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**Analysis of the Discourse on Music  
of the *Lüshi chunqiu* mainly in  
comparison with the “Yuelun”  
chapter of the *Xunzi***

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Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD in 2012

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## Abstract

This dissertation analyses the “Dayue”, “Chiyue”, “Shiyin”, “Guyue”, “Yinlü” and “Yinchu” chapters of the *Lüshi chunqiu* mainly in comparison with the “Yuelun” chapter of the *Xunzi*. This comparative analysis aims to clarify the viewpoints on music of the *Lüshi chunqiu* by contrasting them with those of the “Yuelun”, while suggesting possible reasons for their diverging viewpoints as well as contributory factors behind the rise of musical discourse in around the third century BCE.

At this time, a recognition of the inherent tendency to enjoy music and of the resonance between music and *qi* resulted in music becoming a subject of special attention. The *Lüshi chunqiu* argues for the indispensability of music based on the inherent desire for music while criticizing extravagant music on the ground that it harms life. Musical sound was believed to affect the flow of *qi* in the natural world, and the *Lüshi chunqiu* reinforces this belief by addressing the cosmic harmony of music. Despite its recognition of the desire for music, the “Yuelun” mainly perceives music as a tool for edification rather than an object of desire. It argues for the edifying effect of music while suggesting resonance between music and *qi* in the body, and with this strong ethical implication, musical harmony is closely related to its function to achieve social harmony.

The *Lüshi chunqiu* mainly sees music as currents of air that serve as a sensory stimulus or as a medium for affecting *qi*. In both cases, music enhances what belongs to Heaven: it nurtures life by providing pleasure or promotes natural harmony by resonating with *qi*. The emphasis on the physical property of music and its contribution to intrinsic qualities can be suggested as the central idea on music of the *Lüshi chunqiu*, contrasted with the “Yuelun” that discusses music with moral concerns.

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## 1. Introduction

### 1.1 Aim and methodology

This dissertation aims at elucidating the viewpoints on music of the *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (Annals of Mr Lü) expressed in its six chapters that discuss music: “Dayue” 大樂 (Great Music), “Chiyue” 侈樂 (Extravagant Music), “Shiyin” 適音 (Appropriate Sound), “Guyue” 古樂 (Ancient Music), “Yinlü” 音律 (Pitch-standards) and “Yinchu” 音初 (Origin of Tune) chapters.<sup>1</sup> For this purpose, this dissertation will undertake a complete and annotated translation of the six musical chapters and analyse them mainly in comparison with the “Yuelun” 樂論 (Discourse on Music) chapter of the *Xunzi* 荀子 (Master Xun), another detailed discussion about music around the third century BCE when discourse on music appeared to gain significance.<sup>2</sup> Comparison with the “Yuelun” will clarify the viewpoints of the six musical chapters by contrasting diverging perceptions of music appearing in a similar time frame, while suggesting contributory factors behind the rise of musical discourse as well as underlying reasons for diverging perceptions of music between the *Lüshi chunqiu* and “Yuelun”.

The whole 160 chapters of the *Lüshi chunqiu* were translated into English by John Knoblock and Jeffrey Riegel.<sup>3</sup> However, as described in its preface, this translation is “a complete translation in a convenient form” with limited annotations.<sup>4</sup> Focusing on the six musical chapters, this dissertation will fill the lacunae of their translation by providing detailed explanations suggested mainly

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<sup>1</sup> These six chapters will be referred to “the six musical chapters” hereafter. In addition to these six chapters, two chapters following the “Yinchu”, namely the “Zhiyue” 制樂 (Making Music) and “Mingli” 明理 (Elucidating the Principles) chapters also discuss music, mainly focusing on *zhiyue* 至樂 (perfect music) yet only in a few sentences and the other parts are hardly relevant to music. For this reason, I do not include the “Zhiyue” and “Mingli” chapters in “the musical chapters” of the *Lüshi chunqiu*. However, those sentences about music will be discussed in 4.1.1 and 5.1.3.

<sup>2</sup> This dissertation assumes that the six musical chapters and “Yuelun” show how music was perceived around the third century BCE. Dates of composition of the *Lüshi chunqiu* and “Yuelun” will be discussed in 1.4.

<sup>3</sup> Knoblock and Riegel, *The Annals of Lü Buwei*.

<sup>4</sup> Knoblock and Riegel, *The Annals of Lü Buwei*, viii-ix.



by Gao You 高誘 (fl. 205 CE), Bi Yuan 畢沅 (1730-1797), Jiang Weiqiao 蔣維喬 (1873-1958), Xu Weiyu 許維遜 (1900-1950) and Chen Qiyou 陳奇猷 (1917-2006).<sup>5</sup> This annotated translation will form a firm basis for analysing the six musical chapters.

Besides the “Yuelun”, the “Yueji” 樂記 (Records of Music) chapter of the *Liji* 禮記 (Records of Ritual) will be examined focusing on the passages where similar viewpoints to the “Yuelun” are advanced, with an aim to show how the viewpoints of the “Yuelun” are consolidated in the “Yueji”. Parallels between the “Yueji” and *Lüshi chunqiu* will also be analysed to discuss their differences or similarities. In addition, other classical texts including the *Zuo zhuan* 左傳 (Zuo’s Commentary) and *Guoyu* 國語 (Sayings of the States) will be examined in order to discuss the six musical chapters and “Yuelun” in a wider context.<sup>6</sup> Analysis of those texts will be assisted by annotations of Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-200), Wei Zhao 韋昭 (204-273), Du Yu 杜預 (222-284), Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574-648), Wang Xianqian 王先謙 (1842-1917) et al.<sup>7</sup>

One of the approaches to musical discourse of the *Lüshi chunqiu* is based on the classification of schools of thoughts such as Confucianism and Daoism, largely following the technique applied to the analysis of the *Lüshi chunqiu* in general. That is, the “Yiwen zhi” 藝文志 (Bibliographical Treatise) of the *Han shu* 漢書 (Book of the Han) classifies the *Lüshi chunqiu* as an eclectic text (*Zajia* 雜家).<sup>8</sup> As can be seen from this classification, the *Lüshi chunqiu* is believed to contain various thoughts that were discussed during the Warring States period (475-221BCE), and these thoughts are often classified according to

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<sup>5</sup> Lü Buwei, *Lüshi chunqiu*; Jiang Weiqiao et al., *Lüshi chunqiu huijiao*; Xu Weiyu, *Lüshi chunqiu jishi*; Chen Qiyou, *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi*.

<sup>6</sup> The texts referred by the name of “classical texts” here mainly indicate pre-Han texts. They also include texts from the Han such as *Huainanzi*, *Shiji* and *Han shu* but do not include texts composed later than the *Han shu*.

<sup>7</sup> Kong Yingda et al., *Liji zhengyi*; Wei Zhao, *Guoyu*; Kong Yingda et al., *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*; Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*.

<sup>8</sup> Ban Gu, *Han shu*, 30: 1741.

the schools with which they are most associated. For example, Liu Rulin 劉汝霖 classifies 103 chapters of the *Lüshi chunqiu* into ten schools including Confucianism, Daoism, Mohism and Legalism.<sup>9</sup> Similarly, Tian Fengtai 田鳳台 categorizes the main tenets of the *Lüshi chunqiu* according to schools of thoughts.<sup>10</sup> In addition, Scott Cook discusses how Laoist, Mohist and Confucian ideas coexist in the *Lüshi chunqiu* while understanding it as a work for philosophical unification aiming at political unification.<sup>11</sup>

This approach can equally be adopted when analysing the musical discourse of the *Lüshi chunqiu*. For instance, Li Zehou 李澤厚 and Liu Gangji 劉綱紀 discuss the origin and function of music within the frameworks of Confucianism and Daoism.<sup>12</sup> In a similar way, Cai Zhongde 蔡仲德 suggests that *Lüshi chunqiu*'s viewpoints on music are influenced by the *Yin-Yang* School and Confucianism while its central argument is based on Daoism.<sup>13</sup> In addition, Chen Guying 陳鼓應 argues that the “Dayue” chapter, which he believes is the most important chapter regarding music in the *Lüshi chunqiu*, clearly expresses Daoist ideas.<sup>14</sup> These interpretations, however, are mainly based on a perception of the eclectic nature of the *Lüshi chunqiu*, which could hinder elucidating the core perception of music that permeates the six musical chapters. Furthermore, it might simplify or misinterpret the viewpoints of the *Lüshi chunqiu* by classifying them into the generic categories such as Confucianism and Daoism.

Rather than using schools of thoughts as an analytical tool, this dissertation will investigate crucial concepts advanced in the six musical chapters in their own terms, not restricted by conventional readings within certain schools of thoughts. Investigation into key concepts is also often adopted as a method for analysing musical discourse of the *Lüshi chunqiu*. For instance, Cai Zhongde developed the

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<sup>9</sup> Liu Rulin, “*Lüshi chunqiu zhi fenxi*”, 340-358.

<sup>10</sup> Tian Fengtai, *Lüshi chunqiu tanwei*, 119-153.

<sup>11</sup> Cook, “The *Lüshi chunqiu* and the Resolution of Philosophical Dissonance”, 307-323.

<sup>12</sup> Li and Liu, *Zhongguo meixueshi*, 414-425.

<sup>13</sup> Cai Zhongde, *Zhongguo yinyue meixueshi*, 235.

<sup>14</sup> Chen Guying, “Cong *Lüshi chunqiu* kan Qin Daojia sixiang tedian”, 88.

concepts of *yu* 欲 (desire), *le* 樂 (pleasure) and *li* 理 (principle) which he considers the main ideas of the “Shiyin” chapter.<sup>15</sup> In addition, Xiu Hailin 修海林, based on the concepts of *he* 和 (harmony) and *shi* 適 (appropriateness), provides an insightful reading of the “Dayue” by emphasising human efforts to follow the principle of the natural world in order to produce harmonious sounds.<sup>16</sup> In this way, analysing crucial concepts is advantageous to understanding each chapter in its own context. However, if this analysis remains within the six musical chapters, it would have limitations in evaluating the significance of their viewpoints from a broader perspective.

In line with an approach centred around core concepts, various terms will be under scrutiny in this dissertation since these terms are closely related to main arguments this dissertation will develop: *yu* 欲 (in chaps. 2 and 3), *qi* 氣, *xin* 心, *qing* 情 (in chaps. 3 and 4), *shi* 適, *liyue* 禮樂 (in chaps. 3 and 5), *taiyi* 太一, *duliang* 度量, *ping* 平, *gong* 公, *he* 和 (in chap. 5), *yin* 音 and *sheng* 聲 (in chap. 6).<sup>17</sup> However, this dissertation will distinguish its approach from others by exploring different readings of the terms in other classical texts as well as among commentators. To put it more specifically, this dissertation will demonstrate changes in the meanings or connotations of *yu*, *xin* and *qing*. In addition, it will discuss the different perspectives from which *qi*, *he* and *liyue* are discussed. Except for *he*, the terms occurring in chapter 5 will be discussed within the context of the “Dayue” but their usages in other texts will still be examined to clarify their meanings in the “Dayue”. Regarding *yin* and *sheng*, it will discuss their shared semantic area before they are clearly distinguished in the “Yueji”.

Current scholarship largely agrees that music is chiefly perceived as an edifying tool used for achieving harmony in society according to the “Yuelun”. For example, Masayuki Sato suggests that according to the “Yuelun”, music prevents social disorder by controlling desires and emotions of the people and music is the complementary idea of *li* 禮, both of which are indispensable for

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<sup>15</sup> Cai Zhongde, *Zhongguo yinyue meixueshi*, 233.

<sup>16</sup> Xiu Hailin, *Zhongguo gudai yinyue meixue*, 199-202.

<sup>17</sup> Translations of these terms will be presented in 1.2 and 1.3.

achieving “an ideal state of harmony/order in a society”.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, John Knoblock indicates the profound transforming effect of music that contributes to “the highest degree of social uniformity”,<sup>19</sup> and Paul Goldin points to the influence of music that makes the people “in line with the Way”.<sup>20</sup> Largely following those interpretations, I will emphasise the edifying effect of music when analysing the “Yuelun”. However, from a viewpoint that understands the “Yuelun” as one of the first serious discussions about music along with the six musical chapters, I will discuss the “Yuelun” in relation to the contributory factors behind the rise of musical discourse which, in my opinion, are interpreted differently in the six musical chapters. This approach will provide a new angle to understanding the “Yuelun”.

Some scholars interpret the musical discourse of the *Lüshi chunqiu* from a similar viewpoint to the “Yuelun”. For example, Li Zehou and Liu Gangji suggest the edifying effect of music as one of the important aspects of music advocated in the *Lüshi chunqiu*.<sup>21</sup> In addition, Tian Fengtai emphasises the edifying function of music in close relation to its importance in governance when discussing the viewpoints on music of the *Lüshi chunqiu*.<sup>22</sup> In their discussions, parallels to the “Yuelun” and “Yueji” are quoted in order to show similar viewpoints between the *Lüshi chunqiu*, “Yuelun” and “Yueji”. Disagreeing with those interpretations, I will suggest that the six musical chapters devote little attention to the edifying function of music in society and analyse the parallels in order to show diverging viewpoints of the *Lüshi chunqiu*.

One of the main interpretations of the *Lüshi chunqiu*'s perception of music is closely related to life and the natural world. For example, it is argued that its view on music is influenced by the Daoist idea of *yangsheng* 養生 (nourishing life), and the natural world is often discussed as the origin of music.<sup>23</sup> As with those

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<sup>18</sup> Sato, *The Confucian Quest for Order*, 362-369. Regarding the term *li*, see footnote 27.

<sup>19</sup> Knoblock, *Xunzi*, 79-80.

<sup>20</sup> Goldin, *Rituals of the Way*, 79.

<sup>21</sup> Li and Liu, *Zhongguo meixueshi*, 415-416.

<sup>22</sup> Tian Fengtai, *Lüshi chunqiu tanwei*, 297.

<sup>23</sup> Xiu Hailin, *Zhongguo gudai yinyue meixue*, 199-205; Li and Liu, *Zhongguo meixueshi*,

interpretations, life and the natural world are two of the main focuses of this dissertation. However, this dissertation will provide a new interpretation of these two subjects in relation to music by formulating a consistent argument with which both life and the natural world are associated, and by presenting this argument as one of the core arguments of the six musical chapters. In addition, as with the “Yuelun”, musical discourse of the *Lüshi chunqiu* will be interpreted in relation to the contributory factors that led to the first detailed discussions about music.

The six musical chapters show various perceptions of music. In other words, they do not show one consistent viewpoint on music. In contrast, the “Yuelun”, as one of the chapters in a single book that mainly demonstrates Xunzi’s 荀子 (trad. c.313-238 BCE) philosophy, holds a relatively consistent viewpoint on music, if not completely consistent.<sup>24</sup> Because of their various perceptions of music, not all the six musical chapters can be compared with the “Yuelun”. However, most of the crucial arguments on the six musical chapters this dissertation will formulate will be related to the view of music as an object of desire which will be mainly compared with the view of music as an edifying tool in the “Yuelun”. More specific ways of comparison will be presented in 1.2.

In sum, the six musical chapters will be analysed on the basis of a close reading of the texts and investigation into key concepts, in comparison with the “Yuelun” and other classical texts including the *Zuo zhuan* and *Guoyu*. This comparative analysis is expected to evaluate *Lüshi chunqiu*’s viewpoints on music from a broader perspective by employing synchronic as well as diachronic approach to perceptions of music. Consequently, it will pinpoint the significance of the *Lüshi chunqiu* in the evolvement of musical discourse up to the early Han 漢 (202BCE-220CE) period.

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416-425.

<sup>24</sup> The “Yuelun” also sees music as an object of desire or as part of ceremonial constituents. However, the “Yuelun” does not seem to advance its arguments on these aspects beyond previous discussions while placing lesser importance to them. Therefore, these aspects will not occupy the centre of discussion of this dissertation although they will still be mentioned whenever necessary.

## 1.2 Outline

This dissertation will discuss five subjects: the indispensability of music, two perceptions of music, music and *xin* 心 (heart/mind),<sup>25</sup> the cosmic harmony of music, and twelve pitch-standards. Each of the six musical chapters is related to one or two of the subjects as presented below.

		“Dayue”	“Chiyue”	“Shiyin”	“Guyue”	“Yinlü”	“Yinchu”
ch.2	Indispensability of music						
ch.3	Two perceptions of music						
ch.4	Music and <i>xin</i>						
ch.5	Cosmic harmony of music						
ch.6	Twelve pitch-standards						

Except for chapter 6, the viewpoints of the “Yuelun” will be contrasted in each chapter. The contrast between the *Lüshi chunqiu* and “Yuelun” starts from their different perceptions of music: music as an object of desire versus music as a tool for edification. It is suggested that the *Lüshi chunqiu* positively recognises desire as a vital element in nourishing one’s life. This aspect is often discussed in support of the function of music to bring pleasure. For example, Li Zehou and Liu Gangji suggest that since the *Lüshi chunqiu* emphasises moderate satisfaction of desire aiming at fostering one’s life, the aesthetic value of music depends on whether music provides pleasure or not.<sup>26</sup> In contrast, the “Yuelun” is largely believed to advocate the function of music to achieve harmony among the people as mentioned in 1.1.

Based on my readings of the six musical chapters and “Yuelun”, I posit that

<sup>25</sup> As Sarah Allan indicates, “*xin*, as an organ, is the heart”. However, “it was the heart, rather than the brain, which was believed to think in ancient China”. In this way, “there is no heart/mind dichotomy in classical Chinese”. Allan, *The Way of Water and Sprouts of Virtue*, 80-81. Understanding *xin* as a physical organ with which one thinks, Sarah Allan translates *xin* as “mind/heart”. In musical discourses that this dissertation deals with, *xin* appears to be more related to emotion than to thinking. In order to encompass both meanings of *xin* with stronger connotation of emotion, I choose “heart/mind” as a translation of *xin*.

<sup>26</sup> Li and Liu, *Zhongguo meixueshi*, 432.

the main perceptions of music of the six musical chapters and “Yuelun” are above-mentioned two aspects of music, namely an object of desire and an edifying tool, and from this difference the central supposition of this dissertation emerges; if they see music from different perspectives, their interpretations of certain concepts related to music might not be the same, and if so, the viewpoints of the *Lüshi chunqiu* will be more clearly identified through a comparison with the “Yuelun”. Besides the “Yuelun”, this dissertation will also examine various classical texts if their viewpoints are related either to the *Lüshi chunqiu* or to the “Yuelun”.

Although the main structure of this dissertation is based on the comparison with the “Yuelun”, not all the six musical chapters will be contrasted with the “Yuelun” since the “Guyue” and “Yinlü” do not clearly hold a view that can be contrasted with those of the “Yuelun”. Even though it is the position of this dissertation that the *Lüshi chunqiu*'s core arguments are closely related to its view of music as an object of desire and that these arguments become more distinctive when compared with the “Yuelun”, the “Guyue” and “Yinlü” will still be analysed as importantly as the other chapters, since one of the aims of this dissertation is to demonstrate all the perceptions of music that the six musical chapters show. Another divergent view is presented in the “Yinchu” where music is regarded as an expression of feeling. This view will be contrasted with the view of music as an external stimulus that influences feeling, in order to emphasise the edifying effect of music in the “Yuelun” and “Yueji”. An outline of each chapter is as follows.

Chapter 2 will discuss two reasons for the indispensability of music suggested in the “Dayue” and “Guyue”: an innate desire for music and the continuing existence of music. Therefore, the main division of chapter 2 does not represent the comparison between the *Lüshi chunqiu* and “Yuelun”; this comparison will be made in the former part of this chapter where the “Dayue” is discussed. Both the “Dayue” and “Yuelun” acknowledge an innate desire for music, but in spite of this same recognition, their arguments appear to diverge. Chapter 2 will demonstrate their diverging viewpoints by contrasting music as an object of desire and music as a tool for edification. The second part of chapter 2

mainly consists of translation of thirteen stories about music in ancient times described in the “Guyue”.

Chapter 3 will explore the two perceptions of music suggested in chapter 2 with an aim to reconstruct the ideal type of music from each perspective. The “Chiyue” opposes extravagance in music and the “Shiyin” emphasises the importance of appropriateness. The first part of chapter 3 will discuss these two positions in relation to the viewpoint that sees music as an object of desire. In addition, it will interpret the concept of “*li* and music” (*liyue* 禮樂) advanced in the “Shiyin” and suggest the ideal type of music from this perspective.<sup>27</sup> The latter part of chapter 3 will discuss music as a tool for edification. It will first examine several passages from the *Shujing*, *Zuo zhuan* and *Guoyu* which expresses seemingly similar viewpoints to the “Yuelun”. This examination will demonstrate how the “Yuelun” sets apart its viewpoint from those of the *Shujing*,

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<sup>27</sup> *Li* 禮 has a variety of translations such as ritual, rites, ceremony, decorum and propriety which reveal its rich content and wide extension. According to the *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (Explaining the Graphs and Analysing the Characters), “*li* is to step on by which the spirits are worshiped and blessings are received. It is derived from *shi* 示 (to show) and *li* 豊 (ritual vessels), and *li* 豊 also serves as a phonetic determinative”. 禮履也，所以事神，致福也。从示从豊，豊亦聲. Xu Shen, *Shuowen jiezi*, 7.

Homer Dubs (1892-1969) understands *Shuowen jiezi*'s definition as the original meaning of *li*, namely “religious rites”, and discusses how the concept of *li* broadened its meaning from this original meaning. He suggests that as the kinds of rites increased this concept came to include “all social, habitual, customarily acknowledged practices”. Later, with the connotation of rightness being added, *li* came to include “all the observances of morality”. In this sense, Dubs translates *li* as “the rules of proper conduct”. Dubs, *Hüintzu*, 113-119.

Similarly, Hu Shi 胡適 (1891-1962) suggests three stages where the concept of *li* underwent changes: 1)religious ceremony 2)all kinds of social norms that are accepted as customs and manners 3)a paradigmatic social norms of moral behaviour which can be amended without adhering to the ones in the past. Hu Shi, *Zhongguo gudai zhexueshi*, 124.

As a wide range of meanings show, it might be impossible to give a clear-cut definition of *li*, not to mention an accurate translation. Any translation might be only a convenient but inaccurate translation; for this reason, this dissertation will not suggest a translation of *li*. In this dissertation, *li* will roughly indicate either “rules for the proper forms of objects of desire” or “social norms assigning distinction among the people” as *li* will be discussed mainly in relation to music. In the former case, *li* is mainly discussed in relation to music as an object of desire and in the latter case it is paired with music which serves as a tool for achieving harmony among the people. However, the accurate meaning of *li* needs to be determined in each context.



*Zuo zhuan* and *Guoyu*. After discussing the effects of music described in the “Yuelun”, it will suggest the ideal type of music from the viewpoint of the “Yuelun”.

Chapter 4 will discuss the relationship between music and *xin* in two directions: from *xin* to music and from music to *xin*, which represents the contrast between music as an expression of inner feeling and music as an external stimulus. In regard to the former direction, the “Yinchu” chapter will be discussed. As an external stimulus, music can act either as an object of desire or as a tool for edification. Chapter 4 will investigate the way music exerts an edifying effect while examining the terms of *xin* 心, *qi* 氣 and *qing* 情. The way music, as an object of desire, evokes pleasure will be discussed in chapter 3 when the “Shiyin” is analysed.

Chapter 5 will explore the concept of harmony (*he* 和) aiming at elucidating different implications of the cosmic harmony of music as described in the “Dayue” and “Yueji”. The first part of chapter 5 will interpret the cosmic harmony of music from the viewpoint of the “Dayue” after investigating five key terms of the “Dayue”. The second part will move its focus to the concept of harmony advanced in the “Yuelun” and “Yueji”. Based on these two texts, it will then suggest another reading of the concept of “*li* and music” which differs from the reading suggested in the “Shiyin”. Furthermore, it will examine the implication of the cosmic harmony of music in the “Yueji” which is paralleled with the cosmic order of *li*. In order to reach a better understanding of the concepts of harmony and “*li* and music”, chapter 5 will also examine relevant passages from the *Lunyu* 論語 (Analects), *Guoyu* and *Zuo zhuan*.

Chapter 6 is concerned with the twelve pitch-standards, the main subject of the “Yinlü” chapter. This subject is not discussed in the “Yuelun”; therefore, no comparison with the “Yuelun” will be made. Instead, the *Guanzi* 管子 (Master Guan), *Huainanzi* 淮南子 (Master of Huainan), *Shiji* 史記 (Records of the Scribe) and *Han shu* will be discussed concerning the method for achieving the twelve pitch-standards and the five notes. In addition, one passage from the *Guoyu* will be examined in order to discuss the relation between the twelve pitch-

standards and twelve months.

Lastly, based on the entire analysis given in the main body, this dissertation will conclude by summarizing the main viewpoints of the six musical chapters and “Yuelun” while suggesting common issues on which both the texts pay special attention as well as their diverging viewpoints regarding these issues. After interpreting the concepts of harmony and “*li* and music”, which I believe are two of the crucial concepts in musical discourse, from the viewpoint of the *Lüshi chunqiu*, I will address the significance of the *Lüshi chunqiu*’s viewpoints on music.

### 1.3 Keywords

Various terms investigated in this dissertation will be presented either in *Hanyu Pinyin* 漢語併音 (Chinese phonetic transcript) or in English translation. On the whole *Pinyin* will be preferred but there will be several exceptions; for example, “harmony” and “desire” will be preferred to *he* 和 and *yu* 欲 for readers’ convenience. The terms listed below are of importance in relation to the main arguments of this dissertation, and the reason for choosing their translations will be offered when the terms are under discussion.

<i>Pinyin</i>	Chinese	Translation
<i>duliang</i>	度量	linear and capacity measures
<i>gong</i>	公	impartiality
<i>he</i>	和	harmony
<i>lü</i>	律	pitch-standard
<i>ping</i>	平	balance
<i>qi</i>	氣	ether/vital force
<i>qing</i>	情	essential quality/feeling
<i>shi</i>	適	appropriateness
<i>taiyi</i>	太一	great one
<i>xin</i>	心	heart/mind
<i>yu</i>	欲	desire

“Music” is the central subject of this dissertation. Its closest corresponding Chinese term might be *yue* 樂 which according to the “Yueji” consists of vocal

and instrumental sounds as well as dance.<sup>28</sup> In this dissertation, music does not only indicate a large-scale performance as defined in the “Yueji” but in a narrow sense it also indicates musical sound whose corresponding Chinese term is *sheng* 聲 or *yin* 音.<sup>29</sup> In short, in this dissertation, “music” will embrace *yue*, *yin* and *sheng*. However, *yin* and *sheng* are also translated as “sound”, “tune”, “note” or “tone” depending on the contexts. Translation terms for *yue*, *yin* and *sheng* are as follows.

<i>yue</i>	樂	music
<i>yin</i>	音	music, (musical) sound, <sup>30</sup> tune, note
<i>sheng</i>	聲	music, sound, <sup>31</sup> tone

#### 1.4 Texts

Besides the *Lüshi chunqiu*, four main texts, namely “Yuelun”, “Yueji”, *Guoyu* and *Zuo zhuan*, will be discussed in order to demonstrate the various ways music was perceived before and around the time of compilation of the *Lüshi chunqiu*. Brief descriptions of these five texts are as follows.

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<sup>28</sup> *Liji zhengyi*, 660: “Sounds respond to each other and thus produce change. Change forms a pattern; this is called musical sounds. Musical sounds are arranged and they are played on musical instruments while being accompanied by [dancing with] shields, axes and flags made of feather or ox’s tail; this is called music.” 聲相應故生變，變成方謂之音，比音而樂之，及于戚羽旄謂之樂。

It is suggested that the character 樂 represents a shape of a musical instrument. For example, according to the *Shuowen jiezi*, this character represents large and small drums (*gupi* 鼓鞀) with its lower part 木 representing the poles of a rack where drums are hung (*ju* 虞). *Shuowen jiezi*, 124. This character denotes “music” or “to play a musical instrument” when pronounced *yue*. Apart from this meaning, this character, being pronounced *le*, denotes “to enjoy” or “pleasure”. The character 樂 will be used in either of these two meanings in this dissertation.

<sup>29</sup> Although the “Yueji” distinguishes *yin* from *sheng*, this distinction is not obvious in the *Lüshi chunqiu*. The usages of *sheng* and *yin* in various classical texts will be discussed in 6.1.

<sup>30</sup> In the *Lüshi chunqiu*, *yin* often implies musical sound although it is not always the case. When this implication is clear *yin* will be translated as “musical sound”.

<sup>31</sup> In the *Lüshi chunqiu*, *sheng* can imply musical sound but this implication is not as distinctive as *yin*.

### *Lüshi chunqiu*

The *Lüshi chunqiu* was compiled under the direction of Lü Buwei 呂不韋 (d. 235 BCE), and its date of compilation is gauged from the “Xuyi” 序意 (postface) that begins with “in the eighth year of the Qin”.<sup>32</sup> According to Gao You, this was the eighth year of the first emperor of the Qin (秦 始皇帝, r. 246-210 BCE), i.e. 239 BCE. Not agreeing with Gao You, Sun Xingyan 孫星衍 (1753-1818) argues that this was the eighth year since King Zhuangxiang (莊襄王 r. 250-247 BCE) of the Qin defeated the Zhou; therefore, it was not the eighth year but the sixth year of the first emperor of the Qin, i.e. 241 BCE.<sup>33</sup> From the description of the “Xuyi”, it can be suggested that the *Lüshi chunqiu* contains various discussions prevailing in the middle of the third century BCE.

The *Lüshi chunqiu* consists of three main parts: “Shier ji” 十二紀 (Twelve Yearly Divisions), “Ba lan” 八覽 (Eight Examinations) and “Liu lun” 六論 (Six Discourses). The “Shier ji” part is divided into twelve sections representing twelve months, each of which comprises five chapters.<sup>34</sup> Therefore, including the postface “Xuyi”, this part has 61 chapters.<sup>35</sup> The “Ba lan” part consists of eight collections of writings, and, except for the first collection which has seven chapters, each collection has eight chapters; therefore, this part comprises 63 chapters. In addition, six chapters constitute each six discourses in the “Liu lun” part, so another 36 chapters are added to the *Lüshi chunqiu* achieving 160

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<sup>32</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 91: 維秦八年.

<sup>33</sup> Sun Xingyan, *Wenzitang ji*, 19.

<sup>34</sup> These five chapters are divided into two: the opening chapter and the other four chapters. The opening chapter assigns various elements including colour, smell, note and pitch-standard to the month each section represents, and it also describes seasonal activities and monthly ordinances. The other four writings are regarding various topics related to each month. For example, life is one of the main topics of the first section that represents the first month of spring.

<sup>35</sup> The “Xuyi” consists of two incompatible parts. The first part discusses the overall idea of the “Shier ji” part as the postface is expected to describe. However, the latter part rather out of context describes a story which is related to one of the stories in the last chapter of the “Shier ji”, namely the “Buqin” 不侵 (Not Being Humiliated). For this reason, it is suggested that the “Xuyi” may not have been an independent chapter at the time of compilation of the *Lüshi chunqiu*. For details, see Zheng Liangshu, *Xu Weishu tongkao*, 1671-1672.

chapters in total.

The six musical chapters are included in the “Shier ji” part where twelve sections are arranged into four groups representing spring, summer, autumn and winter. The topics discussed in the “Shier ji” part can be classified according to these groups since the topics are largely related to the image of each season. For example, life, music, war and death are discussed in each group of spring, summer, autumn and winter respectively, which might suggest the images of birth, vitality, decline and extinction that the four seasons convey. Belonging to the group representing summer, the six musical chapters discuss music, and this location could imply that liveliness was considered one of the main impressions of music considering the exuberant image of summer.

As a voluminous compiled work, the *Lüshi chunqiu* discusses a wide range of topics from diverse perspectives. As one of the main topics, music is also interpreted in various ways while showing widely held views on music during the Warring States period: an object of desire, expression of feeling, ceremonial element or philosophical subject. This dissertation will examine all the viewpoints on music the six musical chapters offer. However, it will pay particular attention to music as an object of desire since this perception of music appears to be closely related to crucial arguments about music of the *Lüshi chunqiu*.

Besides the six musical chapters, this dissertation will examine other chapters not only from the “Shier ji” part but also from the “Ba lan” and “Liu lun” parts if they discuss terms or concepts appearing in the six musical chapters. Because of the eclectic nature of the *Lüshi chunqiu*, internal consistency regarding a certain term might be challenged. Nevertheless, if it has a shared meaning in different contexts, this meaning could provide a useful clue to clarifying how this term is interpreted in the six musical chapters.

