transformed society. The general allusions imply that the emperor will continue to transform through his example of moderation as did the legendary rulers of the pristine past. By doing this, the quatrain both praises the emperor and urges him to maintain the proper path.

3.3.4 Content

These three hymns presented Emperor Wu with three strikingly different options for a Civil Ballet hymn. As for the general topic, Zhang Hua chose to start with an idealized description of Emperor Wu's balanced achievements in civility and martial deeds followed by a description of the ballet and its music. His extensive use of abstruse terminology from *Laozi*,

Zhuangzi, and *Zhou yi* gives the hymn a feeling of flourishing pre-Zhou perfection. Xun Xu switched the order, beginning with the ballet and its music and finishing with Emperor Wu, whereas Fu Xuan describes only Emperor Wu's idealized achievements. Both Xun Xu and Fu Xuan stick to the more staid language of the "Song" section of *Mao shi*. Of course, as this is a Civil Ballet, all three authors avoided discussion of the emperor's military actions other than to say that they achieved balance with his cultural pursuits. Both Zhang Hua and Xun Xu employed extensive autoreference to the sacrificial event, but Fu Xuan did not. All three hymns tone down the declamation of political ideology. With its plethora of Daoist allusions, one might take Zhang Hua's hymn as support for inaction, but as a supporter of reunification, Zhang Hua's idea of inaction may have been directed more against extensive political reform. In contrast, both Xun Xu and Fu Xuan praise the balance between civility and martial deeds, implicitly opposing the further military action necessary for reunification. All three, however, emphasize the transformative power of imperial example. The motifs in these hymns also represent a break from past ballets. While all three authors continue to compare the emperor to idealized rulers of the past, for the most part they use different vocabulary. Zhang Hua parades a series a Dynastic Ballets, even including "Six Ying" from before the Five Eras, but does not mention any Civil Ballets or props. Xun Xu mentions props, curiously for both Civil and Martial Ballets, but does not mention any titles. He also finishes with a prayer for continued enlightened Jin rule for generations to come. Only Fu Xuan mentions the title of the hymn by cleverly dividing it between the final characters of his fifth and sixth lines, "Correct" (*zheng* 正) and "Virtue" (*de* 德), a technique that becomes popular in later pentameter poetry. Fu Xuan also reuses the phrase "sagacious emperor," as he often does elsewhere.

3.3.5 Formal Structure

The two series “Correct Virtue” and “Promulgating Civility” demonstrate much similarity in formal structure, as we would expect considering their relationship. Four out of five hymns use douzains as stanzas and all five have two stanzas. Only Fu Xuan’s new hymn uses a sixain and a quatrain, as does his new Martial Ballet. Although the two hymns from Fu Xuan’s earlier series have finales, these are more commonly associated with irregular meter hymns and so would not be appropriate for the new tetrameter hymns. All five hymns have basically the same rhyme pattern and use predominantly the same rime categories. The second stanzas of Fu Xuan’s two older hymns and of Zhang Hua’s new hymn use the *geng* 耕 rime category (*-eng),²⁷¹ whereas those of Xun Xu’s and Fu Xuan’s new hymns use the *hao* 豪 rime category (*-au) in a deflected (*ze* 仄) tone.²⁷² The first stanzas of all but Fu Xuan’s new hymn use *yang* 陽 rime categories,²⁷³ the alveolar nasal (*-n) for the first two and the velar nasal (*-ng) for the second two. The first stanza of Fu Xuan’s new hymn required the *de* 德 rime category (*-ək), another deflected tone, in order to display the hymn’s title as mentioned above, but since this rime category ends in the velar plosive (*-k), it ties into the velar nasal of the other two new hymns. As well, the rime categories of “Feathers and Flutes” and of Zhang Hua’s hymn share the open front vowel (*-a-) and those of “Feathers and Proclamation-Bells” and Fu Xuan’s new hymn share the mid central vowel

²⁷¹ Reconstructions are marked by an asterisk (*) and are my own.

²⁷² Deflected comprise rising (*shang* 上) tone, falling (*qu* 去) tone, and entering (*ru* 入) tone and exclude even (*ping* 平) tone.

²⁷³ *Yang* rime categories end in nasals, *-n, *-ng, or *-m, as opposed to *yin* 陰 rime categories, which end in vowels, and entering (*ru* 入) rime categories, which end in *-p, *-t, or *-k.

(*-ə-). Perhaps the difference that had scholars looking for another source for “Correct Virtue” besides “Promulgating Civility” is that of meter, the most basic aspect of fixed-form verse. All three new hymns use pure tetrameter, whereas the two hymns of “Promulgating Civility” use irregular meter. Nonetheless, the first stanza of “Feathers and Flutes,” though irregular overall, uses primarily tetrameter and the second stanza of “Feathers and Proclamation-Bells” uses pure tetrameter. Given the statements in *Wei shu* and *Tongdian* and the other similarities in formal structure among these hymns, I assess that the new hymns represent a tetrameter regularization of the old hymns along the lines of the pentameter regularization of the “Ba Ditties” ballet hymns into the “Horseback-Wardrum Ballet” hymns.²⁷⁴

3.3.6 Place in Literary History

“Correct Virtue” set the standard for Civil Ballets performed in the Ancestral Temple and at the Suburban Altars for the next three hundred years, excluding the Northern Zhou dynasty. Zhang Hua’s new hymn continued in use throughout the Jin dynasty, with the exception of only the Assembly dinners and less formal occasions, where during the Eastern Jin dynasty it was replaced by livelier fare. During the Liu-Song dynasty, in 420 Wang Shaozhi 王韶之 (380-435)²⁷⁵ rewrote the hymn as “Former Ballet” (*qianwu* 前舞), using *yang* rime categories for both stanzas, as did Zhang Hua, and using the same pitch-standard traditionally specified for “Grand Capaciousness” and in 455 the same hymn was renamed “Succession Ballet”

²⁷⁴ See Chapter 2 above.

²⁷⁵ See *SgS*: 92.2270.

(*shaowu* 韶舞).²⁷⁶ During the Southern Qi 南齊 (479-502) dynasty, in 495 minor changes were anonymously made to the lyrics and the hymn was renamed “Triumphant Department” (*kairong* 凱容).²⁷⁷ During the Liang 梁 (502-557) dynasty, in 505 Shen Yue 沈約 (441-513)²⁷⁸ rewrote the hymn as “Grand Watch” (*daguan* 大觀) using a single *yang* rime category in a deflected tone for both stanzas and using the same pitch-standard traditionally specified for “Grand Succession.” At this time, the Civil Ballet was moved rearward in the liturgy so as to follow the Martial Ballet as it had before the Wei dynasty.²⁷⁹ During the Chen 陳 (557-589) dynasty, initially in 557 the Southern Qi ballet was adopted, next in 569 the Liang ballet was adopted, and finally this ballet was renamed “Seven Virtues” (*qide* 七德) with no changes to lyrics, title, or pitch-standard.²⁸⁰ Meanwhile, during the Northern Wei 北魏 (386-534) dynasty, in 510 Liu Fang 劉芳 (453-513)²⁸¹ recast the Civil and Martial Ballets, music, and lyrics from a Han-style system to one based on that advocated by Xun Xu, calling the Civil Ballet simply “Civil Ballet” and retaining its place in the liturgy ahead of the Martial Ballet. His lyrics, however, do not survive and nothing else is recorded of them.²⁸² The Eastern Wei 東魏 (534-550) / Northern Qi 北齊 (550-577) and Western Wei 西魏 (535-556) dynasties seem to have followed suit using the same nomenclature as Northern Wei, whereas the Northern Zhou attempted to establish an idealized system of six ballets. An anonymous Northern Qi “Civil Ballet” survives in much the same vein as Xun Xu’s “Correct

²⁷⁶ See *SgS*: 19.542-43, 20.596-97, *NQS*: 11.190, and Table 3.6 below.

²⁷⁷ See *NQS*: 11.189. Chan Wai-leung 陳煒良 places this change in Liu-Song. See Chan (1970), 160.

²⁷⁸ See *LS*: 13.232-43.

²⁷⁹ See *SuS*: 13.292-93, 13.301, 13.303, and 13.308. Chan Wai-leung misses this change altogether. See Chan (1970), 159-60.

²⁸⁰ See *SuS*: 13.307-9.

²⁸¹ See *WS*: 55.1219-27.

²⁸² See *WS*: 109.2830-33, 109.2836-41.

Virtue,” using an even tone for the first stanza and a deflected tone for the second stanza.²⁸³ Finally, during the Sui 隋 (581-618) dynasty, changes were made anonymously to the formal structure of “Civil Ballet,” with an Ancestral Temple version having only eighteen lines divided into three sixains using an even-tone *yang* rime category, a deflected-tone *yin* rime category, and an even-tone *yang* rime category and a Round Mound version having only fourteen lines divided into an octave and a sixain using an even-tone *yang* rime category and a deflected-tone *yin* rime category, but retaining its place in the liturgy ahead of the Martial Ballet. Regardless, the same costumes and props continued in use from the Wei dynasty through the Sui dynasty.²⁸⁴

3.4 Grand Delight

I shall now conduct a close reading of three versions “Grand Delight” by Zhang Hua, Xun Xu, and Fu Xuan. For ease of reference, I shall divide each hymn into quatrains or sixains according to natural breaks in rhyming stanzas or content flow. To save time and space, I shall not include Romanization with the Chinese characters in the translation below, except in the main text or in my notes. Where necessary, I shall comment on any other odd features of translation. Otherwise, I shall simply point out and verify the stated and implied information. Finally, I shall conclude with a summary of my findings.

²⁸³ See *SuS*: 14.328-29, 14.331-33, and Table 3.6 below.

²⁸⁴ See *SuS*: 15.361 and 15.370-71.

3.4.1 Title and Use of the Series

The title of this series, as well, does not tell us how it was used, but it also seems to tell us what it hoped to accomplish. Again, we do not learn the *locus classicus* for this title from *Jin shu* or *Song shu*, but it is clearly Hexagram 16 “Yu” 豫 (Delight). The “Daxiang” 大象 (Grand Image) for this hexagram tells us that the former kings made music to esteem virtue and offered this music to the Supreme Holy One with their grandfathers and fathers as coadjutors.²⁸⁵ This same hexagram had also been the apparent *locus classicus* for the Eastern Han sacrificial music category by the same name, but written with the alternate character *yu* 予 for *yu* 豫.²⁸⁶ *Song shu* also mentions that the ballet was intended to promote harmony (*xinghe* 興和).²⁸⁷ The characteristics of esteeming virtue and promoting harmony coincide with the nature of a martial ballet and with the content of the three hymns under this title.

Upon comparing Zhang Hua’s “Grand Delight” with Fu Xuan’s four “Promulgating Martial Deeds” hymns and his five “Horseback-Wardrum Ballet” hymns, we note that three of Fu Xuan’s hymns use octaves as stanzas, two use dizains, two use douzains, and two use quatorzains, whereas Zhang Hua’s hymn uses octaves.²⁸⁸ As before, Fu Xuan’s irregular lines lend themselves to more colloquial language and Zhang Hua’s tetrasyllabic lines to terser language. Fu Xuan favors the comparative technique in his “Promulgating Martial Deeds” hymns and the narrative technique in his “Horseback-Wardrum Ballet” hymns. Zhang Hua applies this second technique to his hymn. The difference in use of allusions is the same as for the hymns discussed in Section Three. Fu Xuan’s “Promulgating Martial

²⁸⁵ See Hexagram 16 “Yu” 豫, ZY: 35b; and *I Ging*: 88.

²⁸⁶ See Chapter 1 above.

²⁸⁷ See Yan Jun 顏竣 (d.459), “Jiaomiaoyue yi” 郊廟樂議, SgS: 19.543-44.

²⁸⁸ Zhang Hua was particularly fond of octaves. See NQS: 11.179.

Deeds” hymns are about half as long and his “Horseback-Wardrum Ballet” hymns are about twice as long as Zhang Hua’s hymn. Fu Xuan’s hymns offer a wide variety of rime categories, whereas the rime categories of two out of Zhang Hua’s three stanzas end in velar nasals. As before, the differences are more striking.

Upon comparing Zhang Hua’s “Grand Delight” with those of Fu Xuan and Xun Xu, we note that all three hymns are again equally terse. Zhang Hua and Xun Xu both opt for a narrative technique, but Fu Xuan maintains the comparative technique from his “Promulgating Martial Deeds” hymns. The difference in use of allusions is the same as for the hymns discussed in Section Three. Both Fu Xuan and Xun Xu maintain the same hymnal and stanzaic lengths as for the hymns discussed in Section Three. Fu Xuan’s initial stanza and Zhang Hua’s middle and final stanzas all use velar nasal rime categories. Fu Xuan’s final stanza uses the same rime category as Xun Xu’s initial stanza. The rhyming similarities, however, stop there. Thus, what sets Zhang Hua’s hymn apart from the rest is his use of octaves and once more his allusions to *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*, as well as his abstruse language.

3.4.2 Authorship and Dating

As discussed above, Zhang Hua, Xun Xu, and Fu Xuan composed these ballets in 273, with Xun Xu, Guo Xia, and Song Shi composing the music for these hymns at the same time and revising it in 275.

3.4.3 Translation and Commentary

This series comprises three versions of “Grand Delight” by Zhang Hua, Xun Xu, and Fu Xuan.

Zhang Hua’s “Grand Delight”²⁸⁹

Commentary: We have discussed the title of this hymn with the title of the series.²⁹⁰

- 惟天之命， It was indeed the appointment of Heaven,²⁹¹
- 2 符運有歸， That a sign foretold that fate had redounded;
- 赫赫大晉， How majestic Grand Jin!²⁹²
- 4 三后重暉。 The Three Sovereigns were as repeated sunshine.²⁹³

²⁸⁹ See *SgS*: 20.590. Form: 24 lines of 4 syllables. End Rhyme: On even lines, in 3 stanzas of 8 lines, Stanza 1 in the *zhi* 脂 rime category; Stanza 2 in the *dong* 東 rime category; Stanza 3 in the *dong* 冬 rime category. Variants: *YFSJ*: 52.757, has *xuan* 璇 for *xuan* 璿 in Line 8. Pattern: “Promulgating Martial Deeds.” Topic: Stanza 1, Jin Emperor Xuan, Emperor Jing, Emperor Wen, and Emperor Wu; Stanza 2, Emperor Wu and the composition of the hymn; Stanza 3, Emperor Wu.

²⁹⁰ See Table 3.7 below for side-by-side comparison with other hymns in this series.

²⁹¹ For this line, *wei tian zhi ming* 惟天之命, see Stanza 1, Ode 267 “Wei tian zhi ming” 維天之命, *MS*: 19-1.12a: *wei tian zhi ming* 維天之命, for which *Odes*: 239, has “The appointment of Heaven.” The “Xiao xu” states that this ode concerns the announcement of the achievement of great stability by King Wen. Compare with the line, *guang tian zhi ming* 光天之命, in Fu Xuan, “Si tian di wujiao yingsongshen ge” 祀天地五郊迎送神歌, *SgS*: 20.565.

²⁹² For this line, *hehe da jin* 赫赫大晉, see Zhang Hua, “Zudao zhengxi yingzhao shi” 祖道征西應詔詩, *YWLJ*: 29.517. See also *hehe Taishang* 赫赫太上 in Fu Xuan, “Cimiao yingsongshen ge” 祠廟迎送神歌, *SgS*: 20.574. See also Stanza 1, Ode 236 “Da ming” 大明, *MS*: 16-2.1b: “*hehe zai shang*” 赫赫在上, for which *Odes*: 188, has “majestic on high.” The “Xiao xu” states that this ode concerns the virtue of King Wen leading to the heavenly appointment of King Wu.

²⁹³ The term *sanhou* 三后 usually refers to Yu 禹 (tr.twenty-first century BCE), Tang, and King Wen, the founders of the Xia 夏 (tr.twenty-first to sixteenth century BCE), Shang, and Zhou dynasties, but by context in the Jin dynasty this term also referred to Emperor Xuan 宣皇, Emperor Jing 景皇, and Emperor Wen 文皇, the nominal founding trio of the Jin dynasty. See Xun Xu, “Sanhou” and Zhang Hua, “Shijushi, qi si zhi san ji qi

Commentary: This quatrain states that Heaven used signs to indicate its desire for the Wei dynasty to yield to the Jin dynasty and that the three nominal founding emperors of the Jin dynasty, Emperor Xuan, Emperor Jing, and Emperor Wen, had been like the warm rays of the life-giving sun. Zhang Hua recycles allusions from *Mao shi* and from the pristine past used in earlier Jin ceremonial hymns to compare these three emperors to the founding kings of Xia 夏 (tr. twenty-first to sixteenth century BCE), Shang, and Zhou: Yu 禹 (legendary), Tang, and King Wen. By doing this, Zhang Hua produces a typical opening for a ceremonial hymn.

繼明紹世， The continuous brilliance [of the Three Sovereigns] carrying on for generations,

6 光撫九圍， The totality were calmed within the Nine Enclosures;²⁹⁴

我皇紹期， Our emperor has carried on [the fulfillment of] their expectations,

8 遂在璿璣。 And consequently scanned the sighting tube.²⁹⁵

wu liu qi” 食舉詩·其四之三及其五六七, SgS: 20.584 and 20.588. See HHS: 28b.994, Note 8; JS: 22.688, 22.692, 27.813, and 27.827.