#### **“Yuelun” of *Xunzi* and “Yueji” of *Liji***

The *Xunzi* consisting of 32 chapters (*pian* 篇) in 20 scrolls (*juan* 卷) is largely believed to demonstrate Xunzi’s philosophy. The “Yuelun” is the 20<sup>th</sup> chapter of the *Xunzi* consisting of approximately 1600 characters. Since this

dissertation will discuss the “Yuelun” in comparison with the six musical chapters, the “Yuelun” will not be analysed in its entirety; around 50 per cent of it will be examined.<sup>36</sup> The “Yueji”, the 19<sup>th</sup> chapter of the *Liji*, consists of approximately 5200 words, and this dissertation will focus on the passages whose viewpoints are related to those of the *Lüshi chungiu* or of the “Yuelun”, which occupy around 20 per cent of the whole text.<sup>37</sup>

The “Yuelun” and “Yueji” share virtually identical passages which consist of nearly 550 characters. Because of these considerable parallels, there have been debates on the origin and authenticity of the two texts. As Michael Loewe suggests, the “Yuelun” is “generally accepted as authentic but doubted by some scholars”.<sup>38</sup> Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1892-1978) is one of the scholars who impugned the authenticity of the “Yuelun”. In refuting Qian Mu 錢穆 (1895-1990) who argues that the “Yuelun” was copied to become part of the “Yueji”, Guo Moruo presents several reasons for the doubtful authenticity of the “Yuelun”, such as no annotations on this chapter,<sup>39</sup> its parallels with the “Xiangyinjiu yi” 鄉飲酒義 (Meaning of Village Drinking Festivities) chapter of the *Liji*,<sup>40</sup> and some viewpoints contradictory to the rest of the *Xunzi*.<sup>41</sup>

Supporting the precedence of the “Yueji” over the “Yuelun”, Guo Moruo argues that the “Yueji” was mainly based on the *Gongsun Nizi* 公孫尼子 (Master Gongsun Ni), which might have been extant at least until the fifth century

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<sup>36</sup> These 50 per cent are quoted and analysed since they show contrasting viewpoints to those of the six musical chapters or relevant viewpoints to some arguments of this dissertation more clearly than the other parts. Therefore, this selection does not mean that the other 50 per cent have different viewpoints on music. The viewpoints of the “Yuelun” this dissertation will discuss are also largely valid for the other 50 per cent.

<sup>37</sup> This excludes the parallels to the “Yuelun” which account for over 10 per cent of the “Yueji”.

<sup>38</sup> Loewe, “Hsün tzu”, 180.

<sup>39</sup> For example, the “Yuelun” has no annotation by Yang Liang 楊倞 (dates unknown), a Tang 唐 (618-907) commentator who first annotated the *Xunzi*. The “Jundao” 君道 (Way of the Ruler) chapter also has no annotation by Yang Liang.

<sup>40</sup> The last part of the “Yuelun” which has about 260 characters is almost the same as part of the “Xiangyinjiu yi” and less relevant to music.

<sup>41</sup> Guo Moruo, “Gongsun Nizi yu qi yinyue lilun”, 503-505.

CE, with some parts of it being added by Han Confucians.<sup>42</sup> However, the link between the “Yueji” and *Gongsun Nizi* is weakened by the *Han shu*. That is, according to the “Yiwen zhi” of *Han shu*, the “Yueji” was compiled by Liu De 劉德 (d. 129 BCE) and others during the reign of Emperor Wu of Han (漢 武帝 r. 141-87 BCE). In this description, the “Yiwen zhi” does not refer to the *Gongsun Nizi* as a text on which the “Yueji” is based; it only mentions *Zhouguan* 周官 (Officials of Zhou) i.e. *Zhouli* 周禮 (Rites of Zhou) and various philosophers’ discussions about music.<sup>43</sup> The *Han shu*’s description suggests the final compilation of the “Yueji” around the early Han period and its contents might be traced back earlier.

As mentioned by Scott Cook, the date and authorship of the “Yueji” have been debated for centuries without definite conclusion.<sup>44</sup> Therefore, whether the “Yueji” cited the “Yuelun” or the “Yuelun” cited the “Yueji” or both the texts came from a common source is a question that cannot be answered with certainty. Putting aside this long-standing debate, this dissertation will assume that the “Yuelun” shows perceptions of music around the third century BCE and part of the “Yueji” expresses similar viewpoints to the “Yuelun”. On this assumption, it will discuss how the “Yueji” consolidates the viewpoints of the “Yuelun” by analysing its passages that advance similar ideas to the “Yuelun”.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Guo Moruo, “Gongsun Nizi yu qi yinyue lilun”, 487-490. Guo Moruo’s argument is based on Shen Yue’s 沈約 (441-513) remark written in the “Yinyue zhi” 音樂志 (Treatise on Music) of the *Sui shu* 隋書 (Book of the Sui). Wei Zheng, *Sui shu*, 13: 288: “The “Yueji” was based on the *Gongsun Nizi*.” 樂記取公孫尼子。

According to the *Han shu* (30: 1725), Gongsun Nizi was a disciple of Confucius’s 70 disciples. However, Guo Moruo argues that Gongsun Nizi might be a direct disciple of Confucius. “Gongsun Nizi yu qi yinyue lilun”, 490-492.

<sup>43</sup> *Han shu*, 30: 1712: 武帝時，河間獻王好儒，與毛生等共采周官及諸子言樂事者，以作樂記。

<sup>44</sup> Cook, “Yue Ji”, 3.

<sup>45</sup> The “Yueji” shares similar passages not only with the “Yuelun” but also with the *Lüshi chunqiu*. For example, one passage in the “Chiyue” chapter appears in the “Yueji” in a more detailed form, which will be discussed in 3.1.3. These more advanced arguments of the “Yueji” might suggest its later composition, but they are not decisive enough as to determine the chronological order between the texts. With no definite position on the chronological order, this dissertation will discuss how their viewpoints are related to or distinguished from each other and how a certain idea has evolved forming a more

The viewpoint of the “Yuelun” that sees music as a tool for edification is related to Xunzi’s idea of human nature; “if people follow their inborn nature and inclination, it must result in contention and robbery.”<sup>46</sup> For this reason, only after people are transformed by the teachings of their masters and guided by *li* and righteousness do they achieve order.<sup>47</sup> From this perspective, the reason for emphasising the edifying effect of music in the “Yuelun” can be suggested; music is an efficient governing tool for people who are certain to go astray if no external regulatory stimulus is given.

Although the edifying effect of music is not the only focus of the “Yuelun” as mentioned earlier,<sup>48</sup> this dissertation will mainly discuss the “Yuelun” in relation to its emphasis on music as a governing tool. However, it will deviate from current scholarship by suggesting that special emphasis on the edifying effect of music not only distinguishes the “Yuelun” from previous discussions about music including Confucius’s (孔子, trad. 551-479 BCE) perception of music but also makes the “Yuelun” rather unsuited to the idea suggested in the “Lilun” 禮論 (Discourse on Ritual) chapter of the *Xunzi*. The particularity of the “Yuelun” in terms of its emphasis on the edifying effect of music will be one of the main focuses of this dissertation.

### ***Zuo zhuan* and *Guoyu***

The *Zuo zhuan* is largely regarded as one of the three commentaries on the *Chunqiu* 春秋 (Spring and Autumn) which is “a chronicle of the reigns of twelve dukes of the state of Lu 魯”<sup>49</sup> covering from the first year of Duke Yin (隱公 r. 722-712 BCE) to the fourteenth year of Duke Ai (哀公 r. 494-468 BCE) i.e. 481 BCE.<sup>50</sup> The *Zuo zhuan* covers thirteen more years than the *Chunqiu* up to

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organized argument.

<sup>46</sup> *Xunzi jijie*, 434-435 (ch. “Xing’e” 性惡 (Human Nature is Evil)): 從人之性，順人之情，必出於爭奪。

<sup>47</sup> *Xunzi jijie*, 435: 故必將有師法之化，禮義之道 ... 歸於治。

<sup>48</sup> See footnote 24.

<sup>49</sup> Cheng, “*Ch’un ch’iu, Kung yang, Ku liang and Tso chuan*”, 67.

<sup>50</sup> Some scholars claim that the *Zuo zhuan* cannot be considered a commentary on the



the last year of Duke Ai.<sup>51</sup> The oldest record about the author of the *Zuo zhuan* appears in the *Shiji* where the *Zuo zhuan* is attributed to Zuo Qiuming 左丘明, a contemporary of Confucius.<sup>52</sup> However, this authorship has been challenged since the Tang 唐 dynasty (618-907) and multi-authorship with the final compilation around the mid-Warring States period is generally accepted.<sup>53</sup>

The *Guoyu*, which has a substantial amount of parallels with the *Zuo zhuan*, is a collection of historical records of eight states, namely Zhou 周, Lu 魯, Qi 齊, Jin 晉, Zheng 鄭, Chu 楚, Wu 吳 and Yue 越, covering the period from King Mu of Zhou (周 穆王, r. c.976-c.922 BCE) to Duke Dao of Lu (魯 悼公, r. 467-437 BCE).<sup>54</sup> As with the *Zuo zhuan*, the *Guoyu* was believed to be a work of Zuo Qiuming. However, this belief has been challenged ever since as early as the third century CE,<sup>55</sup> and it is generally accepted that the *Guoyu* was completed later than the *Zuo zhuan* around the late Warring States period by multiple authors.<sup>56</sup>

Regarding their reliability as a source for the Spring and Autumn period (770-476 BCE), Yuri Pines argues that the *Zuo zhuan*, as a historical treatise mainly based on the scribal records produced in the Spring and Autumn period,

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*Chunqiu* based on discrepancies between the two texts: for example, Liu Fenglu, *Zuoshi Chunqiu kaozheng*. For an overview of controversies regarding this subject, see Pines, *Foundations of Confucian Thought*, 26.

<sup>51</sup> The last sentence of the *Zuo zhuan* describes the death of Zhibo 知伯 (or Xun Yao 荀瑤, d. 453 BCE). If this record is taken into consideration, the period that the *Zuo zhuan* covers is extended to the fifteenth year of Duke Dao of Lu.

<sup>52</sup> Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 14: 509-510.

<sup>53</sup> For an overview of debates about the authorship and dating of the *Zuo zhuan*, see Pines, *Foundations of Confucian Thought*, 26-39.

<sup>54</sup> Because of these parallels, it has been largely believed that both the texts were based on common primary sources including those from oral transmission. For evidence of the orality of the *Zuo zhuan* and *Guoyu*, see Schaberg, *A Patterned Past*, 315-324.

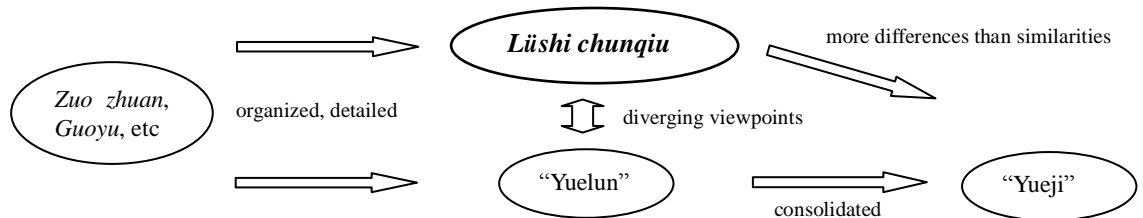
<sup>55</sup> Fu Xuan 傅玄 (217-278 CE) is supposed to have firstly refuted Zuo Qiuming's authorship of the *Guoyu*. Regarding long-standing controversies over the authorship of the *Guoyu*, see Tan Jiajian, "Lidai guanyu *Guoyu* zuozhe wenti de butong yijian zongshu", 2-4.

<sup>56</sup> For a list of works regarding the date of composition and authorship of the *Guoyu*, see Schaberg, *A Patterned Past*, 436.

may well be regarded as being reliable.<sup>57</sup> Yuri Pines, however, doubts the reliability of the *Guoyu* given that parts of its narratives probably originated from oral tradition, its didactic nature may allow numerous editorial embellishments, and some terms and examples belong to the Warring States period. Nevertheless, he does not dismiss the *Guoyu* as an entirely unreliable source arguing that it provides substantial amounts of information that suggest its provenance can genuinely be traced back to the Spring and Autumn period.<sup>58</sup>

In line with the views that locate the origins of the *Zuo zhuan* and *Guoyu* in the Spring and Autumn period, this dissertation will presuppose that, in regard to the viewpoints on music, the *Zuo zhuan* and *Guoyu* are prior to the *Lüshi chunqiu* and “Yuelun”. This presupposition will be examined through the analysis of several viewpoints of the *Zuo zhuan* and *Guoyu* that can be considered to be precursors of musical discourses advanced in the *Lüshi chunqiu* and “Yuelun”.

In brief, the relationship between the five main texts regarding their viewpoints on music can be illustrated as follows.



On this assumption about the five texts, this dissertation will explore the specific ways their viewpoints are organized, consolidated and diverge in the following chapters.

<sup>57</sup> Pines, *Foundations of Confucian Thought*, 20-26.

<sup>58</sup> Pines, *Foundations of Confucian Thought*, 42-45.

## 2. Indispensability of Music

The *Lüshi chunqiu* argues that music is indispensable to humans, and the reasons for this indispensability are suggested in two ways: an innate desire for music according to the “Dayue” chapter and the continuing existence of music from time immemorial according to the “Guyue” chapter. The innate desire for music is also advocated in the “Yuelun” chapter of the *Xunzi*. However, in spite of this same recognition, the main focuses of the “Dayue” and “Yuelun” appear to diverge. Section 2.1 will discuss their different perceptions of music that underlie dissimilar understandings of the function of music. Both the “Dayue” and “Yuelun” criticize those who condemn music; therefore, these two chapters can be interpreted as a response to the condemnation of music. For a better understanding of the “Dayue” and “Yuelun”, the reason for condemnation of music will also be discussed in this section.

Section 2.2 will examine thirteen stories illustrated in the “Guyue”. In support of the ancient origin of music, these stories demonstrate that ancient sage kings possessed their own music. Section 2.2 will mainly provide translation of the “Guyue” and cursorily address several topics appearing in the “Guyue” while indicating following chapters of this dissertation where these topics will be fully explored.

### 2.1 Innate desire for music: responses to the condemnation of music from the “Dayue” and “Yuelun”

The “Dayue” argues that the desire for music is innately embedded in humans, and for this reason, it criticizes those who condemn music.

Heaven caused humans to have desires, so they have no choice but to chase [their desires]. Heaven caused humans to bear hatreds, so they have no choice but to avoid [what they hate]. Desires and hatreds were received from Heaven and humans cannot engage in them. [Desires and hatreds] cannot be modified nor be altered. Some scholars of the present age condemn music. How do they come [to present such opinion]?

天使人有欲，人弗得不求。天使人有惡，人弗得不辟。欲與惡所受於天也，

人不得興焉。<sup>59</sup> 不可變，不可易。世之學者，有非樂者矣。安由出哉？<sup>60</sup>

According to the “Dayue”, condemning music is wrong because it runs counter to the natural tendency of humans. Therefore, from the viewpoint of the “Dayue”, those who criticize music are vainly trying to reject what cannot be rejected. The above passage reveals a viewpoint that sees music as an object of desire; music should not be banned because we have an innate desire for music. If music is perceived as an object of desire, the main value of music might lie in its function to evoke pleasure. This aspect is supported by the definition of “great music”.

Great music is what ruler and subject, father and son, old and young [find] delightful, gleeful and pleasing.

大樂，君臣父子長少之所歡欣而說也。<sup>61</sup>

Music is great because it provides pleasure to people at all ages and in every social position. Humans are bound to enjoy pleasure; therefore, music, as a great source of pleasure, is indispensable to them. Then, are those who condemn music simply wrong as the “Dayue” argues? For a more balanced assessment of the criticism from the “Dayue”, the reason for condemning music needs to be examined. One of the famous criticisms of music is advanced in the “Feiyue” 非樂 (Condemnation of Music) chapter of the *Mozi* 墨子 (Master Mo).

There are three things the people worry about; the hungry cannot be fed, the cold cannot be clothed, the weary cannot take a rest. These three are great worries for the people. If so, let us try [supposing] that we strike the big bells, beat the drums, play the *qin* zither and *se* zither, blow the large mouth organ and small mouth organ, and hold up [props for dancing such as] shields and axes. [Then], how can the resources for food and clothes of the people be obtained?

民有三患，飢者不得食，寒者不得衣，勞者不得息。三者民之巨患也。然

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<sup>59</sup> Gao You interprets this sentence as that humans cannot do what Heaven does (*bu de wei tian zhi wei ye* 不得爲天之爲也). Based on this annotation, Tao Hongqing 陶鴻慶 (1859-1918) reads *yu* 與 (participate in) for *xing* 興. I follow this reading. Tao Hongqing, *Du zhuzi zhaji*, 96.

<sup>60</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 40.

<sup>61</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 40.

即當爲之撞巨鍾，<sup>62</sup> 擊鳴鼓，彈琴瑟，吹竽笙，而揚干戚。<sup>63</sup> 民衣食之財，將安可得乎？<sup>64</sup>

Now, large countries attack small countries and large families conquer small families. The strong threaten the weak, the many tyrannize the few, the deceitful cheat the stupid, and the high disdain the low. Enemies and thieves rise all together and cannot be suppressed. If so, let us try [supposing] that we strike the big bells, beat the drums, play the *qin* zither and *se* zither, blow the large mouth organ and small mouth organ, and hold up [props for dancing such as] shields and axes. [Then], how can the chaos under Heaven be put in order?

今有大國即攻小國，有大家即伐小家。強劫弱，衆暴寡，詐欺愚，貴傲賤。寇亂盜賊并興，不可禁止也。然即當爲之撞巨鍾，擊鳴鼓，彈琴瑟，吹竽笙而揚干戚。天下之亂也，將安可得而治與？<sup>65</sup>

The “Feiyue” condemns music because it wastes resources indispensable for the survival of the people. In addition, it is argued that enjoying music aggravates social disorder by wasting time that should be devoted to alleviating social problems. The extravagance of music around Mozi’s time (trad. c.468-376 BCE) can be imagined from the tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng (Zeng Hou Yi 曾侯乙) which dates back to c. 433 BCE.<sup>66</sup> This tomb demonstrates the grand scale of musical instruments including a set of sixty-five tuned bells that weigh altogether two and a half metric tons.<sup>67</sup> Besides this huge set of bells, Marquis Yi’s tomb

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<sup>62</sup> Interpreting *dang* 當 as *chang* 嘗 which is semantically close to *shi* 試 (to try) based on Sun Yirang, *Mozi jiangou*, 253.

<sup>63</sup> According to Zheng Xuan’s annotation on the “Yueji”, *gan* 干 indicates *dun* 盾 (shield) and *qi* 戚 indicates *fu* 斧 (axe). Dancers hold them for military dance (*wuwu* 武舞) and they hold flags with pheasant’s feather (*yu* 羽) and with yak’s tail (*mao* 旄) for civil dance (*wenwu* 文舞). *Liji zhengyi*, 660.

<sup>64</sup> *Mozi jiangou*, 380.

<sup>65</sup> *Mozi jiangou*, 253.

<sup>66</sup> This tomb was excavated in 1977 at Leigudun 擂鼓墩 in Suizhou 隨州, Hubei 湖北. A detailed investigation report on this find is presented in Hubeisheng Bowuguan, *Zeng Hou Yi mu*.

<sup>67</sup> Sixty five bells hang on a huge frame with three tiers: 19 bells on the upper tier, 33 bells on the middle tier and 13 bells on the lower tier. The heaviest bell weighs 203.6 kg and the lightest bell weighs 2.4 kg. For details about this set of bells, see Hubeisheng

displays an extensive panoply of musical instruments such as stone-chimes, zithers, drums and panpipes that were deployed for ceremonies or entertainment.<sup>68</sup> Only with this one instance, one can easily imagine how excessively material and human resources were poured into musical performances while aggravating the poor living conditions of the people. For this reason, when the ruler wished to make a musical instrument, he would meet with his subject's opposition, as described in the *Guoyu*.

In the 23<sup>rd</sup> year [of the reign of King Jing of Zhou], the king intended to cast a bell sounding *wuyi*, so he cast a bell sounding *dalin*.<sup>69</sup> Duke Mu of the Shan family says “[You] should not do that. [You] already spent a huge amount of money, thereby draining the resources of the people. [You] again [want to] cast a big bell hindering the continuation [of production]. What was gathered has already been used up, and in addition, the continuation [of production] will be hindered. How is it possible to improve their life?

二十三年，王將鑄無射，而爲之大林。單穆公曰，“不可。作重幣以絕民資。又鑄大鍾以鮮其繼。若積聚既喪，又鮮其繼。生何以殖？”<sup>70</sup>

Bell-chimes were primarily used in ceremonies which only aristocrats attended. Therefore, the ownership of the bell symbolised power in a hierarchical society; for this reason, its ownership was strictly restricted.<sup>71</sup> King Jing of Zhou (周景王, r. 544-520 BCE) might want to cast a bell to enjoy his supreme power, but his subject Duke Mu objected to his plan because it could threaten the people's livelihoods by depriving them of resources for their essential needs.

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Bowuguan, *Zeng Hou Yi mu*, 76-134; Hubeisheng bowuguan, *Zeng Hou Yi mu wenwu yishu*, 158-162.

<sup>68</sup> Regarding the two types of ensemble, namely the court ensemble for ceremonies and the chamber ensemble for entertainment discovered in Marquis Yi's tomb, see So, *Music in the Age of Confucius*, 18-22 and 101.

<sup>69</sup> *Dalin* is another name for *linzhong* 林鐘, the eighth pitch-standard of the ancient Chinese dodecatonic scale, and *wuyi* is the eleventh. Jia Kui 賈逵 (30-101) explains that a bell sounding *dalin* is used to examine the sound of *wuyi*. *Guoyu*, 123.

<sup>70</sup> *Guoyu*, 3: 122-123.

<sup>71</sup> According to Lothar von Falkenhausen, the main function of the bell was for use in an ancestral ceremony, banquets and other ceremonies which only aristocrats were allowed to attend, and there were sumptuary regulations that defined setting of bells according to owner's social status. For details, see Falkenhausen, *Suspended Music*, 25-39.

Duke Mu's criticism is similar to Mozi's in that he opposes indiscreet enjoyment of music which requires enormous resources.<sup>72</sup>

According to the "Yueji", music (*yue* 樂) in ancient China indicated a large scale performance including instrumental sound and dance.<sup>73</sup> In addition to an enormous amount of materials poured into large scale performances, aristocrats enjoying music still required considerable expense because of the necessary conditions for enjoying music. As Burton Watson indicates, the "Feiyue" more broadly defines music than the "Yueji"; music includes "lavish banquets and sumptuous surroundings" accompanied by musical performances.<sup>74</sup> The passage quoted below suggests this broad definition of music.

The reason Master Mozi condemned music was not because the sounds of the big bell, drum, *qin* zither, *se* zither, large mouth organ and small mouth organ were not pleasing. It was not because the carvings and splendid ornaments were not beautiful. It was not because steamed and broiled meat of domestic animals was not delicious. It was not because high towers, grand arbours and secluded villas were not comfortable. Although the body knows they are comfortable, the mouth knows they are delicious, the eyes know they are beautiful, and the ears know they are pleasing, when we examine them based on the past they are not in accordance with the deeds of the sage-kings. When we examine them based on the present, they do not contribute to the benefits of the myriad people. For this reason, Master Mozi said performing music was wrong.

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<sup>72</sup> Threatening the people's lives is caused not only by enjoying music but also by enjoying other objects of desire. For example, the *Zuo zhuan* describes a criticism of the ruler's squandering resources. *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 846 (Zhao 19, i.e. 521 BCE): "I heard that those who comfort the people cut down expenditures inside [their country] and establish virtue outside [their country]. As a result, the people enjoy their lives and there is neither invader nor enemy. Now [the size of] the palace is immeasurable, the people are shocked day by day, the weary and the exhausted are dying everywhere, and [the people] do not know where to sleep and how to eat. [This] is not the way of comforting the people." 吾聞撫民者，節用於內，而樹德於外。民樂其性，而無寇讎。今宮室無量，民人日駭，勞罷死轉，忘寢與食。非撫之也。 Although music is particularly attacked in the "Feiyue", criticism of music can be understood as one of many examples of the disapproval of squandering resources.

<sup>73</sup> For the definition of *yue* in the "Yueji", see footnote 28.

<sup>74</sup> Watson, *Basic Writings of Mo Tzu, Hsün Tzu and Han Fei Tzu*, 110.

子墨子之所以非樂者，非以大鍾鳴鼓琴瑟竽笙之聲，以爲不樂也。非以刻鏤華文章之色，以爲不美也。非以櫛鬻煎炙之味，以爲不甘也。非以高台厚榭邃野之居，以爲不安也。雖身知其安也，口知其甘也，目知其美也，耳知其樂也，然上考之，不中聖王之事。下度之，不中萬民之利。是故子墨子曰，爲樂非也。<sup>75</sup>

The magnificent panoply of musical instruments and luxurious banquets and surroundings could justify Mozi's condemnation of music. In spite of strong criticism, Mozi does not deny the positive aspect of music, namely bringing pleasure. However, this value can never be appreciated by Mozi who is concerned about the destitute life of the ordinary people. For Mozi, music wastes time and resources without any usefulness.<sup>76</sup>

Similar to Mozi and Duke Mu, Mencius (trad. c.372-289 BCE) criticizes the selfish enjoyment of music when he says to King Xuan of Qi (齊宣王, r. 320-301 BCE), who feels ashamed of his taste of music, that it is not the type of music but the way of enjoying music that is of consequence.

[Mencius] asked "Enjoying by yourself or enjoying with others, which is enjoyable?" [The king] answered, "With others is better". [Mencius] asked, "Enjoying with a few people or enjoying with many people, which is enjoyable?" [The king] answered, "With many people is better". [Mencius said], "I would like to talk about pleasure for you. [Suppose] you were having a musical performance now. When the people heard the sound of your bells and drums and the melody of your pipes and flutes, they all with aching heads and furrowed brows said to one another, 'Why does our king's fondness for

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<sup>75</sup> *Mozi jiangou*, 251.

<sup>76</sup> If it is waste of time and resources that is the main reason for Mozi's condemnation of music, one may raise a question as to why only music is severely criticized among various objects of desire such as food and accommodation. An answer can be suggested from Mozi's emphasis on usefulness. For example, according to the "Gongmeng" 公孟 chapter of the *Mozi*, when a Confucian said that he performed music for pleasure, Mozi responded that it was not a proper reason for performing music. There is no point saying that one performs music simply in order to enjoy it; one must find usefulness from enjoying music. When it comes to living in a house, we can find usefulness such as keeping off the summer heat or the winter cold. Music was totally useless from Mozi's viewpoint, and for this reason, music could easily be seen as fair game. For this story in the "Gongmeng", see *Mozi jiangou*, 458-459; for Mozi's emphasis on usefulness appearing in the "Gongmeng", see Graham, *Disputers of the Tao*, 40-41.



music bring us to such a painful situation? Fathers and sons do not see each other, and brothers, wives and children are parted and scattered'. ... There is no other reason for this. It is because you did not share pleasure with the people".<sup>77</sup>

曰，“獨樂樂，與人樂樂，孰樂？”曰，“不若與人”。曰，“與少樂樂，與衆樂樂，孰樂？”曰，“不若與衆”。 “臣請爲王言樂。今王鼓樂於此。百姓聞王鐘鼓之聲，管籥之音，舉疾首蹙頰而相告曰，‘吾王之好鼓樂，夫何使我至於此極也？父子不相見，兄弟妻子離散’。... 此無他。不與民同樂也”。<sup>78</sup>

According to Mengzi, if the king's enjoyment of music causes his people to fall into a desperate situation, his enjoyment can never be welcomed. The ruler can be said to enjoy music in a proper way only when his people feel pleased by his enjoyment.<sup>79</sup> If this condition is satisfied, there is no reason for opposing the

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<sup>77</sup> *Le/yue* 樂 can be interpreted either as “pleasure/to enjoy” or as “music”. Therefore, regarding the above passage where *le/yue* 樂 frequently appears, different readings of this character are rendered. For example, Zhao Qi 趙岐 (c.108-201 CE) reads 樂樂 as *leyue* (enjoying music) while Chen Shan 陳善 (fl. 1147) whose opinion is followed by Hao Jing 郝敬 (1558-1629) and Di Hao 翟灝 (fl. late 18<sup>th</sup> century) argues that except *guyue* 鼓樂 it is wrong to interpret 樂 as music because this passage also takes hunting as an example. Sun Shi, *Mengzi zhushu*, 30; Chen Shan, Hao Jing, Di Hao's opinions are quoted from Jiao Xun, *Mengzi zhengyi*, 101.

Among these two interpretations, the latter appears to make Mencius's argument more coherent for two reasons. Firstly, as Chen Shan indicates, since Mencius takes hunting and music as two of the examples of 樂樂, 樂 can be said to include both music and hunting. Therefore, enjoyment is more appropriate for the meaning of this character. In addition, what Mencius advises to King Xuan is not listening to music together with his people but making people feel pleased by his enjoyment of music. What is shared is not music but the feeling of pleasure. Therefore, it might be better to read 樂樂 as *lele* which means “enjoying pleasure”.

<sup>78</sup> *Mengzi zhengyi*, 100-106 (1B.1).

<sup>79</sup> Sharing pleasure is emphasised several times in the *Mengzi*. See for example *Mengzi zhengyi*, 44-50 and 118-119. (1A.2, 1B.4) The importance of sharing pleasure is also described in the *Yanzi chunqiu*. Wu Zeyu, *Yanzi chunqiu jishi*, 323: “When Yanzi had a drink with Duke Jing, he ordered that vessels must be new. His servant said, ‘[We] do not have enough materials. Please let me gather [materials] from the people’. Yanzi said ‘Do not do that. Pleasure is what the high and the low share. Therefore, the Son of Heaven shares [pleasure] with all-under-Heaven. A feudal lord shares [pleasure] with [the people] in his fiefdom. Grand Master and lower officials share [pleasure] with their staff. There is no enjoyment only for oneself. Now, the high enjoy their pleasure while the low suffer from the expense. This is the enjoyment only for oneself. It should not be allowed’.” 晏子飲景公酒，令器必新。家老曰，“財不足請斂于氓”。晏子曰，“止。夫樂者，上下同之。故天子與天下。諸侯與境內。大夫以下各與其僚。無有獨樂。今上樂其樂，下傷

ruler's enjoyment of music. On the contrary, it is highly recommendable as shown in Mencius's remark: "If the king has a great fondness for music, Qi will be probably well governed."<sup>80</sup> Mencius seems to believe that if the king values his own pleasure he equally values the pleasure of his people.

Although uselessness left music subject to Mozi's scathing attack, the main reason for criticism of music is basically the same between Mozi, Mencius and Duke Mu: aggravation of the poor living conditions of the people resulting from huge expenditure on music.<sup>81</sup> In answer to the "Dayue", one can suggest that some scholars condemn music because the ruling class spend too much money on music for their own pleasure while driving the people to a desperate situation. If the "Dayue" does not provide a solution to this problem, its criticism might not be justifiable.

The "Dayue" can be considered one of the counter-attacks against the condemnation of music, appearing at the end of the Warring States period. Another counter-attack is raised in the "Yuelun" where Mozi is strongly criticized by name eight times. The "Yuelun" begins with the acknowledgement of the natural tendency to enjoy music and then it presents the reason for former kings' establishment of music. Although the "Yuelun" advocates the innate desire for music just like the "Dayue", it does not seem to regard music as an object of desire, as suggested in the first attack on Mozi below.

Music is what is enjoyed, and it is essentially required by humans; therefore,

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其費. 是獨樂者也. 不可".

<sup>80</sup> *Mengzi zhengyi*, 99 (1B.1): 孟子曰, 王之好樂甚, 則齊國其庶幾乎!

This favourable attitude towards music might not mean that Mencius pays special attention to music. It seems that Mencius simply takes music as one of the examples that show the importance of sharing pleasure with the people. Unlike Mozi who values usefulness above everything else, Mencius has no special reason for distinguishing music from other objects of desire.

<sup>81</sup> The "Zhongji" 重己 (Cherishing the Self) chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu* opposes extravagance while describing ancient sage-kings' frugal attitudes towards objects of desire, which is seemingly akin to Mozi's argument. However, the reason for opposing extravagance is different because the "Zhongji" says ancient sage kings did not seek excessive enjoyment not because they loved frugality and hated waste but because they wanted to adjust themselves to their inborn nature. This shows *Lüshi chunqiu*'s emphasis on innate qualities of humans.

people cannot live without music. [When people] feel happy, [this feeling] is invariably expressed in voice and it is manifested in the movements of the body. And the way of humans is fully [achieved by] changes in voice, movements and the operations of the natural capacity. Therefore, it is impossible for humans not to feel happy. If they feel happy it surely accompanies external forms. If these external forms do not follow the [proper] way, it must result in disorder. The former kings hated such disorder, so they established the sounds of the “Ya” 雅 (Odes) and the “Song” 頌 (Hymns) to guide [their expression]. [The former kings] made the sounds sufficient to be pleasing but not too much. [They] made the patterns sufficient to mark the separations without discontinuance. [They] made [variations of the melody such as] the winding or straight, intricacy or sparse, climax or relaxation and rhythmic pattern sufficient to resonate with virtuous *xin* and [they] prevented depraved and corrupt *qi* from touching.<sup>82</sup> This is the way former kings established music, but Mozi criticized it. What can one do?

夫樂者，樂也，人情之所必不免也，故人不能無樂。<sup>83</sup> 樂則必發於聲音，形於動靜。而人之道，聲音動靜，性術之變盡是矣。故人不能不樂。樂則不能無形。形而不為道，則不能無亂。先王惡其亂也，故制雅頌之聲以道

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<sup>82</sup> *Xin* and *qi* are crucial concepts in explaining the influence of music. These two concepts will be discussed in 4.2.2.

<sup>83</sup> I interpret *qing* 情 as an “essential quality”. Therefore, I understand *renqing zhi suo bi bu mian ye* 人情之所必不免也 as “[music] cannot be excluded from what is essential to humans”. On this understanding, this sentence is translated as “it (music) is essentially required for humans”. The two meanings of *qing* namely “essential quality of something” and “feeling” will be discussed in 4.2.2.

Whether the subject of *renqing zhi suo bi bu mian ye* 人情之所必不免也 is *yue* 樂 (music) or *le* 樂 (enjoy) is unclear. John Knoblock and Paul Goldin regard “to enjoy” as the subject. Knoblock, *Xunzi*, 80; Goldin, *Rituals of the Way*, 78. I disagree with them for two reasons. First of all, from the sentence structure, it might be better to understand that both *leye* 樂也 and *renqing zhi suo bi bu mian ye* describe *fu yuezhe* 夫樂者. This reading finds support from another part of the “Yuelun” that goes “Therefore, music is the great uniformity of all-under-Heaven, the fundamental principle of the mean and of harmony, what is essential to humans”. 故樂者，天下之大齊也，中和之紀也，人情之所必不免也. In this example, three sentences after *gu yuezhe* 故樂者 describe the same thing, namely music. In addition, it is more consistent with the argument of the “Yuelun” to assume that the subject is “tendency to enjoy music” rather than “tendency to enjoy”; after all, what is discussed in the “Yuelun” is music. For the same reason, I disagree with Scott Cook’s translation of *gu ren buneng wu yue* 故人不能無樂: “Thus mankind cannot be without happiness.” Cook, “Xun Zi on Ritual and Music”, 2.

之。使其聲足以樂而不流。使其文足以辨而不總。使其曲直繁省廉肉節奏，足以感動人之善心，使夫邪汙之氣無由得接焉。是先王立樂之方也，而墨子非之。奈何？<sup>84</sup>

The acknowledgement of pleasure evoked by music presents music as an object of desire. However, in regard to the negative consequences of music, the “Yuelun” points to the uncontrolled expression of pleasure, instead of the waste of materials as those who criticized music did. According to the “Yuelun”, disorder is caused when pleasure is expressed without regulation, and it was hatred for this disorder that made the former kings establish music. The “Yuelun” says pleasure is manifested in external forms such as voice and bodily movements, and the main cause of disorder is the disarrangement of those external forms. Then, did the former kings believe that order would be achieved once voice and bodily movements were well arranged? Did the former kings establish music for the well-arranged external forms? In order to answer to these questions, what voice and bodily movements indicate needs to be examined.

John Knoblock and Paul Goldin regard voice and bodily movements as musical elements.<sup>85</sup> However, if we understand in this way, the argument of the “Yuelun” appears problematic. That is, if they are understood as musical elements, what former kings hated was disorder in music such as cacophony. It sounds unconvincing that former kings established music only to rectify musical disorder. In addition, if these sounds and movements are understood as an integral part of music, the perception of music changes from music as an object of desire to music as an expression of feeling while making the viewpoint on music inconsistent within a short passage.

Another possible interpretation of these sounds and movements might be people’s physical expression of their pleasure. In this case, their expression does not necessarily take the form of music; it is a physical reaction to their enjoyment. If disorder is caused by an immoderate expression of pleasure, former kings’ music, that the “Yuelun” argues was established to prevent disorder, should evoke

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<sup>84</sup> *Xunzi jijie*, 379.

<sup>85</sup> Knoblock, *Xunzi*, 80; Goldin, *Rituals of the Way*, 78.

a decent level of pleasure which will not result in immoderate expression. However, the former kings' music does not seem to be designed to perform this function.<sup>86</sup> Instead, this music seems to serve as an efficient tool to foster harmonious relationship among the people, as shown in the second attack on Mozi.

When music is performed at the ancestral shrine, ruler and subject, high and low, listen to it together and none is not in harmony and deference. [When music is played] in a house, father and son, elder and younger brothers listen to it together and none is not in harmony and intimacy. [When music is played] in a village and a hamlet, old and young listen to it together and none is not in harmony and accordance. Therefore, music contemplates the single [criterion] to achieve harmony. It arranges its accoutrements to embody the [proper] division and [performs] a musical ensemble to form a pattern. [Therefore, music] is sufficient to lead [people] to the single way and it is sufficient to govern myriad transformations. This was the method that former kings established music, but Mozi criticized it. What can one do?

樂在宗廟之中，君臣上下同聽之，則莫不和敬。閨門之內，父子兄弟同聽之，則莫不和親。鄉里族長之中，長少同聽之，則莫不和順。故樂者，審一以定和者也。比物以飾節者也，合奏以成文者也。足以率一道，足以治萬變。是先王立樂之術也，而墨子非之。奈何？<sup>87</sup>

The above passage suggests that music is not a mere object that is passively enjoyed. Music arouses the feelings of reverence, intimacy and obedience. Moreover, music can lead people to the single way and govern myriad transformations. In regard to this function, pleasure is little considered, and well-arranged expression of pleasure is likewise not a major concern. In brief, the former kings' music seems to be more than an object of desire, and pleasure and its moderate expression might not be considered of consequence in achieving

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<sup>86</sup> Paul Goldin suggests music was devised by Sage Kings “in order to regulate our natural and inescapable outpouring of emotion” based on the beginning part of the “Yuelun”. Goldin, *Rituals of the Way*, 77-78. I agree the “Yuelun” appears to support this function of music at the very beginning; however, its later arguments do not seem to pay much attention to regulation of emotion as will be discussed below.

<sup>87</sup> *Xunzi jijie*, 379-380.

order. Even when the “Yuelun” discusses music in relation to pleasure, its focus is more directed to the proper way of enjoying music rather than enjoying music itself as shown below.

When music is performed, [one’s] will becomes pure; when *li* is practiced, [one’s] behaviour is perfected. The ears become acute and eyesight becomes keen; blood and *qi* become harmonious and in equilibrium; manners are altered and customs are changed. All-under-Heaven is peaceful, and enjoys beauty and goodness together. Therefore, it is said that music is what is enjoyed. The virtuous person enjoys obtaining *dao* while the petty person enjoys satisfying his desire.<sup>88</sup> If desire is regulated by *dao*, [one feels] happy without disorder; if *dao* is forgotten because of desire, one becomes confused without pleasure. Therefore, music is the means of guiding pleasure.

樂行而志清，禮脩而行成。耳目聰明，血氣和平，移風易俗，天下皆寧，美善相樂。故曰，樂者，樂也。君子樂得其道，小人樂得其欲。以道制欲，則樂而不亂，以欲忘道，則惑而不樂。故樂者，所以道樂也。<sup>89</sup>

The “Yuelun” argues that if one pursues one’s desire to the limit one cannot obtain pleasure.<sup>90</sup> The virtuous man feels happy because he finds that his way of enjoying music follows the proper way. Only when music brings about positive effects such as the tranquility of all-under-Heaven can it be regarded as proper music to enjoy, and the virtuous man only enjoys this type of music by regulating his desire. In this way, although the above passage seemingly discusses music as an object of desire, its main focus still lies in positive effects of music.

In sum, the argument of the “Yuelun” does not flow consistently when attacking Mozi. That is, at the very beginning, it regards music as an object of desire that gives pleasure, but it shifts its viewpoint by presenting music as a means for achieving order. The “Yuelun” criticizes Mozi based on the positive

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<sup>88</sup> Here, I understand *dao* as “the proper way to enjoy music”.

<sup>89</sup> *Xunzi jijie*, 382. Parallel lines are observable in the “Yinchu” and “Yueji”. For these parallels, see pages 97-98.

<sup>90</sup> In contrast to the “Dayue” where desire is considered to be something that cannot be controlled by humans, the “Yuelun” argues that desire should be regulated by *dao*. Therefore, it can be suggested that the “Yuelun” does not see desire as positively as the “Dayue” does.

effects of former kings' music but Mozi who regarded music as a mere object of desire might not accept this idea.<sup>91</sup>

## 2.2 Continuing existence of music: analysis of the “Guyue”

The “Guyue” offers thirteen stories about music in the time of thirteen kings of antiquity ranging from Zhuxiang 朱襄 to King Cheng (成王, c. 11<sup>th</sup> century BCE). These stories can be understood as evidence for the continuing existence of music which is suggested in the “Guyue” as the reason for the indispensability of music. The main argument of the “Guyue”, namely the ancient origin of music, is stated at the very beginning.<sup>92</sup>

Music originated from the remote past; [therefore], it cannot be discarded. There was appropriate [music] and extravagant [music]; there was decent [music] and decadent [music]. The wise flourished because of [music] while the unworthy perished because of [music].

樂所由來者尚也，必不可廢。有節有侈，有正有淫矣。賢者以昌，不肖者以亡。

According to the “Guyue”, the sustained existence of music from time immemorial demonstrates the indispensability of music. However, this indispensability does not guarantee the benefit of music; music can cause either prosperity or disaster. Among these two opposite cases, the “Guyue” discusses the former situation as its thirteen stories are concerned with the music of virtuous sage kings. The final statement of the “Guyue” is a reaffirmation of the beginning statement.

Therefore, music originated from the remote past and it is not merely the product of a single age.

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<sup>91</sup> Scott Cook suggests that, from Xunzi's viewpoint, Mozi only saw the apparent waste of resources while failing to recognise greater benefit music could produce. Cook, “Xun Zi on Ritual and Music”, 22. I concur with Cook's understanding of Xunzi, but what I want to indicate here is that Xunzi and Mozi understand music from a totally different viewpoint, and for this reason, Xunzi's criticism of Mozi does not gain much strength. In other words, the greater benefit of music that Xunzi advocates hardly offers a solution to the negative consequences of music that Mozi criticized since the edifying effect of music does not seem to aim to regulate reckless rulers' insatiable desire but aim to guide the people.

<sup>92</sup> Quotations from the “Guyue” are from *Lüshi chunqiu*, 40-41.

故樂之所由來者尚矣，非獨爲一世之所造也。

Except these first and last statements, the “Guyue” describes the stories about music of each of the thirteen kings in chronological order. These stories provide the titles of musical pieces in ancient times as well as a list of various musical instruments. In addition, they show that one of the main reasons for the establishment of music in ancient China was to laud the achievements or virtue of the ruler. The “Guyue” also describes the effect of music on the flow of *qi*, and one of its stories deals with the twelve pitch-standards. The relationship between music and *qi* is one of the main subjects of chapter 4, and the twelve pitch-standards are the main subject of chapter 6. Regarding these two subjects, chapter 2 will only examine what is described in the “Guyue” and further discussion will appear in chapters 4 and 6.

The chronological order of the thirteen kings suggested in the “Guyue” is as follows: Zhuxiang, Getian, Yinkang, Huangdi, Zhuanxu, Ku, Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, King Wen, King Wu and King Cheng. The quotations below are largely arranged in this chronological order except passages discussing a similar topic to earlier passages. The first story is about music in the mythical time of Zhuxiang. This story describes the effect of music on the flow of *qi*.

In the past when Zhuxiang ruled all-under-Heaven, there was an excess of wind [that caused] *yang qi* to gather and to accumulate, [so] the myriad things dispersed and scattered and fruits did not ripen. Therefore, Shida invented a five-string zither to attract *yin qi*, thereby stabilizing various living creatures.

昔古朱襄氏之治天下也，多風而陽氣畜積，萬物散解，果實不成。故土達作爲五弦瑟，以來陰氣，以定羣生。

Imbalance between *yin* and *yang* exerts a negative effect on creatures.<sup>93</sup> In

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<sup>93</sup> Here *qi* is divided into *yin* and *yang*. However, instead of two *qi*, the *Zuo zhuan* describes six *qi*, two of which are *yin* and *yang* indicating cold and heat. As a possible reason for a shift from six *qi* to two *qi* of *yin* and *yang*, A. C. Graham suggests the influence of medicine and Daoist meditation that emphasised “nurture of life”. In these fields, sickness was explained on the basis of discord between warm and chill of the body, and once warm and chill which correspond to *yang* and *yin* were isolated from six *qi*, only *yin* and *yang* came to represent *qi* in a conception driven by a strong tendency to form binary oppositions in traditional Chinese thought. Graham, *Yin-Yang and the Nature of Correlative Thinking*, 70-74. For the description of six *qi* in the *Zuo zhuan*, see



order to restore balance, *yin qi* is added to *yang qi* through the medium of musical sound, and as a result of this balance, various living creatures acquire stability. A similar idea is illustrated in the third story at the time of Yinkang.

In the past, at the inception of [the reign of] Yinkang, *yin* coagulated and accumulated in great amounts. Waterways were blocked and obstructed, [so water] could not flow from the fountainhead. [As a result], *qi* of the people clogged up and piled up. Their muscles and bones were constricted and contracted not to extend. Therefore, dance was invented to spread and guide *qi* of the people.

昔陶唐氏之始,<sup>94</sup> 陰多滯伏而湛積. 水道壅塞, 不行其原.<sup>95</sup> 民氣鬱闕而滯著. 筋骨瑟縮不達. 故作為舞以宣導之.

Accumulation of *yin* suggests that the flow of *yin* is blocked. A blockage in the flow of *yin* causes the blockage in waterway as well as in *qi* of the people. Dance might facilitate the movement of the body, and as a result, the circulation of *qi* within the body could be enhanced. In short, the above two passages show

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footnote 305.

<sup>94</sup> Reading Yinkang 陰康 for Taotang 陶唐 in accordance with Yan Shigu 顏師古 (581-645). Yan Shigu makes this amendment in his commentary on the “Sima Xiangru chuan” 司馬相如傳 (Biography of Sima Xiangru) of the *Han shu* (57: 2569-2570), based on the “Gujin ren biao” 古今人表 (Table of Ancient and Contemporary People) of the *Han shu* (20: 865). The “Gujin ren biao” lists famous figures before the Han dynasty in chronological order while classifying them into nine grades according to their virtue. In this list, Yinkang appears after Getian. Besides this reason, since Taotang indicates Yao 堯, without amendment it goes against the chronological order.

<sup>95</sup> Several interpretations were made regarding the sentence *shuidao yongse bu xing qi yuan* 水道壅塞, 不行其原. For example, Wang Niansun 王念孫 (1744-1832) reads *yang dao* 陽道 (the way of *yang*) for *shuidao* 水道 and argues *yuan* 原 is an error for *xu* 序 (order). Wang Niansun, *Dushu zazhi*, 16: 31. Based on Wang’s amendment, this sentence reads “The way where *yang qi* flowed was blocked and obstructed, and [*yin* and *yang*] could not follow [their circulating] order”.

On the other hand, Chen Qiyong argues that this sentence was originally Gao You’s annotation. That is, Gao You’s annotation for *yin duo zhifu er zhanji* 陰多滯伏而湛積 was originally “Waterways were blocked and obstructed, [so water] could not flow from the fountainhead. As a result, a disastrous flood occurred”. 水道壅塞, 不行其原. 故有洪水之災. However, the first two sentences were interpolated into the main text and only the last sentence was left as annotation. *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi*, 293-294. Although their amendments seem to make the text more understandable, I would rather leave the text unchanged as it causes no substantial problem.

that musical sound and dance are supposed to influence *qi*, thereby enhancing life as well as the operation of the natural world.

The second story is about music in the time of the mythical Getian. This story describes the scene of a musical performance while presenting the titles of eight movements which form the music of Getian.

In the past, in the musical performance of Getian, three people grasped ox-tails and stomped their feet while singing the eight stanzas. The first was named “Nurturing the People”, the second “The Dusky Bird”, the third “Cultivating Grasses and Trees”, the fourth “Sprouting the Five Grains”, the fifth “Venerating the Heaven’s Principle”, the sixth “Establishing the Accomplishments of the Sovereign”, the seventh “Relying on Earth’s Virtue”, and the eighth “Assembling the Ultimate of Birds and Beasts”.

昔葛天氏之樂，三人操牛尾投足以歌八闋。一曰載民，二曰玄鳥，三曰遂草木，四曰奮五穀，五曰敬天常，六曰建帝功，<sup>96</sup> 七曰依地德，八曰總禽獸之極。

In praise of Heaven and Earth, the eight titles mainly portray the wishes of an agricultural people, and the title “Establishing the Accomplishments of the Sovereigns” addresses one of the main themes of musical pieces described in the “Guyue”: the ruler’s accomplishment or virtue. For example, according to the fifth story, “Chengyun” 承雲 (Following the Clouds) was made in imitation of beautiful sounds in the natural world, and it was the virtue of Sovereign Zhuanxu that caused this beautiful sound to prevail.

Sovereign Zhuanxu was born from the Ruo River and actually lived in the Hollow Mulberry. Then, he succeeded to the throne. [His virtue] accorded with Heaven;<sup>97</sup> decent melodies were thereupon spreading. Their sounds

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<sup>96</sup> Bi Yuan amends *da* 達 in old editions to *jian* 建 (establish) in accordance with Li Shan 李善 (d. 689). *Lüshi chunqiu*, 43. Regarding Zhang Yi’s 張揖 (third century CE) quoting *che di gong* 徹帝功 in his annotation to the *Wenxuan* 文選 (Anthology of Literature), Li Shan argues *che* 徹 is an error for *jian* 建. Xiao Tong, *Wenxuan*, 131. Opposing this amendment, Wang Niansun argues that *che* is semantically close to *da* 達; therefore, no amendment is needed. Wang Niansun, *Dushu zazhi*, 16: 31. I tentatively follow Bi Yuan’s amendment.

<sup>97</sup> Assuming the hidden subject is virtue (*de* 德) in accordance with Gao You. *Lüshi*

were peaceful, luxuriant, and had a deep ringing. Sovereign Zhu anxu, being fond of these sounds, ordered the Flying Dragon to compose [music] in imitation of the sounds of winds in eight directions.<sup>98</sup> It was entitled “Chengyun” and used in the sacrifice to the Supreme Sovereign. [Sovereign Zhu anxu] then first ordered an alligator to start a musical performance, so the alligator lay on his back and beat his belly using the tail. It sounds harmonious and magnificent.

帝顓頊生自若水，實處空桑。乃登爲帝。惟天之合，正風乃行。其音若熙熙淒淒鏘鏘。帝顓頊好其音，乃令飛龍作效八風之音。<sup>99</sup> 命之曰承雲，以祭上帝。乃令鱣先爲樂倡，<sup>100</sup> 鱣乃偃寢，<sup>101</sup> 以其尾鼓其腹。其音英英。<sup>102</sup>

As a result of the ruler’s virtue, decent melodies prevailed. These melodies were imitated when a musical piece for the worship of the Supreme Sovereign was made. The above passage shows that musical sound serves as a medium to communicate with the natural world as well as the spiritual world.<sup>103</sup> That is, the virtue of the ruler caused decent melodies to prevail in the natural world, and the musical piece which was made in imitation of natural sound was used to worship the Supreme Sovereign. The imitation of natural sound and the worship of the Supreme Sovereign are also mentioned in the seventh story about “Dazhang” 大

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*chunqiu*, 44.

<sup>98</sup> According to Sarah Allen, Flying Dragon, as a water creature, can travel both Heaven and Earth by flying on clouds since clouds are formed from water mist. This interpretation supports the role of animal in ritual ceremonies as a medium to access Heaven or the spiritual world, which will be discussed in 3.2.1. Allan, *The Shape of the Turtle*, 68.

<sup>99</sup> Inserting *yue* 樂 after *zuo* 作 based on Xu Weiyu, *Lüshi chunqiu jishi*, 123 and Jiang Weiqiao et al., *Lüshi chunqiu huijiao*, 132.

<sup>100</sup> Interpreting *chang* 倡 as *shi* 始 (to start) in accordance with Gao You. *Lüshi chunqiu*, 44.

<sup>101</sup> *Shan* 鱣 is an alternative form for *tuo* 鼉 (alligator). Jiang Weiqiao et al., *Lüshi chunqiu huijiao*, 133.

<sup>102</sup> Interpreting *yingying* 英英 as *hesheng* 和盛 (harmonious and magnificent) in accordance with Gao You. *Lüshi chunqiu*, 44.

<sup>103</sup> The concept of *Shangdi* 上帝 (Supreme Sovereign) suggests that the scene described in the above passage is related to a religious ceremony presented to Heaven. Therefore, the images of animals and the role of music need to be interpreted within this specific context of a religious ceremony. This subject will be discussed in 3.2.1.

章 (Great Emblem), the music of Yao.

When Sovereign Yao ascended the throne, he ordered Kui to perform music. Kui thereupon sang a song in imitation of the sounds of forests and valleys. Kui covered earthenware tubs with fresh hide and beat on them, and he slapped and hit stone to imitate the sound of the jade stone chimes of the Supreme Sovereign, thereby making the hundred wild beasts dance. The blind musician thereupon divided [the strings of] a five-string zither and made a fifteen-string zither. [This music] was named “Dazhang”, and it was used in the worship of the Supreme Sovereign.

帝堯立，乃命質爲樂。<sup>104</sup> 質乃效山林谿谷之音以歌。乃以麋\*\*[革+各]置缶而鼓之，乃拊石擊石，以象上帝玉磬之音，以致舞百獸。瞽叟乃拌五弦之瑟，<sup>105</sup> 作以爲十五弦之瑟。命之曰大章，以祭上帝。

The musical sound made by Kui originated from natural sounds such as the sounds of forests and valleys. In addition, this passage assumes the communication with the Supreme Sovereign through the medium of music.

The twelve pitch-standards are the main subject of the “Yinlü” chapter. In the “Yinlü”, the twelve pitch-standards are acquired through the *Sanfen sunyi fa* 三分損益法 (Method of subtracting or adding a third).<sup>106</sup> In contrast to this mathematical explanation, the “Guyue” provides a rather mythological story

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<sup>104</sup> Amending Zhi 質 to Kui 夔 in accordance with Gao You. *Lüshi chungiu*, 44. Supporting this amendment, Chen Qiyou quotes the *Hanfeizi* 韓非子: “Yao says, ‘One Kui is enough’. [Therefore, he] made [Kui] head of music officials.” 堯曰，夔一而足矣。使爲樂正。 *Lüshi chungiu xin jiaoshi*, 307; Chen Qiyou, *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, 731. However, according to the “Chachuan” 察傳 (Scrutinizing Hearsay) chapter of the *Lüshi chungiu*, this story was in the time of Shun not Yao.

Many documents support that Kui was a musical officer during the reign of Shun. For example, the “Yueji” says “In the past, Shun made a five-string zither to sing northern melodies. Kui thereupon established music to praise feudal lords”. 昔者舜作五弦之琴以歌南風。夔始制樂以賞諸侯。 Regarding this sentence, Zheng Xuan annotates that “Kui took charge of music during the reign of Shun”. 夔舜時典樂者也。 *Liji zhengyi*, 675. However, I have not found a text which shows Kui was also a musical officer during the reign of Yao except the debatable description of the *Hanfeizi*.

<sup>105</sup> According to Wang Zhong 汪中 (1745-1794), Gusou 瞽叟 was an official title not a person’s name. Wang Zhong, *Shuxue*, 118.

<sup>106</sup> The *Sanfen sunyi fa* will be discussed in chapter 6.

about the establishment of the twelve pitch-standards.

In the past, Huangdi ordered Ling Lun to create pitch-standards. Ling Lun, from the western region of Daxia, went to the northern slopes of the Kunlun Mountain. He obtained bamboos at the valley of Xiexi. [He selected] a fresh one with a large and even hollow and cut it between two nodes to a length of 3.9 *cun*.<sup>107</sup> He blew on it and adopted [its sound] as *gong* of *huangzhong*.<sup>108</sup> When blown, it sounds “*she-shao*”.<sup>109</sup> He then made the twelve pitch-pipes and went to the foot of the Kunlun Mountain, where he heard the songs of male and female phoenixes and distinguished twelve pitch-standards [based on their songs]. The songs of male [phoenixes] became six [pitch-standards], so did the songs of female [phoenixes]. When harmonising with *gong* of *huangzhong*, it matches well. *Gong* of *huangzhong* can generate all [the other pitch-standards]. Therefore, it is said that *gong* of *huangzhong* is the root of pitch-standards. Huangdi again ordered Ling Lun and Rong Jiang to cast twelve bells and to match their sounds to the five notes and to perform the “Yingshao” 英韶 (Beautiful and Splendid).<sup>110</sup> In the second month of spring, on the day of Yimao, when the sun was in the Legs mansion, it was first played and entitled “Xianchi” 咸池 (Rendering [Virtue] Extensively).<sup>111</sup>

昔黃帝令伶倫作爲律。伶倫自大夏之西，乃之阮隃之陰。<sup>112</sup> 取竹於嶰谿之

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<sup>107</sup> 1 *cun* 寸 corresponds to 23.1mm. Luo Zhufeng, *Hanyu da cidian* (appendix and index volume), 3.

<sup>108</sup> *Huangzhong* 黃鐘 is the primary pitch-standard of the ancient Chinese dodecatonic scale, and *gong* 宮 is the primary note in ancient Chinese pentatonic scale. *Huangzhong* is assigned to the pitch of *gong*; therefore, it is said *gong* of *huangzhong*.

<sup>109</sup> The Middle Chinese transcription of 舍少 is suggested as “*syæ x-syewx*’ along with its Old Chinese reconstruction “*hljA(k)?-h(l)jew?*” in William Baxter, *A Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology*, 786. They might be closer to the sound represented by 舍少 around the time the *Lishi chunqiu* was compiled.

<sup>110</sup> The *Hanyu da cidian* says the “Yingshao” indicates the “Wu ying” 五英 and “Shao” 韶. *Hanyu da cidian* vol. 9, 346. However, the “Wu ying” was the music of Ku 嚳 and the “Shao” was the music of Shun 舜. Since Huangdi was ahead of Ku and Shun, I am not sure about the explanation of the *Hanyu da cidian*. I found no commentary about the “Yingshao”, so whether the “Yingshao” is one musical piece or two pieces is uncertain.

<sup>111</sup> In his annotation on the “Yueji”, Zheng Xuan glosses *xian* 咸 as *jie* 皆 (all) and *chi* 池 as *shi* 施 (render), and interprets *xianchi* as “there is no place where virtue does not reach” 德之無不施. *Liji zhengyi*, 675.

<sup>112</sup> *Ruanyu* 阮隃 is an alternative form for *Ruanlun* 阮隃 which indicates *Kunlun* 崑

谷，以生空竅厚鈞者，斷兩節間。其長三寸九分而吹之，<sup>113</sup> 以爲黃鐘之宮。吹曰舍少。次制十二筩，以之阮隄之下，聽鳳皇之鳴，以別十二律。其雄鳴爲六，雌鳴亦六。以比黃鐘之宮，適合。黃鐘之宮，皆可以生之。故曰黃鐘之宮，律呂之本。<sup>114</sup> 黃帝又命伶倫與榮將鑄十二鐘，以和五音，以施英韶。以仲春之月，乙卯之日，日在奎，<sup>115</sup> 始奏之，命之曰咸池。

The above passage suggests the classification of the twelve pitch-standards into *yin* and *yang* because female phoenixes can represent *yin* and male phoenixes represent *yang*. However, the terms representing these two groups are not presented in the “Guyue”.<sup>116</sup>

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崑. Jiang Weiqiao et al., *Lüshi chungiu huijiao*, 127.

<sup>113</sup> The length of *huangzhong* pitch-pipe is suggested either as 3 *cun* 9 *fen* or as 9 *cun*: *Lüshi chungiu* and *Sui shu* suggest 3 *cun* 9 *fen* while *Huainanzi*, *Shiji*, *Shuoyuan* 說苑 (Garden of Stories) and *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (Imperial review Encyclopaedia of the Taiping era) suggest 9 *cun*. *Sui shu*, 16: 388; Liu Wendian, *Huainan honglie jijie*, 3:112; *Shiji*, 25:1251; Liu Xiang, *Shuoyuan*, 19:196; Li Fang et al., *Taiping yulan*, 565:7.

Because of these dissimilar records, the correct length of *huangzhong* has been a subject of debates. In regard to these debates, Liu Fu 劉復 (1891-1934) argues that both 3 *cun* 9 *fen* and 9 *cun* can be considered correct because the pitch of *huangzhong* underwent changes. Liu Fu, “*Lüshi chungiu* Guyue pian Xi Huang jie jie”, 993-1001. However, the difference in length between the two records seems too large to result from the different standards.

Chen Qiyou suggests that *huangzhong* pitch is too high if its pitch-pipe is 3 *cun* 9 *fen*, and for this reason, he argues that 3 *cun* 9 *fen* should be amended to 9 *cun* following *Huainanzi*, *Shiji*, *Shuoyuan* and *Taiping yulan*. *Lüshi chungiu xin jiaoshi*, 298-299.

Since the records of the *Sui shu*, *Shuoyuan* and *Taiping yulan* are quotations from the *Lüshi chungiu*, it is difficult to determine whether the records of *Shuoyuan* and *Taiping yulan* are later editorial revisions based on the *Huainanzi* and *Shiji* or the records of *Lüshi chungiu* and *Sui shu* are mistakes. Not sure which one is correct, I tentatively read the text without amendment.

<sup>114</sup> Sun Shucheng 孫蜀丞 argues *lüli zhi ben* 律呂之本 (the root of *lüli*) should be amended to *lü zhi ben ye* 律之本也 (the root of *lü*). I concur with Sun Shucheng’s amendment, and the reason for this will be discussed in chapter 6. For this discussion, see page 194.

<sup>115</sup> The Legs mansion (*Kuixiu* 奎宿) is one of the Twenty-eight lunar mansions (*Ershi ba xiu* 二十八宿). In Chinese astronomy, the sky is divided into four regions, each of which contains seven mansions making a total of 28 mansions. For more information about Twenty-eight mansions, see Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China* vol. 3, 234-237.

<sup>116</sup> Not only the “Guyue” but also the entire *Lüshi chungiu* does not present these terms. It is in the *Han shu* that the terms representing *yin* and *yang* are suggested. This subject will be explored in 6.2.5.

The remaining seven stories demonstrate a close relationship between music and the virtuous achievements of the rulers.<sup>117</sup> The translation of these stories is as follows.

Sovereign Ku ordered Xian Hei to compose the songs, the nine “Shao”, six “Lie”, and six “Ying”. You Chui made the hand drums, drums, bells, stone chimes, mouth organs, pipes, ocarinas and bamboo flutes. Thereupon, Sovereign Ku ordered people to clap their hands. Some beat the hand drums; struck the bells and chime stones; blew the mouth organs, pipes, ocarinas and bamboo flutes. Hereupon, he commanded phoenixes and sky pheasants to dance. Sovereign Ku was overjoyed, so it was used to extol the virtue of the sovereign.

帝嚳命咸黑作爲聲歌九招六列六英。<sup>118</sup> 有僮作爲鼗鼓鐘磬吹苓管壎箎鞀  
椎鍾。<sup>119</sup> 帝嚳乃令人抃。或鼓鼗，擊鐘磬，吹苓展管箎。<sup>120</sup> 因令鳳鳥天翟  
舞之。帝嚳大喜，乃以康帝德。

When Shun ascended the throne, Yang Yan divided [the strings of] the zither which was made by the blind musician and made a twenty-three-string zither by adding eight strings. Sovereign Shun then ordered Kui to arrange the nine “Shao”, six “Lie” and six “Ying”, thereby illuminating the virtue of the sovereign.