²⁹⁴ These two lines, *jiming shaoshi*, / *guang fu jiuwei* 繼明紹世， / 光撫九圍, call to mind the one from Hexagram 30 “Li” 離, ZY: 3.37a: “*daren yi jiming zhao yu sifang*” 大人以繼明照于四方, for which *I Ging*: 135, has “So erleuchtet der große Mann durch Fortsetzung dieser Helle die vier Weltgegenden” (Thus the great man enlightened the four quarters by the continuation of this brightness). The “*Da xiang*” states that this hexagram concerns the Grand Man’s enlightenment of the Four Directions. For *jiuwei* 九圍, see Stanza 3, Ode 304 “Chang fa” 長發, MS: 20-4.4b: “*di ming shi yu jiuwei*” 帝命式于九圍, for which *Odes*: 265, has “God charged him [Tang] to be a model to the nine circumscriptions.” The “*Xiao xu*” states that this ode concerns the Di 禘 (Meticulous) offering to Heaven held once every five years. The commentary defines *jiuwei* as the Nine Regions 九州 and is further supported by the subcommentary on the following page.

²⁹⁵ Variants: *xuan* 璇 for *xuan* 璿. Given the context of this line and the greater fidelity of *Song shu*, *xuan* 璿 is correct. This line, *sui zai xuanji* 遂在璿璣, calls to mind Fascicle 2 “Shun dian” 舜典, ShS: 3.4b: *zai xuanji yuheng* 在璿璣玉衡, for which “Documents:” 4, has “He [Shun] examined the sūn-stone apparatus and the jade traverse.” The “*Xiao xu*” states that this fascicle concerns Shun’s 舜 (a legendary sage ruler after Diku) intelligence and the trials through which Yao 堯 (a legendary sage ruler after before Shun but after Diku) put

Commentary: This quatrain completes the stanza and states that having laid the foundation, the three emperors made it possible for Emperor Wu to establish the laws and institutions of Jin. Zhang Hua uses typical allusions from the “Song” section of *Mao shi* and from *Shangshu* to compare the emperor to Tang and Shun 舜 (a legendary sage ruler after Diku), but he also brings in another less common allusion from *Zhou yi*, Hexagram 30 “Li” 離 (Cohesion), to compare the emperor to the Grand Man, another image from the pristine past. While allusions from *Zhou yi* are not uncommon in ceremonial verse, this hexagram is special. It is one of only ten hexagrams that use the Grand Man concept and it is the only one for which the “Da xiang” 大象 uses the term Grand Man instead of Gentleman (*junzi* 君子). By doing this, Zhang Hua closes the first stanza, which acts as an introduction to Emperor Wu and his background.

羣生屬命， The throngs of life fixed on the appointment,²⁹⁶

10 奄有庶邦， Ere long [our emperor] possessed the multitudinous countries;²⁹⁷

慎徽五典， Beauteously careful of the Five Norms,²⁹⁸

him before abdicating in his favor. Although this portion is included in the New Text version of Fascicle 1 “Yao dian” 堯典, it also appears in the fourth century forged Old Text Fascicle 2 “Shun dian.” I have quoted it here as the latter to accord with *Shisanjing zhushu*. See “Documents,” quoted above, for further information.

²⁹⁶ This line, *qunsheng shuming* 羣生屬命, calls to mind the passage in Han 漢 (206 BCE-220 CE) Emperor Xuan 宣帝 Liu Xun 劉詢 (r.73-48 BCE), “Pingfa zhao” 平法詔, *HS*: 8.255: “*yuzhe wanmin zhi ming, suo yi jinbao zhixie, yangyu qunsheng ye*” 獄者萬民之命，所以禁暴止邪，養育羣生也, for which *Former Han*: 2:231-32, has “Criminal trials are that [on which] the fate of the myriad common people [hangs]. They are the means of arresting violence and of stopping evil, of rearing and developing all living beings.”

²⁹⁷ This line, *yanyou shebang* 奄有庶邦, calls to mind the one in Stanza 3, Ode 241 “Huang yi,” *MS*: 16-4.6b: “*yan you sifang*” 奄有四方, for which *Odes*: 194, has “(coveringly=) extensively he possessed the (states of the) four quarters.” The “Xiao xu” states that this ode concerns the cession of Shang to Zhou and the virtue of King Wen. See also Fu Xuan, “Tiandi mingtang jiangshen’ge” 天地郊明堂降神歌, *SgS*: 20.566: “*yan you wanfang*” 奄有萬方 (Ere long he possessed the myriad directions); and Cao Zhi, “Xia Yu zan” 夏禹贊, *YWLJ*: 11.219: “*yanyou wanbang*” 奄有萬邦 (Ere long he possessed the myriad countries).

12 玄教遐通。 His profound doctrine penetrates to the far-removed.²⁹⁹

Commentary: This quatrain states that the emperor's succession to the throne enjoyed popular support because he was a paragon of virtue and because he inculcated his profound doctrine. Zhang Hua continues with typical allusions comparing the emperor to Shun and King Wen; however, Zhang Hua throws in the new term, profound doctrine, borrowed from his rival Xun Xu and as well he seems to compare the emperor to Han Emperor Xuan 宣帝 (r.73-48 BCE). By doing this, Zhang Hua continues his theme and implies that the emperor will continue to work for the good of the people.

萬方同軌， The myriad directions on the same track,³⁰⁰

14 率土咸雍， The sum of the land has become entirely concordant,³⁰¹

爰制大豫， Hence the institution of “Grand Delight,”

²⁹⁸ For this line, *shenhui wudian* 慎徽五典, see Fascicle 2 “Shun dian” 舜典, *ShS*: 3.2a, for which “Documents:” 4, has “He (Shun) carefully (signalized =) displayed the five rules (sc. about the 5 family relations: father, mother, elder brother, younger brother, son).” The “Xiao xu” states that this fascicle concerns Shun’s intelligence and the trials through which Yao put him before abdicating in his favor. Although this portion is included in the New Text version of Fascicle 1 “Yao dian” 堯典, it also appears in the fourth century forged Old Text Fascicle 2 “Shun dian.” I have quoted it here as the latter to accord with *Shisanjing zhushu*. See “Documents,” quoted above, for further information. The Five Norms (*wudian* 五典), also known as the Five Rules (*wuchang* 五常), are Fatherly Righteousness (*fuyi* 父義), Motherly Tenderness (*muci* 母慈), Elder-Brotherly Friendship (*xiongyou* 兄友), Younger-Brotherly Deference (*digong* 弟恭), and Childlike Filiality (*zixiao* 子孝). See *ShS*: 3.2a. For this line, see also Xun Xu, “Yi yu” 猗歟, *SgS*: 20.585.

²⁹⁹ This line, *xuanjiao xiatong* 玄教遐通, calls to mind the one in Selection 463, Cao Zhi 曹植 (192-232), “Wang Zhongxuan lei” 王仲宣誄, in *WX*: 56.2435: “*huangjiao xiatong*” 皇教遐通 (His august doctrine penetrated to the far-removed). The term *xuanjiao* 玄教 appears frequently in later Buddhist literature, but seems to originate with Xun Xu, “Yi yu,” *SgS*: 20.585.

³⁰⁰ This line, *wanfang tonggui* 萬方同軌, calls to mind the one in Han Emperor Yuan 元帝 Liu Shi 劉奭 (r.48-32 BCE), “Yi ba junguo miao zhao” 議罷郡國廟詔, *HS*: 73.3116: “*sifang tonggui*” 四方同軌 (The Four Directions on the same track).

³⁰¹ For *shuaitu* 率土, see Stanza 2, Ode 205 “Bei shan” 北山, *MS*: 13-1.19b: *shuaitu zhi bin*, / *mofei wangchen* 率土之濱， / 莫非王臣, for which *Odes*: 157-58, has “of all the subjects (tributaries) on the earth, / there are none who are not the servants of the king.” The “Xiao xu” states that this ode concerns admonition to King You for belaboring the people and neglecting his parents.

16 宣德舞功。 It promulgates virtue and dances merit.³⁰²

Commentary: This quatrain completes the stanza and states that the empire is at peace thanks to the emperor's new laws and institutions and that this hymn has been written to celebrate the emperor's virtue and merit. Zhang Hua continues the comparison to Tang, but adds Han Emperor Yuan 元帝 (r.48-32 BCE), famous for his reformist work on the Ancestral Temple and other projects early in his reign, and Han Emperor Guangwu 光武帝 (r.25-58), who re-established the Han dynasty following the short-lived Xin 新 (9-23) dynasty, both of whom had had to take various economic measures at times. Zhang Hua also contrasts the emperor with King You 幽王 (r.781-771 BCE), the last ruler of Western Zhou 西周 (eleventh century-771 BCE). By doing this, he closes the second stanza with high praise for the power of example, containing an underlying call for continued restraint and reform.

- 淳化既穆， Pure transformation heretofore profound,³⁰³
- 18 王道協隆， The royal way is assisted and magnified;
- 仁及草木， Its benevolence comes up to the plants and trees,³⁰⁴
- 20 惠加昆蟲。 And its grace extends to the teeming insects.³⁰⁵

³⁰² This line, *xuan de wu gong* 宣德舞功, calls to mind those in Han Prince of Dongping 東平王 Liu Cang 劉蒼 (d.83), “Shizu miao yuewu yi” 世祖廟樂舞議, in Liu Zhen 劉珍 (second century), *Dongguan Han ji* 東觀漢記, In *HHS*: Z9.3196, Note 3: “*ge suo yi yong de, wu suo yi xiang gong*” 歌所以詠德，舞所以象功 (The purpose of the songs is to intone virtue; the purpose of the ballets is to imitate merit).

³⁰³ For *chunhua* 淳化, see Selection 6, Zhang Heng 張衡 (78-139), “Dongjing fu” 東京賦, *WX*: 3.110:

“*qingfeng xie yu xuande, chunhua tong yu ziran*” 清風協於玄德，淳化通於自然, for which *Selections*: 1:267, has “His [the emperor] pure teachings harmonize with cosmic virtue;/ His unsullied influence penetrates nature.”

³⁰⁴ For this line, *ren ji caomu* 仁及草木, see “Xiao xu,” Ode 246 “Hang wei” 行葦, *MS*: 17-2.1a, for which *She King*: 75], has “its benevolence extended even to vegetable life.” The “Xiao xu” states that this ode concerns the faithful generosity of Zhou.

Commentary: This quatrain states that the emperor's good example has already transformed the people and that his good policies maintain the situation to such an extent that even plants and insects benefit. Zhang Hua now alludes to an ode from the "Daya" 大雅 section of *Mao shi* and to Zhang Heng's 張衡 (78-139) "Dongjing fu" 東京賦 (Rhapsody on the Eastern Capital) to compare Jin to the high times of the Zhou and Han dynasties. Nonetheless, on closer inspection he also alludes through a light philosophical piece praising the Han emperor to the transforming power of good conduct popular in *Zhuangzi*. By doing this, Zhang Hua puts an elegant Confucian face on his slightly Daoist message.

億兆夷人， As for the hundred quintillion ordinary men,

22 說仰皇風， They are satisfied to acquiesce to the august teaching;³⁰⁶

丕顯大業， Signally illustrious the grand enterprise,³⁰⁷

24 永世彌崇。 May endless generations still further esteem it!³⁰⁸

³⁰⁵ These two lines, *ren ji caomu, / hui jia kunchong* 仁及草木， / 惠加昆蟲, call to mind those that Wang Bao 王褒 (first century BCE) put into the mouth of the character *fuyou xiansheng* 浮遊先生 (Floating Excursion Senior Scholar) in Selection 444, Wang Bao, "Si zi jiang de lun" 四子講德論, WX: 51.2255: "*en ji feinia, hui jia zoushou*" 恩及飛鳥，惠加走獸 ([As for the worthy and sage lord,] his kindness came up to the flying birds, and his grace was added to the running beasts), for which Xiao Tong directs us to Fascicle 9 "Mati," ZgZ: 4.151: "*zhide zhi shi...qinshou cheng qun, caomu sui zhang*" 至德之世...禽獸成羣，草木遂長, for which *Chuang-Tzu*: 325-26, has "in the age of perfect virtue...Birds and beasts multiplied to flocks and herds; the grass and trees grew luxuriant and long." Note that the term *fuyou* appears in Fascicle 11 "Zaiyou" 在宥, ZgZ: 4.175; and Fascicle 20 "Shanmu" 山木, ZgZ: 7.293.

³⁰⁶ For *huangfeng* 皇風, see Selection 4, Ban Gu, "Dongdu fu" 東都賦, WX: 1.35: "*xuan huangfeng*" 宣皇風, for which *Selections*: 1:163, has "He [the emperor] promulgates august teaching."

³⁰⁷ For *pixian* 丕顯, see Stanza 1, Ode 267 "Wei tian zhi ming," MS: 19-1, 12b: "*wuhu pixian, Wen wang zhi de zhi chun*" 於乎不顯，文王之德之純, for which *Odes*: 239, has "oh, the greatly illustrious one (The ancestor, Wen Wang), oh, the greatness of Wen Wang's virtue." The "Xiao xu" states that this ode concerns the announcement of the achievement of great stability by King Wen. For *daye* 大業, see Fascicle 18 "Pan'geng shang" 盤庚上, ShS: 9.3a: "*shaofu xianwang zhi daye*" 紹復先王之業, for which "Documents:" 20, has "the great possession of the former kings will be continued and renewed." The "Xiao xu" states that this fascicle concerns popular decent when Pan'geng changed the Shang capital for the fifth time. This is a common phrase and seems to be used here simply for a flavor of royal dignity.

Commentary: This quatrain states that the countless ordinary men happily accept the emperor’s example and will continue to do so for as long as he keeps it up. Zhang Hua uses allusions from *Mao shi* and *Shangshu* to compare the emperor to King Wen, King Wu, and King Cheng. He also uses allusions from *Shangsu* and from Ban Gu’s 班固 (32-92) “Dongdu fu” 東都賦 (Rhapsody of the Eastern City) to add a flavor of further dignity. By doing this, Zhang Hua closes the ceremonial hymn with a typical ending, but maintains his emphasis on the ordinary man.

Xun Xu’s “Grand Delight”³⁰⁹

Commentary: We have discussed the title of this hymn with the title of the series.³¹⁰

- 豫順以動， [The hexagram] Delight involves movement done by compliance,³¹¹
- 2 大哉惟時， Grand, verily, indeed, was the timeliness of this!³¹²

³⁰⁸ For *yongshi* 永世, see Stanza 1, Ode 286 “Min yu xiaozi” 閔予小子, *MS*: 19-3.19a: “*yongshi ke xiao*” 永世克孝, for which *Odes*: 248, has “for (long=) endless generations you deserve to be piously revered.” The “Xiao xu” states that this ode concerns inheritance of the appointment by King Cheng at the moot. The phrase *michong* 彌崇 seems to originate with this hymn.

³⁰⁹ See *SgS*: 20.587. Form: 24 lines of 4 syllables. End Rhyme: On even lines, in 2 stanzas of 12 lines, Stanza 1 in the *zhi* 之 rime category; Stanza 2 in the *yu* 魚 rime category. Variants: *YFSJ*: 52.756, has *hui* 暉 for *yao* 曜 in Line 9. Pattern: “Feathers and Flutes.” Topic: Stanza 1, Jin Emperor Xuan and Emperor Wen; Stanza 2, Emperor Wu.

³¹⁰ See Table 3.7 below for side-by-side comparison with other hymns in this series.

³¹¹ For this line, *yushun yi dong* 豫順以動, see Hexagram 16 “Yu” 豫, *ZY*: 2.34b, for which *I Ging*: 2:75, has “die Begeisterung Hingebung an die Bewegung zeigt” (Enthusiasm shows devotion to movement). The “Da xiang” states that this hexagram concerns the former king’s esteeming of virtue and composition of music in sacrificing to the Supreme Holy One with his grandfather and father as coadjutors.

³¹² This line, *dazai wei shi* 大哉惟時, calls to mind the ones in Fascicle 8 “Tai bo” 泰伯, *LY*: 8.6a-6b: “*da zai, Yao zhi wei jun ye*” 大哉，堯之為君也, for which *Lun Yü*: 155, has “Groß wahrlich ist die Art, wie Yau Herrscher war” (Great truly is the way in which Yau was the ruler).

時邁其仁， At the proper season they toured their benevolence,³¹³

4 世載邕熙。 The world was then harmonious and prosperous.

Commentary: This quatrain states that Emperor Xuan and Emperor Wen strove not for themselves, but for the people. The allusions from *Zhou yi*, *Mao shi*, and *Lunyu* imply that the imperial father and grandfather were like Yao or King Wu and could have risen to the throne themselves if not for their concern for the well-being of the people. Thus, it is appropriate that these two should act as coadjutors to Heaven. By doing this, the quatrain praises Emperor Wu's forefathers and encourages emulation of their restraint.

兆我區夏， Establishing our Area of Xia,³¹⁴

6 宣文是基， Xuan and Wen these were the foundation;

大業惟新， The grand enterprise indeed new,³¹⁵

8 我皇隆之。 Our emperor has magnified it.

³¹³ For this line, *shi mai qi ren* 時邁其仁, calls to mind that in Stanza 1, Ode 273 “Shi mai,” *MS*: 19-2.7a: “*shi mai qi bang*” 時邁其邦, for which *Odes*: 242, has “He makes his seasonal tour in his state.” The “Xiao xu” states that this ode concerns offerings made by King Wu.