舜立，仰延乃拌瞽叟之所爲瑟，益之八弦，以爲二十三弦之瑟。帝舜乃令

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<sup>117</sup> When music is performed to laud the virtuous ruler, the function of music is closely related to the purpose of a ceremony. This aspect will be examined in 3.2.1.

<sup>118</sup> According to Gao You, *Shao* 招, *Lie* 列 and *Ying* 英 are the names of musical pieces. *Lüshi chunqiu*, 45.

<sup>119</sup> Removing *chui* 吹 (to blow) in accordance with Yu Yue 俞樾 (1821-1907) who suggests since other musical instruments in the same sentence do not have an accompanying verb, *chui* 吹 is unnecessary. Yu Yue, *Zhuzi pingyi*, 136.

Removing *tao zhui zhong* 鞀椎鍾 in accordance with Chen Qiyou who regards them as a later interpolation for three reasons. First, they are not listed in the next sentence, and second, *tao* 鞀 and *zhong* 鍾 have the same meaning with *pigu* 鼗鼓 and *zhong* 鐘 respectively. Lastly, *zhui* 椎 is a stick for beating a drum, so it is not appropriate to list *zhui* with other musical instruments. *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi*, 305.

<sup>120</sup> Amending *zhan* 展 to *xun* 壎 following Chen Qiyou who argues since *zhan* is not mentioned in the previous sentence, *xun*, which is mentioned in the previous sentence along with other wind instruments, makes the passage more coherent. *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi*, 306.

質修九招六列六英,<sup>121</sup> 以明帝德。

When Yu ascended the throne, he toiled for all-under-Heaven. He was not remiss [in his work] day and night. He opened up the great streams; cut through obstructions and blockages; bored through the Dragon Gate; opened up the flooding water by letting them flow to the Yellow River. He dredged the Three Rivers and the Five Lakes to make the water flow to the Eastern Sea. Through [these works], he benefited the black-headed people. Hereupon, [Yu] commanded Gao Yao to compose nine movements of the “Xia yue” 夏籥 (Xia Flute) in order to manifest his achievements.

禹立，勤勞天下。日夜不懈。通大川，決壅塞，鑿龍門，降通澗水以導河。<sup>122</sup> 疏三江五湖，注之東海。以利黔首。於是命皋陶作為夏籥九成，以昭其功。

When Tang of the Yin ascended the throne, the Xia dynasty, being amoral, cruelly oppressed the myriad people. It appropriated lands from the feudal lords, and did not observe norms and rules. All-under-Heaven was troubled. Tang thereupon led [the armies of] six provinces to punish the crimes of Jie. His achievements and fame were grandly gained and [as a result] the black-headed people were secure and tranquil. Hereupon, Tang ordered Yi Yin to compose “Dahu” 大護 (Great Protection), sing “Chenlu” 晨露 (Dawn Dew), and arrange the nine “Shao” and six “Lie”, in order to exhibit his goodness.

殷湯即位，夏為無道，暴虐萬民。侵削諸侯，不用軌度。天下患之。湯於是率六州以討桀罪。功名大成，黔首安寧。湯乃命伊尹作為大護，歌晨露，修九招六列，以見其善。

When King Wen of the Zhou lived in the Qi Mountain, the feudal lords fled from the three vices of the Yin dynasty and assisted King Wen. San Yisheng said, “It would be the proper [time] to attack the Yin”, but King Wen would not permit [them to attack the Yin]. Dan, Duke of Zhou, then composed a

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<sup>121</sup> Reading Kui for Zhi. For the reason for this amendment, see footnote 104.

<sup>122</sup> Removing *jiang* 降 (to fall) in accordance with Chen Qiyu who argues *jiang* 降 was originally an annotation for *liao* 澗 but interpolated into the main text. Both *jiangshui* and *liaoshui* mean *laoshui* 潦水 (flood). *Lüshi chungiu xin jiaoshi*, 308.



poem that went “King Wen is on high. Oh, [his virtue] shines in the sky. Although Zhou is an old state, its mandate is new” and praised the virtue of King Wen.

周文王處岐，諸侯去殷三淫而翼文王。<sup>123</sup> 散宜生曰，殷可伐也，文王弗許。周公旦乃作詩曰，“文王在上。於昭于天。周雖舊邦，其命維新”，以繩文王之德。<sup>124</sup>

When King Wu ascended the throne, he attacked the Yin with the Six Armies. Before the Six Armies arrived, he vanquished [the enemy] at Muye with his crack troops. When he returned, he presented captives to the Great Chamber in the capital. Then, he ordered Duke of Zhou to compose the “Dawu” 大武 (Grand Martial).

武王即位，以六師伐殷。<sup>125</sup> 六師未至，以銳兵克之於牧野。歸乃薦俘馘于京太室。乃命周公爲作大武。

When King Cheng ascended the throne, the Yin populace revolted. The king ordered Duke of Zhou to conquer them. The southern tribes rode elephants, and maltreated the eastern tribes. Duke of Zhou finally expelled them with his army to the southern area of the Yangzi River. Then, the “San xiang” 三象 (Three Elephants) was composed to celebrate his virtue.

成王立，殷民反。王命周公踐伐之。商人服象，<sup>126</sup> 爲虐于東夷。周公遂以

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<sup>123</sup> There are different interpretations of *san yin* 三淫. Gao You interprets *san yin* as Zhou’s 紂 three forms of immoral behaviour. *Lüshi chunqiu*, 44. On the other hand, Tan Jiefu 譚戒甫 (1887-1974) suggests *san yin* is a misreading resulting from graphic similarity to *erchui* 二垂 (two thirds) while Chen Qiyu amends *Yin san yin* to *Yin zhi yin* 殷之淫 (The vice of the Yin). Tan Jiefu, “Jiao Lü yiyi”, 309. Those three interpretations seem equally acceptable, but instead of changing the text I would rather follow Gao You’s interpretation.

<sup>124</sup> Interpreting *sheng* 繩 as *yu* 譽 (to praise) based on Bi Yuan. *Lüshi chunqiu*, 45.

<sup>125</sup> According to Zeng Yunqian’s 曾運乾 (1884-1945) annotation on the *Shujing*, *liushi* 六師 is the army under the command of the king consisting of 12,500 soldiers during the Zhou dynasty. Zeng Yunqian, *Shangshu zhengdu*, 274.

<sup>126</sup> Reading *nanren* 南人 for *Shangren* 商人 in accordance with Song Xiangfeng 宋翔鳳 (1779-1860). His amendment is based on Zhang Yi’s annotation on the “Sima Xiangru chuan” of the *Han shu* (57:2571): “Xiang is the music of Duke of Zhou. The southern tribes rode elephants and maltreated the eastern tribes. King Cheng ordered Duke of Zhou to pursue them with his army, and [Duke of Zhou] reached Hainan. The music of “San xiang” thereupon was composed.” 象，周公樂也。南人服象，爲虐於夷。

師逐之，至于江南。乃爲三象，以嘉其德。

### 2.3 Following issues

In the face of strong criticism of music, the *Lüshi chunqiu* argues for the indispensability of music. On the one hand, from the viewpoint that sees music as an object of desire, the “Dayue” argues that music is essential to humans because they have innate desire for pleasure. In addition, the “Guyue” supports the indispensability of music by showing continuing existence of music from time immemorial.

Although the “Dayue” defends the indispensability of music based on the inherent desire for music, those who condemn music might ask whether this desire justifies extravagance in music. The reason for condemning music does not just lie in enjoyment of music but in selfish and excessive enjoyment of music. This selfish enjoyment causes suffering and privation for the people. Confronted with the harmful consequences of music, the *Lüshi chunqiu* now faces a dilemma; a desire for music cannot be rejected because it is inherently embedded in humans, but those negative consequences make it difficult to allow people to chase their desire. In order to be a successful refutation of condemnation of music, the *Lüshi chunqiu* needs to resolve this dilemma. Chapter 3 will analyse the “Chiyue” and “Shiyin” chapters with an aim to formulate an argument that provides a solution to excessive enjoyment of music.

Another response to condemnation of music comes from the “Yuelun”. However, the “Yuelun” perceives music more as a governing tool than as an object of desire while endowing music with special functions such as a means for achieving order which might be an unfamiliar idea to those who condemn music. This disparate view makes the “Yuelun” less convincing as a successful refutation of condemnation of music. The “Yuelun” seems to attach a particular value on music beyond an object of desire. Chapter 3 will examine whether similar ideas to the “Yuelun” are suggested in other classical texts and then explore the viewpoints of the “Yuelun” in more detail.

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成王命周公以兵追之，至於海南。乃爲三象樂也。Song Xiangfeng, *Guoting lu*, 223.

### 3. Two perceptions of music: an object of desire versus a tool for edification

The “Dayue” chapter criticized those who condemned music because their argument ran counter to any innate desire for music. However, opposition to a blanket condemnation of music does not mean that all kinds of music should be positively recognised. In fact, the *Lüshi chunqiu* firmly opposes extravagant music and argues for the importance of appropriateness. When the “Dayue” advocates an innate desire for music it might not be intended to approve of the unrestrained enjoyment of music. However, those who enjoy extravagant music can excuse themselves by claiming this natural tendency to enjoy music.

Section 3.1 will formulate an argument that negates this excuse through the analysis of the “Chiyue” chapter. In addition, appropriateness, the main topic of the “Shiyin” chapter will be discussed, followed by a discussion about the ideal type of music from the viewpoints of the “Chiyue” and “Shiyin”. These discussions will show that the “Chiyue” and “Shiyin” chapters can be understood in relation to the necessary conditions for music to provide pleasure as an object of desire.

Instead of regarding music as an object of desire, the “Yuelun” mainly sees music as a tool for edification that exerts positive influences on human behaviour. Section 3.2 will first examine seemingly similar ideas described in the *Shujing* 書經 (Book of Documents), *Zuo zhuan* and *Guoyu* in order to indicate the particular perspectives of the “Yuelun” in comparison with those texts. After examining the function of music that the “Yuelun” advocates, I will discuss which types of music can perform this particular function.

#### 3.1 Music as an object of desire: appropriateness with no extravagance

In the *Guoyu*, *Mozi* and *Mengzi*, the main attitude towards music was to see it as an object of desire. This attitude was maintained in the “Dayue”, and the “Chiyue” and “Shiyin” can also be understood from this viewpoint as will be discussed. The “Chiyue” mainly discusses the negative effects of extravagant music, and the “Shiyin” describes the benefit of appropriate sound while defining appropriateness in terms of sound as well as *xin* 心 (heart/mind). After the analysis of the “Chiyue” in 3.1.1 and the “Shiyin” in 3.1.2, the concept of “*li* and

music” will be discussed in 3.1.3, and the ideal type of music derived from the “Chiyue” and “Shiyin” will be suggested in relation to this concept.

### **3.1.1 The reason for rejecting extravagant music: extravagant music is not pleasant**

The “Chiyue” attaches great importance to pleasure as can be seen from the statement that the ancient sage-kings esteemed music because of its pleasure.<sup>127</sup> However, not all kinds of music are believed to evoke pleasure. The “Chiyue” criticizes extravagant music by excluding it from the category of music that brings pleasure. That is to say, in spite of the fact that human beings inevitably want to enjoy music, excessive enjoyment cannot be justified because extravagant music by no means provides pleasure. The reason that extravagant music is not pleasing can be gauged from the beginning part of the “Chiyue”.<sup>128</sup>

All people live through their life, but they do not know how their life has come into existence. All people are aware of what they know, but they do not know how their knowledge has come into existence. To understand how one comes to know is called “understanding *dao*”, and not to understand how one comes to know is called “discarding the treasure”. Anyone who discards the treasure is certain to meet with disaster. Many rulers of the present age regard pearls, jade, lances and swords as treasures. The more [their treasures] are, the more resentful their people are, the more endangered their countries are, and the more tiresome is the ruler himself. If it is the case, it is [in fact] to lose the essential quality of treasure.

人莫不以其生生，而不知其所以生。人莫不以其知知，而不知其所以知。知其所以知之謂知道，不知其所以知之謂棄寶。棄寶者必離其咎。世之人主，多以珠玉戈劍爲寶。愈多而民愈怨，<sup>129</sup> 國人愈危，身愈危累，<sup>130</sup> 則失寶之情矣。

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<sup>127</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 41: “In general, the ancient sage kings thought highly of music because it was pleasant.” 凡古聖王之所爲貴樂者，爲其樂也。

<sup>128</sup> The quotations from the “Chiyue” and “Shiyin” are from *Lüshi chunqiu*, 41-43.

<sup>129</sup> Inserting *bao* 寶 (treasure) before *yuduo* 愈多 based on Chen Changqi, *Lüshi chunqiu zhengwu*, 8.

<sup>130</sup> Removing *ren* 人 and *wei* 危 based on Chen Changqi, *Lüshi chunqiu zhengwu*, 8.

According to the above passage, it is not sufficient to understand the final outcome of a certain phenomenon. One should understand why this outcome is produced; otherwise, one could reach a disastrous result opposite to what one expected. For example, those rulers who only know treasure is precious without knowing the very reason why treasure is precious make a frantic attempt to collect treasures while making their people resentful and endangering their countries, not to mention themselves. If what is called treasure produces these harmful results, it is not precious any more. Similarly, people are aware that music provides pleasure but they cannot understand how this pleasure is achieved.

The music of a disordered age corresponds to this. The sounds of [instruments made of] wood and leather are similar to [the rumblings of] thunder. The sounds of [instruments made of] metal and stone are similar to [claps of] thunder. The sounds of [instruments made of] string and bamboo or the sounds of singers and dancers are similar to loud shouting. These sounds can shock *qi* and *xin*, startle the ears and eyes, and shake life; however, music composed of these sounds is not pleasing. Thus, the more extravagant music is, the more discontented the people are, the more chaotic the country is, and the more debased its ruler is; if it is the case, it also [in fact] loses the essential quality of music.

亂世之樂與此同。爲木革之聲則若雷。爲金石之聲則若霆。爲絲竹歌舞之聲則若譟。以此駭心氣，動耳目，搖蕩生則可矣，以此爲樂則不樂。故樂愈侈，而民愈鬱，國愈亂，主愈卑，則亦失樂之情矣。

Jie of the Xia and Zhou of the Yin ordered the performance of extravagant music. In the sounds of big drums, bells, stone-chimes, flutes and pipes, they regarded the large as beautiful and the many as spectacular. [Therefore, their music] was peculiar and far from being beautiful, which the ears had never heard before and the eyes had never seen before. They strove to outdo each other and did not employ linear and capacity measures. When the Song was in decline, the bell named *qianzhong* was cast; when the Qi was in decline, the bell named *daliu* was cast;<sup>131</sup> when the Chu was in decline, shamanistic music was created. As [they became] extravagant, [their music also became]

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<sup>131</sup> *Daliu* 大呂 is the second pitch-standard of the ancient Chinese dodecatonic scale. The name of the bell might indicate its pitch.

extravagant. However, judging from those who possess *dao*, [these kinds of music] lose the essential quality of music.

夏桀殷紂作爲侈樂。大鼓鐘磬管簫之音，以鉦爲美，以衆爲觀。俶詭殊瑰，<sup>132</sup> 耳所未嘗聞，目所未嘗見。務以相過，不用度量。宋之衰也，作爲千鍾，<sup>133</sup> 齊之衰也，作爲大呂，楚之衰也，作爲巫音。侈則侈矣。自有道者觀之，則失樂之情。

From the viewpoint of the “Chiyue”, music can be called music only when it evokes pleasure because the function of bringing pleasure is considered the most essential quality of music. People enjoy a large-scale musical performance seeking out greater pleasure; however, this kind of extravagant music only brings about complaints from the people and the fall of the country. Moreover, contrary to acquiring pleasure, people injure themselves by listening to music as described below.

Once music loses its essential quality, it is not pleasing. If music is not pleasing, the people are certain to be resentful, and [their] life is certain to be injured. [In this case], the relationship between life and music is like that of ice to the blazing sun. Contrary to [nourishing life], it is a disaster for oneself. This results from not knowing the true meaning of music and striving for extravagance.

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<sup>132</sup> According to Bi Yuan, *chugui* 俶詭 is interchangeable with *chugui* 諷詭 which means peculiar or extraordinary. *Lüshi chunqiu*, 41. This meaning is suggested in the “De chong fu” 德充符 (The Sign of Complete Virtue) chapter of the *Zhuangzi*. Wang Shumin, *Zhuangzi jiaoquan*, 184: “He is seeking to gain the reputation of being extraordinary and mystical, but doesn’t he know that the perfect man would consider it as fettering and handcuffing himself?” 彼且蘄以諷詭幻怪之名聞，不知至人之以是爲己桎梏邪？

<sup>133</sup> There are two main interpretations of *qianzhong* 千鍾; one is the name of a bell by Gao You and the other is one thousand bells by Chen Qiyou. Chen suggests that *daliu* 大呂 is an example of too large instruments and *qian zhong* 千鍾 is an example of too many instruments and *wu yin* 巫音 is an example of peculiar music; those three aspects are suggested as the features of extravagant music in the second sentence. Therefore, he argues that *qian zhong*, which is an example of music composed of too many instruments, means one thousand bells rather than a bell name. *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi*, 271. However, I am not sure why the features of music during the ages of Jie and Zhou are equally applied to later period. For this reason, I follow Gao You’s commentary, but I am not completely sure about this interpretation because I have not found any text where *qianzhong* appears as a bell name or pitch-standard.

失樂之情，其樂不樂。樂不樂者，其民必怨，其生必傷。其生之與樂也，若冰之於炎日。反以自兵。<sup>134</sup> 此生乎不知樂之情，而以侈爲務故也。

Condemnation of music would be disproved based on what we have examined. First of all, as the “Dayue” argues, enjoying music cannot be criticized because desire for music is a natural tendency that human beings cannot manipulate. Nevertheless, enjoying extravagant music should not be overlooked on the pretext of giving free rein to this natural tendency. The “Chiyue” objects to extravagant music; however, instead of expressing a bitter criticism of music as the “Feiyue” did, the “Chiyue” criticizes people who enjoy extravagant music. That is, those who enjoy extravagant music cannot understand the reason why music gives pleasure and blindly chase excessiveness without recognising that this excessiveness ends up with disastrous results. There is no reason for rejecting music as long as music maintains appropriateness. After discussing extravagant music, the “Chiyue” raises the importance of appropriateness.

[The fact that] music has an essential quality is analogous to [the fact that] flesh, skin and the corporeal body possess life. If there is life, it is necessarily nurtured. Cold and heat, toil and idleness, hunger and satiety; these six are not considered appropriate [in terms of nurturing life]. In general, nurture is to oversee what is not appropriate and then to make it appropriate. If one can maintain appropriateness for a long time, life is prolonged.

樂之有情，譬之若肌膚形體之有情性也。<sup>135</sup> 有情性則必有性養矣。寒溫勞逸饑飽，此六者非適也。凡養也者，瞻非適而以之適者也。能以久處其適，則生長矣。

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<sup>134</sup> Interpreting *bing* 兵 as *zai* 災 (disaster) in accordance with Gao You. *Lüshi chunqiu*, 41.

<sup>135</sup> In the *Lüshi chunqiu*, *xing* 性 is interchangeable with *sheng* 生 (life) in most cases, including this instance. For other various examples where *xing* is used with the meaning of *sheng*, see Fu Wuguang, *Lüshi chunqiu yu zhuzi zhi guanxi*, 123-127.

I have removed the character *qing* 情 in accordance with Chen Qiyu who argues that commentators interpolated *qing* because of the previous sentence *yue zhi you qing* 樂之有情. Those commentators wrongly understood that music has *qing*, so do flesh, skin and the corporeal body, but, in fact, flesh, skin and the corporeal body have *xing* 性 instead of *qing*. For the same reason, *qing* in the next sentence is also removed. *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi*, 273.

The life of the body is nurtured only under the appropriate condition; under the extreme conditions such as hunger and cold, it is subject to damage. In the same way, if music does not maintain appropriateness its essential quality cannot be expected. More detailed arguments about appropriateness are advanced in the “Shiyin”.

### 3.1.2 The benefit of appropriateness: appropriateness brings pleasure

The “Shiyin” first discusses the relationship between pleasure and desire while arguing that a pleasant state of *xin* is an essential condition for arousing desire.

It is an essential quality of the ear to desire [beautiful] sounds; however, if *xin* does not feel happy, the ear would not listen to the five notes although they are right around it. It is an essential quality of the eye to desire [beautiful] colours; however, if *xin* does not feel happy, the eye would not gaze on the five colours although they are right around it. It is an essential quality of the nose to desire perfumed fragrances; however, if *xin* does not feel happy, the nose would not smell perfumed fragrances although they are right around it. It is an essential quality of the mouth to desire rich tastes; however, if *xin* does not feel happy, the mouth would not savour the five tastes although they are right around it.

耳之情欲聲，心不樂，五音在前弗聽。目之情欲色，心弗樂，五色在前弗視。鼻之情欲芬香，心弗樂，芬香在前弗嗅。口之情欲滋味，心弗樂，五味在前弗食。

According to the “Shiyin”, although human beings are bound to gratify their sensory desires, if they are not in a good mood they would not be able to enjoy objects of desire however beautiful, fragrant or delicious they are. The contrast between pleasure and desire is related to the distinction between the functions of *xin* and sensory organs: the former takes charge of pleasure and the latter takes charge of desire as suggested below.

The loci of desire are the ear, eye, nose and mouth whereas feeling pleasure depends on *xin*. Only when *xin* is harmonious and balanced does it feel pleasure. Only when *xin* has felt pleasure can the ear, eye, nose and mouth have desire. Therefore, pleasure depends on making *xin* harmonious, and



making *xin* harmonious depends on keeping appropriateness.

欲之者，耳目鼻口也，樂之弗樂者，<sup>136</sup> 心也。心必和平然後樂。心必樂然後耳目鼻口有以欲之。故樂之務在於和心，和心在於行適。

One can desire only after feeling pleasure, and in order to acquire pleasure one needs to attain a harmonious and balanced state of *xin*, which is achieved by appropriateness. Therefore, the starting point lies in appropriateness. The “Shiyin” defines the appropriateness of *xin* as follows:

There is appropriateness in pleasure, and *xin* also has appropriateness. Humans basically desire longevity and dislike dying young; [they] desire security and dislike danger; [they] desire glory and dislike disgrace; [they] desire comfort and dislike toil. When these four desires are gratified and the four dislikes are eliminated, *xin* is kept in appropriateness.

夫樂有適，<sup>137</sup> 心亦有適。人之情，欲壽而惡夭，欲安而惡危，欲榮而惡辱，欲逸而惡勞。四欲得，四惡除，則心適矣。

The appropriateness of *xin* is defined as a state where desires for longevity, security, glory and comfort are satisfied and dislikes such as dying young, danger, disgrace and toil are eliminated. Then, how can we satisfy desires and eliminate dislikes? According to the “Shiyin”, this task is achieved by following the principle (*li* 理).

Making *xin* appropriate depends on following the principle.

適心之務在於勝理。

The “Shiyin” describes the importance of the principle as follows.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> Tao Hongqing amends *zhi* 之 to *yu* 與 (and) while Fan Gengyan 范耕研 (1894-1960) says that *zhi* has a similar meaning to *yu* 與. Based on these annotations, *le zhi fule* 樂之弗樂 can be translated as “whether feeling pleasure or not”. Tao Hongqing, *Du zhuzi zhaji*, 97; Fan Gengyan, *Lüshi chunqiu buzhu*, 39.

<sup>137</sup> Lin Pinshi 林品石 interprets *le/yue* 樂 as music. Lin Pinshi, *Lüshi chunqiu jinzhu jinyi*, 133. However, since the relationship between pleasure and *xin* is discussed right before this passage, *le/yue* 樂 might indicate pleasure. In addition, in the “Shiyin”, *le/yue* 樂 mainly indicates pleasure while *yin* 音 indicates musical sound or music.

<sup>138</sup> Although the “Shiyin” emphasises the importance of the principle, it does not provide further explanation about the principle; therefore, the meaning of “following the

If one cultivates oneself by following the principle, life is kept intact. If life is kept intact, the span of life is prolonged. If one governs the country by following the principle, the law is established. If the law is established, all-under-Heaven obeys.

勝理<sup>139</sup>以治身則生全以。<sup>140</sup> 生全則壽長矣。勝理以治國則法立。法立則天下服矣。

The principle guarantees successful results when applied to cultivating oneself as well as governing the country. In addition to these effects, by suggesting following the principle as the way to attain the appropriateness of *xin*, the “Shiyin” presents the process of bringing about pleasure in three steps:

Following the principle ( <i>sheng li</i> 勝理) → Appropriateness in <i>xin</i> ( <i>shi xin</i> 適心) → Harmony in <i>xin</i> ( <i>he xin</i> 和心) → Pleasure ( <i>le</i> 樂)
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Up to this point, the “Shiyin” discusses appropriateness in relation to *xin*. Now, the focus of the “Shiyin” moves onto sound. Before defining appropriateness of sound, the “Shiyin” describes inappropriate sounds mainly by focusing on their adverse effects on one’s will (*zhi* 志).

In general, sound also has appropriateness. If [sound] is too big, one’s will is shaking. If one listens to the big sound with a shaking [will], the ears cannot receive it. If [the ears] cannot receive [the sound, the sound] is obstructed and blocked. If [the sound] is obstructed and blocked, [one’s will] is agitated. If [sound] is too small, one’s will becomes weak. If one listens to the small

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principle” is unclear. The term *shengli* 勝理 also occurs in the “Quanxue” 勸學 (An Exhortation to Learning) chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu* as one of the tasks of teachers. *Lüshi chunqiu*, 33-34: “The tasks of teachers consist in following the principle and practicing righteousness” 爲師之務，在於勝理，在於行義。In this chapter, struggling for *dao* (*zheng yu dao* 爭於道) and *dao*’s prevailing (*dao zhi xing* 道之行) are suggested as the aims of teachers. For this reason, I understand *li* 理 as the principle which is in accordance with *dao*. *Dao* 道 is one of the main concepts of the “Dayue” chapter and this concept will be examined in 4.1.2.

<sup>139</sup> Interpreting *shengli* 勝理 as *renli* 任理 (following the principle) in accordance with Wang Niansun 王念孫. *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi*, 278.

<sup>140</sup> Chen Changqi suggests that *yi* 以 in *sheng quan yi* 生全以 should be removed and Sun Shucheng suggests *yi* 以 should be replaced with *yi* 矣. Chen Changqi, *Lüshi chunqiu zhengwu*, 8; Sun Shucheng, “*Lüshi chunqiu juzheng*”, 411.

sound with a weak [will], the ears are not filled [with sound]. If [the ears] are not filled, [the sound] is not [audible] enough. If [the sound] is not [audible] enough, [one's will] is not satisfied. If [sound] is too high, one's will is threatened. If one listens to the high sound with a threatened [will], the ears are empty. If [the ears] are empty, [the sound] is not accumulated. If [the sound] is not accumulated, [one's will] will be dried up. If [sound] is too low, one's will becomes depressed. If one listens to the low sound with a depressed [will], the ears cannot gather the sound. If [the ears] cannot gather the sound, [the sound] is not received evenly. If [the sound] is not received evenly, [one's will] moves violently. Thus, [the sound] that is too big, too small, too high, or too low does not correspond to appropriateness.

夫音亦有適。太鉅則志蕩。以蕩聽鉅則耳不容。不容則橫塞。橫塞則振。太小則志嫌。以嫌聽小則耳不充。不充則不詹。不詹則窈。太清則志危。以危聽清則耳谿極。<sup>141</sup> 谿極則不鑿。<sup>142</sup> 不鑿則竭。太濁則志下。以下聽濁則耳不收。不收則不搏。<sup>143</sup> 不搏則怒。<sup>144</sup> 故太鉅太小太清太濁皆非適也。

Sound first influences one's will, and one's will again influences the way of receiving sound. Too big or small, too high or low sound cannot produce a good result when interacting with *xin*.<sup>145</sup> As a result, the state of *xin* cannot achieve

<sup>141</sup> Chen Qiyong argues Gao You's annotation on *xiji* 谿極, namely *xi xu ji bing ye* 谿虛極病也, is a mistake for *xiji xubing ye* 谿極虛病也 (*xiji* indicates a trouble resulting from emptiness) and interprets *xiji* as "few and scattered" (*xishu* 稀疏). *Lüshi chungiu xin jiaoshi*, 280.

<sup>142</sup> Reading *jian* 監 for *jian* 鑿 in accordance with Fan Gengyan. *Jian* 監 is a loan for *lan* 濫 which according to Fan Gengyan means "being accumulated". Fan Gengyan, "Lüshi chungiu buzhu", 41. Fan Gengyan regards the will (*zhi* 志) as the subject of *jian*; however, I think sound is better suited for its subject. The reason for this is suggested in footnote 144.

<sup>143</sup> Interpreting *bubo* 不搏 as *ru bu zhuanyi* 入不專一 (to enter unevenly) in accordance with Gao You. *Lüshi chungiu*, 42.

<sup>144</sup> The same structure of "A ze 則 B. B ze C. C ze D. D ze E" (A then B. B then C. C then D. D then E) is repeated four times. However, the subjects of D and E are unclear. Since I understand that this passage discusses the interaction between sound and one's will, I assume that the subject of D is sound and the subject of E is one's will.

<sup>145</sup> Even though the term *xin* is not mentioned in the above quotation, this passage can be read as a discussion about the interaction between music and *xin* if *zhi* 志 is interpreted as the direction of *xin*'s movement.

serenity, which according to the *Zuo zhuan* may even cause fatal disease.<sup>146</sup> After illustrating those negative effects, the “Shiyin” defines appropriateness of sound and then describes the positive result that appropriate sound produces through its interaction with *xin*.

What does “appropriateness” refer to? Moderation is appropriateness of sound.<sup>147</sup> What does “moderate” refer to? The size [of a bell] should not transgress the uniform standard and the weight [of a bell] should not exceed one *dan* (approx. 30kg). This is “moderate” in regard to the size and weight [of a bell]. The note *gong* of *huangzhong* is the origin of [all the other] notes and it is the moderate among high and low pitch. The moderate is considered appropriate. If one listens to appropriate sound with an appropriate [*xin*], harmony is achieved. Pleasure [requires] no excessiveness [in sound]; [pleasure] comes from a balanced and harmonious [*xin*].

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<sup>146</sup> The *Zuo zhuan* offers a passage similar to the “Shiyin” but in a simpler form. Therefore, it permits the assumption that the “Shiyin” develops a detailed argument based on what was previously discussed. According to the *Zuo zhuan*, when King Jing of Zhou intended to cast a bell, his musical officer Zhou Jiu warned the king that the king would die of a heart disease and the reason for this is suggested as follows. *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 867 (Zhao 21, i.e. 519 BCE): “In general, music is supervised by the Son of Heaven. In general, sound is a carriage of music, and the bell is the instrument for [making] sound. The Son of Heaven observes the winds, thereby making music, and gathers sounds using the [musical] instruments, and performs [music] in accordance with sounds. The small [instrument] does not sound faint and the large [instrument] does not sound too big; therefore, harmony is achieved among instruments. If instruments are in harmony, beautiful [music] is achieved. Therefore, when harmonious sound is received into the ears, it is preserved in *xin*. If *xin* is peaceful, [one feels] happy. If sound is faint, it cannot satisfy [*xin*]; if sound is too big, it cannot be held. Consequently, *xin* becomes bewildered, and if [*xin*] is bewildered illness occurs. Now, [the sound of] the bell is extremely big, so your *xin* cannot bear it. How can you [live] long?” 夫樂天子之職也。夫音樂之輿也，而鐘音之器也。天子省風以作樂，器以鍾之。輿以行之。小者不窳，大者不擻，則和於物。物和則嘉成。故和聲入於耳，而藏於心。心億則樂。窳則不咸，擻則不容。心是以感，感實生疾。今鐘擻矣，王心弗堪。其能久乎！

<sup>147</sup> Chen Qiyu quotes the definition of *zhong* 衷 from the “Liang Tong liezhuan” 梁統列傳 (Biography of Liang Tong) of the *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (Book of the Later Han): neither light nor heavy (*bu qing bu zhong* 不輕不重). *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi*, 283; Fan Ye, *Hou Han shu*, 1168. Based on this definition, I interpret *zhong* 衷 as appropriateness in weight and other measures. Therefore, I translate *zhong* 衷 as “moderation” with the meaning of “kept or keeping within reasonable or proper limits; not extreme, excessive, or intense”. Stein, *The Random House Dictionary of the English Language*, 920.

何謂適? 衷, 音之適也. 何謂衷? 大不出鈞, 重不過石.<sup>148</sup> 小大輕重之衷也. 黃鐘之宮, 音之本也, 清濁之衷也. 衷也者適也. 以適聽適則和矣. 樂無太,<sup>149</sup> 平和者是也.

Appropriate sound emanates from a musical instrument that has proper weight and measure. Appropriate sound achieves harmony while interacting with the appropriate *xin*, and this harmony induces pleasure. Therefore, it can be suggested that appropriate sound performs its function in the second step of the above-mentioned process by interacting with the appropriate *xin*. In sum, the “Shiyin” emphasises the importance of appropriateness by demonstrating the roles of appropriate sound and *xin* in achieving pleasure which is a prerequisite

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<sup>148</sup> The meaning of *da bu chu jun* 大不出鈞 is unclear. According to the *Han shu* (21: 969), 1 *jun* 鈞 is equal to 30 *jin* 斤 (approx. 7.5 kg) and 1 *dan* 石 is equal to 4 *jun* namely 120 *jin* (approx. 30kg). If *jun* is a unit of weight, *da bu chu jun* is not readily understandable because *jun*, which is relatively small amount of weight, does not match *da* 大 (big). For this reason, Tao Hongqing amends *da* 大 to *xiao* 小 (small). Tao Hongqing, *Du zhuzi zhaji*, 98.

Objecting to interpreting *jun* as a unit of weight, Chen Qiyong argues that *jun* indicates the standard note, and he reads *da bu chu jun* as that the amplitude of other sounds should not exceed the sound of the standard note. *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi*, 283. In addition, Lothar von Falkenhausen translates *da bu chu jun* in the *Guoyu* as that “the size did not transgress the uniform standard”. Falkenhausen, *Suspended Music*, 315.

My translation is based on Falkenhausen who interprets *da* 大 and *zhong* 重 as the size and weight of a bell. Since *da bu chu jun*, *zhong bu guo dan* 大不出鈞, 重不過石 appears in the *Guoyu* in regard to a bell, it might be more appropriate to relate *da* and *zhong* to the physical properties of a bell as Falkenhausen did.

The above mentioned passage of the *Guoyu* goes as follows. *Guoyu*, 3: 123: “The ears distinguish the harmonious [sound from sounds] between high and low pitch, and high and low pitch can be distinguished only within the limit where one person can reach. Therefore, when the former kings made bells, the size did not transgress the uniform standard, and their weight did not exceed one *dan*.” 耳之察和也, 在清濁之間, 其察清濁也, 不過一人之所勝. 是故先王之制鍾也, 大不出鈞, 重不過石. Translation of the last sentence is from *Suspended Music*, 315.

<sup>149</sup> Whether *le/yue* 樂 indicates pleasure or music is unclear. John Knoblock and Jeffrey Riegel translate this sentence as “musical instruments commit no excess”. Knoblock and Riegel, *The Annals of Lü Buwei*, 144. In addition, Xiu Hailin also interprets *le/yue* 樂 as music while understanding *pinghe* 平和 as describing music. Xiu Hailin, *Zhongguo gudai yinyue meixue*, 207. However, since the “Shiyin” explains how pleasure is achieved in interaction between sound and *xin*, I interpret *le/yue* 樂 as pleasure and translate the last sentence focusing on the relationship between pleasure, sound and *xin*.

for arousal of desire.<sup>150</sup>

Up to this, all the passages in the “Chiyue” and “Shiyin” have been examined except one passage of the “Chiyue” and two passages of the “Shiyin”. Among these three passages, two of them are related to the concept of “former kings’ music”.<sup>151</sup> How can this concept be related to the main argument of the “Chiyue” and “Shiyin”? Can desire for music be fully approved of? These questions will be addressed in 3.1.3.

### 3.1.3 *Li* and music in the “Shiyin”

Both the “Chiyue” and “Shiyin” emphasise appropriateness; however, appropriateness cannot be properly defined without a criterion. The music of former kings can be understood from this perspective. That is, the former kings established a standard form of music that could impose restrictions for music to maintain appropriateness. In the context of the “Chiyue” and “Shiyin”, music is regarded as one of the objects of desire; therefore, their argument might be equally applied to other objects of desire such as food, clothes and accommodation. This supposition can explain why the last passage of the “Shiyin” suddenly mentions *li* along with music.

The *se* zither played in the *Qingmiao* 清廟 (Pure shrine) has reddish strings and sparse sound holes. One sings while three others respond and [this sound] surpasses [other] sounds. According to *li* of the Grand sacrifice, water is offered up and raw fish is placed on the offering table, and the grand broth is not seasoned and [the taste of this broth] surpasses [other] tastes. Thus, the reason for the former kings’ establishment of *li* and music is not only to please the ears and eyes or to satisfy the desires of the mouth and stomach to the maximum; rather, they intended to instruct people to modulate their likes and dislikes and to fulfil the principle and righteousness.

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<sup>150</sup> When interpreting the “Shiyin”, Xiu Hailin emphasises the leading role of *xin* in its interaction with music for the reason that *xin* can restrict the function of sensory organs. Xiu Hailin, *Zhongguo gudai yinyue meixue*, 204-205. However, considering that the condition of *xin* is affected by sound, the focus of the “Shiyin” might be placed on their interrelationship rather than the supremacy of *xin* over music.

<sup>151</sup> The remaining one passage of the “Shiyin” will be examined in 4.1.1 where its similar viewpoint to the “Yinchu” regarding the diagnostic function of music is discussed.

清廟之瑟,<sup>152</sup> 朱弦而疏越. 一唱而三歎, 有進乎音者矣.<sup>153</sup> 大饗之禮, 上玄尊而俎生魚, 大羹不和, 有進乎味者也. 故先王之制禮樂也, 非特以歡耳目極口腹之欲也, 將以教民平好惡行理義也.<sup>154</sup>

The above passage describes regulations applied to music along with those pertaining to food. Therefore, music can be understood as one of the elements regulated by *li* in the “Shiyin”. This aspect is also supported by the reason for the establishment of *li* described in the “Lilun” chapter of the *Xunzi*; *li* was established to impose restrictions on objects of desire.<sup>155</sup>

Where did *li* arise from? It is said that human beings are born with desires. If desires are not satisfied, people cannot but seek to satisfy them. If there is no measure and limit in satisfying desires, people cannot but contend. Such contention leads to disorder; disorder leads to a dead end. The former kings disliked such disorder; therefore, they established *li* and righteousness in order to determine the relative positions, to nurture human desires, and to supply what people seek. They did not cause desires to be impaired because of goods; they did not make goods insufficient to satisfy desires. [Therefore], desires and goods sustained and increased each other. This is where *li* arose from.

禮起於何也? 曰, 人生而有欲. 欲而不得, 則不能無求. 求而無度量分界, 則不能不爭. 爭則亂, 亂則窮. 先王惡其亂也, 故制禮義以分之, 以養人

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<sup>152</sup> According to Gao You, *Qingmiao* was the shrine of King Wen (Wen Wang 文王). *Lüshi chunqiu*, 42.

<sup>153</sup> Instead of *jin* 進, *yi* 遺 is written in the “Yueji” and Zheng Xuan glosses *yi* as *yu* 餘 (remaining). *Liji zhengyi*, 663. Chen Qiyou thus argues that *jin* should be changed to *yi* following the “Yueji”. *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi*, 285. Instead of assuming a textual corruption of the “Shiyin”, I read *jin* 進 as it is and interpret it as *chaoguo* 超過 (surpass).

<sup>154</sup> The first half of this passage appears in the “Lilun” chapter of the *Xunzi* and the whole passage appears in the “Yueji” with several changes. *Xunzi jijie*, 352 and 354: 故尊之尚玄酒也, 俎之尚生魚也, 俎之先大羹也, 一也. ... 清廟之歌, 一倡而三歎也, 縣一鍾, 尚拊之膈, 朱絃而通越也, 一也. *Liji zhengyi*, 663: 清廟之瑟, 朱弦而疏越, 壹倡而三歎, 有遺音者矣. 大饗之禮, 尚玄酒而俎腥魚, 大羹不和, 有遺味者矣. 是故先王之制禮樂也, 非以極口腹耳目之欲也, 將以教民平好惡而反人道之正也.

<sup>155</sup> From the viewpoint of imposing restrictions on objects of desire, music in the “Shiyin” can be similarly understood as *li* in the “Lilun”. However, the edifying effect of music that the “Yuelun” advocates does not seem to match this viewpoint.

之欲，給人之求。使欲必不窮乎物，物必不屈於欲。兩者相持而長。是禮之所起也。<sup>156</sup>

*Li* helps regulate one's desires by allotting objects of desire in a way every person can nurture his desires without excessive pursuit of them. In this context, music as one of the objects of desire is regulated by *li*. The “Yuelun” and “Yueji” describe the complementary functions of music and *li*, namely harmony by music and order by *li*.<sup>157</sup> However, from the viewpoints of the “Chiyue” and “Shiyin”, music is understood as one of the elements under the control of *li* rather than the complementary counterpart of *li*. This layer of meaning can be found in the *Lunyu*; when Confucius criticizes eight rows of dancers of the Ji family, it is because the Ji family did not abide by the rule for the number of dancers.<sup>158</sup> Similarly, according to the *Zuo zhuan*, when Shusun Bao 叔孫豹 (d. 537 BCE) visited Jin 晉 as an envoy, Lord Dao of Jin (晉悼公 r. 586-558 BCE) ordered the performance of the musical pieces used for the grand ceremony assuming that it was in accordance with *li* for receiving an envoy. However, Shusun Bao did not show an expected response to these musical pieces. When Shusun Bao was asked about the reason, he answered as follows.

Three musical pieces of the Xia are used when the Son of Heaven entertains the supreme feudal lords. [Therefore], an envoy [like me] dare not participate in listening to them. The “Wen Wang” is the music that [is performed] when two rulers encounter. [Therefore], an envoy dare not reach it.

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<sup>156</sup> *Xunzi jijie*, 346.

<sup>157</sup> For example, the “Yueji” says “Music is the harmony of Heaven and Earth and *li* is the order of Heaven and Earth. Through harmony, the hundred things all transform; with order, the myriad things are all differentiated”. 樂者，天地之和也。禮者，天地之序也。和故百物皆化。序故羣物皆別。 *Liji zhengyi*, 667. In addition, the “Yuelun” says “Music is harmony that can never be altered and *li* is the principle that can never be changed. Music unites what is common while *li* distinguishes what is different. The fundamentals of *li* and music govern human *xin*.” 且樂也者，和之不可變者也，禮也者，理之不可易者也。樂合同，禮別異。禮樂之統管乎人心矣。 *Xunzi jijie*, 382. The complementary concept of “*li* and music” will be discussed in 5.2.

<sup>158</sup> Xing Bing, *Lunyu zhushu*, 24 (LY 3.1): “Regarding the Ji family having eight rows of dancers at their courtyard, Confucius said ‘If this can be tolerated, what cannot be?’” 孔子謂季氏八佾舞於庭，是可忍也，孰不可忍也。 Only the king could have eight rows of dancers, and the Ji family violated this regulation. In this case, the scale of music is stipulated in *li*.



三夏，天子所以享元侯也。使臣弗敢與聞。文王，兩君相見之樂也。使臣不敢及。<sup>159</sup>

These two instances show that the form of a musical performance was strictly prescribed. If music is perceived as one of the elements regulated by *li*, the argument of the “Shiyin” can be extended to other elements, and if its argument is valid for other elements the sudden mention of *li* at the end of the “Shiyin” might not seem out of context. The extension of the focus from “music” to “*li* and music” is also suggested in the “Yueji” where a more detailed version of the last part of the “Chiyue” is described. The last part of the “Chiyue” goes as follows.

Life is originally quiescent in itself. After being stimulated, it comes to have awareness, and there is an object that caused this. If one goes after [this object] without returning, it is governed by one’s appetite and desire. If one is governed by one’s appetite and desire, one is certain to lose [what is endowed from] Heaven. Moreover, if one’s appetite and desire know no limit, then it is inevitable that greedy, abject, immoral and unsettled *xin* will arise and that dissipated, dissolute, illegitimate and deceitful occasions will arise. As a result, the strong threaten the weak, the many tyrannize the few, the bold scorn the timid, and the vigorous are arrogant towards the frail; [all of them] result from this.

生也者，其身固靜。感而後知，或使之也。遂而不返，制乎嗜欲。制乎嗜欲無窮，<sup>160</sup> 則必失其天矣。且夫嗜欲無窮，則必有貪鄙悖亂之心，淫佚姦詐之事矣。故彊者劫弱，衆者暴寡，勇者凌怯，壯者傲幼，從此生矣。

As examined in chapter 2, the “Feiyue” also deplored the problems that the strong threatened the weak and the many tyrannized the few.<sup>161</sup> While the “Feiyue” argues that enjoying music prohibits these kinds of social disorder from being rectified, the “Chiyue” criticizes a wrong-headed pursuit of desire as the main reason for social disorder. However, the “Dayue” states that desire cannot

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<sup>159</sup> *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 505 (Xiang 4, i.e. 570 BCE).

<sup>160</sup> Removing *wuqiong* 無窮 (without limits) based on Tao Hongqing, *Du zhuzi zhaji*, 97.

<sup>161</sup> See page 28.

be modified by humans because it was received from Heaven.<sup>162</sup> Then, we might not blame desire but blame objects of desire for a wrongful pursuit of desire. For example, enjoying music cannot be criticized because humans are bound to desire music; criticism should be directed towards extravagant music. Therefore, instead of prohibiting music, making people enjoy music within a reasonable level by providing them with a decent type of music might be the correct solution to the problems mentioned above.<sup>163</sup>

As described in the the above quotation, the “Chiyue” admits a spontaneous response to an external stimulus. Therefore, if there is no restriction on external stimuli, people go after them only to hurt themselves in the end. Not only music but any objects of desire can produce this tragic result if enjoyed excessively. Therefore, it can be suggested that the above quotation implies the need for former kings’ establishment of *li* for the purpose of imposing restrictions on objects of desire including music. When the above passage is presented in the “Yueji” in a more detailed and organized form, this implication is clearly expressed.

When a person is born one is quiescent; this is one’s nature endowed from Heaven. When one is stimulated by an external thing, one moves; this is desire of one’s nature. Things arrive and the [faculty of] knowledge apprehends them; only then do likes and dislikes take shape. If likes and dislikes have no regulation inside and the [faculty of] knowledge is enticed from the outside, [people] cannot return to reflect upon themselves and [as a

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<sup>162</sup> See page 26.

<sup>163</sup> Scott Cook also points to this aspect when he discusses why Mozi is criticized in the “Yuelun” and “Dayue”. Cook argues that what is needed should be the proper form of music marked by simplicity and clarity instead of prohibiting music, from the viewpoints of the “Yuelun” and “Dayue”. Cook, “The *Lüshi chunqiu* and the Resolution of Philosophical Dissonance”, 342-343.

In my opinion, what Scott Cook suggests as the proper form of music conforms to the viewpoint of the “Dayue” but it is doubtful whether it also conforms to that of the “Yuelun”. In other words, although I agree that achieving “productive goal of social harmony” and preventing “contention by the influence of depraved music” are considered the main functions of music in the “Yuelun” as Cook suggests, I think when the “Yuelun” argues for these functions it does not see music as an object of desire, and consequently simplicity and clarity do not fully satisfy the ideal type of music that the “Yuelun” advocates.

result] the principle of Heaven is destroyed. If external things stimulate people without limitation and likes and dislikes of people have no regulation, then this means people are transformed by things when things arrive. For people to be transformed by things is to destroy the principle of Heaven and to satisfy human desire to the limit. As a result, rebellious and deceitful *xin*, and decadent and chaotic affairs [arise]. Consequently, the strong intimidate the weak, the many tyrannize the few, the intelligent deceive the stupid, and the bold bully the timid. Disease and illness are not nursed, and the old, young, orphaned and childless cannot obtain their places. This is the way great chaos ensues. Therefore, the former kings established *li* and music, and people adopt them as [the standard for] moderation.

人生而靜，天之性也。感於物而動，性之欲也。物至知知，然後好惡形焉。好惡無節於內，知誘於外，不能反躬，天理滅矣。夫物之感人無窮，而人之好惡無節，則是物至而人化物也。人化物也者，滅天理而窮人欲者也。於是有悖逆詐僞之心，有淫泆作亂之事。是故強者脅弱，眾者暴寡，知者詐愚，勇者苦怯。疾病不養，老幼孤獨不得其所。此大亂之道也。是故先王之制禮樂，人為之節。<sup>164</sup>

According to the above passage, *xing* 性 means an inherent ability to maintain stillness when no stimulus is given and to respond when a stimulus is given. Unlike the “Chiyue”, the “Yueji” conceptualizes the inherent quality of humans using the term *xing*, which shows the more elaborate conception found in the “Yueji”. After enumerating the negative consequences of an excessive pursuit of desires, the “Yueji” draws a conclusion that the reason for former kings’ establishment of *li* and music lies in regulating desires. In this way, the last passage of the “Chiyue” is understood as the reason for the establishment of *li* by the “Yueji”.

In spite of the positive recognition of desire as an inherent quality, the idea that desire needs to be controlled by imposing restrictions on the objects of desire implies negative consequences of desire. The “Chiyue” argues extravagant music cannot evoke pleasure; however, in reality, some people still enjoy extravagant

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<sup>164</sup> *Liji zhengyi*, 664.

music finding it pleasant. Although the “Shiyin” demonstrates the way appropriate sound brings pleasure, it does not explain why people desire extravagant music even though this music, according to the “Shiyin”, cannot activate the process for acquiring pleasure. This disappointing reality might contribute to the contrast between the principle of Heaven (*tianli* 天理) and human desire (*renyu* 人欲) in the “Yueji”.

The contrast between what is endowed from Heaven and desire in the “Chiyue” changes to the contrast between the principle of Heaven and human desire in the “Yueji”. One of the main arguments of the “Chiyue” is that extravagant music hurts life; therefore, in the context of the “Chiyue”, what is endowed from Heaven probably indicates life. However, by adopting the term *tianli* instead of *tian*, the “Yueji” makes the meaning of the objective standard that people should follow when they satisfy their desire more distinctive than preservation of life.<sup>165</sup> According to the “Chiyue”, humans innately possess both life and desire. Therefore, although excessive desire can hurt life, the blame is laid more on extravagant objects of desire rather than desire itself; the ultimate aim might lie in nurturing desire in a way advantageous to preserving life by providing proper sensory stimuli.<sup>166</sup> However, in the “Yueji”, human desire is

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<sup>165</sup> Zheng Xuan interprets *li* 理 as *xing* 性 (nature). Therefore, if following Zheng Xuan’s annotation, the difference between the “Chiyue” and “Yueji” becomes less distinctive. However, I do not follow this annotation for two reasons. Firstly, similar to the contrast between the principle and desire in the “Yueji”, the contrast between *dao* 道 and desire is presented in the “Yuelun” (“regulating desire by *dao*” 以道制欲). In addition, the “Yueji” provides other examples where *li* 理 indicates the principle: for example, “*li* represents the principle that can never be changed” 禮者，理之不可易者也 and “the principles [regarding] intimate and distant, noble and humble, young and old, male and female” 親疏貴賤長幼男女之理.

<sup>166</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*’s positive attitude towards desire from a different perspective is found in the “Weiyu” 爲欲 (Using Desire) chapter where desire is regarded as a vital factor to encourage people to behave as the ruler intends. For example, the “Weiyu” says “The more one’s desires are, the more he can be used. The fewer one’s desires are, the less he can be used. If one has no desire, he cannot be used at all. If one has many desires but his superior has no means to command him, then in spite of gratifying his desire, he still cannot be used. The way making people gratify desires can never be neglected”. 人之欲多者，其可得用亦多。人之欲小者，其得用亦小。無欲者，不可得用也。人之欲雖多，而上無以令之，人雖得其欲，人猶不可用也。令人得欲之道，不可不審矣。 *Lüshi chunqiu*, 172.

contrasted with the principle of Heaven and the positive connotation of inherent desire becomes weak.

The emphasis on the objective standard could contribute to the consolidation of the concept of “*li* and music” established by the former kings. In other words, former kings’ *li* and music follow the principle of Heaven and consequently they help people maintain their desires at an appropriate level by imposing restrictions on objects of desire. The ideal type of music can be suggested from this perspective: an object of desire which serves as a decent level of pleasing sensory stimulus and was sanctified by its association with the former kings.

### **3.2 Music as a tool for edification: the particular viewpoint of the “Yuelun”**

As examined in chapter 2, the “Yuelun” advocated the edifying effect of music which contributed to harmonious relationships among the people.<sup>167</sup> Our feelings might undergo a change listening to music, and this emotional change can affect our way of behaviour. However, the effects of music that the “Yuelun” argues such as leading people to the single way and governing myriad transformations still sound rather unfamiliar. This section will first examine several passages from the *Shujing*, *Zuo zhuan* and *Guoyu* where music is mentioned in relation to positive changes in behaviour as well as in governance, akin to the idea raised in the “Yuelun”.<sup>168</sup> It will then discuss the particular viewpoint of the “Yuelun” distinguishing the “Yuelun” from the *Shujing*, *Zuo zhuan* and *Guoyu*, and lastly the ideal type of music from the viewpoint of the “Yuelun” will be suggested.

#### **3.2.1 The effects of music in the *Shujing*, *Zuo zhuan* and *Guoyu***

The “Yushu” 虞書 (Book of Yu) of the *Shujing* offers stories about Sovereign Shun and his music official Kui. According to these stories, music exerts an influence not only on humans but also on spirits and beasts.

The sovereign said, “Kui, I order you to be Manager of Music and to teach

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<sup>167</sup> See page 36.

<sup>168</sup> Although the *Shijing* 詩經 (Book of Odes) has various musical themes, it hardly shares similar viewpoints with the “Yuelun” especially in relation to the edifying effect. For this reason, the *Shijing* will not be examined.

and cultivate the sons [of the noble families]. Be straightforward with gentleness; be generous with strictness; be resolute without cruelty; be succinct without arrogance. Poetry is an expression of [one's] will and singing is to chant one's sayings. The sounds are based on chant and the pitch-standards are harmonised with the sounds. The sounds of eight kinds of instruments are all in harmony not interfering with one another, and **spirits and humans are harmonised**". Kui said "Oh, I beat the stone. I slap the stone. [Then], the hundred beasts dance altogether".

帝曰，“夔，命汝典樂，教胄子。<sup>169</sup> 直而溫，寬而栗，剛而無虐，簡而無傲。詩言志，歌永言。聲依永，律和聲。八音克諧，無相奪倫，神人以和”。夔曰，“於予擊石拊石。百獸率舞”。<sup>170</sup>

Kui says “[*Zhu* and *yu*] are slapped and beaten; the jade stone-chimes are ringing; the *qin* zither and *se* zither are strummed and touched while being accompanied by chanting; [then] **the ancestors come and arrive**. The guest of Yu is in his place, and all the nobles show their virtue of courtesy. The pipes, hand-drums, drums are played together [at the sound of] *zhu*, and they are ceased [at the sound of] *yu* while [the sounds of] the mouth organs and big bells [fill up] the intervals. Birds and beasts move in rhythm. When the nine movements of the “Shao” are played by the panpipes, male and female phoenixes come with measured movements”. Kui says “Oh, when I beat the stone and slap the stone, all the beasts dance together and all the chief directors become truly harmonious”.

夔曰，“戛擊鳴球，<sup>171</sup> 搏拊琴瑟以詠，祖考來格。虞賓在位，羣后德讓。下

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<sup>169</sup> Interpreting *zhou* 冑 as *zhang* 長 (cultivate) in accordance with Kong Anguo 孔安國 (d. c.100 BCE). Kong Yingda construes Kong Anguo's annotation in a way different from what Kong Anguo originally meant by interpreting *zhouzi* 冑子 as *zhangzi* 長子 (the eldest son). Both interpretations could be acceptable, and I tentatively follow Kong Anguo.

<sup>170</sup> Kong Yingda et al., *Shangshu zhengyi*, 44.

<sup>171</sup> Assuming that the hidden objects of *jiaji* 戛擊 (to tap and strike) are *zhu* 祝 and *yu* 敔, and interpreting *qiu* 球 (sphere) as *yuqing* 玉磬 (jade stone-chime) in accordance with Kong Anguo. *Shangshu zhengyi*, 70.

*Zhu* 祝 and *yu* 敔 are percussion instruments. According to Kong Yingda, *zhu* is a wooden square percussion with a stick, and *yu* is a prostrate tiger-shaped instrument with the carved back where sound is made. *Zhu* is played when music starts and *yu* is played when music finishes. *Shangshu zhengyi*, 71.

管鼗鼓，合止祝敵，笙鏞以間。鳥獸跄跄 簫韶九成，鳳皇來儀”。夔曰，“於，予擊石拊石，百獸率舞，庶尹允諧”。<sup>172</sup>

Harmonious sounds emanating from various musical instruments lead to harmony among spirits and humans. In addition, birds and beasts start to gambol in response to music, and officials promote their relationships by listening to music. Although music is described as a crucial factor to bring about these effects, if we overlook the situation where this musical performance takes place, it could result in an overemphasis on the function of music. In relation to this situation, sentences such as *shen ren yi he* 神人以和 and *zukai lai ge* 祖考來格 can provide a clue. These sentences suggest that music is performed in the context of a religious ceremony where spirits and humans communicate with each other and ancestors are worshipped. In addition, *hou* 后 (the noble) and *yin* 尹 (chief directors) exhibit the formal characteristics of the ceremony. If music is performed in a religious ceremony, the effects of music described in the above passages might be difficult to expect outside of that context. In other words, the function of music is closely related to the situation where music is performed.

If the above passages describe a religious ceremony, how can the role of beasts and birds be understood? As examined in chapter 2, various animals appeared in the “Guyue” chapter such as ox, phoenix, alligator and pheasant. In addition, the names of musical officials namely Fei Long 飛龍 (flying dragon) and Kui 夔 (one-legged monster) were borrowed from mythical animal names. One possible explanation about the implication of animals in religious ceremonies is based on their role as “the helpers of shamans and shamanesses in the task of communication between heaven and earth, the spirits and the living”.<sup>173</sup> As indicated by K. C. Chang, according to the *Zuo zhuan*, animal offerings facilitated the task of shamans in a ritual ceremony.<sup>174</sup> Based on this explanation, the

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<sup>172</sup> Interpreting *yin* 尹 as *zheng* 正 namely *zhengguan zhi zhang* 正官之長 (the heads of officials) in accordance with Kong Anguo. *Shangshu zhengyi*, 71.

<sup>173</sup> Chang, *Art, Myth and Ritual*, 65.

<sup>174</sup> This record is of the 32<sup>nd</sup> year of Lord Zhuang 莊公, i.e. 691 BCE. K. C. Chang also quotes the record of the third year of Lord Xuan 宣公, i.e. 606 BCE to explain the role

response of animals to musical sounds can be interpreted as successful communication with spirits.<sup>175</sup>

The role of music can be understood from a similar perspective. That is, just as the “Guyue” suggested that the origin of the twelve pitch-standards lay in the songs of phoenixes, music was supposed to originate from the sounds in the natural world. This fact could advocate the successful resonance of music with the natural world, and as Roel Sterckx indicates, animals could serve as “messengers of musical resonance with the spirit world” as they have an ability to respond to music.<sup>176</sup> In sum, the above two passages from the *Shujing* show the context of a religious ceremony where music and animals function as the media for smoothing the communication with the spiritual world. Therefore, although music is believed to exert an influence on spirits, humans and beasts, it would be pointless to discuss its influence ignoring this context. Another scene in the *Shujing* shows a dancing performance in a ceremony where the ruler’s virtue is commended.

Sovereign [Shun] thereupon promulgated his civilising virtue widely.  
Dancing with shields and feathers was performed between the two flights of steps. In seventy days, the Youmiao [tribe] was under control.

帝乃誕敷文德。舞干羽于兩階。七旬有苗格。<sup>177</sup>

*Liangjie* 兩階 implies a formal ceremony as it indicates two flights of steps for host and guests in the opposite sides.<sup>178</sup> Here, the dances represent Shun’s

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of ritual vessels engraved with animal images; these images informed people of helping or harmful spirits. Chang, *Art, Myth and Ritual*, 64-65; for the records in the *Zuo zhuan*, see *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 182 and 368.

<sup>175</sup> Focusing on the domestication of the wilds, Roel Sterckx suggests that animal dance caused by Kui’s sounds shows the civilising influence of music and it represents “the gradual emancipation of humankind from the wild”. Sterckx, *The Animal and the Daemon in Early China*, 130. However, instead of contrasting the wild and human kind, I would rather understand the role of beasts in relation to a religious ceremony.

<sup>176</sup> Sterckx, *The Animal and the Daemon in Early China*, 134-135.

<sup>177</sup> *Shangshu zhengyi*, 56.

<sup>178</sup> According to Kong Anguo, civil dance (*wenwu* 文舞) was performed between the staircases for host and guests. *Shangshu zhengyi*, 56.



will to reinforce edification while constraining military force.<sup>179</sup> Under the influence of Shun's virtuous governance, the insurgent tribe comes to obey willingly. Dances are accompanied to represent the virtue of Shun; they could enhance the effect of the ruler's virtue, but it would be equally pointless to relate the edification of the tribe to a dancing performance outside of this scene.

As discussed in chapter 2, many musical pieces were composed to laud the virtuous kings. For example, music in the time of Sovereign Ku was composed to extol the virtue of the sovereign and its performance was accompanied by various musical instruments such as bells, chime-stones, mouth organs, pipes, ocarinas and bamboo flutes. In addition, the images of a phoenix and a sky peasant appeared in the performance.<sup>180</sup> The panoply of musical instruments and animal images suggest that music in the time of Sovereign Ku was also performed in a ceremony where the ruler's virtue was lauded. In this way, musical performances including dancing played an important part in religious ceremonies or other formal ceremonies while facilitating the function of those ceremonies. In brief, the effect of music was closely related to the aims of the ceremonies, and for this reason, it would be misleading if we emphasise the effect of music outside the ritual context.

Similar to the "Yuelun", the *Zuo zhuan* offers a description that demonstrates the influence of music on *xin*.

Complicated hand movements and lascivious sound make *xin* and ear obscured and blocked, and consequently one forgets tranquility and harmony. [For this reason], a virtuous person would not listen to [that kind of music]. ... A virtuous person is fond of the *qin* zither and *se* zither in order to cultivate his demeanour; it is not for obscuring his *xin*.

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<sup>179</sup> Kong Anguo explains that civil dance represents encouragement of edification and restriction on military power. However, according to Zheng Xuan, *gan* 干 (shield) was not used for civil dance but used for military dance (*wuwu* 武舞). Regarding this problem, Kong Yingda explains that judging from dancing props it can be said both civil and military dances were performed; however, since military force was only expressed in dance and it was not actually employed to defeat the enemy, focusing on this aspect, Kong Anguo only mentioned civil dance. *Shangshu zhengyi*, 56-57; regarding Zheng Xuan's explanation about *gan* as well as other dancing props, see footnote 63.

<sup>180</sup> See page 46.

有煩手淫聲，惛堙心耳，<sup>181</sup> 乃忘平和。君子弗聽也。... 君子之近琴瑟，以儀節也，非以惛心也。<sup>182</sup>

This passage suggests a direct influence of music on *xin*. The final result of this influence is related to tranquility and harmony, which implies an emphasis on morality; instead of pleasure, the *Zuo zhuan* suggests the cultivation of demeanour as the effect of music. This viewpoint would be closer to the idea suggested in the “Yuelun” if this cultivation contributes to successful governance. The *Guoyu* discusses the effect of music in relation to successful governance; however, music does not seem emphasised as strongly as in the “Yuelun”.