³¹⁴ This line, *zhao wo quxia* 兆我區夏, calls to mind the one in Fascicle 37, “Kang gao” 康誥, *ShS*: 14.3a: “*yong zhaozao wo quxia*” 用肇造我區夏, for which “Documents:” 39, has “and so he created our (divisional Hia =) section of the Hia (i.e. Chinese speaking) countries.” The “Xiao xu” states that this fascicle concerns King Cheng’s announcement following his smiting of two of his uncles and his feoffment of his uncle Kang 康 (tenth century BCE) with the remaining Shang people.

³¹⁵ For *daye* 大業, see Fascicle 18 “Pan’geng shang” 盤庚上, *ShS*: 9.3a: “*shaofu xianwang zhi daye*” 紹復先王之業, for which “Documents:” 20, has “the great possession of the former kings will be continued and renewed.” The “Xiao xu” states that this fascicle concerns popular decent when Pan’geng changed the Shang capital for the fifth time. For *wei xin* 惟新, see Stanza 1, Ode 235 “Wen wang” 文王, *MS*: 16-1.6b: “*qi ming wei xin*” 其命維新, for which *Odes*: 185, has “its (Zhou’s) (heavenly) appointment is new.” The “Xiao xu” states that this ode concerns King Wen’s receipt of the appointment and foundation of Zhou.

Commentary: This quatrain states that the good governance of Emperor Xuan and Emperor Wen portended the Jin dynasty and provided a foundation for it. The allusions from *Shangshu* and *Mao shi* imply that Emperor Wu justly deserves to reign and that he shall deal fairly with the vanquished. By doing this, the quatrain continues to praise the two emperors and to urge caution.

- 重光累曜， As for their repeated brightness and accumulated shimmer,³¹⁶
- 10 欽明文思， They were respectful, brilliant, civil, and thoughtful;³¹⁷
- 迄用有成， Finally by their practice there was an achievement,³¹⁸
- 12 惟晉之禘。 Indeed the fortuity of Jin.³¹⁹

Commentary: This quatrain completes the stanza and states that Emperor Xuan and Emperor Wen were unfailingly good rulers and that their enterprise was finally achieved by Emperor Wu. The allusions from *Shangshu* and *Mao shi* imply that the two emperors were for Emperor Wu what King Wen was for King Wu and that the guidance the late emperors have left the emperor will allow him to rule with the enlightenment of Yao. By doing this,

³¹⁶ Variants: *hui* 暉 for *yao* 曜. Given the greater fidelity of *Song shu*, *yao* is correct. For *chongguang* 重光, see Fascicle 50 “Gu ming” 顧命, *ShS*: 18.15a: “*xuan chongguang*” 宣重光, for which “Documents:” 70, has “(King Wen and King Wu of Zhou) displayed (their repeated brightness=) their brightness one after the other.” The “Xiao xu” states that this fascicle concerns King Cheng’s deathbed appointment of Duke Shao 召公 (tenth century BCE) to assist King Kang 康王 (r.1005-978 BCE).

³¹⁷ For this line, *qinming wensi* 欽明文思, see Fascicle 1 “Yao dian,” *ShS*: 2.6b: “*qinming wensi an’an*” 欽明文思安安, for which “Documents:” 1, has “He was reverent, enlightened, accomplished, sincere, and peaceful (mild).” The “Xiao xu” states that this fascicle concerns the reign of Yao.

³¹⁸ For this line, *qi yong you cheng* 迄用有成, see Ode 268 “Wei qing” 維清, *MS*: 19-1.15b, for which *Odes*: 240, has “and by them (the sacrifices initiated by King Wen of Zhou) it has come to an achievement.” The “Xiao xu” states that this ode concerns sacrificing to King Wen.

³¹⁹ This line, *wei Jin zhi qi* 惟晉之禘, calls to mind the one in Ode 268 “Wei qing,” *MS*: 19-1.15b: “*wei Zhou zhi zhen*” 維周之禎, for which *Odes*: 240, has “the good fortune of Chou.” The “Xiao xu” states that this ode concerns sacrificing to King Wen.

the quatrain once again emphasizes the firmness of the foundation created by Emperor Xuan and Emperor Wen and urges that the emperor continue to follow their guidance.

穆穆聖皇， How profound the sagacious emperor!³²⁰

14 受命既固， His receipt of the appointment is heretofore solid;³²¹

品物咸寧， All things and matters entirely quieted,³²²

16 芳烈雲布。 His fragrant eminence cloudlike unfurls.

Commentary: This quatrain states that Emperor Wu has inherited the peace and ascended the throne to great renown. The allusions from *Mao shi* and *Zhou yi* imply that, like King Wu, Emperor Wu has inherited the empire due in great part to his forefathers' achievements and that now it is time to work on civil accomplishments. By doing this, the quatrain continues the message of restraint.

文教旁通， His civil doctrine penetrating everywhere,³²³

³²⁰ This line, *mumu shenghuang* 穆穆聖皇, calls to mind the one in Stanza 4, Ode 299 “Pan shui” 泮水, *MS*: 2:20-1.16b-17a: “*mumu Lu hou*” 穆穆魯侯, for which *Odes*: 256, has “August is the prince of Lu.” The “Xiao xu” states that this ode concerns eulogizing Duke Xi of Lu for his work on ritual buildings. For this line, see also Fu Xuan’s “Correct Virtue” (*zhengde* 正德) above. For further discussion of the meaning of *mumu*, see *Hymnen*: 201.

³²¹ For this line, *shouming ji gu* 受命既固, see Stanza 2, Ode 241 “Huang yi” 皇矣, *MS*: 16-4.5a, for which *Odes*: 194, has “the given appointment became (solid:) sure.” The “Xiao xu” states that this ode concerns the cession of Shang to Zhou and the virtue of King Wen.

³²² This line, *pinwu xian ning* 品物咸寧, calls to mind that in Hexagram 2 “Kun” 坤, *ZY*: 1.22a: “*pinwu xian heng*” 品物咸亨, for which *I Ging*: 2:14, has “Durch dasselbe kommen alle Einzelwesen zum Gelingen” (Through it (*kun* 坤 the receptive) come all individual beings to success). The “Da xiang” states that this hexagram concerns the gentleman’s containing of matters through hospitable virtue. For *xian ning*, see Hexagram 1 “Qian” 乾, *ZY*: 1.7b: “*shou chu shu wu, wanguo xian ning*” 首出庶物，萬國咸寧, for which *I Ging*: 2:3, has “Wenn er sich mit seinem Haupt über die Menge der Wesen erhebt, so kommen alle Lande zusammen in Ruhe” (When he (the Holy One) rises with his head above the crowd of beings, all lands come together in peace). The “Da xiang” states that this hexagram concerns the gentleman’s going without rest in order to build strength.

- 18 篤以淳素， [The people] are made honest by means of his purity and simplicity;
 玄化洽暢， His profound transforming influence widespread expanding,
 20 被之暇豫。 It blankets them with leisurely delight.

Commentary: This quatrain states that having set up his moderate civil administration, Emperor Wu now enjoys time for reflection and personal development. The allusion from *Shangshu* implies that, like Yu the founder of the Xia dynasty, the emperor has taken appropriate measures for culture and education. By doing this, the quatrain continues to emphasize moderation in government and enrichment of the people.

- 作樂崇德， His having composed music and esteemed virtue,³²⁴
 22 同美韶濩， [“Grand Delight”] is one with the beauty of “Successive
 Preservation;”³²⁵
 濬邈幽遐， Profound and far-reaching, deliquescent and far-removed,
 24 式遵王度。 He observantly adheres to the royal measure.

³²³ For *wenjiao* 文教, see Fascicle 6 “Yu gong” 禹貢, *ShS*: 6.31b: “*sanbai li kui wenjiao*” 三百里揆文教, for which “Documents:” 18, has “the 1st 300 li take measures for culture and instruction.” The “Xiao xu” states that this fascicle concerns the merit of Yu.

³²⁴ For this line, *zuo yue chong de* 作樂崇德, see Hexagram 16 “Yu,” *ZY*: 2.35b: “*lei chu di fen, yu. Xianwang yi zuo yue chong de, yin jian zhi Shangdi, yi pei zukao*” 雷出地奮，豫。先王以作樂崇德，殷薦之上帝，以配祖考, for which *I Ging*: 1:50, 2:75, has “Der Donner kommt aus der Erde hervorgetönt: das Bild der Begeisterung. So machten die alten Könige Musik, um die Verdienste zu ehren und brachten sie herrlich dem höchsten Gott dar, indem sie ihre Ahnen dazu einluden” (Thunder comes out of the earth resoundingly: The Image of Enthusiasm. So made the old kings music, in order to honor merit and they marvelously brought it to the High God, as they invited in their ancestors). The “Da xiang” states that this hexagram concerns the former king’s esteeming of virtue and composition of music in sacrificing to the Supreme Holy One with his grandfather and father as coadjutors.

³²⁵ “Successive Preservation” is another name for “Grand Preservation,” a ritual musical movement associated with Tang the founder of the Shang dynasty. See *ZL*: 22.8b-9a, *ZuZ*: 39.8b-20b, and Chapter 1 above.

Commentary: This quatrain completes the stanza and states that this ballet is equal to those of the Three Eras because the emperor knows what is appropriate and does what he should. The allusion from *Zhou yi* implies that the emperor esteems music and honors his father and grandfather as coadjutors of Heaven as did the sage kings of old. By doing this, the quatrain finishes the hymn with the message of the need to balance civil accomplishments and martial achievements.

Fu Xuan's "Grand Delight"³²⁶

Commentary: We have discussed the title of this hymn with the title of the series.³²⁷

- 於鑠皇晉， Oh, resplendent is the Emperor of Jin!³²⁸
- 2 配天受命， Matching Heaven he received the appointment;³²⁹
- 熙帝之光， Making flourish the emperor's brightness,
- 4 世德惟聖， Generations of virtue have indeed been sagacious;
- 嘉樂大豫， As for the fine music of "Grand Delight,"³³⁰

³²⁶ See SgS: 20.582. Jian (1987) does not include this hymn. Form: 10 lines of 4 syllables. End Rhyme: On even lines, in 2 stanzas of 6 and 4 lines, Stanza 1 in the *geng* 耕 rime category; Stanza 2 in the *zhi* 之 rime category. Variants: None. Pattern: "Promulgating Martial Deeds." Topic: Stanzas 1 and 2, Jin Emperor Wu and the composition of the hymn.

³²⁷ See Table 3.7 below for side-by-side comparison with other hymns in this series.

³²⁸ For this line, *wu shuo huangjin* 於鑠皇晉, calls to mind the one in Ode 293 "Zhuo" 酌, MS: 19-4, 16a: "*wu shuo wang shi*" 於鑠王師, for which *Odes*: 252, has "Oh, fine is the king's army!" The "Xiao xu" states that this ode concerns the ability of the Duke of Zhou to consider the way of his ancestors in raising all under heaven.

³²⁹ This line, *pei tian shou ming* 配天受命, calls to mind those in Stanza 2, Ode 241 "Huang yi" 皇矣, MS: 16-4.5a: "*tian li jue pei./ shouming ji gu*" 天立厥配，/受命既固, for which *Odes*: 194, has "Heaven established for itself a counterpart (on earth), the given appointment became (solid:) sure." The "Xiao xu" states that this ode concerns the cession of Shang to Zhou and the virtue of King Wen.

6 保佑萬姓。 It protects and helps the myriad surnames.

Commentary: This sixain states that having received the mandate of Heaven thanks to the efforts of his father and grandfather, Emperor Wu had this ballet composed for the benefit of the people. The allusions from *Mao shi* imply that the emperor strives to emulate his forefathers whose achievements he now enjoys. By doing this, the sixain emphasizes the accomplishments of Emperor Xuan and Emperor Wen and the diligence of Emperor Wu.

- 淵兮不竭， His sagacity is profound, inexhaustible,
- 8 沖而用之， Modestly he uses it;³³¹
- 先天弗違， Innately not disobeying,³³²
- 10 虔奉天時。 He sincerely observes the heavenly seasons.

Commentary: This quatrain praises the emperor for his humble obedience to Heaven and for his timeliness. The allusion from *Laozi* implies that Emperor Wu moves naturally through his paces without a misstep, always moving, but never too fast or too far. By doing this, the quatrain finishes the hymn with a final emphasis on taking appropriate action at the appropriate time.

³³⁰ For *jiayue* 嘉樂, see Du Yu's 杜預 (third-fourth century) commentary to Year 10, Annal 11 "Ding gong" 定公; *ZuZ*: 56.3b: "*jiayue, zhong qing ye*" 嘉樂，鍾磬也 (Fine music is bells and lithophones).

³³¹ For this line, *chong er yong zhi* 沖而用之, see Chapter 4, *LZ*: 1.3: "*dao chong er yong zhi huo bu ying*" 道沖而用之或不盈, for which *Laotse*: 37, has "Der SINN ist immer strömend. Aber er läuft in seinem Wirken doch nie über" (The SPIRIT is always flowing. But it goes into its action yet never exceeds it).

³³² For this line, *xiantian fu wei* 先天弗違, see Wang Can 王粲 (177-217), "Qi shi" 七釋, *YWLJ*: 57.1030.

3.4.4 Content

These three hymns, as well, varied greatly from each other. As Martial Ballets, their general topics are much less philosophical. Zhang Hua, as before, is more replete than the other two, covering the three pre-dynastic emperors, Emperor Wu, and the composition of the ballet. Xun Xu presents an idealized portrayal of Emperor Wu, his father, and his grandfather, but does not address the ballet directly. Fu Xuan describes in idealized terms only Emperor Wu's ascension to the throne and the ballet's composition and movements. As expected, we see some euphemistic description of military action, but much less than in past generations. Zhang Hua speaks of calming the totality and possessing the multitudinous countries and Xun Xu of portending our Area of Xia, all of which imply the military conquests leading up to the abdication. Fu Xuan, however, avoids the subject altogether. The three authors also make use of autoreference to the sacrificial event. Zhang Hua and Fu Xuan do so directly, describing as they do the composition of the ballet and giving its title. Xun Xu, on the other hand, slips it in unobtrusively by starting the first line with the second character of the title, "Delight" (*yu* 豫) and the second line with the first character, "Grand" (*da* 大). As before, the declamation of political ideology is toned down from earlier ballets. Zhang Hua makes the same implications with his Daoist allusions, while Xun Xu and Fu Xuan drop less subtle hints of submission, timeliness, restraint, and transformation through civil example. These hymns rely even less upon motifs than did their sister series. While all three hymns mention the title of the ballet, either directly or indirectly, and continue to use comparison to the near and legendary past, none of them make any mention of props and only Xun Xu's hymn

makes any mention of legendary titles. Xun Xu also borrows Fu Xuan's favorite phrase "sagacious emperor," which Fu Xuan foregoes in this series.

3.4.5 Formal Structure

The varied relationship between "Grand Delight" and "Promulgating Martial Deeds" seems to clarify the relationship between "Correct Virtue" and "Promulgating Civility." Zhang Hua's version of "Grand Delight" uses three tetrameter octaves, the first using an even-tone *yin* rime category and the other two even-tone *yang* rime categories. None of the "Promulgating Martial Deeds" hymns have three stanzas, nor the "Promulgating Civility" hymns, but the third of the earlier Martial Ballets, "Military Garrison," does share the same stanza length and even the same rime category, the *zhi* 脂 rime category (*-əi), as Zhang Hua's first stanza. These facts, when coupled with Zhang Hua's passion for octaves, as well as the total line count of twenty-four, thus matching its sister Civil Ballet, lead me to assess that this hymn was the primary basis for his regularized Martial Ballet. Xun Xu's version of "Grand Delight" uses two tetrameter douzains with an even-tone *yin* rime category and a deflected-tone *yin* rime category. None of the "Promulgating Martial Deeds" hymns have two stanzas or use douzains, but both of the "Promulgating Civility" hymns do and the first hymn of this series "Feathers and Flutes" was previously performed as a Martial Ballet. Thus, I assess that this hymn was the primary basis for Xun Xu's regularized Martial Ballet, whereas his "Correct Virtue" would have been based on "Feathers and Proclamation-Bells" alone.³³³ Finally, Fu Xuan's version of "Grand Delight" uses a sixain and a quatrain with a

³³³ The second stanza of both hymns also use the phrase "sagacious emperor." See Table 3.7 below.

deflected-tone *yang* rime category and an even-tone *yin* rime category. While none of his earlier Martial Ballet hymns used such a mixture, two of these hymns, his second and fourth, “Short Weapon” and “Exhausted Martial Deeds,” used dizains, which would equal a sixain and a quatrain. Thus, I assess that these two hymns were the primary basis for Fu Xuan’s regularized Martial Ballet. As with the assessment of the three “Correct Virtue” hymns above, these three assessments accord with the statements in *Wei shu* and *Tongdian*.

3.4.6 Place in Literary History

In its turn, “Grand Delight” also set the standard for Martial Ballets performed in the Ancestral Temple and at the Suburban Altars for the next three hundred years, excluding the Northern Zhou dynasty. Zhang Hua’s new hymn continued in use throughout the Jin dynasty, with the exception of only the Assembly dinners and less formal occasions, where during the Eastern Jin dynasty it was replaced by livelier fare. During the Liu-Song dynasty, in 420 Wang Shaozhi rewrote the hymn as “Latter Ballet” (*houwu* 後舞), but using two stanzas in deflected tone and even tone, similar to Xun Xu, and using the same pitch-standard traditionally specified for “Grand Capaciousness” and in 455 the same hymn was renamed “Martial Ballet” (*wuwu* 武舞).³³⁴ During the Southern Qi dynasty, in 495 minor changes were anonymously made to the lyrics and the hymn was renamed “Promulgating Eminence” (*xuanlie* 宣烈).³³⁵ During the Liang dynasty, in 505 Shen Yue rewrote the hymn as “Grand Stoutness” (*dazhuang* 大壯) using the same pitch-standard traditionally specified for “Grand Preservation” and using a single even-tone rime category for both stanzas. At this time, the

³³⁴ See *SgS*: 19.542-43, 20.596-97, *NQS*: 11.190, and Table 3.6 below.