In general, music is only to be heard through the ears and a beauty is only to be seen through the eyes. If listening to music causes surprise and seeing a beauty causes one to be dazzled, nothing is more troublesome [than these]. In general, the ears and eyes trigger *xin*; therefore, [one] should listen to harmonious [sounds] and see a righteous [sight]. If one listens to harmonious [sounds] one [comes to] hear accurately; if one sees a righteous [sight] one becomes perspicacious. If one hears accurately one [comes to] hear what [others] say; if one is perspicacious his virtue is shining. If one hears what [others] say and one’s virtue is shining, one can think in an innocent and firm way. Virtue is proclaimed to the people and the people admire him and regard him virtuous; as a result, they sincerely submit. The superior acquires the mind of the people and establishes righteousness and the proper way. Therefore, once undertaking there is nothing that cannot be achieved and once seeking there is nothing that cannot be acquired; therefore, it can be pleasant. In general, when the ears receive harmonious sounds the mouth utters beautiful words, and they become statute and decree promulgated to the

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<sup>181</sup> The meaning of *tao* 惛 is unclear. The first meaning of this character in the *Hanyu da cidian* is “to please”, and as an example of this meaning, the above quoted sentence *fei yi tao xin ye* 非以惛心也 is presented. *Hanyu da cidian* vol. 7, 680. However, I am not sure whether pleasure evoked by music is negatively perceived in the *Zuo zhuan*. For this reason, I choose another meaning of *tao* namely “to obscure or to conceal” following Du Yu’s annotation on this character in another sentence of the *Zuo zhuan*; regarding *yi yue tao xin* 以樂惛心, Du Yu explains that *tao* means *cang* 藏 (conceal). *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 723. In addition, another occurrence of *tao* which is the last example of *tao* in the *Zuo zhuan* is interpreted as *yi* 疑 (doubtful) by Du Yu. *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 909.

<sup>182</sup> *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 708 (Zhao 1, i.e. 541 BCE).

people. [Statute and decree] are rectified by measures, the people follow them earnestly without being weary, and things are accomplished without fail; this is the greatest pleasure. The mouth receives taste and the ears receive sound. Sound and taste generate *qi*. [If] *qi* is in the mouth it becomes words; [if *qi* is] in the eyes [one] becomes perspicacious. A reputation for trustworthiness can be gained through speech and [one] makes a timely move by perspicacity. Governance becomes successful through a reputation, and living creatures flourish through a [timely] move. Successful governance and flourishing living creatures are the greatest pleasure.

夫樂不過以聽耳，而美不過以觀目。若聽樂而震，觀美而眩，患莫甚焉。夫耳目心之樞機也，<sup>183</sup> 故必聽和而視正。聽和則聰，視正則明。聰則言聽，明則德昭。聽言昭德，則能思慮純固。以言德於民，民歆而德之，則歸心焉。上得民心，以殖義方。是以作無不濟，求無不獲，然則能樂。<sup>184</sup> 夫耳內和聲，而口出美言，以為憲令，而布諸民。正之以度量，民以心力，從之不倦，成事不貳，樂之至也。口內味而耳內聲。聲味生氣。氣在口為言，在目為明。言以信名，明以時動。名以成政，動以殖生。政成生殖，樂之至也。<sup>185</sup>

This passage is a remark of Duke Mu of the Shan family who advises King Jing of Zhou in opposition to the king's plan to make a bell. This passage

<sup>183</sup> Yuri Pines argues that if a text uses crossbow-related terms with metaphorical meanings it suggests that this text should not be prior to mid-Warring States times. According to Yuri Pines, crossbow-related terms such as *nu* 弩, *ji* 機 and *shu* 樞 are absent from the *Shijing*, *Shujing*, *Zuo zhuan*, *Lunyu* and the core chapters of the *Mozi*, and it was not until the age of Mencius that these terms were widely used not only with its literal meaning but also with its metaphorical meaning. Pines, "Lexical Changes in Zhanguo Texts", 696-697. This passage is presented as a record of the 23<sup>rd</sup> year of King Jing of Zhou, i.e. 522 BCE. However, since it mentions *shuji* 樞機 metaphorically, if following Yuri Pines's suggestion, the ideas reflected in this passage might belong to later period than the time indicated in the *Guoyu*. Nevertheless, it might not postdate the "Yuelun" or *Lüshi chunqiu* considering its discussion about *qi* in relation to music.

<sup>184</sup> Huang Yongtang 黃永堂 understands all *yue/le* 樂 in this passage as music. Therefore, he translates *neng le/yue* 能樂 as "[one] can establish music" (*neng zhi yue* 能制樂). In addition, he translates *le/yue zhi zhi ye* 樂之至也 as "the highest state of music" (*yinyue de zuigao jingjie* 音樂的最高境界). Huang Yongtang, *Guoyu quanyi*, 137. I disagree with his reading because this passage does not exclusively discuss music but discusses sensory stimuli including a visual stimulus. I read 樂 as *le* in the above two cases because I think it indicates pleasure evoked by these sensory stimuli.

<sup>185</sup> *Guoyu*, 3: 125.

discusses not only music but also women's beauty and delicious food; therefore, this discussion is regarding objects of desire in general rather than music only.<sup>186</sup> Similar to the *Zuo zhuan*, the *Guoyu* pays little attention to sensory pleasure while defining pleasure in close relation to the state where successful governance is achieved. In a similar way that the *Zuo zhuan* mentions the influence of music on a virtuous person, the above passage is delivered to a king who is expected to possess virtue, which implies the relation between music and governance.

Proper sensory stimuli such as harmonious sounds increase the perceptive power and clear thinking of the ruler, which promotes the ruler's virtue. Indebted to his virtue, the ruler has the support of the people and every plan is carried out successfully. On the other hand, it is explained that harmonious sounds are transformed into beautiful words and they become the basis of the statutes that the people are willing to comply with. Another explanation about the effects of sensory stimuli is related to *qi*; food and sound generate *qi* and this *qi* yields words and perspicacity which enable the ruler to gain fame and respond with a timely move. As a result of fame and his timely decisions, successful governance and the vigorous growth of living creatures are achieved.

In this way, objects of desire including musical sound are believed to produce positive effects on governance. However, in this case, it is not the people but the ruler who is under the influence of objects of desire. In other words, successful governance is achieved by the ruler who undergoes changes provoked by sensory stimuli. In the sense that successful governance depends on a ruler who enjoys proper type of objects of desire, the above passage draws a distinction from the "Yuelun" where music is believed to influence the people, a point which will be discussed in 3.2.2.

The *Guoyu* offers another explanation about the involvement of *qi* in exhibiting the effect of music; music makes resonance with *qi* in a similar way to

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<sup>186</sup> As examined in chapter 2, even though Mozi particularly criticizes music out of his emphasis on usefulness, music is often discussed along with other objects of desire in pre-Han literature. In a similar way, although this passage discusses the positive effects of music similar to the "Yuelun", music is still regarded as one of the objects of desire.

that in which Shida's zither attracts *yin qi* as described in the "Guyue".<sup>187</sup>

Metal is cast, stone is polished; threads are fastened on wood; the gourd and bamboo are bored; the drum is adjusted. Then, they are played in accordance with the eight winds. As a result, *yin qi* does not accumulate and *yang qi* does not disperse either. *Yin* and *yang* are in order; wind and rain arrive timely; a good harvest and great blessings [occur]. The people are harmonious and live comfortably. Commodities are provided and music is accomplished. Superiors and inferiors are not exhausted. Therefore, it is said that music is proper.

鑄之金，磨之石，繫之絲木，越之匏竹，節之鼓。而行之以遂八風。<sup>188</sup> 於是乎氣無滯陰，亦無散陽。陰陽序次，風雨時至，嘉生繁祉，人民彞利。物備而樂成。上下不罷。故曰樂正。<sup>189</sup>

Musical sounds spreading out along with the wind from every direction facilitate the smooth circulation of *qi*, which leads to the smooth function of the natural world. Under this environment, a bumper harvest and harmony among the people are brought about. In a religious ceremony, music could serve as a medium for communicating with the spiritual world because of its readiness to resonate with the natural world. The concept of *qi* makes it easier to explain this resonance; musical sounds can affect the natural world where *qi* is widely circulated since musical sounds are transmitted through the vibration of air which is similar to *qi*'s movement. The similar movement between musical sound and *qi* can be suggested as one of the factors that raise the particular function of music that is not allowed to other objects of desire; both music and food can generate *qi* but only music can resonate with *qi*.

In brief, three main aspects regarding the effect of music can be addressed based on the above discussion; one is related to ceremonies, the other is to the ruler and the last is to the natural world. According to the *Shujing*, the effects of music are closely related to the aim of a ceremony where music is performed. By this account, it would be misleading if we emphasise music in regard to these

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<sup>187</sup> See page 39.

<sup>188</sup> Interpreting *sui* 遂 as *shun* 順 (in accordance with) following Wei Zhao's annotation.

<sup>189</sup> *Guoyu*, 3: 128.

effects because the role of music lies in facilitating the function of a ceremony. The influence of music on governance is suggested in the *Guoyu* but this influence is produced not only by music but also by other objects of desire; therefore, it can be suggested that the exclusive effect of music has yet to be discussed. When explaining the effects of music and food, the *Guoyu* raises the concept of *qi*, and it links this concept to music more closely by suggesting that music affects *qi* in the natural world.

### 3.2.2 The effects of music in the “Yuelun”

The discussions in the *Shujing*, *Zuo zhuan* and *Guoyu* are not sufficient to be considered a true “discourse on music” since the effect of music is expected only in a particular situation or music is discussed along with other objects that perform a similar function. After music was severely criticized under the title of “Feiyue” or “Condemnation of Music” in the *Mozi*, music is again dealt with as the main theme in the *Xunzi* under the title of “Yuelun” or “Discourse on Music”.

In the second attack on Mozi, the “Yuelun” says “When music is performed at the ancestral shrine, ruler and subject, high and low, listen to it together and none is not in harmony and deference”.<sup>190</sup> This can suggest that the “Yuelun” also discusses music in relation to a ceremony. Considering that one of the main situations where music was performed was formal ceremonies, it can be said that the perception of music is still bound up with this situation in the “Yuelun”. However, the ceremonial background is not as distinctive as in the *Shujing*; in addition, unlike the *Shujing* and *Guoyu*, the “Yuelun” focuses exclusively on music. It seems that music, which assumed a supporting role in the *Shujing*, is promoted to the leading role in the “Yuelun”.<sup>191</sup> The extent of valuing music can

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<sup>190</sup> See page 36.

<sup>191</sup> The supporting role of music is also suggested in the *Zhouli*. The *Zhouli* says “Using six pitch-standards and the other six pitch-standards, five sounds, eight kinds of musical instruments and six dances, a grand musical performance is offered to ghosts and gods. [Through this], the country is harmonised; the people are harmonised; the guests are in peace; people in distant areas are pleased; beasts move. Thereupon, musical performances are divided and arranged in order, by which the sacrifices to spirits of Heaven, Earth and humans [are offered]”. 以六律六同五聲八音六舞，大合樂以致鬼神示。以和邦國，以諧萬民，以安賓客，以說遠人，以作動物。乃分樂而序之，以祭以享以祀。 Jia Gongyan, *Zhouli zhushu*, 337-338. In this passage, music is accompanied

be gauged from the third attack on Mozi.

When we listen to the sounds of the “Ya” and “Song”, our will and intention become grand. When we hold shields and axes and practise looking down and looking up, bending and straightening [the body], our demeanour acquires dignity. When we follow the positions of the dancers and move to the rhythms, the ranks [are arranged] with dignity and advance and retreat [are carried out] in order. Thus, [through] music, outside [the country, enemies are] conquered and executed; inside [the country, music makes people] bow and decline. Conquest, execution, bow and declining have the same meaning. When [enemies] are conquered and executed outside [the country], no one fails to obey and follow. When [people] bow and decline inside [the country], no one fails to follow and submit. Therefore, music is the great uniformity of all-under-Heaven, the fundamental principles of the mean and of harmony, and what is essential to humans. This is the method of former kings establishing music, but Mozi criticized it. What can one do?

聽其雅頌之聲，而志意得廣焉。執其干戚，習其俯仰屈伸，而容貌得莊焉。行其綴兆，<sup>192</sup> 要其節奏，<sup>193</sup> 而行列得正焉，進退得齊焉。故樂者，出所以征誅也，入所以揖讓也。征誅揖讓，其義一也。出所以征誅，則莫不聽從。入所以揖讓，則莫不從服。故樂者，天下之大齊也，中和之紀也，人情之所必不免也。是先王立樂之術也，而墨子非之。奈何！<sup>194</sup>

The above quotation seems to discuss military and court music. Therefore, the function of music might be also closely related to the context where music is performed. Nevertheless, its function does not seem to entirely depend on this context considering the great emphasis on music. Musical sound and dancing

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in sacrificial ceremonies which are expected to produce positive effects such as harmonising the people. Here, music seems to facilitate producing these effects.

<sup>192</sup> According to Zheng Xuan’s annotation on a parallel sentence in the “Yueji”, *zhui* 綴 means a display (*biao* 表) of a procession (*hanglie* 行列) and *zhao* 兆 means the area where dancers move. *Liji zhengyi*, 699. Based on this annotation, I translate *zhui Zhao* as “the positions of dancers” which form a procession within a certain area.

<sup>193</sup> Interpreting *yao* 要 as *hui* 會 (come together) in accordance with Zheng Xuan. *Liji zhengyi*, 699. I translate this phrase as “move to the rhythms” in the sense that this makes us and rhythms come together.

<sup>194</sup> *Xunzi jijie*, 380.

movements exert positive influences on mental as well as physical capacity, which subsequently enhances the power of the country. With this increased power, the ruler can conquer enemies outside his territory and he can foster courteous attitudes among the people inside his territory. Based on these effects, music is finally regarded as “the great uniformity of all-under-Heaven” as well as “the fundamental principle of the mean and of harmony”. In this way, music is perceived as an efficient tool to make people behave in a disciplined manner for the enhancement of national prosperity and defense. This function is exclusive to music and the effect of music becomes more powerful compared to what we have examined in 3.2.1. In addition, its effect aims at people in general rather than a particular person whose virtue is considered significant in achieving successful governance.

As discussed in 3.2.1, the concept of *qi* is involved in revealing the effect of objects of desire. In addition, this concept enables music, as distinguished from other objects of desire, to exert an influence on the natural world. The emphasis on music in the “Yuelun” also seems to owe much to the concept of *qi*. As described in the first attack on Mozi, music is believed to affect the movement of *qi*.<sup>195</sup> In relation to this effect, the “Yuelun” describes specific correspondences between sound and *qi* as follows.

In general, when evil sound stimulates a person, *qi* going against [*dao*] responds to it.<sup>196</sup> When *qi* going against [*dao*] takes a form, disorder is created [by it]. When refined sound stimulates a person, *qi* going with [*dao*] responds to it. When *qi* going with [*dao*] takes a form, order is created [by it].

凡姦聲感人而逆氣應之。逆氣成象而亂生焉。正聲感人而順氣應之。順氣成象而治生焉。<sup>197</sup>

Evil sound and refined sound have their own corresponding *qi* and their

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<sup>195</sup> See page 34.

<sup>196</sup> Since it is suggested that the effect of music results in either order or disorder, I understand that *shun* 順 (in accordance with) and *ni* 逆 (counter to) are defined as to whether or not *qi* follows the proper way which contributes to achieving order. In this sense, *dao* in the meaning of “the proper way” is inserted in my translation.

<sup>197</sup> *Xunzi jijie*, 381.



interactions with *qi* finally result in either disorder or order. Disorder or order is caused directly by musical sound influencing the people rather than by depending on the ruler's virtue. In this way, the "Yuelun" more clearly projects its viewpoint that regards music as a governing tool that exerts a direct influence on the people.

### 3.2.3 The ideal type of music from the viewpoint of the "Yuelun"

Coming back to the "Chiyue" and "Shiyin", the reason for the establishment of music was similar to the reason for the establishment of *li* described in the "Lilun"; the former kings established *li* to impose restrictions on objects of desire for assisting people in regulating their desire. By this account, the criteria for size and weight of musical instruments as well as the way they are arranged were considered crucial for the ideal type of music. Then, what is the ideal type of music from the viewpoint of the "Yuelun" where music is regarded as a tool in governing? A passage describing the correspondences between music and behaviour could provide a clue.

In general, the sounds of music are instilled into the people deeply, and they transform the people rapidly. Therefore, the former kings were cautious about making the pattern [of music]. If music [follows] the mean and is balanced, the people become harmonious without being dissipated. If music sounds solemn and dignified, the people behave in a uniform manner without disorder. ... If music sounds bewitching, seductive and risky, the people become indulgent, indolent, abject and sordid.

夫聲樂之入人也深，其化人也速。故先王謹爲之文。樂中平則民和而不流。樂肅莊則民齊而不亂。... 樂姚冶以險，則民流僂鄙賤矣。<sup>198</sup>

The former kings paid careful attention to the pattern of music because they believed that people were deeply influenced by this pattern. Under the profound influence of music, people change their behaviour in line with music. Therefore, adjectives describing music already suggests personalities; it seems to be more appropriate for humans rather than for music to follow the mean and to be balanced, solemn and dignified. Instead of describing sounds as big, small, high or low as in the "Shiyin", the "Yuelun" adopts adjectives which can be used both

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<sup>198</sup> *Xunzi jijie*, 380.

for music and for humans, and this aspect is more clearly revealed through the analysis of the passage below from the “Yueji”.

If the will [of the ruler] is weak, hasty and weakening sound is produced, and [as a result] the people become pensive and worried. If [the ruler] is generous and amicable, sound that has a beautiful pattern with a simple rhythm is produced, and [as a result] the people become peaceful and pleasant. If [the ruler] is wild and fierce, stimulating and vigorous sound is produced, and [as a result] the people become resolute and decisive. If [the ruler] is straightforward and upright, dignified and sincere sound is produced, and [as a result] the people become solemn and respectful. If [the ruler] is broad-minded and gentle, well-arranged and harmonious sound is produced, and [as a result] the people become affectionate and loving. If [the ruler] is indulgent and depraved, biased, depraved and scattered, quick-changing sound is produced, and [as a result] the people become dissipated and chaotic.

志微，礁殺之音作，而民思憂。曄諧慢易，繁文簡節之音作，而民康樂。粗厲猛起，奮末廣賁之音作，而民剛毅。廉直勁正，莊誠之音作，而民肅敬。寬裕肉好，順成和動之音作，而民慈愛。流辟邪散，狄成滌濫之音作，<sup>199</sup> 而民淫亂。<sup>200</sup>

The above passage enumerates a variety of adjectives; however, whether or not all of the adjectives describe music is uncertain, and this uncertainty brought about different understandings of the passage. That is, Zheng Xuan and Kong Yingda understand this passage in close relation to the ruler’s virtue, but after Kong Yingda, this interpretation was hardly appreciated. For example, Zheng Xuan glosses *zhiwei* 志微 as *yixi* 意細 (weak will) and Kong Yingda understands this gloss in regard to the ruler’s virtue.<sup>201</sup> If understood this way, this passage can suggest the idea that the ruler’s will is directly reflected in music which subsequently affects people’s feeling or behaviour.

However, the role of the ruler is rarely considered in later interpretations.

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<sup>199</sup> Interpreting *dicheng dilan* 狄成滌濫 as fast movement of melody in accordance with Kong Yingda.

<sup>200</sup> *Liji zhengyi*, 677.

<sup>201</sup> *Liji zhengyi*, 677.

For example, Chen Hao 陳濤 (1260-1341) argues *zhi* 志 is a mistake for *ji* 急 (fast) and Sun Xidan 孫希旦 (1736-1784) suggests *zhiwei* be changed to *xianwei* 纖微 (delicate and subtle) following the *Han shu*.<sup>202</sup> In addition, Wang Yinzhi 王引之 (1766-1834) argues *zhi* is semantically close to *wei* 微 (subtle).<sup>203</sup> These interpretations understand *zhiwei* in closer relation to musical sound rather than the ruler's virtue, and modern translations by and large follow this tradition.<sup>204</sup>

The diverse interpretations of *zhi* 志 seems largely related to the different views on the first four characters in each following five sentences. That is, Kong Yingda understands these first four characters describe the ruler's virtue. However, this reading receives little support in later period while these characters are also understood as the adjectives for musical sound.<sup>205</sup> If these adjectives are interpreted as describing musical sound, the character *zhi* 志 might also need to be interpreted from the same perspective, which probably contributes to diverse readings of *zhi*. In this way, the above quotation from the “Yueji” can be understood from two main perspectives because of the ambiguity of the adjectives, and this ambiguity demonstrates that music is perceived highly

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<sup>202</sup> Chen Hao, *Liji jishuo*, 211; Sun Xidan, *Liji jijie*, 998. For *Han shu*'s description, see *Han shu*, 22: 1037.

<sup>203</sup> Wang Yinzhi argues that in ancient usage *zhi* 志 was interchangeable with *zhi* 職 which is glossed as *jiwei* 記微 (memorize the details) in the *Shuowen jiezi*. Wang Yinzhi, *Jingyi shuwen*, 615; *Shuowen jiezi*, 250.

<sup>204</sup> For example, Wang Meng'ou, Wang Wenjin and Scott Cook understand *zhiwei* as an adjective for music. Wang Meng'ou, *Liji jinzhu jinyi*, 625-626; Wang Wenjin, *Liji yijie*, 540; Cook, “Yue Ji”, 57.

Unlike the other scholars who understand this passage focusing on the effect of music on the people, Wang Meng'ou understands that those sounds result from people's feeling. In other words, according to Wang Meng'ou, it is not that hasty and weakening sound makes the people pensive and worried but that hasty and weakening sound is produced by the people who are pensive and worried. However, Wang's reading seems doubtful considering that the main viewpoint of the “Yueji” is to regard music as an external stimulus rather than to see it as an expression of feeling. These two viewpoints on music will be discussed in chapter 4.

<sup>205</sup> In spite of little recognition in later period, I translate this passage based on Kong Yingda's interpretation since the “Yueji” describes the former kings' establishment of *li* and music right after this passage.

dependant on personality that this music is expected to promote.

In brief, the “Yuelun” and “Yueji” describe musical sounds with their corresponding personalities strongly reflected. If there is a close correspondence between music and personality, the ideal type of music can be defined as one that produces a positive transformation of personality. This music was established by former kings possessing great virtue; however, it is unclear how this ideal type of music can be defined in musical terms.

### **3.3 The *Lüshi chunqiu* and “Yuelun” imply different interpretations of desire, *qi* and “*li* and music”**

The “Chiyue” and “Shiyin” can be understood as a more detailed argument warning against the ruling class’s excessive enjoyment of music which was paid sustained attention as described in the *Guoyu*, *Mozi* and *Mengzi*. Sharing the viewpoint with those who condemn music of seeing music as an object of desire, the “Chiyue” and “Shiyin” advocate music, while criticizing extravagance in music and indicating the positive effects of appropriate sound. In regard to the negative consequences of music, unlike those who worried about aggravation of the poor living conditions, these two chapters point to damage to life. Emphasis on preservation of life shows a positive attitude toward what is endowed from Heaven, and this positive attitude was also expressed in the very reason for criticizing condemnation of music, namely an innate desire for music.

Desires are endowed from Heaven; therefore, as described in the “Dayue”, nothing can be done by humans regarding their desires. For this reason, what should be reined in is not desire itself but an object that arouses excessive desire; criticism of extravagant music in the “Chiyue” and emphasis on appropriate sound in the “Shiyin” can be understood from this perspective. If these arguments are extended to other objects of desire, the “Chiyue” and “Shiyin” can address the need for *li*; *li* should be established to prevent excessiveness in objects of desire. The positive or at least neutral connotations of desire are doomed to lose their ground as criticism which is directed to extravagant objects of desire comes to centre on desire itself, as suggested in the contrast between the principle of Heaven and human desire in the “Yueji”.

The “Yuelun” expresses a particular viewpoint that sees music as a governing tool. The function to achieve harmony among the people, which is one of the main functions of music that the “Yuelun” advocates, has already been raised in the *Shujing*. However, this function owed more to the context where music was played than to music itself; for example, ceremonies were performed aiming to achieve harmony among the people and music was used to facilitate this aim. The “Yuelun” is not the only text that argues for the positive influence of music on governance, but its argument draws a distinction from other texts in that it advocates the exclusive as well as more powerful effects of music. For example, when the *Guoyu* admits the positive effects of music on governance, these effects result not only from music but also from other objects of desire. However, in the “Yuelun”, only music assumes a particular role as a governing tool.

The concept of *qi* might be suggested as one of the factors that lead to the particular function of music described in the “Yuelun”. The *Guoyu* also discusses the function of music based on the concept of *qi*. Whereas the *Guoyu* describes the effect of music on the natural world through the medium of *qi*, the “Yuelun” describes the influence of music on feeling or behaviour relying on the concept of *qi*. Therefore, it can be suggested that the particular viewpoint on music of the “Yuelun” implies the particular understanding of *qi* in relation to the function of music. How the concept of *qi* affects the perception of music in the “Yuelun” will be discussed in chapter 4, and the same subject in the context of the *Lüshi chunqiu* will be discussed in chapter 5.

From the viewpoints of the “Chiyue” and “Shiyin”, the ideal type of music is a decent sensory stimulus complying with *li*. Therefore, in the concept of “*li* and music”, music is not part of a complementary pair with *li*. As music is differently perceived in the “Yuelun”, so is the ideal type of music; from the viewpoint of the “Yuelun”, the ideal type of music is established by the ruler who possesses a sage-like personality. The ruler’s personality is directly reflected in music, and this music will induce positive changes to people leading to successful governance. Since the ideal type of music is differently suggested, the concept of “*li* and music” might not be the same as that is derived from the “Chiyue” and “Shiyin”. Another interpretation of the concept of “*li* and music” derived from the

“Yuelun” will be discussed in chapter 5.

#### 4. Music from *xin* in the “Yinchu” versus music to *xin* in the “Yuelun”

In chapters 2 and 3, two perceptions of music were contrasted: music as an object of desire versus music as a tool for edification. In both cases, music serves as an external stimulus. In other words, music is externally given to the people and it is believed to evoke pleasure when regarded as an object of desire or to induce positive behavioural changes when regarded as a tool for edification. Another perception of music which is derived from the “Yinchu” chapter shows the opposite direction of influence between music and *xin*. That is, music is internally produced from *xin* when it is regarded as an expression of feeling.

The “Yuelun” endowed music with a particular function to edify the people beyond its familiar function to evoke pleasure. With this particular function, it seems that externally provided music comes to be the subject of more attention than internally produced music. A shift in the viewpoint of the “Yueji” will be discussed as an example that supports this aspect. It is a supposition of chapter 4 that several concepts are of importance in explaining the edifying effect of music, and that their meanings in musical discourse underwent changes in a way advantageous to this explanation. With this supposition in mind, this chapter will examine the concepts of *xin* 心, *qi* 氣 and *qing* 情 focusing on their meanings within musical discourse.

##### 4.1 The relationship between music and *xin* in the “Yinchu”

The “Yinchu” consists of two main parts; the first part offers four stories about the origins of tunes, and the second part discusses the relationship of music to *xin*. This latter part, on the one hand, describes how music is achieved from *xin*, which accords with the viewpoint reflected in the four stories, and, on the other hand, it describes the influence of music on *xin*, which seems to be less relevant to the other parts of the “Yinchu”. Section 4.1 will provide translation of the four stories and then analyse the two viewpoints of the “Yinchu”. In this process, parallel texts of the “Yinchu” occurring in the “Yuelun” and “Yueji” will also be discussed.

#### 4.1.1 Music as an expression of feeling: the diagnostic function of music<sup>206</sup>

The “Yinchu” begins with four stories about the origins of tunes in eastern, southern, western and northern areas.<sup>207</sup>

When Kongjia, a sovereign of Xia, was hunting at Mount Fu in Dongyang, there was a great wind and it became dim and dark. Kongjia, lost and confused, entered a house of a commoner. The owner of the house was about to give birth. Someone said, “[Since] the sovereign comes, it is a lucky day. This son is fairly certain to enjoy extraordinarily good fortune”. Another person said, “[He] will not be able to manage [this fortune]. This son is certain to meet with a misfortune”. The sovereign thereupon brought the baby [with him] when he returned home and said, “[Since I] have made [the baby] my son, who will dare harm him?” The boy grew up to be a man. [One day], a tent jolted and its supporting posts were split [causing] a [falling] ax to chop off his foot. [The son] ended up becoming a gatekeeper. Kongjia sighed, “Alas! Tragedy has befallen [him]. [This] is destiny!” [Kongjia] then composed a song entitled, “Damaging Ax”, which actually became the beginning of the eastern tune.

夏后氏孔甲田于東陽蕢山，天大風晦盲。孔甲迷惑，入于民室。主人方乳。<sup>208</sup> 或曰，“后來是良日也。之子是必大吉”。或曰，“不勝也。之子是必有殃”。后乃取其子以歸，曰，“以爲余子，誰敢殃之？”子長成人。幕動坼橈，斧斫斬其足。遂爲守門者。孔甲曰，“嗚呼！有疾。命矣夫！”乃作爲破斧之歌，實始爲東音。<sup>209</sup>

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<sup>206</sup> Kenneth DeWoskin suggests that music can be used for diagnostic purposes because music is “a spontaneous expression of public sentiment or barometer of the spiritual condition of the people”. In addition, DeWoskin distinguishes between music as “a spontaneous expression of public sentiment” and music as “an instrument of moral education”. DeWoskin, *A Song for One or Two*, 29. I use “diagnostic” with a similar meaning to that suggested by DeWoskin, and two perceptions of music I will discuss in chapter 4 coincide with the two types of music DeWoskin suggests.

<sup>207</sup> The following four passages are from *Lüshi chunqiu*, 48-49.

<sup>208</sup> Interpreting *ru* 乳 as *chan* 產 (to give birth) in accordance with Gao You.

<sup>209</sup> Kongjia is the fourteenth generation descendant of Yu 禹. According to the *Zhushu jinian* 竹書紀年 (Bamboo Annals), Kongjia went hunting to Mount Fu in the third year of his reign, and composed the eastern tune in the fifth year. Wang Guowei, *Jinben zhushu jinian shuzheng*, 314. Since a newborn baby cannot be an adult person in two years, the “Yinchu” and *Zhushu jinian* do not correspond to each other regarding the time



When Yu went on [a tour of inspection of] his achievement, he saw a girl of Mount Tu. Without [a ceremony to take her as] wife, Yu [left] for a tour of inspection to the southern area. The girl of Mount Tu thereupon ordered a female servant to wait for Yu at the southern place of Mount Tu. The girl then composed a song that went, “Waiting for a man, ah!” It actually became the beginning of the southern tune. The Dukes of Zhou and of Shao adopted this tune and made “Zhou nan” 周南 (South of Zhou) and “Shao nan” 召南 (South of Shao).

禹行功，見塗山之女。<sup>210</sup> 禹未之遇而巡省南土。<sup>211</sup> 塗山氏之女乃令其妾候禹于塗山之陽。女乃作歌，歌曰，“候人兮猗！”實始作為南音。周公及召公取風焉，以為周南召南。

King Zhao of Zhou led an attack against Chu in person. Xin Yumi, who was tall and very strong, was on the king's right. On the way back, when they were crossing the Han River, the bridge collapsed. Both the king and duke of Cai fell into the Han River. Xin Yumi helped the king cross the river to the north. Again, he went back and saved the duke of Cai. Duke of Zhou then enfeoffed Xin Yumi as marquis of Xidi and bestowed a senior dukedom upon him as a reward. When Zhengjia of Yin moved to the western river he still missed his old place, and he actually composed the western tune. The senior duke inherited this tune and resided in the western mountain. Duke Mu of Qin adopted this style and it actually became the beginning of the tune of Qin.

周昭王親將征荊。辛餘靡長且多力，為王右。還反涉漢梁敗。王及蔡公扞於漢中。辛餘靡振王北濟。又反振蔡公。周公乃侯之于西翟，實為長公。<sup>212</sup> 殷整甲徙宅西河，猶思故處，實始作為西音。<sup>213</sup> 長公繼是音以處西

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when these events occurred.

<sup>210</sup> Tushan 塗山 indicates either the name of a mountain according to Du Yu's annotation on the *Zuo zhuan* in *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 730 and 1009 or the name of a country according to Kong Anguo's annotation on the *Shangshu* in *Shangshu zhengyi*, 69. I follow Du Yu's annotation because of the phrase *Tushan zhi yang* 塗山之陽; *yang* indicates the southern side of a mountain.

<sup>211</sup> Gao You interprets *yu* 遇 as *li* 禮 (ritual). *Lüshi chunqiu*, 48. Chen Qiyou understands this as a ceremony to take a wife while understanding *yu* as an alternative form for *ou* 偶 (partner). *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi*, 342.