³³⁵ See *NQS*: 11.189. Chan Wai-leung places this change in Liu-Song. See Chan (1970), 160.

Martial Ballet was moved forward in the liturgy so as to precede the Civil Ballet as it had before the Wei dynasty.³³⁶ During the Chen dynasty, initially in 557 the Southern Qi ballet was adopted, next in 569 the Liang ballet was adopted, and finally this ballet was renamed “Nine Sequences” (*jiuxu* 九序) with no changes to lyrics, title, or pitch-standard.³³⁷

Meanwhile, during the Northern Wei dynasty, in 510 Liu Fang recast the Martial Ballet, simply calling it “Martial Ballet” and retaining its place in the liturgy behind the Civil Ballet. His lyrics, however, do not survive and nothing else is recorded of them.³³⁸ The Eastern Wei / Northern Qi and Western Wei dynasties seem to have followed suit using the same nomenclature as Northern Wei, whereas the Northern Zhou attempted to establish an idealized system of six ballets. An anonymous Northern Qi “Martial Ballet” survives in much the same vein as Xun Xu’s “Grand Delight,” using a deflected tone for the first stanza and an even tone for the second stanza.³³⁹ Finally, during the Sui dynasty, changes were made anonymously to the formal structure of “Martial Ballet,” with an Ancestral Temple version having only eighteen lines divided into three sixains using an even-tone *yang* rime category, a deflected-tone *yin* rime category, and an even-tone *yang* rime category and a Round Mound version having only twenty lines divided into two octaves and a quatrain using a deflected-tone entering rime category, a deflected-tone *yin* rime category, and a deflected-tone *yin* rime category, but retaining its place in the liturgy behind the Civil Ballet. Regardless, the same costumes and props continued in use from the Wei dynasty through the Sui dynasty.³⁴⁰

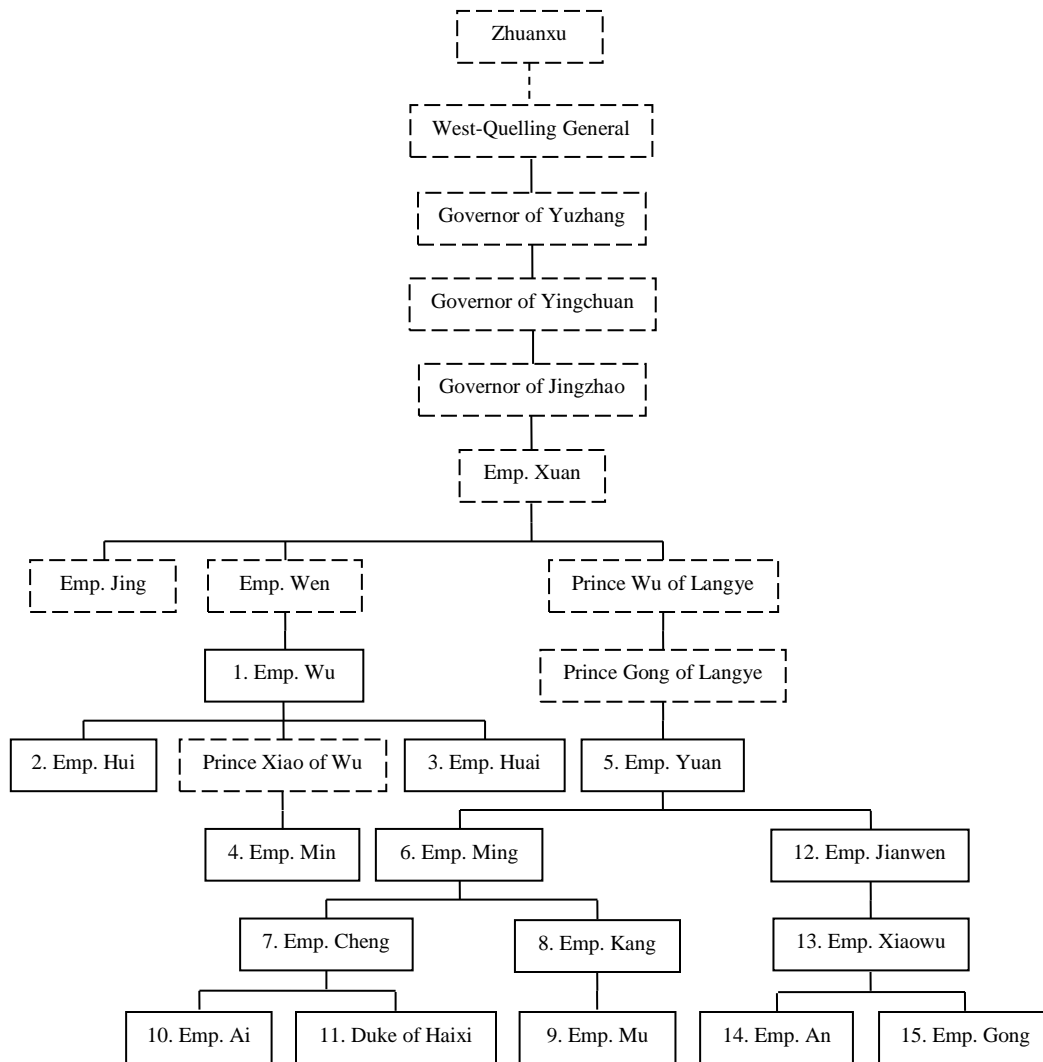
³³⁶ See *SuS*: 13.292-93, 13.301, 13.303, and 13.308. Chan Wai-leung misses this change altogether. See Chan (1970), 159-60.

³³⁷ See *SuS*: 13.307-9.

³³⁸ See *WS*: 109.2830-33, 109.2836-41

³³⁹ See *SuS*: 14.328-29, 14.331-33, and Table 3.4 below.

³⁴⁰ See *SuS*: 15.361 and 15.370-71.

Figure 3.1 Jin Dynasty Rulers**Notes:**

1. Solid boxes represent figures who reigned.
2. Dashed boxes represent figures who were posthumously titled or whose descendants inherited the throne.
3. Solid lines represent parent-child relationship.
4. Dashed lines represent remote relationship.
5. Data based on information from *Jin shu* annals and treatises.
6. See Table 3.1 below for more information.

Table 3.1 Jin Dynasty Rulers

Temple Name 廟號	Posthumous Name 諡號	Birth Name 姓名	Remarks
Western Jin			
Shizu 始祖	Zhuanxu 顓頊		Legendary
	West-Quelling General 征西將軍 (never reigned)	Sima Jun 司馬鈞 (d.115)	Nominally descended from Zhuanxu
	Governor of Yuzhang 豫章府君 (never reigned)	Sima Liang 司馬量 (second century)	Son of Sima Jun
	Governor of Yingchuan 潁川府君 (never reigned)	Sima Jun ² 司馬儁 (second century)	Son of Sima Liang
	Governor of Jingzhao 京兆府君 (never reigned)	Sima Fang 司馬防 (second century)	Son of Sima Jun ²
Gaozu 高祖	Emperor Xuan 宣皇 (never reigned)	Sima Yi 司馬懿 (179-251)	Second son of Sima Fang
Shizong 世宗	Emperor Jing 景皇 (never reigned)	Sima Shi 司馬師 (208-255)	Eldest son of Sima Yi
Taizu 太祖	Emperor Wen 文皇 (never reigned)	Sima Zhao 司馬昭 (211-265)	Second son of Sima Yi
	Prince Wu of Langye 琅邪武王 (never reigned)	Sima Zhou 司馬佑 (227-283)	Fifth son of Sima Yi
Shizu 世祖	Emperor Wu 武皇 (r.265-290)	Sima Yan 司馬炎 (236-290)	Eldest son of Sima Zhao
	Prince Gong of Langye 琅邪恭王 (never reigned)	Sima Guan 司馬觀 (256-290)	Eldest son of Sima Zhou
	Emperor Hui 惠皇 (r.290-306)	Sima Zhong 司馬衷 (259-306)	Second son of Sima Yan
	Prince Xiao of Wu 吳孝王 (never reigned)	Sima Yan ² 司馬晏 (281-311)	Twelfth son of Sima Yan
	Emperor Huai 懷皇 (r.307-313)	Sima Chi 司馬熾 (284-313)	Twenty-fifth son of Sima Yan
	Emperor Min 愍皇 (r.313-317)	Sima Ye 司馬業 (300-317)	Son of Sima Yan ²
Eastern Jin			
Zhongzong 中宗	Emperor Yuan 元皇 (r.317-322)	Sima Rui 司馬睿 (276-322)	Son of Sima Guan
Suzu 肅祖	Emperor Ming 明皇 (r.322-325)	Sima Shao 司馬紹 (298-325)	Eldest son of Sima Rui
Xianzong 顯宗	Emperor Cheng 成皇 (r.325-342)	Sima Yan ³ 司馬衍 (321-342)	Eldest son of Sima Shao
	Emperor Kang 康皇 (r.343-344)	Sima Yue 司馬岳 (322-344)	Son of Sima Shao
Xiaozong 孝宗	Emperor Mu 穆皇 (r.345-361)	Sima Dan 司馬聃 (343-361)	Son of Sima Yue
	Emperor Ai 哀皇 (r.362-365)	Sima Pi 司馬丕 (341-365)	Eldest son of Sima Yan ³
	Duke of Haixi 海西公 (r.366-371)	Sima Yi ² 司馬奕 (342-386)	Son of Sima Yan ³
Taizong 太宗	Emperor Jianwen 簡文皇 (r.371-372)	Sima Yu 司馬昱 (320-372)	Youngest son of Sima Rui
Liezong 烈宗	Emperor Xiaowu 孝武皇 (r.373-396)	Sima Yao 司馬曜 (362-396)	Third son of Sima Yu

Table 3.1 Jin Dynasty Rulers

Temple Name 廟號	Posthumous Name 諡號	Birth Name 姓名	Remarks
	Emperor An 安皇 (r.397-418)	Sima Dezong 司馬德宗 (382-418)	Eldest son of Sima Yao
	Emperor Gong 恭皇 (r.419-420)	Sima Dewen 司馬德文 (386-421)	Son of Sima Yao

Notes: Data based on information from *Jin shu* annals and treatises.

Table 3.2 Meter and Rhyme of the Jin Sacrificial Hymns

Music	Hymn	Meter	Rhyme
Short Canticles	West-Quelling Gen. 1	44444444 (8-4)	XAXAXAXA
	Gov. of Yuzhang 1	44444444 (8-4)	XAXAXAXA
	Gov. of Yingchuan 1	44444444 (8-4)	XAXAXAXA
	Gov. of Jingzhao 1	44444444 (8-4)	XAXAXAXA
	Emp. Kang 2	44444444 (8-4)	XAXAXAXA
Long Canticles	Emp. Xuan 1	44[44] / 4444 / 4444 (12-4)	XA[XA] / XBXB / XCXC ³⁴¹
	Emp. Jing 1	4444 / 4444 / 4444 (12-4)	XAXA / XBXB / XCXC
	Emp. Wen 1	4444 / 4444 / 4444 (12-4)	XAXA / XBXB / XCXC
	Emp. Xuan 2	4444 / 4444 / 4444 (12-4)	XAXA / XAXA / XAXA
	Emp. Jing 2	4444 / 4444 / 4444 (12-4)	XAXA / XAXA / XAXA
	Emp. Wen 2	4444 / 4444 / 4444 (12-4)	XAXA / XAXA / XAXA
	Emp. Wu 2	4444 / 4444 / 4444 (12-4)	XAXA / XAXA / XAXA
	Emp. Yuan 2	4444 / 4444 / 4444 (12-4)	XAXA / XAXA / XAXA
	Emp. Ming 2	4444 / 4444 / 4444 (12-4)	XAXA / XAXA / XAXA
	Emp. Cheng 2	4444 / 4444 / 4444 (12-4)	XAXA / XAXA / XAXA
	Emp. Mu 2	4444 / 4444 / 4444 (12-4)	XAXA / XAXA / XAXA
	Emp. Ai 2	4444 / 4444 / 4444 (12-4)	XAXA / XAXA / XAXA
	Emp. Jianwen 3	4444 / 4444 / 4444 (12-4)	XAXA / XAXA / XAXA
	Emp. Xiaowu 3	4444 / 4444 / 4444 (12-4)	XAXA / XAXA / XAXA
Victim Processional	Sub. 1	44444444 / 44444444 (16-4)	XAXABBXB / XCXCXDXD
	Anc. 1	44444446 (8-4V)	XAXAXBXB
	Sub. 2	44444444 (8-4)	XAXAXAXA ³⁴²
General Processional	Sub. 1	444444 / 444444 (12-4)	XAXAXA / XAXAXA
	Anc. 1	444444 / 444444 (12-4)	XAXAXA / XBXBXB
	Sub. 2	[44]4444 / 444444 (12-4)	[XA]XAXA / XAXAXA ³⁴³
Sub. 1 Offertories	Heaven	3333 / 3333 / 3333 / [3333] / 3333 / 3333 / 3333 / 3333 / 3333 / 3333 (44-3)	XAXA / XAXA / XBXB / [XCXC] / XDXD / XEXE / XFXF / XGXG / XHXH / XIXI / XIXI ³⁴⁴
	Earth	3333 / 3333 / 3333 / 3333 / 3333 / 3333 / 3333 / 3333 / 3333 / 3333 (44-3)	XAXA / XAXA / XBXB / XCXC / XDXD / XEXE / XFXF / XGXG / XHXH / XIXI / XIXI
	Supreme Holy One	4444 / 4444 / 4444 (12-4)	XAXA / XBXB / XCXC
Sub. 2 Offertories	Heaven	4444 / 4444 / 4444 (12-4)	XAXA / XAXA / XAXA
	Earth	4444 / 4444 / 4444 (12-4)	XAXA / XAXA / XAXA
	Five Essential	444444 / 444444 (12-4)	XAXAXA / XBXBXB

³⁴¹ The lines of the second couplet of the received version of this hymn seem to be reversed. This configuration represents what the hymn would look like with the lines in their proper order.

³⁴² The received version of this hymn has an extra couplet attached in front, apparently taken from the front of the next hymn in the series. This configuration represents what the hymn would look like with the extra couplet removed.

³⁴³ The received version of this hymn has a laguna where the first couplet should be. This configuration represents what the hymn would look like with the laguna filled from the initial couplet of the preceding hymn in the series.

³⁴⁴ The received version of this hymn has a laguna where the fourth quatrain should be. This configuration represents what the hymn would look like with the laguna filled.

Table 3.2 Meter and Rhyme of the Jin Sacrificial Hymns

Music	Hymn	Meter	Rhyme
	Holy Ones		
Di Offering Offertories	Anc. 1	444444 / 4444 / 4444 / 4444 (18-4)	XAXAXA / XBXB / XCXC / XDXD
Seasonal Offertories	Anc. 1	444433334 / 444433334 / 444433334 (27-X)	XAXAXBXB / XCXCXDXDX / XEXEXFXFX
	Anc. 2	444433334 / [4444]34334 / 444433334 (27-X)	XAXAXBXB / [XCXC]XDXDX / XEXEXFXFX ³⁴⁵

Notes:

1. Music Column: Titles represent the title of the category.
2. Hymn Column: Titles represent the *Song shu* title or series of the hymn. Numbers represent the number of the series.
3. Meter Column: Each number in a series represents the length of a line in the hymn. Slashes (/) represent the beginning of a new stanza. Parenthetical numbers (#-#) represent the total number of lines and the line length, with the number “3” as a line length including hymns with pure trimeter, with the number “4” as a line length including hymns with pure tetrameter, with the letter “V” indicating a variant of the designated line length, and with the letter “X” including only hymns with irregular line length.
4. Rhyme Column: Letters “A” through “I” represent lines with individual rime categories. Letter “X” represents unrhymed lines. Slashes (/) represent the beginning of a new stanza.
5. Data based on information from *Song shu* treatises.

³⁴⁵ The received version of this hymn has a laguna where the first quatrain of the second stanza should be. This configuration represents what the hymn would look like with the laguna filled.

Table 3.3A Jin to Sui Ballet Titles

Purpose	Ode	晉		劉宋		南齊	梁	陳			北魏		北齊	北周	隋
		266	275	420	455	495	505	557	569	573	398	510	561	566	589
Composed		266	275	420	455	495	505	557	569	573	398	510	561	566	589
Sacrificial Music Category	X	太樂	太樂	太樂	太樂	太樂	太樂	太樂	太樂	太樂	太樂	太樂	太樂	太樂	太樂
Huangdi Heaven	X	宣文宣武	正德大豫	前舞後舞	韶舞武舞	凱容宣烈	大壯大觀	凱容宣烈	大壯大觀	七德九序	皇矣雲門	文舞武舞	高明覆燾武德昭烈	大夏……	文舞武舞
Yao Earth	X	宣文宣武	正德大豫	前舞後舞	韶舞武舞	凱容宣烈	大壯大觀	凱容宣烈	大壯大觀	七德九序	天祚大武	文舞武舞	高明覆燾武德昭烈	大漢……	文舞武舞
Shun Civil Ballet	293	宣文羽鐸	正德	前舞	韶舞	凱容	大觀	凱容	大觀	九序	文始	文舞	文舞	正德……	文舞
King Wen	293										勺	?	?	?	X
Yu Civil Ballet	154										?	?	?	大夏……	X
King Wu	268										宣文羽籥	皇始	皇始	武德昭烈	山雲武德……
King Wu Martial Ballet	268 285 295 293 296 294	宣武	大豫	後舞	武舞	宣烈	大壯	宣烈	大壯	七德	五行	武舞	武舞	大武……	武舞
Tang	304 305										?	?	?	大漢……	X
Four Tribes	X										?	?	?	?	X
Eastern Tribes	X	聖皇									東夷	?	?	?	X
Southern Tribes	X	軍鎮									吳夷	?	?	?	X
Western Tribes	X	窮武									西戎	?	?	?	X
Northern Tribes	X	短兵									?	?	?	?	X

Notes:

1. Other ballets included those for other ancestors and for the Five Holy Ones.
2. 北魏雲門 was also known as 雲和.
3. Data based on information *Shisanjing zhushu* and from *Shi ji*, *Han shu*, *Hou Han shu*, *Jin shu*, *Song shu*, *Nan Qi shu*, *Wei shu*, and *Sui shu* treatises.

Table 3.3B Jin to Sui Processional Titles

Purpose	Ode	晉	劉宋	南齊	梁		陳		北魏	北齊	北周	隋
Entrance of monarch 皇帝入	272	?	永至	永至	皇雅	永至	皇雅	穆韶	王夏	皇夏	皇夏	皇夏
Exit of monarch 皇帝出	272	?	休成	休成	皇雅	休成	皇雅	穆韶	總章	皇夏	皇夏	皇夏
Ascension of monarch 皇帝升	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	皇夏	皇夏	皇夏
Entrance and exit of impersonator 尸出入	273	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Calling down of god 降神	X	降神	X	X	X	X	X	通韶	X	X	昭夏	X
Welcoming of god 迎神	X	迎神	昭夏	昭夏	誠雅	昭夏	誠雅	X	迎神	高明覆燾	X	昭夏
Seeing off of god 送神	X	送神	昭夏	肆夏	誠雅	昭夏	誠雅	X	送神	高明覆燾	X	昭夏
Entrance and exit of officials 群臣出入	276	?	肅咸	肅咸	俊雅	肅咸	俊雅	懋韶	?	肆夏	?	?
Evening inspection of the sacrificial victim 夕牲	X	夕牲	夕牲	?	滌雅	?	滌雅	?	X	X	X	X
Entrance and exit of the sacrificial victim 牲出入	274	?	引牲	引牲	?	引犧	?	潔韶	?	昭夏	?	?
Furnishing of stemmed meat, pelt, and blood 薦豆毛血	X	X	嘉薦	嘉薦	牲雅	嘉薦	牲雅	X	X	昭夏	昭夏	誠夏
Arranging of jade and silk 奠玉帛	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	?	昭夏	?
Exit of ancestor-specific ballet 出廟舞	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Entrance of Civil and Martial Ballets 入文武二舞	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	階步	X	肆夏
Exit of Civil and Martial Ballets 出文武二舞	X	禮容	階步	階步	X	階步	X	X	陸步	X	X	肆夏
Removal of food 撤饌	282	?	?	?	雍雅	?	雍雅	康韶	?	?	?	?
Drinking of felicitous ale 飲福酒	X	X	嘉祚	永祚	獻雅	嘉祚	獻雅	嘉韶	X	皇夏	皇夏	需夏
End of proffering and removal of arrangements 終獻撤奠	X	X	永安	X	X	X	X	X	神祚	X	雍樂	X

Table 3.3B Jin to Sui Processional Titles

Purpose	Ode	晉	劉宋	南齊	梁		陳		北魏	北齊	北周	隋
Taking of position for cremation 就燎位	X	X	昭遠	昭遠	禋雅	昭遠	禋雅	報韶	維皇	昭夏	皇夏	X
Taking of position for burial 就埋位	X	X	隸幽	隸幽		隸幽						X
Entrance and exit of foreign dignitaries 蕃客出入	275	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	納夏	?
Entrance and exit of dukes 公出入	278	?	?	?	寅雅	?	寅雅	變韶	?	肆夏	驚夏	?
Entrance and exit of consort 皇后出入	279	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Entrance and exit of heir 太子出入	X	X	X	X	胤雅	X	胤雅	X	X	X	肆夏	肆夏
Feasting of relatives 宴族人	277	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	族夏	?
Presentation of longevity ale 上壽酒	X	上壽	上壽	上壽	介雅	上壽	介雅	綏韶	?	上壽	?	上壽
Dining on whole offering 食舉	X	食舉	食舉	食舉	需雅	食舉	需雅	侑韶	?	食舉	深夏	食舉

Notes:

1. Includes processional titles for the feast following the sacrifices.
2. 群臣出入 and 夕牲 are often the same step.
3. 北齊就燎位昭夏 was also known as 皇夏.
4. Data based on information *Shisanjing zhushu* and from *Shi ji*, *Han shu*, *Hou Han shu*, *Jin shu*, *Song shu*, *Nan Qi shu*, *Wei shu*, and *Sui shu* treatises.

Table 3.3C Jin to Sui Canticle and Offertory Titles

Purpose	Ode	晉	劉宋	南齊	梁	陳	北魏	北齊	北周	隋
Ancestral Temple	266	登歌	登歌	登歌	登歌	登歌	登歌	登歌	登歌	登歌
Suburban Sacrifices	X	饗神	饗神	登歌	登歌	登歌	樂舞	樂舞	登歌	登歌
Collective Sacrifices	280	X	享神	?	?	?	?	樂舞	樂舞	?
	282	饗神	X	?	?	?	?	樂舞	樂舞	?
Seasonal Sacrifices	298	饗神	X	X	X	X	X	樂舞	樂舞	?
		四時								

Notes:

1. Southern Qi, Chen, Northern Wei, and Northern Qi Ancestral Temple canticles had accompanying ancestor-specific ballets.
2. Data based on information *Shisanjing zhushu* and from *Shi ji*, *Han shu*, *Hou Han shu*, *Jin shu*, *Song shu*, *Nan Qi shu*, *Wei shu*, and *Sui shu* treatises.

Table 3.4 Jin to Sui Major Sacrificial Sites and Gods Compared

Suburban Sacrifices				Ancestral Temple			
Jin	Liang	Northern Qi	Sui	Jin	Liang	Northern Qi	Sui
Southern Suburban Altar: Heaven	Southern Suburban Altar: Heaven	Round Mound: Heaven	Round Mound: Heaven	Ancestral Temple: Nine generations	Ancestral Temple: Seven generations	Same	Same
		Southern Suburban Altar: Heavenly Deities					
Northern Suburban Altar: Earth	Northern Suburban Altar: Earth	Square Mere: Earth	Square Mound: Earth				
		Northern Suburban Altar: Earthly Divinities					
Great Shrine: Soil God, Millet God	Great Shrine: Soil God	Great Shrine: Soil God	Soil and Millet Shrine: Soil God, Millet God				
Imperial Shrine: Soil God, Millet God	Imperial Shrine: Soil God	Imperial Shrine: Soil God					
	Great Millet Altar: Millet God	Great Millet Altar: Millet God					
Eastern Suburban Altar: Blue Holy One	Blue Suburban Altar: Blue Holy One	Same	Same	N/A	Hall of Brilliance: Great Unity, Blue Holy One, Scarlet Holy One, Yellow Holy One, White Holy One, Black Holy One, Lord Earth	Same	Same
Southern Suburban Altar: Scarlet Holy One	Scarlet Suburban Altar: Scarlet Holy One	Same	Same				
Central Suburban Altar: Yellow Holy One	Yellow Suburban Altar: Yellow Holy One	Same	Same				

Table 3.4 Jin to Sui Major Sacrificial Sites and Gods Compared

Western Suburban Altar: White Holy One	White Suburban Altar: White Holy One	Same	Same				
Northern Suburban Altar: Black Holy One	Black Suburban Altar: Black Holy One	Same	Same				

Notes:

1. Minor Sacrifices not included.
2. For Jin and Southern Dynasty sites, see above; *SuS*: 6.107-19; and Kaneko (1979), 23-25 and 28-34.
3. For Northern Dynasty sites, see above; *SuS*: 7.128-39 and 7.141-43; and Kaneko (1979), 25-28 and 34-39.

Table 3.5 Jin to Sui Liturgies Compared

Suburban Sacrifices				Ancestral Temple			
晉	梁	北齊	隋	晉	梁	北齊	隋
夕牲	滌雅	高明覆燾	昭夏	夕牲	滌雅	高明覆燾	迎神
X	牲雅	昭夏	X	X	牲雅	昭夏	俎入
迎神	誠雅	昭夏	X	迎神	誠雅	昭夏	X
X	X	登歌	X	登歌	登歌	登歌	登歌
X	X	X	誠雅	X	X	X	X
X	X	X	X	X	X	階步	肆夏
正德	大壯	高明覆燾	文舞	正德	大壯	高明覆燾	文舞
X	X	X	X	禮容	X	X	肆夏
X	X	X	需夏	X	X	X	X
X	X	X	X	X	X	階步	肆夏
大豫	大觀	武德昭烈	武舞	大豫	大觀	武德昭烈	武舞
X	X	X	X	禮容	X	X	肆夏
饗神	登歌	X	X	饗神	X	X	X
X	獻雅	皇夏	需夏	X	獻雅	皇夏	需夏
送神	誠雅	高明覆燾	昭夏	送神	誠雅	高明覆燾	送神
X	禋雅	昭夏	X	X	X	X	X

Notes: Other processions could be added according to the status of the participants.

Table 3.6 Jin to Southern-and-Northern Dynasties Civil Ballets Compared

	Western Jin			Liu-Song	Northern Qi
	Zhang Hua 273	Xun Xu 273	Fu Xuan 273	Wang Shaozhi 420	Anonymous sixth century
	Correct Virtue ³⁴⁶	Correct Virtue ³⁴⁷	Correct Virtue ³⁴⁸	Former Ballet ³⁴⁹	Civil Ballet ³⁵⁰
1.1	曰皇上天，X	人文垂則，X	天命有晉，X	於赫景明，X	皇天有命，X
1.2	玄鑿惟光，A	盛德有容，A	光濟萬國，A	天監是臨，A	歸我大齊，A
1.3	神器周回，X	聲以依詠，X	穆穆聖皇，X	樂來伊陽，X	受茲華玉，X
1.4	五德代章。A	舞以象功。A	文武惟則，A	禮作惟陰。A	爰錫玄珪。A
1.5	祚命于晉，X	干戚發揮，X	在天斯正，X	歌自德富，X	奄家環海，X
1.6	世有哲王，A	節以笙鏞，A	在地成德。A	儻由功深，A	實子蒸黎，A
1.7	弘濟區夏，X	羽籥雲會，X	載韜政刑，X	庭列宮縣，X	圖開寶匣，X
1.8	甄陶萬方。A	翊宣令蹤。A	載崇禮教，B	陸羅瑟琴。A	檢封芝泥。A
1.9	大明垂曜，X	敷美盡善，X	我敷玄化，X	翻籥繁會，X	無思不順，X
1.10	旁燭無疆，A	允協時邕，A	臻于中道。B	笙磬諧音，A	自東徂西，A
1.11	蚩蚩庶類，X	煥炳其章，X		簫韶雖古，X	教南暨朔，X
1.12	風德永康。A	光乎萬邦。A		九成在今。A	罔敢或攜。A
2.1	皇道惟清，B	萬邦洋洋，X		道志和聲，X	比日之明，X
2.2	禮樂斯經，B	承我晉道，B		德音孔宣，B	如天之太，B
2.3	金石在縣，X	配天作享，X		光我帝基，X	神化斯洽，X
2.4	萬舞在庭。B	元命有造。B		協靈配乾。B	率土無外。B
2.5	象容表慶，X	上化如風，X		儀刑六合，X	眇眇舟車，X
2.6	協律被聲，B	民應如草，B		化穆自然，B	華戎畢會，B
2.7	軼武超邁，X	穆穆斌斌，X		如彼雲漢，X	祠我春秋，X
2.8	取節六英。B	形于綴兆。B		為章于天。B	服我冠帶。B
2.9	同進退讓，X	文武旁作，X		熙熙萬類，X	儀協震象，X
2.10	化漸無形，B	慶流四表，B		陶和當年，B	樂均天籟，B
2.11	太和宣洽，X	無競維烈，X		擊轅中韶，X	蹈武在庭，X
2.12	通于幽冥。B	永世是紹。B		永世弗騫。B	其容藹藹。B

³⁴⁶ See *SgS*: 20.590.³⁴⁷ See *SgS*: 20.587.³⁴⁸ See *SgS*: 20.582.³⁴⁹ See *SgS*: 20.596-97. 蕤賓 Same as “Grand Capaciousness.” See *SgS*: 20.597. Southern Qi version the same with the exception of a few characters. See *NQS*: 11.189. Liang version same length and meter, but in only one rime category. During Liang, the Civil and Martial Ballets once again changed places in the liturgy. 姑洗 Same as “Grand Succession.” Chen copied Liang, but the Northern Dynasties did not. See *SuS*: 13.301, 13.303, and 13.308.³⁵⁰ See *SuS*: 14.329. Sui Ancestral Temple version only 18 lines in three stanzas; Round Mound version only 14 lines, an octave and a sixain. See *SuS*: 15.361 and 15.370-71.

Table 3.7 Jin to Southern-and-Northern Dynasties Martial Ballets Compared

	Western Jin			Liu-Song	Northern Qi
	Zhang Hua 273	Xun Xu 273	Fu Xuan 273	Wang Shaozhi 420	Anonymous sixth century
	Grand Delight ³⁵¹	Grand Delight ³⁵²	Grand Delight ³⁵³	Latter Ballet ³⁵⁴	Martial Ballet ³⁵⁵
1.1	惟天之命，X	豫順以動，X	於鑠皇晉，X	假樂聖后，X	天眷橫流，X
1.2	符運有歸，A	大哉惟時，A	配天受命，A	實天誕德，A	宅心玄聖，A
1.3	赫赫大晉，X	時邁其仁，X	熙帝之光，X	積美自中，X	祖宗功德，X
1.4	三后重暉。A	世載邕熙。A	世德惟聖，A	王猷四塞。A	重光襲映。A
1.5	繼明紹世，X	兆我區夏，X	嘉樂大豫，X	龍飛在天，X	我皇恭己，X
1.6	光撫九圍，A	宣文是基，A	保佑萬姓。A	儀刑萬國，A	誕膺靈命，A
1.7	我皇紹期，X	大業惟新，X	淵兮不竭，X	欽明惟神，X	宇外斯燭，X
1.8	遂在璿璣。A	我皇隆之。A	沖而用之，B	臨朝淵默。A	域中咸鏡。A
1.9	羣生屬命，X	重光累曜，X	先天弗違，X	不言之化，X	悠悠率土，X
1.10	奄有庶邦，B	欽明文思，A	虔奉天時。B	品物咸德，A	時惟保定，A
1.11	慎徽五典，X	迄用有成，X		告成于天，X	微微動植，X
1.12	玄教遐通。B	惟晉之祺。A		銘勳是勒。A	莫違其性。A
2.1	萬方同軌，X	穆穆聖皇，X		翼翼厥猶，X	仁豐庶物，X
2.2	率土咸雍，B	受命既固，B		娓娓其仁，B	施洽羣生，B
2.3	爰制大豫，X	品物咸寧，X		順命創制，X	海寧洛變，X
2.4	宣德舞功。B	芳烈雲布。B		因定和神。B	契此休明。B
2.5	淳化既穆，X	文教旁通，X		海外有載，X	雅宣茂烈，X
2.6	王道協隆，C	篤以淳素，B		九圍無塵，B	頌紀英聲，B
2.7	仁及草木，X	玄化洽暢，X		冕旒司契，X	鏗鎗鍾鼓，X
2.8	惠加昆蟲。C	被之暇豫。B		垂拱臨民。B	掩抑簫笙。B
2.9	億兆夷人，X	作樂崇德，X		乃舞大豫，X	歌之不足，X
2.10	說仰皇風，C	同美韶濩，B		欽若天人，B	舞以禮成，B
2.11	丕顯大業，X	濬邈幽遐，X		純嘏孔休，X	鑠矣王度，X
2.12	永世彌崇。C	式遵王度。B		萬載彌新。B	緬邁千齡。B

³⁵¹ See *SgS*: 20.590.³⁵² See *SgS*: 20.587.³⁵³ See *SgS*: 20.582.³⁵⁴ See *SgS*: 20.597. 蕤賓 Same as “Grand Capaciousness.” See *SgS*: 20.597. Southern Qi version the same with the exception of a few characters. See *NQS*: 11.189-90. Liang version same length and meter, but in only one rime category. During Liang, the Civil and Martial Ballets once again changed places in the liturgy. 夷則 Same as “Grand Preservation.” Chen copied Liang, but the Northern Dynasties did not. See *SuS*: 13.301, 13.303, and 13.308.³⁵⁵ See *SuS*: 14.329. Sui Ancestral Temple version only 18 lines in three stanzas; Round Mound version only 20 lines, two octaves and a quatrain. See *SuS*: 15.361-62 and 15.371.