<sup>212</sup> Chen Qiyou reads *shang* 賞 (reward) for *shi* 實 based on Gao You's annotation: “Therefore, [Duke of Zhou] bestowed a senior dukedom on him as a reward.” 故賞之為

山。秦繆公取風焉，實始作爲秦音。

Yousong had two beautiful women. [He] built a terrace of nine tiers for them, and food and drinks were always served with music. The [Supreme] Sovereign ordered a swallow to go and observe them. Its cry sounded like “*yi-ai*”. The two women loved the swallow and competed to catch it. They covered [the swallow] with a jade canister. A little later, [they] opened [the canister] and looked inside it. The swallow, leaving two eggs, flew off to the north, never to return. The two women wrote a song that went, “Swallow, swallow flew away”. It actually became the beginning of the northern tune.

有娥氏有二佚女。爲之九成之臺，飲食必以鼓。帝令燕往視之。鳴若諡隘。二女愛而爭搏之。覆以玉筐。少選，發而視之。燕遺二卵，北飛，遂不反。二女作歌一終，曰，“燕燕往飛”。實始作爲北音。

In each story, a certain occurrence happens; this occurrence is related to a certain feeling, and music is supposed to reflect this feeling. For example, the misfortune of the adopted son made Kongjia grief-stricken and the music composed by broken-hearted Kongjia probably sounded sorrowful. In this way, these four stories imply the viewpoint that regards music as an expression of feeling aroused by external situations. If we extend the range of external situations more broadly, it could support the diagnostic function of music. That is, people are affected by social, cultural and political circumstances where they live, and if feelings evoked by these circumstances are reflected in music one can diagnose these circumstances through music, as suggested in the following passage of the “Yinchu”.

[1] In general, musical sound is produced from human *xin*. Once *xin* is stimulated, [this stimulation] moves to musical sound.<sup>214</sup> Musical sound is

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長公。 *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi*, 345. I follow this amendment.

<sup>213</sup> According to the *Zhushu jinian*, Yinjia 胤甲 of Xia 夏 settled in the western river when ascending the throne, and he composed the western tune in the fourth year of his reign. Wang Guowei, *Jinben zhushu jinian shuzheng*, 313. Based on this record, Xu Wenjing 徐文靖 (1667-c.1757) argues that Zhengjia of Yin is a mistake for Yinjia of Xia whereas Xu Weiyu suspects a mistake of the *Zhushu jinian*. Xu Wenjing, *Zhushu tongjian*, 4: 3; Xu Weiyu, *Lüshi chunqiu jishi*, 141.

<sup>214</sup> Interpreting *dang* 蕩 as *dong* 動 (to move) in accordance with Gao You.

achieved from the outside but it is [a result of] transformation inside [*xin*]. [2] Therefore, when listening to [people's] singing one comes to know their customs; when watching customs one comes to know the will [of the ruler]; when observing the will one comes to know his virtue. Prosperity and decline, the worthy and the unworthy, a virtuous man and a petty man, all of these are revealed in music and cannot be hidden. Therefore, it is said that “what is observed from music is profound”.

[1] 凡音者產乎人心者也。感於心則蕩乎音。音成於外而化乎內。[2] 是故聞其聲而知其風，<sup>215</sup> 察其風而知其志，觀其志而知其德。盛衰賢不肖君子小人，皆形於樂，不可隱匿。故曰，“樂之爲觀也深矣”。<sup>216</sup>

The above passage is divided into two parts: the first part describes how musical sound is achieved from *xin*, and the second part describes various characteristics that are discernable from music. According to the first part, music is an expression of what is felt in *xin*. *Xin* is stimulated by certain experiences one may undergo, which results in feeling being aroused. Since sound is made through an expression of feeling, it is said that “sound is achieved from the outside”. However, this expression originates from an internal reaction to an external situation; therefore, it is said that “sound is a result of transformation inside *xin*”. If music is an expression of one's feeling evoked by external situations, music can provide information about these situations as described in the *Zuo zhuan*.

The *Zuo zhuan* records Jizha's 季札 (Prince Zha of Wu 吳, trad. 576-484 BCE) visit to Lu 魯 where Jizha listened to music of the various states under the Zhou 周 (1045-256 BCE). After listening to music of each state, Jizha predicts the destiny of each state and imagines the circumstances of its people. For example, after Jizha listened to the music of Zheng 鄭, he says “Beautiful! [But] it is too intricate. The people cannot endure. [Zheng] will probably be the first [state] to vanish!”<sup>217</sup> Cai Zhongde understands this comment as that Jizha

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<sup>215</sup> Interpreting *feng* 風 as *su* 俗 (custom) in accordance with Gao You.

<sup>216</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 49.

<sup>217</sup> *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 669 (Xiang 29, i.e. 542 BCE): 美哉! 其細已甚。民弗

recognised the cruel political situation of Zheng through its intricate melody.<sup>218</sup> Intricate melody can reveal the cruel political situation as it represents a bitter feeling of the people resulting from their harsh circumstances. If a ruler makes his people unhappy, his rulership will not last long. In this way, music is believed to expose circumstances of the people.<sup>219</sup>

A similar idea can be found in the “Zhiyue” 制樂 (Making Music) chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu*. The “Zhiyue” emphasises the ruler’s ability to improve bad situations which are forewarned by inauspicious signs. In this context, its first passage can be considered to present music as one of the signs that reveal the current situation of a country.<sup>220</sup>

If one wants to observe perfect music, one must go where perfect governance exists. If it is well governed its music is well-made; if it is poorly governed its music is poorly-made. In a disordered age, music becomes slack.

欲觀至樂，必於至治。其治厚者，其樂治厚，其治薄者，其樂治薄。<sup>221</sup> 亂

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堪也。是其先亡乎！

It sounds unconvincing that an exclamation of praise is followed by negative evaluation. Yang Bojun 楊伯峻 (1909-1992) resolves this problem by suggesting that what is beautiful is musical sound and “too intricate” describes lyrics of the song. Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhu*, 1162. On the other hand, Cai Zhongde suggests that beautiful sound can be either positively or negatively evaluated according to its value determined by what is imagined from the sound. Cai Zhongde, *Zhongguo yinyue meixueshi*, 44. Among these two suggestions, the latter seems to correspond to the main argument of this passage: music directly reflects feeling, so feeling can be imagined from music.

<sup>218</sup> Cai Zhongde, *Zhongguo yinyue meixueshi*, 44.

<sup>219</sup> Jizha’s story is also interpreted in relation to Jizha’s “hermeneutic brilliance” that enables him to “discern historical origins and moral potential” in music which “has the power to represent qualities of the distant past”. For example, see Schaberg, *A Patterned Past*, 86-95.

<sup>220</sup> Chen Qiyong interprets 樂 as pleasure and understands this passage as meaning that the sage-like rulers find greatest happiness in their well-governing while the poor rulers indulge in reckless pleasure. *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi*, 353. This can be another possible reading of this passage.

<sup>221</sup> Based on Li Shan’s annotation to the *Wenxuan* where *zhi* 治 in *qi yue zhi hou* 其樂治厚 and *qi yue zhi bo* 其樂治薄 are removed, Bi Yuan suggests the possibility of interpolation of *zhi*. Xiao Tong, *Wen xuan*, 267. Although *zhi* makes the sentence structure less clear, not sure about the interpolation I read it as it is while interpreting *zhi* 治 as *zuo* 作 (make).

世則慢以樂矣。<sup>222</sup>

Whether a country is well governed or not can be recognised by its music as it reflects people's feeling towards governance. Therefore, music can serve as an indicator for governance and the ruler should pay careful attention to this indicator since "inauspicious signs precede disasters. On seeing such signs, if one behaves in a good way, disaster will not happen."<sup>223</sup>

Similar to Jizha's story and the "Zhiyue", the "Yinchu" supports the diagnostic function of music by stating that "one comes to know customs when listening to singing". The "Yinchu" then says that through watching customs one comes to know the will and virtue. The "Yinchu" does not clarify whose will and virtue are under discussion here. One possibility is that they belong to the people.<sup>224</sup> However, if it is the case, the argument becomes problematic because it may suggest that music is expressed differently depending on each person's will and virtue even under the same situation. If musical style depends on each individual person's will and virtue, the diagnostic function of music for the destiny of the country as a whole cannot be expected. Therefore, it might be better to regard the will and virtue as those of the ruler in the context of the "Yinchu" because the ruler assumes an important role in governance. This reading finds support in a passage from the "Shiyin".

Therefore, the musical sound of an orderly age is peaceful and pleasant because its governance is stable. The musical sound of a chaotic age is resentful and angry because its governance is perverse. The musical sound of a doomed country is sad and sorrowful because its governance is dangerous. In general, music is connected with governance and it undergoes changes following the customs. Once customs are arranged, music follows them. Therefore, in an age [well governed] by *dao*, once observing musical sound one realises the customs and once observing governance one realises [how]

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<sup>222</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 49.

<sup>223</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 49 (ch. "Zhiyue"): 妖者，禍之先者也。見妖而爲善，則禍不至。

<sup>224</sup> For example, Knoblock and Riegel translate this passage as that "This explains how one knows the customs of a people from hearing their music. By examining their customs, one knows their intentions. By observing their intentions, one knows their Powers". Knoblock and Riegel, *The Annals of Lü Buwei*, 162.

the ruler [is]. Therefore, the former kings discussed their teaching surely by relying on music.

故治世之音安以樂，其政平也。亂世之音怨以怒，其政乖也。亡國之音悲以哀，其政險也。凡音樂通乎政，而移風平俗者也。<sup>225</sup> 俗定而音樂化之矣。故有道之世，觀其音而知其俗矣，<sup>226</sup> 觀其政而知其主矣。故先王必託於音樂以論其教。<sup>227</sup>

According to the “Yuelun”, music and governance are closely related in that music contributes to successful governance by exerting its edifying effect on the people. Here, their relationship is explained in a different way; they are closely related because music expresses people’s feeling which is under the influence of governance. For example, if a country is well governed its people feel peaceful and pleasant and these feelings are accordingly expressed in their music. In this way, music can expose a political situation, and the “Shiyin” argues that this political situation reveals what the ruler is like. Therefore, music can be said to have a function to evaluate the ruler. Since music reveals whether the ruler governs his country well or not, the former kings could examine the result of their

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<sup>225</sup> Reading *feng hu su* 風乎俗 for *yifeng pingsu* 移風平俗. According to Sun Shucheng, *yi* 移 was interpolated following the “Yueji” and *ping* 平 is a misreading resulting from graphic similarity to the particle *hu* 乎. He argues that *tong hu zheng* 通乎政 and *feng hu su* 風乎俗 make a parallel, and *feng* 風 which was interpreted as *hua* 化 (transform) by Gao You cannot be paralleled with *su* 俗. Sun Shucheng, “*Lüshi chunqiu juzheng*”, 411.

Without amendment, this phrase hinders a smooth flow of argument. That is, right before this phrase, the “Shiyin” argues that “music is connected with governance” and the ground for this argument lies in that “the music of an orderly age is peaceful and pleasant because its governance is stable”. In addition, right after this phrase, the “Shiyin” advocates the diagnostic function of music. Therefore, *yifeng pingsu* which describes an edifying effect of music makes the argument of the “Shiyin” less consistent. If Sun Shucheng’s amendment is correct, the misreading of *feng hu su* as *yifeng pingsu* can show the emphasis on the edifying effect of music in later period probably influenced by the “Yueji”.

<sup>226</sup> Wang Shumin 王叔岷 (1914-2008) reads *ting* 聽 (to listen) for *guan* 觀. Wang Shumin, *Lüshi chunqiu jiaobu*, 13. In the *Junshu zhiyao* 群書治要 (Important Passages Excerpted from Various Texts), *guan qi su er zhi qi zheng yi* 觀其俗而知其政矣 (once observing the customs one realises governance) is added after this sentence. Wei Zheng et al., *Junshu zhiyao*, 510. Although I do not reflect these amendment and addition in my translation, I think they can make the passage more coherent.

<sup>227</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 42.

governance relying on music and consequently they could elucidate their teaching effectively.

As the “Shiyin” demonstrates, what the ruler is like is one of the aspects that can be identified through music. From this perspective, the will and virtue in the “Yinchu” can be understood as those of the ruler. Once the ruler’s will and virtue are recognised, prosperity or decline of his country is predictable. In addition, the ruler’s will and virtue serve as a criterion for determining whether he is worthy or unworthy and whether he is virtuous or not. In this way, music reveals various aspects from the customs to the ruler; therefore, the “Yinchu” argues that “what is observed from music is profound”.

In sum, music can perform the diagnostic function when it is regarded as a direct expression of feeling. Since feeling is susceptible to political circumstances, music can reveal the personality of the ruler who exerts a substantial influence on governance. This aspect shows another function of music as a governing tool; while the “Yuelun” expects music to edify the people aiming at successful governance, the “Yinchu” expects music to reveal the result of governance for the ruler to examine his own personal conduct.

#### **4.1.2 A shifted viewpoint in the last part of the “Yinchu”: music as an external stimulus**

Up to this point, the main viewpoint of the “Yinchu” is to see music as an expression of feeling. However, the last part of the “Yinchu” cannot be understood properly if viewed from this perspective. In this last part, music is regarded as an external stimulus whose final influence aims at human behaviour, akin to the viewpoint expressed in the “Yuelun”.

If soil is poor, grasses and trees will not grow tall; if water is stirred up, fish and turtles will not grow large; if the age is corrupt, its *li* is unnecessarily complicated and its music is overly sensuous. The sounds of Zheng and Wei and the sounds from mulberry fields are what chaotic countries prefer and what [a ruler whose] virtue is in decline finds pleasant. If unrestrained, deviant, shallow, excessive, uncontrolled and dissolute sounds arise, wildly-moving *qi* and depraved and haughty *xin* are stimulated. [Once they] are stimulated, hundreds of wicked deeds and a host of biased deeds are produced

following them. Therefore, a virtuous person reverts to *dao* to cultivate his virtue; corrects his virtue thereby producing music; makes [his] music harmonious thereby achieving compliance [of the people]. When music is harmonious, the people face towards *dao* 道.<sup>228</sup>

土弊則草木不長，水煩則魚鼈不大，<sup>229</sup> 世濁則禮煩而樂淫。鄭衛之聲，桑間之音，此亂國之所好，衰德之所說。流辟詭越悖濫之音出，則滔蕩之氣邪慢之心感矣。感則百姦衆辟從此產矣。故君子反道以修德，正德以出樂，和樂以成順。樂和而民鄉方矣。<sup>230</sup>

This passage suggests that *li* and music are influenced by circumstances of a country, just like the growth of trees and fish is influenced by soil and water. The statement that music is under the influence of social circumstances can be interpreted in two ways. First, it is because music is a reflection of feeling which is susceptible to circumstances where people live as discussed in 4.1.1. For instance, if people become dissolute under chaotic circumstances, their music also degenerates following this change. However, this interpretation seems unsuited to the context where music is mentioned along with *li*. Unlike music in this interpretation, *li* might not allow the people's involvement; *li* is what is promulgated by the ruler. If we similarly put an emphasis on the ruler in relation to music, the above statement can be understood as that music cannot be properly fostered in a corrupt and chaotic country because the ruler likes to enjoy sensuous music. Virtue cannot be expected from the ruler whose taste lies in sensuous music such as the sounds of Zheng and Wei and the sounds from mulberry

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<sup>228</sup> Interpreting *fang* 方 as *dao* 道 in accordance with Gao You who might follow Zheng Xuan's reading *fang* in the "Yueji" as *dao*. However, neither of these two exegetes provides further explanation about *dao*. *Lüshi chungiu*, 49; *Liji zhengyi*, 680. The "Dayue" chapter perceives *dao* mainly as the holistic principle of the natural world. Based on this meaning, it can be construed that all creatures have their destined way assigned by *dao*. For this reason, here I understand *dao* as "the right way to follow". The meaning of *dao* in the "Dayue" will be discussed below.

<sup>229</sup> Gao You glosses *rao* 擾 as *hun* 渾 (muddy), and based on this annotation, Bi Yuan argues that the original text was *shui rao* 水擾 but it was amended to *shui fan* 水煩 following the "Yueji". *Lüshi chungiu*, 49.

<sup>230</sup> *Lüshi chungiu*, 49.



fields.<sup>231</sup>

The last sentence that goes “when music is harmonious, the people will face toward *dao*” can be understood from this perspective; harmonious music promoted by a virtuous person exerts a positive influence on the people. This sentence sees music as a tool for edification. In this case, music serves as an external stimulus that influences the people with an aim to bring about positive changes in society, as advocated in the “Yuelun”. This shared viewpoint is supported by the fact that the last passage of the “Yinchu” has parallels with the “Yuelun” and “Yueji”. As these parallels are scattered in the “Yuelun” and “Yueji”, I have divided the last passage of the “Yinchu” into four parts for comparison of those parallels.

[1] “Yinchu” 土弊則草木不長，水煩則魚鼈不大，世濁則禮煩而樂淫。

“Yuelun” No parallel.

“Yueji” If soil is poor, grasses and trees will not grow tall; if water is stirred up, fish and turtles will not grow large; if *qi* is weak, living creatures cannot grow; if the age is chaotic, its *li* goes amiss and its

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<sup>231</sup> According to the *Lunyu*, Confucius criticized the sound of Zheng for the reason that it is overly sensuous and it hurts the beauty of elegant music. *Lunyu zhushu*, 137 (LY15.11): “Reject the sound of Zheng and stay away from those who have a silver tongue. The sound of Zheng is overly sensuous and those who have a silver tongue are dangerous.” 放鄭聲，遠佞人。鄭聲淫，佞人殆。 *Lunyu zhushu*, 156 (LY17.18): “I detest purple for displacing vermillion. I detest the sound of Zheng for corrupting refined music. I detest clever talkers for overturning states and families.” 惡紫之奪朱也。惡鄭聲之亂雅樂也。惡利口之覆邦家者。

The “Bensheng” 本生 (Making Life the Foundation) chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu* criticizes the sound of Zheng from a different perspective. The “Bensheng” regards the sounds of Zheng and Wei as an object of desire like a beautiful woman, and its criticism is more focused on overindulgence in music rather than music itself. This viewpoint is akin to those of the “Shiyin” and “Chiyue”. *Lüshi chunqiu*, 12: “Regarding sounds, feminine charms and rich tastes, the sages took them if they benefited their life and they rejected them if they harmed their life. This is the way to keep our life intact. The great majority of noble and wealthy people of today are deluded by sounds, feminine charms and rich tastes. They seek out these things every day and night. If by good fortune they obtain these things, they abandon themselves. If they abandon themselves, how can their life not be damaged? ... Beautiful figure and gleaming teeth and the sounds of Zheng and Wei, one devotes oneself to enjoying them. They are called “axes that hack at one’s life”. 聖人之於聲色滋味也，利於性則取之，害於性則舍之。此全性之道也。世之貴富者，其於聲色滋味也多惑者，日夜求。幸而得之則遁焉。遁焉，性惡得不傷？... 靡曼皓齒，鄭衛之音，務以自樂。命之曰伐性之斧。

music is overly sensuous. 土敝則草木不長，水煩則魚鼈不大，氣衰則生物不遂，世亂則禮慝而樂淫。<sup>232</sup>

[2] “Yinchu” 鄭衛之聲，桑間之音，此亂國之所好，衰德之所說。

“Yuelun” Bewitching and seductive look and the sounds of Zheng and Wei make human *xin* lascivious. 姚冶之容，鄭衛之音，使人之心淫。<sup>233</sup>

“Yueji” The sounds of Zheng and Wei are the sounds of a disordered age. It is comparable to slackness. The sounds from mulberry fields along the Pu River are the sounds of a doomed country. Its governance was disorganized and its people dispersed. Superiors were slandered and private ends were pursued with no possible means of ceasing them. 鄭衛之音，亂世之音也。比於慢矣。桑間濮上之音，亡國之音也，其政散，其民流。誣上行私而不可止也。<sup>234</sup>

[3] “Yinchu” 流辟詭越悖濫之音出，則滔蕩之氣邪慢之心感矣。感則百姦衆辟從此產矣。

“Yuelun” 凡姦聲感人而逆氣應之。逆氣成象而亂生焉。正聲感人而順氣應之。順氣成象而治生焉。<sup>235</sup>

“Yueji” In general, when evil sound stimulates a person, *qi* going against [*dao*] responds to it. When *qi* going against [*dao*] takes a form, overly sensuous music prevails. When refined sound stimulates a person, *qi* going with [*dao*] responds to it. When *qi* going with [*dao*] takes a form, harmonious music prevails. 凡姦聲感人而逆氣應之。逆氣成象而淫樂興焉。正聲感人而順氣應之。順氣成象而和樂興焉。<sup>236</sup>

[4] “Yinchu” 故君子反道以修德，正德以出樂，和樂以成順。樂和而民鄉方矣。

“Yuelun” <Therefore, it is said that music is what is enjoyed. The virtuous person enjoys obtaining *dao* while the petty person enjoys

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<sup>232</sup> *Liji zhengyi*, 679.

<sup>233</sup> *Xunzi jijie*, 381.

<sup>234</sup> *Liji zhengyi*, 663.

<sup>235</sup> *Xunzi jijie*, 381. For translation, see page 79.

<sup>236</sup> *Liji zhengyi*, 679.

satisfying his desire. If desire is regulated by *dao*, [one feels] pleasure without disorder; if *dao* is forgotten because of desire, one becomes confused without pleasure.> Therefore, music is the means of guiding pleasure. [Instruments made of] metal, stone, string, bamboo are the means of guiding virtue. If music is performed the people face towards *dao*. <故曰，樂者，樂也。君子樂得其道，小人樂得其欲。以道制欲，則樂而不亂。以欲忘道，則惑而不樂。> 故樂者，所以道樂也。金石絲竹，所以道德也。樂行而民鄉方矣。<sup>237</sup>

“Yueji” <Same as the “Yuelun”> Therefore, a virtuous person harmonises his will by reflecting on his circumstances, and completes his teaching by performing music widely. If music is performed the people face towards *dao*; [therefore], virtue can be recognised. <故曰，樂者，樂也。君子樂得其道，小人樂得其欲。以道制欲，則樂而不亂。以欲忘道，則惑而不樂。> 是故君子反情以和其志，<sup>238</sup> 廣樂以成其教。樂行而民鄉方，可以觀德矣。<sup>239</sup>

Except one sentence about *qi* being added in the “Yueji”, Part [1] is almost the same between the “Yinchu” and “Yueji”. This part suggests that *li* and music go amiss in a corrupt age and the reason for this is the lack of virtue of the ruler who is in charge of governance, as suggested in part [2] of the “Yinchu”. The parallels of part [2] in the “Yuelun” and “Yueji” do not show clear similarity except for the reference to “the sounds of Zheng and Wei”. However, they at least have shared concern about vulgar music; the “Yinchu” and “Yueji” describe corrupted circumstances of a country where vulgar music prevails and the “Yuelun” describes the negative influence of vulgar music. This negative influence is more clearly suggested in part [3].<sup>240</sup> Part [4] discusses the responsibility of a virtuous person for promoting proper music in order to guide

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<sup>237</sup> *Xunzi jijie*, 382.

<sup>238</sup> The meaning of *fanqing* 反情 will be discussed in 4.2.2.

<sup>239</sup> *Liji zhengyi*, 680.

<sup>240</sup> The way music exerts an influence will be discussed at the end of this section and it is also discussed in 4.2.2 where the concepts of *xin* and *qi* are examined.

the people.<sup>241</sup> These parallels can support the dissimilarity of the last part of the “Yinchu” not only within the “Yinchu” but also within the whole six musical chapters since no other part advocates the edifying effect of music more clearly than this part while sharing many parallels with the “Yuelun” and “Yueji”.<sup>242</sup>

As examined in chapter 3, from the viewpoint of the “Yuelun”, the ruler’s virtue is of importance for the ideal type of music because his virtue is believed to be reflected in music. This idea is also expressed in the “Yinchu” where a virtuous person is expected to assume the responsibility for establishing music. As the requirements to be an establisher of proper music, the “Yinchu” demands that “a virtuous person reverts to *dao* 道 to cultivate his virtue (*de* 德)”. In order to explore this sentence, the meaning of *dao* and its relation to *de* need to be identified. The most detailed explanation about *dao* among the six musical chapters is offered in the “Dayue” chapter.

*Dao* is such that [when we] look for it, it is invisible, and [when we] listen for it, it is inaudible, and it cannot be given a form. Those who understand the visible in the invisible, the audible in the inaudible, and the form of the formless are close to understanding it. *Dao* is extremely profound, for it cannot be given a shape or name. Forced to be given a name, it is called *taiyi* 太一 (Great One).

道也者，視之不見，聽之不聞，不可爲狀。有知不見之見，不聞之聞，無狀之狀者，則幾於知之矣。<sup>243</sup> 道也者，至精也，不可爲形，不可爲名。彊爲之謂之太一。<sup>244</sup>

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<sup>241</sup> As suggested in 2.1 (page 37), although part [4] of the “Yuelun” seemingly sees music as an object of desire, its main focus still lies in the positive function of music, and this suggestion finds support from its parallels in the “Yinchu” and “Yueji” that insist music be rectified or promoted by a virtuous person in order to guide the people.

<sup>242</sup> The “Chiyue” and “Yueji” also share parallel sentences; however, their viewpoints are not the same. See pages 64-67. The “Shiyin” shares parallels with the “Yuelun” and “Yueji”; however, in these parallels, music is not regarded as an edifying tool. See footnote 154.

<sup>243</sup> Wang Shumin reads *zhidao* 知道 for *zhizhi* 知之. *Lüshi chunqiu jiaobu*, 12. Although I am not sure whether *zhi* is a mistake for *dao*, I understand that what *zhi* indicates is *dao*.

<sup>244</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 40.

*Dao* cannot be grasped by sensory organs and can neither be defined as a particular name nor be described as a particular shape because these name and shape are already restricted to a certain concept. The inconceivable and undefinable characteristic of *dao* is also described in the “Tianyun” 天運 (Movement of the Heaven) chapter of the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 (Master Zhuang) and the 25<sup>th</sup> chapter of the *Laozi* 老子 (Master Lao).

You wish to think about it, but you cannot understand it. [You] look it over but you cannot see it. [You] chase it but you cannot reach it.

子欲慮之而不能知也。望之而不能見也。逐之而不能及也。<sup>245</sup>

There was something undifferentiated. It came into existence before Heaven and Earth. Being silent and formless, it stands alone and undergoes no change. It reaches everywhere without danger [of being exhausted]. It may be regarded as the mother of all-under-Heaven. I do not know its name. Compelled to designate it, I would call it *dao*. Compelled to name it, I would call it “the great”.

有物混成。先天地生。寂兮寥兮，獨立不改。周行而不殆。可以為天下母。吾不知其名。強字之曰道。強為之名曰大。<sup>246</sup>

In the “Tianyun”, Beimen Cheng 北門成, after listening to the music of “Xianchi”, expresses his feeling to Huangdi 黃帝, and the above passage, which is regarding the limitation of human faculty, is a response of Huangdi to Beimen Cheng. On the surface, they seem to converse about musical sound but in fact their conversation is regarding *dao* which is compared to musical sound.<sup>247</sup> According to the *Laozi*, what is called “the great” is the mother of all creatures; it

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<sup>245</sup> Wang Shumin, *Zhuangzi jiaoquan*, 513-514.

<sup>246</sup> Chen Guying, *Laozi jinzhu jinyi*, 145.

<sup>247</sup> At the very end of his remark, Huangdi says music enables people to reach *dao*. Wang Shumin, *Zhuangzi jiaoquan*, 516: “Music begins with fear. Being fearful, [one comes to] admire. I again [play music with a view to making people] slack. Being slack, one comes to retreat and finally becomes perplexed. Being perplexed, one becomes foolish. Being foolish, one is [able to adjust oneself] to *dao*. *Dao* is what [I can] ride on and [go] together.” 樂也者，始於懼。懼故崇。吾又次之以怠。怠故遁，卒之於惑。惑故愚。愚故道。道可載而與之俱也。 This remark implies *dao* is likened to music in the “Tianyun”.

came into being earlier than anything else and pervades everywhere keeping itself intact. In short, putting together the three similar passages from the “Dayue”, *Zhuangzi* and *Laozi*, *dao* can be perceived as the unseen principle that governs every phenomenon in the natural world; it cannot be fathomed, nor be defined by human intelligence.

As Sarah Allen suggests, when *dao* is discussed along with *de*, *dao* often indicates the natural course where the myriad things are “so of themselves” and *de* indicates the capacity to act according to *dao*.<sup>248</sup> Although the “Yinchu” does not emphasise being so of themselves, the relationship between *dao* and *de* that Sarah Allen suggests can be similarly applied to the “Yinchu” where *dao* appears to be suggested as the principle on which every individual *de* is based.<sup>249</sup> That is, *dao* is the principle applied to the whole creatures, and *de* represents an individual characteristic which can be acquired by following *dao*.<sup>250</sup>

Based on the above interpretations of *dao* and *de*, the sentence “a virtuous person reverts to *dao* to cultivate his *de*” can be interpreted as meaning that one should practise one’s virtue by following the holistic principle namely *dao*. From this perspective, it can be suggested that a virtuous person, as an establisher of music, is required to enhance his virtue by making his way of behaviour in conformity with *dao*. Music promoted by this accomplished person sounds harmonious, reflecting his personality, and this harmony leads to the compliance of the people, which is a similar argument to the “Yuelun”.

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<sup>248</sup> Allan, *The Way of Water and Sprouts of Virtue*, 102. Allen quotes the definition *de* from Graham, *Disputers of the Tao*, 13.

<sup>249</sup> Nivison indicates the influence of the Jixia 稷下 scholars in Qi 齊 in proposing the particular meaning of *de* which is similar to “being so of themselves”: *de* originating from *dao* makes something “what it is and enables it to function as it ideally should”. Nivison, “*De (Te): Virtue or Power*”, 236. I think *de* in the “Yinchu” has a similarity to this particular meaning in that it is a personal character acquired by following *dao*.

<sup>250</sup> In this sense, I read *de* in the “Yinchu” as one’s virtue or one’s moral character that is achieved by following *dao*. Another interpretation of *de* which was more dominant in its earlier usage focuses on the power to orient others to oneself by conducting virtuous behaviour to them. This meaning is adopted in Arthur Waley’s (1889-1966) translation of *Dao de jing* 道德經 as *The Way and Its Power*. In addition, Nivison investigates the meaning of *de* as moral force and discusses several problems in the concept of *de*. For details, see Nivison, *The Ways of Confucianism*, 17-43.

As with the “Yuelun” where former kings’ music is believed to stimulate virtuous *xin* with no interaction with depraved *qi*, the “Yinchu” mentions wildly-moving *qi* and depraved haughty *xin* when explaining how music exerts negative effects. From the adjectives of *qi* and *xin* in the “Yinchu”, it can be suggested that *qi* is movable material and *xin* is a concept carrying ethical implications. Among the six musical chapters, the last passage of the “Yinchu” is the only passage that advocates the edifying effect of music.<sup>251</sup> The fact that *qi* and *xin* are mentioned in this passage reaffirms the importance of these two concepts in explaining the edifying effect of music. These concepts will be examined in more detail in 4.2.2.

#### **4.2 The way of music influencing feeling and behaviour**

In the previous discussions, as an external stimulus, music served either as an object of desire that provides pleasure or as a means for edifying the people. The way music evokes pleasure can be portrayed from the “Shiyin” where appropriate sound is believed to induce harmony to *xin*. To achieve harmony, not only sound but also *xin* needs to be appropriate because harmony is created through the interaction between sound and *xin*. In other words, their interaction guarantees a positive result only when both sound and *xin* are appropriate. In this way, the “Shiyin” presents appropriateness as a determining factor in evoking pleasure. Then, how can we explain the way music acts as a means for edification? This section will examine this question by exploring the concepts of *xin*, *qi* and *qing*. Before investigating these three concepts, it will show how the “Yueji” addresses a need for external standards in creating music as this may be related to the viewpoint that emphasises the edifying effect of music.

##### **4.2.1 Emphasis on external standards in creating music**

The “former kings” (*xianwang* 先王) is one of the frequently encountered terms in the “Yuelun”.<sup>252</sup> The former kings are presented as the establishers of music, which shows that the “Yuelun” mainly regards music as what is externally

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<sup>251</sup> As discussed above, this last passage does not correspond to the main viewpoint of the “Yinchu”. Because of this inconsistency within the “Yinchu” as well as the uniqueness within the six musical chapters, I cautiously doubt the authenticity of this passage.