This page intentionally left blank.

CONCLUSION

「樂者，聖王之所樂也，而可以善民心，其感人深，其移風易俗。故先王導之以禮樂，而民和睦。」《荀子》

“As for music, it is that in which sagacious kings rejoice, and it can be used to make the people’s hearts altruistic, affecting them deeply, shifting their trends, and changing their conventions.

Therefore, because the former kings guided them with rites and music, the people were harmonious and amicable.” *Xunzi*¹

The music that served as the foundation for the sacrificial ceremonies, sites, music, ballets, and hymns of the Wei and Jin dynasties was that of the Zhou, Qin, and Han dynasties; that of the Wei and Jin dynasties in turn served as the foundation for that of the Southern-and-Northern Dynasties. The Zhou dynasty sacrificial ballets and hymns played a key role throughout the centuries, both directly and indirectly, as the foundation for all later dynasties, but for this dynasty we have two distinct traditional recreations of the sacrificial hymns and pertinent ceremonies. The first recreation is that of the school of thought represented by Zheng Xuan and *Li ji*, which we associated more with the Zhou dynasty. The second recreation is that of the school of thought represented by Wang Su and *Zhou li*, which we associated more with the Qin dynasty. The Han dynasty followed the Qin example, but with a few exceptions harking back to the Zhou example. The Wei dynasty sought first to recover the lost sacrifices of the Han and then to surpass them, bringing together and refashioning six irregular meter sacrificial ballets in imitation of the Music of the Six Eras, but bringing to an end the last direct transmission of “Grand Succession” and “Grand Martial Deeds.” The Jin

¹ See XZ: 2:14.253-54.

dynasty at first embraced this innovation and then rejected it for a regularization of Civil and Martial Ballets hearkening back to an idealized version of the Zhou system. The Southern Dynasties rejected this as too austere, but the Northern Dynasties accepted it as closest to their understanding of Zhou ritual practice, with the exception of the Northern Zhou dynasty, which created its own idealized system of six ballets. For the most part, however, changes were in name only, on the one hand setting the new dynasty apart from the one it replaced, but on the other hand retaining the reliability of continuity, either way establishing legitimacy. We may summarize these changes, both real and nominal, from the perspective of cosmological beliefs, sacrificial sites, sacrificial liturgy, and sacrificial hymns, taking the sacrificial ballets as an example.

During the formative period, although the three categories of cosmological being remained the same, beliefs about them among some sectors of the population fundamentally transformed due to the process of euhemerization. As gods became heroes, their perceived power in the afterlife dwindled in comparison to that of the emperor's own ancestors. In particular, this led to the diminished status of the Soil God and of the Millet God, who after the fall of the Zhou dynasty were seen merely as powerful human spirits of former heroes now in service of Lord Earth. Regardless, the number of such gods increased dramatically with the Qin consolidation of gods worshiped by conquered states. It dipped after the fall of the Qin, but rose again during the reign of Emperor Wu. As fortunes declined, it dipped again, but in an attempt to appease the gods and the local elite Wang Mang brought it back up to Qin levels. Emperor Guangwu tried to keep it under control, but his successor Emperor Ming, following the desires of the local elite, brought the number to its all-time high.²

² See Table 1.3, Table 1.4, Table 1.5, Table 1.6, Table 1.7, and Chapter 1 above. For rites and sacrifices practiced by the local elite, see Ebrey (1974), 185-90.

During the Wei dynasty, the part played by cosmological beliefs in sacrificial ceremonies took a decidedly political turn. The power of the Han court had evaporated in everything but name many years before Cao Cao seized control. In fact, it was this lack of power that had allowed Cao Cao to gain control of the emperor unopposed. Knowing what had happened to those who had claimed the title of emperor prematurely, Cao Cao never claimed it for himself. Instead, his son Cao Pi, as effective ruler of the largest of the Three Kingdoms, claimed the title based on the foundation that Cao Cao had laid. Wanting to avoid the fleeting success of the Xin dynasty, Cao Pi borrowed from Wang Mang's successes and planned against his defeats. Beforehand, he found auguries and feigned reluctance; afterwards, he kept most of his changes to name alone. Though accused of "simplifying the Ancestral Temple" and "abolishing offerings and sacrifices" for not having assumed the full extent of his imperial sacrificial prerogatives, he might have left a stronger position to his successor if not for his own premature death due to illness. His heir, Cao Rui, however, strove to overcome the criticism of his father's austerity by increasing the opulence of the public display, as well as the size of the pantheon, hoping to recover the halcyon days of legend and myth. Inheriting these ambitions as chief regent, Cao Shuang exceeded his budget, leading to rampant corruption by his cronies and a coup by his fellow regent, Sima Yi, who curtailed sacrifices for the rest of the dynasty.³

During the Jin dynasty, cosmological beliefs remained at the forefront of politics. Like Cao Pi before him, Sima Yi's grandson, Sima Yan, relied in part on auguries to secure an abdication from the last Wei emperor. At first, he, too, merely changed the names, but in an apparent attempt to avoid criticism for austerity, he took a more active part in the sacrifices. In a further attempt to correct ritual practice, he sought to emphasize key

³ See Table 2.4 and Chapter 2 above.

sacrifices by eliminating redundancy and recovering classical practice. Although initially successful, his policies aroused the ire of more conservative scholars, especially those arriving from the south after the fall of the state of Wu, who suspected the emperor of shortchanging the gods. Despite the emperor's eventual rescission of these policies, the emperor's death followed by insurrection and invasion prevented reimplementing of the previous sacrificial regimen. Even when Emperor Yuan re-established the Jin court at Jiankang, he was able to manage only a semblance of truncated sacrifices. His grandson Emperor Cheng was able to reinstitute the worship of only 106 deities and divinities. While apparently more than had been officially recognized at the beginning of the dynasty, it was still a far cry from the 1,514 deities and divinities recognized during the Eastern Han dynasty. Emperor Xiaowu, the last Jin monarch to actively participate in sacrifices, made a final attempt to reform ritual practice, but lost himself in drink and dance before any significant changes could be approved. Throughout the dynasties that followed, cosmological beliefs continued to play an important part in politics by legitimizing new regimes, with the Southern Dynasties preferring fewer, but more ornate, sacrifices and the Northern Dynasties more numerous, but more austere, sacrifices.⁴

From Zhou to Han, sacrificial sites steadily increased. Zhou had seven: two for Heaven, two for Earth, two for Soil and Millet, and one for the Great Progenitor, other royal ancestors, Heaven, and the Five Holy Ones. The exact nature of the last site was somewhat confused, including the Ancestral Temple-Hall of Brilliance Complex and multiple temples for other royal ancestors. Qin abandoned the alternate sites for Heaven, Earth, and Soil and Millet, but established four sites for the Five Holy Ones, no longer worshiping them in the Ancestral Temple. Thus, the number increased to eight. Finally, Han established a fifth site

⁴ See Table 3.4 and Chapter 3 above.

for the Five Holy Ones and a Hall of Brilliance for Heaven, the Five Holy Ones, and Earth separate from the Ancestral Temple, first at Mt. Tai and then south of the capital. During Han, tomb-side sacrifices also became popular, increasing the opportunity for local elite to observe the opulent ceremonies that they sought to mimic in miniature.⁵

Throughout the Wei dynasty, sacrificial sites also increased. Initially, Cao Pi continued sacrifices at the ducal level, despite taking on the imperial title. Even after moving the Ancestral Temple to Luoyang from Ye, he set up only two fanes, having retired Cao Teng's spirit tablet from the then Great Temple before installing that of Cao Cao. Cao Pi also chose not to establish an Imperial Shrine, instead maintaining only the Great Shrine, where sacrifices were performed by his ministers rather than by the emperor, the same as the Five Suburban Altars. This left only the Southern Suburban Altar, the Northern Suburban Altar, and the Hall of Brilliance to concern him. Cao Rui, however, increased the number of sacrificial sites on two occasions. Shortly after succession to the throne, he increased the number of fanes in the Ancestral Temple from two to four, adding his father and reinstating Cao Teng. He also re-established the Imperial Shrine. Eight years later, seeking to recreate the system of sacrifices supported by Zheng Xuan, Cao Rui raised alternate altars to Heaven and Earth and increased the fanes in the Ancestral Temple from four to seven. To accomplish the latter, Cao Pi would need to posthumously ennoble three more generations of ancestors as placeholders till five more generations had joined Cao Cao in the Ancestral Temple, thereby placing him above the rest, this system of placeholders having been developed by Wang Su. This final addition brought the number of sacrificial sites up to thirteen, where it stayed for the rest of the dynasty.⁶

⁵ See Table 1.7 and Chapter 1 above.

⁶ See Table 2.4 and Chapter 2 above.

Throughout the Jin dynasty, sacrificial sites decreased. As discussed above, Emperor Wu sought to emphasize key sacrifices by eliminating redundancy per Wang Su's guidance, which meant eliminating redundant sacrificial sites as well. To this end, he subsumed the Round Mound under the Southern Suburban Altar, the Square Mound under the Northern Suburban Altar, and the Hall of Brilliance under the Ancestral Temple. Briefly, he also subsumed the Imperial Shrine under the Great Shrine, but re-established it less than a year later. As before, his ministers performed the sacrifices to the Soil God and the Millet God and to the Five Holy Ones. Emperor Wu also followed Wang Su's guidance in establishing a system in the Ancestral Temple, which given time could result in nine generations, three permanent fanes and six rotating generations. Nonetheless, no Jin emperor was able to honor more than five generations between himself and Emperor Xuan, the nominal founder of the dynasty. After re-establishing the capital at Jiankang, Emperor Yuan created a separate altar for the Millet God near the Great Shrine with the Imperial Shrine directly between them, such that they were effectively collocated in one site with three entrances. Thus, with a temporary lapse following the change in capitals, the Jin dynasty maintained nine or eleven sacrificial sites depending on how they were counted. While this system, with the addition of the Hall of Brilliance and the reduction to seven fanes in the Ancestral Temple, was continued throughout the Southern Dynasties for a total of twelve, the Northern Dynasties, however, added dual altars to Heaven and Earth on top of this number for a total of fourteen. Finally, the Sui dynasty reduced the number back down to ten.⁷

During the formative period, sacrificial liturgies remained basically the same. During Suburban Sacrifices and at the Ancestral Temple, processions gave time for the key players to take their places or to leave the site, ballets told the story of the god or spirit receiving the

⁷ See Table 3.4 and Chapter 3 above.

sacrifice, and offertories announced that the recipient had enjoyed the sacrifice. At the Ancestral Temple, canticles told a more reserved version of the spirit's story as a prelude to the ballets, and during the Zhou dynasty, kings used covenants as a mutual guarantee before the royal ancestors at the Ancestral Temple. For the Suburban Sacrifices, the key components were a ballet, an offertory, and a number of processions determined by the audience. For the Ancestral Temple, these components were a canticle, four ballets, an offertory, and a number of processions determined by the audience. Minor sacrifices might have just a single ballet. The primary changes from Zhou to Han were (1) a trend toward hymns that met specific needs, but could be used on multiple occasions, unlike the covenants and ceremony-specific ancestral offertories of the Zhou dynasty; (2) decreased use of recessions; and (3) removal of the Ancestral Temple offertories from the sacrifice itself to the dinner thereafter.⁸

During the Wei dynasty, sacrificial liturgies changed little for the Suburban Sacrifices, but significantly for the Ancestral Temple sacrifices. For the Suburban Sacrifices, Cao Pi changed only the names. In 227, Cao Rui replaced the ancient dynastic ballets with the new irregular meter ballets that he had had composed for Cao Cao and Cao Pi, with the former seemingly representing Earth and the latter Heaven. At the same time, he reversed the order of the first two processions, thereby introducing the victim before calling down the spirits. In 237, having recast both of these ballets as Civil Ballets and having designated the four hymns of the "Revealed Martial Deeds" ballets as the official Martial Ballets, he once again replaced the ballets for the Suburban Sacrifices, with the former representing Heaven and the latter Earth. Thus, the number of pieces in the suite stayed at four or five. For the Ancestral Temple Sacrifices, Cao Pi merely added the four hymns of the "Revealed Martial Deeds"

⁸ See Table 1.8 above.

ballets, probably at the end of the ceremony. In 227, Cao Rui replaced the ancestor-specific Martial Ballet and the general-purpose Civil Ballet inherited from the Han dynasty with the Martial Ballet for Cao Cao and the Civil Ballet for Cao Pi mentioned above. At the same time, he added an offertory at the end of the ceremony and also reversed the order of the first two processions, as he had for the Suburban Sacrifices. In 237, he made still greater changes by replacing the ancient dynastic ballets with his reconfigured Civil Ballets and Martial Ballets, thereby obviating the need for the two ancestor ballet processions and decreasing the suite by five pieces for a total of eight. Just as significantly, the remaining ballets were now arranged in such a way so as to begin with the “civil” and end with the “martial” as described in *Li ji*.⁹

During the Jin dynasty, sacrificial liturgies endured further changes. The overall order remained the same, merely reinstating the use of a recessional to “see off the gods” for both the Suburban Sacrifices and for the Ancestral Sacrifices. The most significant change was the replacement of Wang Su’s system of two Civil Ballets and four Martial Ballets with Zheng Xuan’s system of one each. During the Southern-and-Northern Dynasties, the number of processions increased dramatically, perhaps to accommodate the increased size of the audience or of the venue, but by the Sui dynasty the number of processions was back to what it had been during the Jin dynasty. Although the order of the ballets was reversed during the Liang and Chen dynasties so that the Martial Ballet came first as it had in the Zhou dynasty, this trend was rejected in the Sui dynasty.¹⁰

From Zhou to Han, sacrificial hymns went through several changes in meter and rhyme. The Zhou hymns were primarily shorter hymns in tetrameter or tetrameter variants,

⁹ See Table 2.5 and Chapter 2 above.

¹⁰ See Table 3.5 and Chapter 3 above.

with the later hymns being more regular, though some of the later hymns were also quite long. The Han hymns continued this style, but added longer trimeter and irregular meter hymns as well. These were primarily longer hymns in pure trimeter or irregular meter. The rhyme patterns also increased in regularity with time. During the Han dynasty, an apparent practice arose of composing tetrameter, trimeter, and irregular meter versions of different hymns in the liturgy. The irregular meter hymns also included the tribal ballets meant for sacrifices attended by foreign dignitaries. The striking differences between the two styles rekindled debates over Ancient Music versus New Melodies.¹¹

Throughout the Wei dynasty, sacrificial hymns continued to emphasize the trimeter and irregular meter model. Aside from bringing “Tribal Music” inside the Ancestral Temple, Cao Pi also had the melodies rearranged for a more passionate beat. Cao Rui, in turn, went even further, discarding the remaining ancient dynastic ballets and replacing them with irregular meter new ones based on two of them and with the four irregular meter ballet hymns of “Revealed Martial Deeds” that had come from the “Tribal Music” tradition. These last four were also a part of the tradition of fixed-form verse exemplified at the time by the series of twelve “Drum and Fife Hymns” (*guchuige* 鼓吹歌) composed by Wei Zhao 韋昭 (204-273) and others. Naturally, the debates over Ancient Music versus New Melodies raged on.¹²

Throughout the Jin dynasty, sacrificial hymns redounded from the trimeter and irregular meter model to the tetrameter model. Initially, Emperor Wu simply had the trimeter and irregular meter hymns rewritten in the manner of fixed-form verse, but perhaps in an attempt to distance himself from an association with Cao Pi, Emperor Wu later had almost all

¹¹ See Table 1.1, Table 1.2, and Chapter 1 above.

¹² See Table 2.6, Table 2.7, and Chapter 2 above.

of the trimeter and irregular meter hymns rewritten as tetrameter hymns. This policy sparked a series of what appear to have been contests in composition in order to achieve the ideal dinner hymn or ballet hymn. On paper, the difference was so striking that many scholars from later centuries believed these new versions were not related to the old versions at all. Nonetheless, further examination of stanza lengths, rhyme patterns, and motifs seems to support earlier statements that the new versions came from the old ones. As early as the Eastern Jin dynasty, trimeter and irregular meter hymns once again started to gain in popularity as secular entertainment and by the Southern-and-Northern Dynasties it had already crept back among the sacrificial processions and offertories. Nonetheless, it never returned to the sacrificial Civil and Martial Ballets.¹³

At the center of most sacrificial debates, the sacrificial ballets and the changes evident therein reflect trends in sacrificial hymns as a whole. The change from having two out of six dynastic ballets purported to be extant in the Zhou system to having six out of six purported to be extant in the Qin system represents more likely an idealized recreation rather than an authentic recovery of lost hymns. The reduction to four or five dynastic ballets or indirect derivatives thereof in the Han dynasty, in conjunction with the disappearance of one series of four tribal ballets and the appearance of another series of four tribal ballets, represents a more believable change in style, as well as a loss due to internecine war. The abandonment of all direct derivatives of dynastic ballets and their replacement with indirect derivatives in seeming imitation of the original six dynastic ballets in the Wei dynasty brings the process full circle to an idealized recreation, which continued into the Jin dynasty and reached its

¹³ See Chapter 3 above.

apex with the rewriting of all sacrificial ballets in the tetrameter model, there to remain throughout the Southern-and-Northern Dynasties.¹⁴

Thus, in a picture of overall continuity, we find changes in belief and style stemming from imperial preference and contemporary demands. The beliefs and tastes of the First Emperor, Emperor Wu, Wang Mang, and Emperor Ming were tempered by the realpolitik of Emperor Gao, Emperor Cheng, Emperor Guangwu, and Emperor Ling. Cao Shuang's excesses led to Sima Yi's coup. Emperor Wu's elimination of redundancy was mistaken for shortchanging the gods. Finally, Emperor Xiaowu's good intentions could not overcome his bad habits or his lack of real political control. The hidden policies and affairs revealed by these ballets clarify the meaning behind the many changes both real and nominal in the sacrifices and in other public actions of the period. In the end, even the cosmological must have its foundation in reality if it is to survive in the real world.

Nevertheless, as this is a preliminary study, much material has been passed over out of necessity and questions concerning the true nature of Wei and Jin Sacrificial Ballets still await definitive answers. Even though I have touched upon the sacrificial sites and liturgies in this study, these still require much research to fully grasp. While I have alluded to the music, I have as yet been unable to discuss it to any extent due to my own lack of research. Full studies are also lacking for the Sacrificial Hymns, the Assembly Hymns and Ballets, the Drum and Fife Hymns, and other state sponsored ceremonial hymns. Knowing this, I shall be grateful for any criticism from you the esteemed reader.

¹⁴ See Chapter 1, Chapter 2, and Chapter 3 above.

This page intentionally left blank.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations

<i>BHT</i>	Ban, <i>Baihu tong shuzheng</i>
<i>BS</i>	Li, <i>Bei shi</i>
<i>CC</i>	Hong, <i>Chu ci buzhu</i>
<i>Chuang-Tzu</i>	Legge, <i>Tao Te Ching and The Writings of Chuang-Tzu</i>
<i>CXJ</i>	Xu, <i>Chuxue ji</i>
<i>DDLJ</i>	Lu, <i>Da Dai li ji huijiao jizhu</i>
“Documents”	Karlgren, “The Book of Documents”
<i>Dschuang Dsi</i>	Wilhelm, <i>Dschuang Dsi: Das wahre Buch vom südlichen Blütenland</i>
<i>EY</i>	Guo and Xing, <i>Erya zhushu</i>
<i>Former Han</i>	Dubs, <i>The History of the Former Han Dynasty</i>
<i>Gia Yü</i>	Wilhelm, <i>Kung Futse, Schulgespräche (Gia Yü)</i>
<i>GY</i>	Zuoqiu, <i>Guo yu</i>
<i>GYZ</i>	He and Xu, <i>Chunqiu Gongyang zhuan zhushu</i>
<i>Han Shih</i>	Hightower, <i>Han Shih Wai Chuan: Han Ying's Illustrations of the Didactic Application of the Classic of Songs</i>
<i>HHS</i>	Fan and Sima, <i>Hou Han shu</i>
<i>Hiau Ging</i>	Wilhelm, <i>Hiau Ging: Das Buch der Ehrfurcht</i>
<i>HNZ</i>	Gao, <i>Huainanzi</i>
<i>HS</i>	Ban and Ban, <i>Han shu</i>
<i>HSWZ</i>	Han, <i>Han shi waizhuan</i>
<i>I Ging</i>	Wilhelm, <i>I Ging: Das Buch der Wandlungen</i>
<i>JS</i>	Fang, <i>Jin shu</i>
<i>KZJY</i>	Wang, <i>Kongzi jiayu</i>
<i>Laotse</i>	Wilhelm, <i>Laotse Tao Te King: Das Buch vom Sinn und Leben</i>
<i>LH</i>	Wang, <i>Lun heng</i>
<i>Li Chi</i>	Legge, <i>Li Chi</i>
<i>Li Gi</i>	Wilhelm, <i>Li Gi: Das Buch der Riten, Sitten und Gebräuche</i>

- LJ Zheng and Kong, *Li ji zhengyi*
- LSCQ Lü, *Lüshi chunqiu xinjiaozheng*
- Lun Yü Wilhelm, *Konfuzius Gespräche (Lun Yü)*
- LY He and Xing, *Lunyu zhushu*
- LZ Wang and Lu, *Laozi daodejing zhu*
- Mémoires Chavannes, *Les mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*
- Mong Dsi Wilhelm, *Mong Dsi: Die Lehrgespräche des Meisters Meng K'o*
- MS Mao, Zheng, and Kong, *Mao shi zhengyi*
- MZ Zhao and Sun, *Mengzi zhengyi*
- NQS Xiao, *Nan Qi shu*
- NS: Li, *Nan shi*
- Odes Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*
- Selections Knechtges, *Wen xuan or Selections of Refined Literature*
- SgS Shen, *Song shu*
- SGZ Chen, *Sanguo zhi*
- She King Legge, *The She King*
- SJ Sima and Sima, *Shi ji*
- Songs Waley, *The Book of Songs*
- Songs of the South Hawkes, *The Songs of the South: An Anthology of Ancient Chinese Poems by Qu Yuan and Other Poets*
- ShS Kong and Kong, *Shangshu zhengyi*
- SSJZS Ruan, *Shisanjing zhushu*
- SuS Wei, *Sui shu*
- SWJZ Xu, *Shuowen jiezi zhu*
- Tcheou-li Biot, *Le Tcheou-li: ou Rites des Tcheou*
- TD Du, *Tongdian*
- Tso Chuen Legge, *The Ch'un Ts'ew with the Tso Chuen*
- WS Wei, *Wei shu*
- WX Xiao, *Wen xuan*
- WXDL Liu, *Wenxin diaolong*
- WYCQ Zhao, *Wu Yue chunqiu jiaozhu*

XJ	Li and Xing, <i>Xiaojing zhushu</i>
XZ	Yang and Wang, <i>Xunzi jijie</i>
YFSJ	Guo, <i>Yuefu shiji</i>
YL	Zheng and Jia, <i>Yi li zhushu</i>
YWLJ	Ouyang, <i>Yiwen leiju</i>
YZFY	Yang, <i>Yangzi Fayan</i>
ZgZ	Guo and Cheng, <i>Zhuangzi jishi</i>
ZL	Zheng and Jia, <i>Zhou li zhengyi</i>
ZS	Linghu, <i>Zhou shu</i>
ZuZ	Du and Kong, <i>Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi</i>
ZY	Wang, Han, and Kong, <i>Zhou yi zhengyi</i>
ZZJC	Yang, <i>Xinbian zhuzi jicheng</i>

Pre-Modern Sources

- Ban Gu 班固 (32-92). *Baihu tong shuzheng* 白虎通疏證. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1994.
- Ban Gu 班固 (32-92) and Ban Zhao 班昭 (c.48-c.116). *Han shu* 漢書. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962.
- Chen Shou 陳壽 (233-297). *Sanguo zhi* 三國志. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987.
- Du You 杜佑 (735-812). *Tongdian* 通典. In *Shitong* 十通. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935-37, Vol. 1.
- Du Yu 杜預 (222-284) and Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574-648), comm. *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi* 春秋左傳正義. In *SSJZS*. Vol. 6.
- Fan Ning 范甯 (339-401) and Yang Shixun 楊士勛 (7th century), comm. *Chunqiu Guliang zhuan zhushu* 春秋穀梁傳注疏. In *SSJZS*. Vol. 7.
- Fan Ye 范曄 (398-445) and Sima Biao 司馬彪 (240-306). *Hou Han shu* 後漢書. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987.
- Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 (578-648). *Jin shu* 晉書. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987.
- Gao You 高誘 (c.168-212), comm. *Huainanzi* 淮南子. In *ZZJC*, Vol. 7.

- Guo Maoqian 郭茂倩 (fl.1084-1126), comp. *Yuefu shiji* 樂府詩集. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979.
- Guo Pu 郭璞 (276-324) and Xing Bing 邢昺 (931-1010), comm. *Erya zhushu* 爾雅注疏. In *SSJZS*. Vol. 8.
- Guo Xiang 郭象 (d.312) and Cheng Xuanying 成玄英 (fl.630-60), comm. *Zhuangzi jishi* 莊子集釋. In *ZZJC*. Vol. 3.
- Han Ying 韓嬰 (c.200-120 BCE), *Han shi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳. In *Siku quan shu* 四庫全書. 1782; rpt. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987. 89: 775-861.
- He Xiu 何休 (129-182) and Xu Yan 徐彥 (7th century), comm. *Chunqiu Gongyang zhuan zhushu* 春秋公羊傳注疏. In *SSJZS*. Vol. 7.
- He Yan 何晏 (190-249) and Xing Bing 邢昺 (932-1010), comm. *Lunyu zhushu* 論語注疏. In *SSJZS*. Vol. 8.
- Hong Xingzu 洪興祖 (1090-1155), comm. *Chu ci buzhu* 楚辭補注. Taipei: Taiwan zhonghua shuju, 1972.
- Kong Anguo 孔安國 (d.c.100 BCE) and Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574-648), comm. *Shangshu zhengyi* 尚書正義. In *SSJZS*. Vol. 1.
- Li Longji 李隆基 (685-761) and Xing Bing 邢昺 (932-1010), comm. *Xiaojing zhushu* 孝經注疏. In *SSJZS*. Vol. 8.
- Li Yanshou 李延壽 (fl.618-676). *Bei shi* 北史. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983.
- , *Nan shi* 南史. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975.
- Linghu Defen 令狐德棻 (583-661) et al. *Zhou shu* 周書. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1971.
- Liu Xie 劉勰 (c.465–c.521). *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍. Taipei: Liren shuju, 1984.
- Lu Bian 盧辯 (6th cent.), comm. *Da Dai li ji huijiao jizhu* 大戴禮記彙校集注. Xi'an: Sanqin chubanshe, 2004.
- Lü Buwei 呂不韋 (290-235 BCE), comp. *Lüshi chunqiu xinjiaozheng* 呂氏春秋新校正. In *ZZJC*. Vol. 7.
- Mao Heng 毛亨 (2nd century BCE), Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-200), and Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574-648), comm. *Mao shi zhengyi* 毛詩正義. In *SSJZS*. Vol. 2.

- Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢 (557-641) et al., comp. *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965.
- Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764-1849), ed. *Shisanjing zhushu* 十三經注疏. 1815; rpt. Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1989.
- Shen Yue 沈約 (441-513). *Song shu* 宋書. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983.
- Sima Tan 司馬談 (c.180-110 BCE) and Sima Qian 司馬遷 (c.145-86 BCE). *Shi ji* 史記. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959.
- Wang Bi 王弼 (226-249), Han Kangbo 韓康伯 (d.c.385), and Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574-648), comm. *Zhou yi zhengyi* 周易正義. In *SSJZS*. Vol. 1.
- Wang Bi 王弼 (226-249) and Lu Deming 陸德明 (556-627), comm. *Laozi daodejing zhu* 老子道德經注. In *ZZJC*. Vol. 3.
- Wang Chong 王充 (27-91). *Lun heng* 論衡. In *ZZJC*, 1991. Vol. 7.
- Wang Su 王肅 (195-256), comm. *Kongzi jiaoyu* 孔子家語. In *ZZJC*. Vol. 2.
- Wei Shou 魏收 (506-572). *Wei shu* 魏書. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984.
- Wei Zheng 魏徵 (580-643). *Sui shu* 隋書. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987.
- Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501-531), comp. *Wen xuan* 文選. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986.
- Xiao Zixian 蕭子顯 (489-537). *Nan Qi shu* 南齊書. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987.
- Xu Jian 徐堅 (659-729), comp. *Chuxue ji* 初學記. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2004.
- Xu Shen 許慎 (c.55-c.149). *Shuowen jiezi zhu* 說文解字注. 1872; rpt. Taipei: Liming wenhua gongsi, 1974.
- Yang Jialuo 楊家駱, ed. *Xinbian zhuzi jicheng* 新編諸子集成. 1935; rpt. Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1991.
- Yang Liang 楊倞 (9th century) and Wang Xianqian 王先謙 (1842-1918), comm. *Xunzi jijie* 荀子集解. In *ZZJC*. Vol. 2.
- Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53 BCE-18 CE). *Yangzi Fayan* 揚子法言. In *ZZJC*. Vol. 2.
- Zhao Qi 趙岐 (d.201) and Sun Shi 孫奭 (962-1033), comm. *Mengzi zhengyi* 孟子正義. In *SSJZS*. Vol. 8.

Zhao Ye 趙曄 (fl.c.first century), comp. *Wu Yue chunqiu jiaozhu* 吳越春秋校注. Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 2006.

Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-200) and Jia Gongyan 賈公彥 (fl.650), comm. *Yi li zhushu* 儀禮注疏. In *SSJZS*. Vol. 4.

—, comm. *Zhou li zhengyi* 周禮正義. In *SSJZS*. Vol. 3.

Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-200) and Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574-648), comm. *Li ji zhengyi* 禮記正義. In *SSJZS*. Vol. 5.

Zuoqiu Ming 左丘明 (5th century BCE). *Guo yu* 國語. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978.

Translations

Biot, Édouard (1803-1850), trans. *Le Tcheou-li: ou Rites des Tcheou*. 1851; rpt. Peking: Tien Wen Ko, 1938.

Chavannes, Édouard, trans. *Les mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*. Paris: Leroux, 1895-1905.

Dubs, Homer H., trans. *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*. Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1938-55.

de Harlez, Charles-Joseph (1832-1899), trans. *I-Li: Cérémonial de la Chine antique avec des extraits des meilleurs commentaires*. Paris: Maisonneuve, 1890.

Hawkes, David, trans. *The Songs of the South: An Anthology of Ancient Chinese Poems by Qu Yuan and Other Poets*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985.

Hightower, James Robert, trans. *Han Shih Wai Chuan: Han Ying's Illustrations of the Didactic Application of the Classic of Songs*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952.

Karlgren, Bernhard, trans. "The Book of Documents." *BMFEA* 22 (1950): 1-81.

—, trans. *The Book of Odes*. Stockholm: The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1950.

Knechtges, David R. trans. *Wen xuan or Selections of Refined Literature*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982-86.

- Legge, James (1815-1897), trans. *The Ch'un Ts'ew with the Tso Chuen*. In *The Chinese Classics*. 1861-72; rpt. Taipei: Southern Materials Center, 1985. Vol. 5.
- , trans. *Li Chi*. 1879-85; rpt. New Hyde Park: University Books, 1967.
- , trans. *The She King*. In *The Chinese Classics*. 1861-72; rpt. Taipei: Southern Materials Center, 1985. Vol. 4.
- , trans. *Tao Te Ching and The Writings of Chuang-Tzu*. 1891; rpt. Taipei: Ch'eng-Wen Publishing Company, 1976.
- Malmqvist, Göran, trans. "Studies on the Gongyang and Guliang Commentaries," *BMFEA* 43 (1971), 67-222; 47 (1975), 19-69; 49 (1977), 33-215.
- Shih, Vincent Yu-chung 施友忠, trans. *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*. Taipei: Taiwan zhonghua shuju, 1970.
- Waley, Arthur, trans. *The Book of Songs*. 1937; rpt. New York: Grove Press, 1960.
- Wilhelm, Richard, trans. *Dschuang Dsi: Das wahre Buch vom südlichen Blütenland*. Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1912.
- , trans. *Frühling und Herbst des Lü Bu We: Lü Schi Tschun Tsiu*. 1928; rpt. Köln: Anaconda Verlag, 2006.
- , trans. *Hiau Ging: Das Buch der Ehrfurcht*. Peking: Verlag der pekinger pappelinsel, 1940.
- , trans. *I Ging: Das Buch der Wandlungen*. 1924; rpt. Köln: Anaconda Verlag, 2007.
- , trans. *Konfuzius Gespräche (Lun Yü)*. 1910; rpt. Köln: Anaconda, 2007.
- , trans. *Kung Futse, Schulgespräche (Gia Yü)*. Düsseldorf-Köln: Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1961.
- , trans. *Laotse Tao Te King: Das Buch vom Sinn und Leben*. 1921; rpt. Hamburg: Nikol Verlag, 2010.
- , trans. *Li Gi: Das Buch der Riten, Sitten und Gebräuche*. 1930; rpt. Köln: Anaconda Verlag, 2007.
- , trans. *Mong Dsi: Die Lehrgespräche des Meisters Meng K'o*. Köln: Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1982.

Modern Studies

- Allen, Joseph R. *In the Voice of Others: Chinese Music Bureau Poetry*. Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, 1992.
- Baker, Timothy Danforth, Jr. "The Imperial Ancestral Temple in China's Western Han Dynasty: Institutional Tradition and Personal Belief." PhD. Dissertation, Harvard University, 2006.
- Birrell, Anne. *Popular Songs and Ballads of Han China*. London: Unwin Hyman, 1988.
- Bodde, Derk. *Festivals in Classical China*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975.
- . "Myths of Ancient China." in Samuel Noah Kramer, ed., *Mythologies of the Ancient World*. Garden City: Anchor Books, 1961. 369-408.
- . "The State and Empire of Ch'in." In Twitchett and Loewe (1986), 20-102.
- Brandauer, Frederick P., and Chun-Chieh Huang, ed. *Imperial Rulership and Cultural Change in Traditional China*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994.
- Brown, Miranda. *The Politics of Mourning in Early China*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007.
- Chan Wai-leung 陳煒良. "Wei Jin Nanbeichao zhi jiaomiao ge" 魏晉南北朝之郊廟歌. In University of Hong Kong Department of Chinese, ed. *Shou Luo Xianglin jiaoshou lunwenji* 壽羅香林教授論文集. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1970. 153-62.
- Chang, K. C. 張光直. *Early Chinese Civilization: Anthropological Perspectives*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976.
- Ch'i T'ing-t'ing 齊婷婷. *Liang Han yuefu yanjiu* 兩漢樂府研究. Taipei: Xuehai chubanshe, 1980.
- Chow, Tse-tung 周策縱, ed. *Wen-lin: Studies in the Chinese Humanities*. Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1989.
- Cutter, Rober Joe. "To the Manner Born? Nature and Nurture in Early Medieval Chinese Literary Thought." In Pearce, Spiro, and Ebrey (2001), 53-71.
- Davis, Timothy M. "Potent Stone: Entombed Epigraphy and Memorial Culture in Early Medieval China." PhD. Dissertation, Columbia University, 2008.

- Ebrey, Patricia. *Confucianism and Family Rituals in Imperial China: A Social History of Writing about Rites*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- . “The Economic and Social History of Later Han.” In Twitchett and Loewe (1986), 608-48.
- . “Estate and Family Management in the Later Han as Seen in the Monthly Instructions for the Four Classes of People.” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 17.2 (1974): 173-205.
- . “Later Han Stone Inscriptions.” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 40.2 (1980): 325-353.
- . “Patron-Client Relations in the Later Han.” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 103.3 (1983): 533-542.
- Edwards, E. D. “A Classified Guide to the Thirteen Classes of Chinese Prose,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 12 (1948): 770-88.
- Elman, Benjamin A., and Martin Kern, eds. *Statecraft and Classical Learning*. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- van Ess, Hans. “The Apocryphal Texts of the Han Dynasty and the Old Text/New Text Controversy.” *T'oung Pao* 85 (1999): 29-64.
- . “The Old Text/New Text Controversy: Has the 20th Century Got It Wrong?” *T'oung Pao* 80 (1994): 146-70.
- Fairbank, Anthony. “Ssu-ma I (179-251): Wei Statesman and Chin Founder, An Historiographical Inquiry.” Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Washington, 1994.
- von Falkenhausen, Lothar. *Suspended Music: Chime-Bells in the Culture of Bronze Age China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
- Frankel, Hans H. “Yüeh-fü Poetry.” Cyril Birch, ed. *Studies in Chinese Literary Genres*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974. 69-107.
- Fu Sinian 傅斯年. “Zhou song shuo” 周頌說. *BIHP* 1 (1928): 95-117.
- Fu Xinian 傅熹年. “The Three Kingdoms, Western and Eastern Jin, and Northern and Southern Dynasties.” in Steinhardt (2002), 60-89.
- Goodman, Howard L. “A History of Court Lyrics during Wei-Chin Times.” *Asia Major* 19.1-2 (2006): 57-109.
- . “Sites of Recognition: Burial, Mourning, and Commemoration in the Xun Family of Yingchuan, AD 140-305.” *Early Medieval China* 15 (2009): 49-90.

- “Tintinnabulations of Bells: Scoring-Prosody in Third Century China and Its Relationship to Yüeh-fu Party Music.” *JAOS* 126.1 (2006): 27-49.
- *Ts'ao P'i Transcendent: The Political Culture of Dynasty-Founding in China at the End of the Han*. Seattle: Scripta Serica, 1998.
- *Xun Xu and the Politics of Precision in Third-Century AD China*. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- Goodman, Howard L., and Y. Edmund Lien 連永君. “A Third Century AD Chinese System of Di-Flute Temperament: Matching Ancient Pitch-Standards and Confronting Modal Practice.” *Galpin Society Journal* 62 (2009): 3-24.
- Guo Shanbing 郭善兵. “Wei-Jin huangdi zongmiao jizu lizhi kaolun” 魏晉皇帝宗廟祭祖禮制考論. *Pingdingshan xueyuan xuebao* 22.1 (2007): 27-30, 33.
- Hsiao Kung-chuan 蕭公權. *Zhongguo zhengzhi sixiang shi* 中國政治思想史. Chongqing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1945.
- Hsueh Tsung-ming 薛宗明. *Zhongguo yinyue shi yuepu pian* 中國音樂史樂譜篇. Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1981.
- *Zhongguo yinyue shi yueqi pian* 中國音樂史樂器篇. Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983.
- Hu Xiaoming 胡曉明. “Xi Jin houqi sijun zhi zheng kaolun” 西晉後期嗣君之爭考論. *Nanjing Xiaozhuang xueyuan xuebao* 5 (2011): 114-17.
- Hucker, Charles O. *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985.
- Hung Shun-lung 洪順隆. “Liuchao jianguo shishi shilun” 六朝建國史詩試論. In Chenggong University Department of Chinese, ed. *Wei Jin Nanbeichao wenxue yu sixiang* 魏晉南北朝文學與思想. Taipei: Wenshizhe, 1991. 1-48.
- Jian Changchun 蹇長春 et al, eds. *Fu Xuan, Yin Jian shi zhu* 傅玄·陰鑑詩注. Gansu: Gansu renmin chubanshe, 1987.
- Kamatani Takeshi 釜谷武志. “The Early Bureau of Music (Yüeh-fu).” *Acta Asiatica* 70 (1996): 37-53.
- “Kan Mutei gakufu sōsetsu no mokuteki” 漢武帝樂府創設の目的. *Tōhōgaku* 84 (1992): 52-66.

- Kaneko Shūichi 金子修一. “Gi Shin yori Zui Tō ni itaru kōshi-sōbyō no seido ni cuite” 魏晉より隋唐に至る郊祀・宗廟の制度について. *Shigaku zasshi* 88.10 (1979): 22-63.
- Karlgren, Bernhard. “Legends and Cults in Ancient China.” *BMFEA* 18 (1946): 199-365.
- Kaufmann, Walter. *Musical References in the Chinese Classics*. Detroit Monographs in Musicology 5. Detroit: Information Coordinators, Inc., 1976.
- Kern, Martin. *Die Hymnen der chinesischen Staatsopfer*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1997.
- . “Ritual, Text, and the Formation of the Canon: Historical Transitions of ‘Wen’ in Early China.” *T'oung Pao* 87 (2001): 43-91.
- Kishibe Shigeo 岸邊成雄. *Tōdai ongaku no rekishiteki kenkyū* 唐代音樂の歴史的研究. Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 1960.
- Knechtges, David R. “The Emperor and Literature: Emperor Wu of the Han.” In Brandauer and Huang (1994), 51-76.
- . “A New Study of Han Yüe-fu.” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 110.2 (1990):315-16.
- . “The Rhetoric of Imperial Abdication and Accession in a Third-Century Chinese Court: The Case of Cao Pi’s Accession as Emperor of the Wei Dynasty.” In Knechtges and Vance (2005). 3-35.
- . “Wit, Humor, and Satire in Early Chinese Literature (to A. D. 220).” *Monumenta Serica* 29 (1970-1971): 79-98.
- Knechtges, David R., and Taiping Chang, ed. *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature: A Reference Guide Part One*. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- Knechtges, David R., and Eugene Vance, ed. *Rhetoric and the Discourses of Power in Court Culture: China, Europe, and Japan*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005.
- Kojima Tsuyoshi 小島毅. “Kōshi seido no henshen” 郊祀制度の變遷. *Tōyō bunka kenkyūsho kiyō* 108 (1989): 123-219.
- Kroll, Paul W., and David R. Knechtges, ed. *Studies in Early Medieval Chinese Literature and Cultural History*. Provo: T’ang Studies Society, 2003.
- Lam, Joseph S. C. 林萃青. *State Sacrifices and Music in Ming China: Orthodoxy, Creativity, and Expressiveness*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998.

- Lee, Lynn Hsu. "Songs for Suburban Sacrifices and Some Important Aspects of Chinese Religion." M.A. Thesis, University of Washington, 1995.
- Li Fanggui 李方桂. "Shanggu yin yanjiu" 上古音研究. *Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies*, n.s., 9 (1971):1-61.
- , *Shanggu yin yanjiu* 上古音研究. Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1980.
- Liang Haiyan 梁海燕. *Wugu geci yanjiu* 舞曲歌辭研究. Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2009.
- Liang Tsai-p'ing 梁在平 and Huang Zhijiong 黃志燭, trans. *Tang dai yinyue shi de yanjiu* 唐代音樂史的研究. Taipei: Taiwan zhonghua shuju, 1973.
- Liao Wei-ch'ing 廖蔚卿. "Jin dai yuewu kao" 晉代樂舞考. *Wenshizhe xuebao* 文史哲學報 13 (1964): 97-180.
- , "Nanbeichao yuewu kao" 南北朝樂舞考. *Wenshizhe xuebao* 文史哲學報 19 (1970): 111-94.
- Lin Xiaosheng 林校生. "Guanyu Wang Dun mufu de kaocha ji tuilun" 關於王敦幕府的考察及推論. *Huaqiao daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 4 (2002): 97-104.
- Liu Dajie 劉大杰. *Zhongguo wenxue fazhan shi* 中國文學發展史. 1941; rpt. Taipei: Huazheng shuju, 1991.
- Liu Xujie 劉敘傑. "The Origins of Chinese Architecture." in Steinhardt (2002), 10-31.
- , "The Qin and Han Dynasties." in Steinhardt (2002), 32-59.
- Loewe, Michael, ed. *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide*. Berkeley: Society for the Study of Early China: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1993.
- Lu Kanru 陸侃如. *Yuefu guci kao* 樂府古辭考. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1926.
- Lu Li 魯力. "'Ba wang zhi luan' chengyin xinjian" 「八王之亂」成因新見. *Wuhan daxue xuebao (renwen kexue ban)* 58-4 (2005): 462-68.
- Lu Zongli 呂宗力. *Power of the Words: Chen Prophecy in Chinese Politics AD 265-618*. Oxford: Peter Lang, 2003.
- Lü Kai 呂凱. *Zheng Xuan zhi chenwei xue* 鄭玄之讖緯學. Taipei: Taixin shuini gongsi, 1977.

- Luo Changpei 羅常培 and Zhou Zumo 周祖謨. *Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao yunbu yanbian yanjiu* 漢魏晉南北朝韻部演變研究. Beijing: Kexuechubanshe, 1958.
- Luo Genze 羅根澤. *Yuefu wenxueshi* 樂府文學史. Beijing: Wenhua xueshe, 1931.
- Masuda Kiyohide 増田清秀. *Gakufu no rekishiteki kenkyū* 樂府の歴史的研究. Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1975.
- Mather, Richard B. “The Controversy over Conformity and Naturalness During the Six Dynasties.” *History of Religions* 9 (1969-70): 160-80.
- Miao, Ronald C. 繆文傑. *Early Medieval Chinese Poetry. The Life and Works of Wang Ts’an* (A.D. 177–217). Münchener Ostasiatische Studien, Band 30. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1982.
- Mote, Frederick W., trans. *A History of Chinese Political Thought*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979.
- Nakatsuhama Wataru 中津濱渉. *Gakufu shishū no kinkyū* 樂府詩集の研究. Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1970.
- Nylan, Michael. “The ‘Chin Wen/Ku Wen’ Controversy in Han Times.” *T’oung Pao* 80 (1994): 83-145.
- Owen, Stephen. *The Making of Early Chinese Classical Poetry*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006.
- Paper, Jordan D. “Fu Hsüan as Poet: A Man of His Season.” In Chow (1989). 45-60.
— . *The Fu-tzu: A Post-Han Confucian Text*. Monographies du T’oung Pao 13. Leiden: Brill, 1987.
- Pearce, Scott, Audrey Spiro, and Patricia Ebrey, ed. *Culture and Power in the Reconstitution of the Chinese Realm, 200-600*. Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001.
- Picken, Laurence. “Twelve Ritual Melodies of the T’ang Dynasty,” in *Studia Memoriae Belae Bartók Sacra*. Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1959. 145-71.
- Puett, Michael. “Centering the Realm: Wang Mang, the *Zhou li*, and Early Chinese Statecraft.” In Elman and Kern (2010), 129-54.
- Rogers, Michael C., trans. *The Chronicle of Fu Chien: A Case of Exemplar History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.
- Schaberg, David. “The *Zhou li* as Constitutional Text.” In Elman and Kern (2010), 33-63.

- Scholes, Percy A. *"God save the King!" Its History and Its Romance*. London: Oxford University Press, 1942.
- Shaughnessy, Edward L. "From Liturgy to Literature: The Ritual Contexts of the Earliest Poems in the *Book of Poetry*." *Hanxue yanjiu* 13.1 (1995): 133-64.
- Sivin, Nathan. "Cosmos and Computation in Early Chinese Mathematical Astronomy." *T'oung Pao* 55.1/3 (1969): 1-73.
- Steinhardt, Nancy S., ed. *Chinese Architecture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.
- Straughair, Anna. *Chang Hua: A Statesman-Poet of the Western Chin Dynasty*. Occasional Paper 15. Canberra: Australian National University, Faculty of Asian Studies, 1973.
- T'ai Ching-nung 臺靜農. "Liang Han yuewu kao" 兩漢樂舞考. *Wenshizhe xuebao* 1 (1950): 253-308.
- Ting Pang-hsin 丁邦新. *Chinese Phonology of the Wei-Chin Period: Reconstruction of the Finals as Reflected in Poetry*. Monograph of Academia Sinica, Institute of History and Philology, No.65. Nankang, 1975.
- Twitchett, Denis, and Michael Loewe, eds. *The Cambridge History of China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986. Vol. 1.
- Waley, Arthur. "The Heavenly Horses of Ferghana: A New View." *History Today* 5 (1955): 95-103.
- Wan Shengnan 萬繩楠, comp. *Chen Yinque Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi jiangyan lu* 陳寅恪魏晉南北朝史講演錄. Guiyang: Guizhou renmin chubanshe, 2007.
- Wang, C. H. 王靖獻. "The Countenance of the Chou: *Shih Ching* 266-296" *Xianggang Zhongwen daxue Zhongguo wenhua yanjiusuo xuebao* 7.2 (1974): 425-49.
- Wang Chung 汪中, comm. *Xinyi Song ci sanbai shou* 新譯宋詞三百首. Taipei: Sanmin shuju, 1977.
- Wang Fuli 王福利. *Jiaomiao yanshe geci yanjiu* 郊廟燕射歌辭研究. Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2009.
- Wang Hui-chie 王繪絜. *Fu Xuan ji qi shiwen yanjiu* 傅玄及其詩文研究. Taipei: Wenjin, 1997.
- Wang Xiaoyi 王曉毅. "Sima Yan yu Xi Jin qianqi xuanru de shengjiang" 司馬炎與西晉前期玄儒的盛降. *Shixue yuekan* (1997: 3): 20-28.

- Wang Zichu 王子初. *Xun Xu dilu yanjiu* 荀勗笛律研究. Beijing: Renmin yinyue chubanshe, 1995.
- Wechsler, Howard J. *Offerings of Jade and Silk: Ritual and Symbol in the Legitimation of the T'ang Dynasty*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985.
- Wen Yiduo 聞一多. "Yuefu shi jian" 樂府詩箋. *Wen Yiduo quanji* 聞一多全集. Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 1993. 5:712-82.
- Wu Xiangzhou 吳相洲, ed. *Yuefu shiji fenlei yanjiu* 樂府詩集分類研究. Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2009.
- Wu Yun 吳雲 and Tang Shaozhong 唐紹宗, ed. and comm. *Wang Can jizhu* 王粲集注. Xinyang, Henan: Zhongzhou shuhuashe, 1984.
- Xiao Difei 蕭滌非. *Han Wei Liuchao yuefu wenxueshi* 漢魏六朝樂府文學史. Chongqing: Zhongguo wenhua fuwu she, 1944.
- Xu Lianggao 徐良高 and Wang Wei 王巍. "A Preliminary Study of the Western Zhou Building Foundations at Yuntang in Fufeng, Shaanxi." *Chinese Archeology* 3 (2003): 176-81.
- Xu Yinghua 徐迎花. *Han Wei zhi Nanbeichao shiqi jiaosi zhidu yanjiu* 漢魏至南北朝時期郊祀制度研究. Harbin: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe, 2009.
- Yang Min-wei 楊旻瑋. *Tang dai yinyue wenhua zhi yanjiu* 唐代音樂文化之研究. Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1993.
- Yu Guanying 余冠英, comp. *Yuefu shixuan* 樂府詩選. 1953; rpt. Taipei: Huazheng shuju, 1991.
- Zheng Wen 鄭文. "Han 'Jiaosi ge' qianlun" 漢郊祀歌淺論. *Wen shi* 21 (1983): 179-92.
- Zhou Yi 周藝 and Gao Yuan 高遠. "Xi Jin 'ba wang zhi luan' yuanyin xinshi" 西晉「八王之亂」原因新釋. *Liuzhou shizhuan xuebao* 15-1 (2000): 97-101.
- Zou Jiwan 鄒紀萬. *Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi* 魏晉南北朝史. Beijing: Jiuzhou chubanshe, 2009.

This page intentionally left blank.

VITA

Kevin A. Jensen, the son of Prof. Richard I. Jensen and Mrs. Karen L. Jensen, was born in Eugene, Oregon, on 23 March 1965. He attended public schools in Monmouth, Oregon, and Independence, Oregon, graduating from Central High School in Independence in 1983. He earned his B.A. in Chinese from the University of Oregon in Eugene, his M.A. in Chinese from National Chengchi University in Taipei, Taiwan, in 1998, and his Ph.D. in Chinese from the University of Washington in Seattle, Washington, in 2012. He is currently Instructor of Chinese at the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York, where he lives with his wife Hsueh Su-ying and their youngest child Anna.

This page intentionally left blank.