<sup>252</sup> The term *xianwang* appears in the “Yuelun” twelve times.

provided rather than what is internally produced. In fact, no discussion about music as an expression of feeling is found in the “Yuelun”; its argument is chiefly made regarding the positive effects of the former kings’ music or it discusses music as an object of desire. The “Yueji” offers a similar perspective about the former kings’ music to the “Yuelun” but it does not exclude the viewpoint which sees music as an expression of feeling.<sup>253</sup>

Among the coexisting two viewpoints, the “Yueji” seems to assign priority to externally provided music by emphasising external standards for music. That is, just as in the “Yinchu”, the “Yueji” describes the process of feeling being expressed in musical sound, but its argument might not aim to advocate music as an expression of feeling because it distinguishes musical sound from sound in general.

In general, musical sound arises from human *xin*. Feeling (*qing* 情) moves inside [*xin*] and thus takes shape in sound. [When] sound forms a pattern, this is called musical sound. Therefore, musical sound of an orderly age is peaceful and pleasant because its governance is harmonious. Musical sound of a disordered age is resentful and angry because its governance is perverse. Musical sound of a doomed country is sorrowful and apprehensive because its people are fatigued. The principle of music is connected with governance.

凡音者生人心者也。情動於中，故形於聲。聲成文，謂之音。是故治世之音安以樂，其政和。<sup>254</sup> 亂世之音怨以怒，其政乖。亡國之音哀以思，其民

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<sup>253</sup> One of the examples where music is perceived as an expression of feeling is as follows. *Liji zhengyi*, 661: “Music is achieved from musical sounds. Its root lies in human *xin* being stimulated by external things. For this reason, if the sorrowful *xin* is stimulated, [one’s] sound becomes hasty and weakening; if the pleasant *xin* is stimulated, [one’s] sound becomes relaxed and leisurely.” 樂者，音之所由生也。其本在人心之感於物也。是故其哀心感者，其聲噍以殺。其樂心感者，其聲曄以綏。

<sup>254</sup> According to Lu Deming 陸德明 (c.550-630), this sentence can be read in three ways. The first reading is suggested in the above translation. The second reading is “Therefore, musical sound of an orderly age is peaceful, and through pleasure its governance is harmonised.” 是故治世之音安，以樂，其政和。 The third reading is “Therefore, musical sound of an orderly age is peaceful because [one] feels happy about the harmonious governance.” 是故治世之音安，以樂其政和。 These three ways of reading are also applicable to the following two sentences. Lu Deming, *Jingdian shiwen*, 769. Since I think this passage regards music as an expression of feeling, I do not follow the second reading. The third reading is also acceptable but I follow the more widely



困。聲音之道與政通矣。<sup>255</sup>

In general, musical sound is what arises from human *xin*. ... Thus, those who understand sound but cannot understand musical sound are beasts.

凡音者生於人心者也。... 是故知聲而不知音者，禽獸是也。<sup>256</sup>

The “Yueji” uses the term *qing* 情 with the meaning of feeling, different from its dominant meaning in pre-Han literature, namely “essential quality”.<sup>257</sup> The “Yueji” seems to emphasise the importance of feeling in making musical sound by conceptualizing feeling with the term *qing*, but this does not necessarily mean that feeling is directly reflected in musical sound because the “Yueji” believes that sound needs to make a pattern before it can be accounted as music. To form a pattern, each sound needs to be arranged following a certain rule.

The emphasis on an orderly form is corroborated by a clear distinction between musical sound (*yin* 音) and sound (*sheng* 聲).<sup>258</sup> If one makes sound without regulation, this sound is not considered musical; it is nothing but mere noise that even animals can make. The necessity for external standards makes it difficult to regard music as a direct expression of feeling, and consequently, the diagnostic function of music is difficult to expect although the above quotation advocates this function while offering parallel lines with the “Shiyin” which was quoted in 4.1.1.<sup>259</sup>

Emphasis on external standards of the “Yueji” is also revealed through a comparison of similar sentences between the “Yueji” and “Yinchu”. After suggesting the diagnostic function of music, the “Yinchu” concluded that “what is

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accepted one.

<sup>255</sup> *Liji zhengyi*, 661.

<sup>256</sup> *Liji zhengyi*, 663.

<sup>257</sup> In the “Yueji”, *qing* is mainly used with this dominant meaning: for example, “the essential quality of *li* and music are the same”. 禮樂之情同. *Liji zhengyi*, 666. However, another more specific meaning of *qing* namely “feeling” is raised in the “Yueji”. These two meanings of *qing* will be discussed in more detail in 4.2.2.

<sup>258</sup> These two terms are not clearly distinguished before the “Yueji”. This aspect will be discussed in 6.1.

<sup>259</sup> See pages 92-93.

observed from music is profound” (*yue zhi wei guan ye shen yi* 樂之爲觀也深矣).<sup>260</sup> A similar sentence occurs in the “Yueji” yet from a different viewpoint.

The principles [regarding] intimate and distant, noble and humble, young and old, male and female are all made to take shape and appear in music. Therefore, it is said that music observes profoundly.

使親疏貴賤長幼男女之理，皆形見於樂。故曰樂觀其深矣。<sup>261</sup>

According to this passage, what is reflected in music is not feeling but the principles that apply to various social relationships. Therefore, in this case, music is regarded as an artificial manifestation of principles rather than a spontaneous expression of feeling. To manifest principles, one needs to make a careful observation about various social phenomena and to deliberate on the principles. This might explain why the “Yueji” argues that “music observes profoundly” instead of saying that “what is observed from music is profound”. In brief, although the “Yueji” mentions feeling as a vital element in producing music, its argument puts more emphasis on externally provided music than internally produced music as it underlines the importance of external standards applied to music by distinguishing musical sound (*yin*) from sound (*sheng*) and by mentioning the principles music should embody.

#### 4.2.2 The concepts of *xin* 心, *qi* 氣 and *qing* 情

Regarding the way music is produced from *xin*, the “Yinchu” said that “once *xin* is stimulated, [this stimulation] moves to musical sound”.<sup>262</sup> In this case, *xin* is under the influence of external situations, and thus music can perform a diagnostic function because it reveals these external situations. In this argument, music is the final outcome produced by external situations. In other words, external situations influence *xin* while evoking feeling and this feeling is finally expressed in music. However, when the effect of music is discussed, music

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<sup>260</sup> See page 90.

<sup>261</sup> *Liji zhengyi*, 678. It was the former kings who made those principles appearing in music according to its previous passage, which makes the connotation of intentionally established music stronger.

<sup>262</sup> See page 89.

occupies a different role: an external stimulus.

As an external stimulus, music is believed to influence *xin* while evoking feeling or influencing behaviour. With its susceptibility to music, *xin* bears a close relation to music and becomes one of the important concepts in the discussion about the effect of music. Similarly, the concept of *qi* is considered crucial because *qi* can be claimed to resonate with musical sound efficiently owing to their similar movements. In addition, as anticipated in the “Yueji”, *qing* is recognised differently depending on whether music is regarded as an expression of feeling or as an external stimulus; direct expression of *qing* is assumed in the former case while the expression of *qing* is supposed to be regulated in the latter case.

In order to support this section’s supposition that the meanings of *xin*, *qi* and *qing* are adjusted in a way conducive to more convincing explanation about the edifying effect of music, I will examine how these three concepts are perceived in pre-Han literature and then narrow down its focus to their meanings in musical discourse.<sup>263</sup>

### ***Xin* 心 (heart/mind)**

According to the “Yuelun”, music easily improves customs by making the people’s *xin* virtuous.

Music is what the sages enjoyed. [Music] can make *xin* of the people good; it deeply stimulates human beings; it easily alters manners and changes customs.

樂者，聖人之所樂也。而可以善民心，其感人深，其移風易俗易。<sup>264</sup>

In this case, *xin* undergoes moral transformation under the influence of music. In

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<sup>263</sup> Regarding the term *xin*, I have examined its usages in the *Xunzi*, *Guanzi*, *Guoyu* and *Zuozhuan* outside musical discourse, and obtained two main meanings that will be discussed below. Regarding the term *qi*, the *Lunyu*, *Zuozhuan*, *Guoyu*, *Guanzi*, *Xunzi*, *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Zhuangzi* have been examined outside musical discourse in order to survey how *qi* is used in relation to the natural world and the body. Among various passages on *xin* and *qi*, those that I think clearly show relevant meanings to the ongoing discussions of this dissertation will be quoted. The usages of *xin* and *qi* in musical discourse will be examined under consideration of this overall survey based on the “Yuelun”, “Yueji” and “Xing zi ming chu”. Regarding the term *qing*, changes in its meaning and connotation will be mainly discussed.

<sup>264</sup> *Xunzi jijie*, 381.

this way, *xin* is endowed with ethical properties in the “Yuelun”, and it is also associated with feeling.

On the whole, the people have a general attitude towards likes and dislikes;<sup>265</sup> if there is no [proper] response of [feelings such as] joy and anger [to a certain situation because of this general attitude], disorder is created. The former kings hated such disorder; they thus cultivated their behaviour and rectified their music, so all-under-Heaven became obedient. Therefore, garments for fasting and mourning and the sounds of lamenting and weeping make human *xin* sad; with armour and helmets on, singing in the ranks makes human *xin* excited. Bewitching and seductive looks and the sounds of Zheng and Wei make human *xin* lascivious. With a sash, neat dress and Zhangfu cap on, dancing the “Shao” and singing the “Wu” make human *xin* dignified. Therefore, a virtuous person would not listen to overly sensuous sound; would not see feminine charm; would not utter vicious remarks. As to these three matters, a virtuous person takes a cautious attitude.

夫民有好惡之情，而無喜怒之應則亂。先王惡其亂也，故脩其行，正其樂，而天下順焉。故齊衰之服，哭泣之聲，使人之心悲。帶甲嬰冑，歌於行伍，使人之心傷。<sup>266</sup> 姚冶之容，鄭衛之音，使人之心淫。紳端章甫，舞韶歌武，使人之心莊。故君子耳不聽淫聲，目不視女色，口不出惡言。此三者，君子慎之。<sup>267</sup>

The above passage emphasises a proper form which helps people develop an appropriate feeling in a certain situation.<sup>268</sup> For example, people are expected to express sadness at a funeral. However, if the chief mourner wears a showy dress

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<sup>265</sup> In this sentence “likes and dislikes” are distinguished from “joy and anger”. Therefore, *qing* might not indicate “feeling” which is more appropriate for “joy and anger”. However, another meaning of *qing* namely “essential quality” is not readily applicable here. With this difficulty, I translate *qing* as “a general attitude” that everyone essentially has.

<sup>266</sup> Reading *ti* 惕, which is semantically close to *dang* 蕩 (excite), for *shang* 傷 based on Yu Yue, *Zhuzi pingyi*, 41.

<sup>267</sup> *Xunzi jijie*, 381.

<sup>268</sup> From this viewpoint, the crucial factor to yield a certain result lies not in individual moral capacity but in external stimuli; even a virtuous man can be badly affected by external stimuli. This might suggest why the “Yuelun” emphasises the edifying effect of music. However, being listed with other outer regulatory forms, music in this passage is not expected to exert an edifying effect.

with heavy make-up, it hinders callers who come to express condolence from feeling sad.<sup>269</sup> The “Yuelun” uses the term *xin* when enumerating several emotional changes; in this case, *xin* is believed to experience various feelings. In brief, the “Yuelun” perceives *xin* as the seat of ethical properties or of feeling.<sup>270</sup> Not only the “Yuelun” but also a variety of other pre-Han texts including the *Zuo zhuan*, *Guoyu* and *Guanzi* use the term *xin* in a similar way.<sup>271</sup>

*Xin* can also be read as the faculty for cognitive activities; this meaning is not discussed in the “Yuelun” but the *Guanzi* and *Zuo zhuan* suggest this meaning.

When born, the eye sees, the ear listens and *xin* contemplates.

生而目視耳聽心慮。<sup>272</sup>

If the ear cannot listen to the harmony of the five sounds, it is [the same as] deafness. If the eye cannot discern the beauty of the five colours, it is [the same as] blindness. If *xin* cannot follow virtue and righteousness, it is obstinacy. If the mouth cannot say sincere and faithful words, it is deceit.

耳不聽五聲之和爲聾。目不別五色之章爲昧。心不則德義之經爲頑。口不道忠信之言爲囂。<sup>273</sup>

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<sup>269</sup> Based on this passage, it can be assumed that one of the ways of achieving order from the viewpoint of the “Yuelun” is to make people express appropriate feeling to a certain situation.

<sup>270</sup> Janghee Lee argues that *xin* has two meanings in Xunzi’s philosophy: the faculty of self-governance and a bodily organ as the seat of desires and emotions. According to Lee, the former meaning is employed “in a technical, philosophical sense” only in the “Tianlun”, “Lilun”, “Zhengming” and “Jiebi” chapters where Xunzi’s crucial arguments are developed while the latter is used in other chapters “in nontechnical, ordinary ways that had currency in the late Warring States period”. Lee, *Xunzi and Early Chinese Naturalism*, 36-37.

*Xin* as “the seat of ethical properties or of feeling” that I suggest as the meaning of *xin* in the “Yuelun” is akin to Janghee Lee’s second definition of *xin*. Apart from this meaning, the “Yueji” seems to understand *xin* as the faculty for cognitive activities which enables *xin* to perceive external stimuli. This faculty differs from what Janghee Lee suggests in that *xin* perceives rather mechanically. *Xin* as the faculty for cognitive activities will be discussed later in this section.

<sup>271</sup> For example, *tan xin* 貪心 (greedy *xin*), *yin xin* 淫心 (lascivious *xin*), *zhamou zhi xin* 詐謀之心 (deceitful and conspiring *xin*), *hao xin* 好心 (favouring *xin*) and *yuyuan zhi xin* 鬱怨之心 (disgruntled and resentful *xin*).

<sup>272</sup> Fang Xuanling (annotation), *Guanzi*, 135 (ch. “Shuidi” 水地 (Water and Earth)).

<sup>273</sup> *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 258 (Xi 24, i.e. 636 BCE).

While the eye takes charge of seeing and the ear takes charge of listening, *xin* takes charge of contemplating. In addition, just as the sensory organs discern aesthetic value, *xin* is supposed to recognise virtue and righteousness. Although the function of *xin* is often described along with those of sensory organs, *xin* is distinguished from them as described in the *Guanzi* and *Xunzi*.

*Xin* occupies the status of the ruler in the body. The tasks of the nine apertures correspond to the divided [duties] of officials. If *xin* is in its right way the nine apertures follow the principle.

心之在體，君之位也。九窺之有職，官之分也。心處其道，九窺循理。<sup>274</sup>

Do not disturb the bodily organs because of external things; do not disturb *xin* because of the bodily organs.

無以物亂官，毋以官亂心。<sup>275</sup>

The ear, eye, nose, mouth, body, each [operates by] contacting [external things], but [their functions] are not interchangeable; they are called “the organs [given by] Heaven”. *Xin* is located in the central space and governs the five organs; it is called “the ruler [entitled by] Heaven”.

耳目鼻口形能，<sup>276</sup> 各有接而不相能也，夫是之謂天官。心居中虛以治五官，夫是之謂天君。<sup>277</sup>

When *xin* is not employed, then although black and white are in front of [the eye] the eye cannot see them. Although the drums are sounding loudly like thunder by the side of [the ear], the ear cannot hear them.

心不使焉，則白黑在前，而目不見。雷鼓在側，而耳不聞。<sup>278</sup>

The successful functions of the sensory organs depend on *xin* since *xin* governs them just like the ruler supervises ministers. The function of *xin* is not restricted to governing physical senses; as implied in the ethical properties of *xin*,

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<sup>274</sup> *Guanzi*, 125 (ch. “Xinshu shang” 心術上 (The Function of *Xin*, part 1)).

<sup>275</sup> *Guanzi*, 128 (ch. “Xinshu xia” 心術下 (The Function of *Xin*, part 2)).

<sup>276</sup> Reading *neng* 能 as *tai* 態 (appearance) in accordance with Wang Xianqian.

<sup>277</sup> *Xunzi jijie*, 309 (ch. “Tianlun” 天論 (Discourse on Heaven)).

<sup>278</sup> *Xunzi jijie*, 387 (ch. “Jiebi” 解蔽 (Dispelling Blindness)).

it is also involved in self-cultivation which is particularly supported in the *Xunzi*.

Human *xin* is compared to water in a basin. If [the basin] is placed upright without movement, the muddy sediment is on the bottom, and [the water] on top is clear and bright enough to see sideburns and eyebrows and to examine the lines on the face. [However], if a slight wind passes over it, the muddy sediment is stirred up from the bottom and the clarity and brightness at the top is disturbed; then, it is impossible to obtain the correct impression of the general appearance. *Xin* is just the same. Therefore, if it is led by the principle and nurtured with clarity without external things making it tilt, then it is adequate to determine right and wrong and to resolve dubiety and doubt. [However], if a small thing attracts it, then its correctness is altered from the outside and *xin* is tilted inside; then, it is inadequate to decide various principles.

人心譬如槃水。正錯而勿動，則湛濁在下，而清明在上，則足以見鬢眉而察理矣。微風過之，湛濁動乎下，清明亂於上，則不可以得大形之正也。心亦如是矣。故導之以理，養之以清，物莫之傾，則足以定是非，決嫌疑矣。小物引之，則其正外易，其心內傾，則不足以決庶理矣。<sup>279</sup>

*Xin* takes charge of determining right and wrong and resolving doubts; however, this function cannot be performed without an effort to nurture *xin*. In this way, *xin* is suggested as an object to which self-cultivation is oriented.

In brief, as the faculty for cognitive activities, *xin* takes charge of governing sensory organs, or it is involved in moral cultivation especially in the *Xunzi*. However, as far as the “Yuelun” chapter is concerned, *xin* does not have this meaning. It is the “Yueji” that mentions *xin* in relation to cognitive activity.

On the whole, people inherently possess blood, *qi* and perceptiveness of *xin*; however, there is no constancy of sorrow, pleasure, delight and anger. Their response and stimulation are triggered by external things and [then] they move. After [this move], the function of *xin* is recognised.<sup>280</sup> For this reason, if the will [of the ruler] is weak, then hasty and weakening sound is produced,

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<sup>279</sup> *Xunzi jijie*, 401 (ch. “Jiebi”).

<sup>280</sup> I understand “move” as the arousal of feeling which is caused by music. Since feeling is evoked by music, we can recognise the function of music when feeling is aroused. For this reason, I translate *xing* 形 as “being recognised”.

and [as a result] people become pensive and worried.

夫民有血氣心知之性，<sup>281</sup> 而無哀樂喜怒之常。應感起物而動。然後心術形焉。是故志微噍殺之音作，而民思憂。<sup>282</sup>

[A virtuous person] does not let negligent, indolent, depraved and deviant *qi* occupy his body, thereby letting all his ears, eyes, nose, mouth, perceptiveness of *xin* and various parts of the body follow what is upright and [thus letting him] practice the righteousness.

惰慢邪辟之氣不設於身體，使耳目鼻口心知百體皆由順正以行其義。<sup>283</sup>

According to the above quotations, *xinzhi* 心知 (perceptiveness of *xin*) is regarded as a natural capacity or inherent quality (*xing* 性) and it is susceptible to external stimuli including *qi*.<sup>284</sup> Various emotional phenomena can occur because *xin* has an ability to perceive external things. Music is regarded as one of the external stimuli that are perceived by *xin*, and as a result of this perception, feeling is evoked. Being a natural capacity, the function of *xin* appears to proceed spontaneously, and considering the same response of the people to musical sound, the response of *xin* seems to be the same regardless of individual differences as long as the same stimulus is given.

The function of contemplating does not seem to be considered as *xin*'s faculty in the “Yueji”; *xin* simply responds to external stimuli mechanically. For this reason, instead of emphasising the cultivation of *xin*, the “Yueji” argues that negligent and depraved *qi* should be prevented from affecting the body. It is not

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<sup>281</sup> With Zheng Xuan's reading *zhi* 知 (know/be aware of) as *zhi* 智 (wisdom/intelligence), *xinzhi* 心知 is usually regarded as the same as *xinzhi* 心智. However, my understanding of *xinzhi* 心知 in this passage focuses more on *xin*'s ability to perceive (知) things rather than its wisdom or intelligence (智).

<sup>282</sup> *Liji zhengyi*, 677.

<sup>283</sup> *Liji zhengyi*, 679.

<sup>284</sup> *Xing* 性 is often translated as “human nature”. Opposing the static implication of human nature, Roger Ames argues that “*Xing* denotes a human capacity for radical changeability that is qualitatively productive” especially in the context of the *Mengzi*. Ames, “The Mencian Conception of *Ren xing*”, 152-153. However, Ames's Mencian concept of *xing* does not seem to be applicable to the “Yueji”. I read *xing* as natural capacity or inherent quality neither with implication of dynamic changes nor with moral value.



*xin* but external stimuli that determine the outcome of *xin*'s response. A similar argument to the "Yueji" regarding *xin*'s response to an external stimulus is observable in the "Xing zi ming chu" 性自命出 (*Xing* is decreed by fate), one of the bamboo slip texts from the Guodian 郭店 tomb which dates back to around mid fourth to early third century BCE.<sup>285</sup> However, unlike the "Yueji", the "Xing zi ming chu" seems to suggest the cultivation of *xin*.

Although people possess the inherent quality, *xin* does not have a fixed direction. After waiting for an external thing it becomes active; after feeling joyous it moves;<sup>286</sup> after practising it has a fixed [direction].

凡人雖有性，心亡奠志。<sup>287</sup> 待物而後作，待悅而後行，待習而後奠。<sup>288</sup>

According to the "Xing zi ming chu", the function of *xin* seems to depend more on practice than an external stimulus. From the viewpoint of the "Xing zi ming chu", the direction of *xin*'s reaction is not fixed originally. The unfixed direction of *xin* suggests that this reaction proceeds spontaneously depending on external stimuli, similar to the viewpoint of the "Yueji". However, the "Xing zi ming chu" seems to suggest that this spontaneous reaction can be cultivated since it says *xin* comes to have a fixed direction through practice.

Now, the direction depends on the condition of *xin*. This implies that self-cultivation is more emphasised in the "Xing zi ming chu" compared to the "Yueji" since the "Yueji" highlights the necessity for the former kings' music to be performed in order to guide people who are subject to external stimuli. In brief, it can be suggested that the "Yueji" emphasises a decent external stimulus while the "Xing zi ming chu" emphasises a decent state of *xin*; this difference can be interpreted as meaning that the "Yueji" puts more emphasis on the proper type of

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<sup>285</sup> Wang Chuanfu and Tang Xuefeng, "Jingmen Guodian yi hao Chu mu", 47.

<sup>286</sup> This sentence can be understood as that if one does not feel happy the inherent capacity of humans cannot be activated. This viewpoint is reminiscent of the "Shiyin" that argues if *xin* does not feel happy one does not want to enjoy objects of desire even though they are right around him.

<sup>287</sup> Interpreting *dian* 奠 as *ding* 定 (fixed) in accordance with Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭. *Jingmenshi bowuguan, Guodian Chu mu zhujian*, 182.

<sup>288</sup> *Guodian Chu mu zhujian*, 179.

music while the “Xing zi ming chu” on self-cultivation.<sup>289</sup>

In sum, *xin* has two main meanings in pre-Han texts: on the one hand, it represents the seat of ethical properties or of feeling, and on the other hand it is the faculty for governing sensory organs or for self-cultivation. In musical discourse, *xin* usually indicates the first meaning; in the “Yinchu”, “Yuelun” and “Yueji”, *xin* reacts to musical sound, which results in arousing feeling or affecting behaviour. However, this meaning is also carried by the concept of *qi* as suggested by *shun qi* 順氣 (submissive *qi*), *ni qi* 逆氣 (resistant *qi*), *xiewu zhi qi* 邪汙之氣 (depraved and corrupt *qi*) in the “Yuelun”. Moreover, *qi* has a more advantageous property than *xin* in resonating with music since *qi* and musical sound make similar physical movement.

The latter meaning of *xin* in pre-Han texts is hardly discussed in musical discourse. Instead, the faculty of *xin* seems restricted to the ability to perceive external stimuli, and this function of *xin* appears to be a later perception since the six musical chapters and “Yuelun” do not use *xin* with this meaning. Considering the shared semantic area between *xin* and *qi*, it can be suggested that the concept of *qi* contributes to this latter meaning of *xin*, namely the faculty of perceiving external stimuli, gaining currency in musical discourse.

### ***Qi* 氣 (vital force, ether)**

In chapter 3, *qi* was suggested as one of the factors that enabled music to claim its exclusive functions. For example, only music could resonate with *qi* and this ability distinguished music from all other objects of desire; through the resonance with *qi*, only music could enhance the operation of the natural world. In addition, only music was believed to have specific correspondences with *qi*, which made it easier to explain how order or disorder results from music; according to the “Yuelun”, order is achieved because refined sound stimulates *qi* which is in accordance with *dao*. In short, *qi* was involved in two main functions of music: enhancing the operation of the natural world and edifying human behaviour. An investigation into the concept of *qi* in pre-Han texts will elucidate

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<sup>289</sup> Regarding the emphasis on self-cultivation of the “Xing zi ming chu”, see footnote 322.

how this concept is discussed in relation to these two functions of music.

According to the *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (Explaining the Graphs and Analysing the Characters), the meaning of *qi* 氣 was “to present grains and rice to guests and this character was derived from *mi* 米 (rice) with *qi* 气 as a phonetic determinative”.<sup>290</sup> This meaning can suggest a relation to the usage of *qi* as “the breath and other energies of the body” if rice is understood as a source for bodily function.<sup>291</sup> However, as *qi* 氣 was borrowed for *qi* 气 (clouds), *shi* 食 (food) was added to *qi* 氣 forming *xi* 饌 (to present food) to denote its earlier meaning.<sup>292</sup> *Qi* 氣 as an alternate form for *qi* 气 suggests a relation to another usage of *qi*, namely cloudy ether spreading over the natural world.<sup>293</sup>

The former meaning of *qi*, vital force of the body, is observable in the *Guoyu* where sound and taste are believed to generate *qi*, and five tastes are believed to strengthen *qi*.<sup>294</sup> In addition, *qi* is considered essential in sustaining life.<sup>295</sup> In this case, *qi* is regarded as a substance related to the body. The term *xueqi* 血氣 (blood and *qi*) suggests this meaning since *qi* is supposed to be a physical material inherently preserved in the body just like blood. This term occurs in a variety of texts including the *Zuo zhuan*, *Guoyu*, *Guanzi*, *Zhuangzi*, *Lüshi chunqiu*, as well as the *Xunzi* and “Yueji”. In particular, the *Xunzi* mentions this term more than any other texts. In the *Xunzi*, *qi* as a physical substance is contrasted with mental aspects, but its influence seems extended to the mental area.

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<sup>290</sup> *Shuowen jiezi*, 148: 氣, 饋客芻米也。从米气聲。

<sup>291</sup> A. C. Graham indicates that *qi* mainly has this meaning outside cosmology. Graham, *Yin-Yang and the Nature of Correlative Thinking*, 71.

<sup>292</sup> Qiu Xigui, *Chinese Writing*, 330.

<sup>293</sup> According to Qiu Xigui, *qi* 氣 has been consistently borrowed for *qi* 气 from the Han onwards. *Chinese Writing*, 330.

<sup>294</sup> *Guoyu*, 3: 125: 聲味生氣; *Guoyu*, 2: 65: 五味實氣。

<sup>295</sup> For example, the *Guanzi* says “If there is *qi* one lives; if there is no *qi* one dies”. 有氣則生，無氣則死。 *Guanzi*, 44 (ch. “Shuyan” 樞言 (Cardinal Sayings)). In addition, the *Zhuangzi* says “Human life is the accumulation of *qi*. If *qi* is accumulated one lives; if *qi* is scattered one dies”. 人之生，氣之聚也，聚則爲生散則爲死。 Wang Shumin, *Zhuangzi jiaoquan*, 807 (ch. “Zhi bei you” 知北遊 (Knowledge Travels North)).

Blood, *qi* and muscular power are subject to decay; as for wisdom, contemplative power and [the ability to decide whether to] take or reject, they are not.

血氣筋力則有衰，若夫智慮取舍則無衰。<sup>296</sup>

Blood and *qi* are harmonious and balanced; will and intention are broad and wide; righteous conduct fills up every space between Heaven and Earth.

血氣和平，志意廣大，行義塞於天地之間。<sup>297</sup>

The essence of blood and *qi*, and the flowering of will and intention, only after obtaining them do the people live in comfort and only after obtaining them do all-under-Heaven become peaceful.

血氣之精也，志意之榮也，百姓待之而後寧也，天下待之而後平也。<sup>298</sup>

In general, when using blood and *qi*, will and intention, wisdom and contemplative power, if one follows *li* they are well governed; if one does not follow *li* they become chaotic, disorderly, dilatory and negligent.

凡用血氣志意知慮，有禮則治通，不由禮則勃亂提優。<sup>299</sup>

As a bodily substance, *qi* belongs to the same category with muscular power while being distinguished from wisdom and contemplative power. However, it seems that the condition of *qi* directly affects one's will and intention on which one's righteous conduct depends. In addition, not only will and intention but also blood and *qi* are considered crucial in achieving tranquility of all-under-Heaven. For this reason, along with wisdom and contemplative power, *qi* is supposed to be regulated on the basis of *li*. In this way, although *qi* is regarded as a physical substance of the body, its connotation is not only restricted to the physical aspect; by creating favourable conditions for stabilizing one's mental state which is essential to virtuous behaviour, *qi* also carries an ethical implication.<sup>300</sup>

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<sup>296</sup> *Xunzi jijie*, 333 (ch. “Zhenglun” 正論 (Rectifying Theses)).

<sup>297</sup> *Xunzi jijie*, 234 (ch. “Jundao” 君道 (On the Way of a Lord)).

<sup>298</sup> *Xunzi jijie*, 474 (ch. “Fu” 賦 (Rhyme-Prose Poems)).

<sup>299</sup> *Xunzi jijie*, 22-23 (ch. “Xiushen” 修身 (Self-Cultivation)). Interpreting *ti* 提 as *shuhuan* 舒緩 (dilatory) in accordance with Wang Xianqian.

<sup>300</sup> The *Zuo zhuan* also shows this ethical implication; for example, it says “*qi* is

This aspect is supported by ethical properties attached to the concept of *qi*. For example, the *Guanzi* describes as follows.

If depraved *qi* comes into [the body], the original complexion fades away.

邪氣入內，正色乃衰。<sup>301</sup>

When good *qi* moves towards people, they feel intimate like brothers. When evil *qi* moves towards people it is more detrimental than arms.

善氣迎人，親如兄弟。惡氣迎人，害於戈兵。<sup>302</sup>

The “Yueji” more clearly suggest the ethical implication of *qi* by using the terms such as *tiaochang zhi qi* 條暢之氣 (hasty and indocile *qi*) and *duoman xiepi zhi qi* 惰慢邪僻之氣 (negligent, indolent, depraved and deviant *qi*).<sup>303</sup>

The latter meaning of *qi*, namely cloudy ether spreading over the natural world, is expressed in various words such as *tianqi* 天氣 (*qi* of the sky), *diqu* 地氣 (*qi* of the earth), *fengqi* 風氣 (*qi* of wind), *tuqi* 土氣 (*qi* of soil) and *wuqi* 霧氣 (*qi* of fog). In addition, warmth and cold, dryness and wetness are called *qi*: *nuanqi* 煖氣, *hanqi* 寒氣, *zaoqi* 燥氣, *shiqi* 濕氣. Since *qi* permeates the natural world forming the sky, earth, wind as well as diverse physical properties, musical sound transmitting through the vibration of the air might be readily believed to affect the operation of the natural world through its resonance with *qi*.<sup>304</sup>

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activated by taste, and the will is strengthened by *qi*”. 味以行氣，氣以實志。 *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 781 (Zhao 9, i.e. 533 BCE). In addition, the close relation between *qi* and will (*zhi* 志) is suggested in the *Mengzi*; for example, the *Mengzi* says “If the will is unified it moves *qi* and if *qi* is unified it moves the will. Now what stumbles or runs is *qi* and it on the contrary moves *xin*”. 志壹則氣動，氣壹則動志也。今夫蹶者趨者，是氣也，而反動其心。 *Mengzi zhengyi*, 197 (2A.2).

<sup>301</sup> *Guanzi*, 12 (ch. “Xingshi” 形勢 (Situations)).

<sup>302</sup> *Guanzi*, 129 (ch. “Xinshu xia”).

<sup>303</sup> Regarding the adjectives of *qi* in musical discourse, negative meanings outnumber positive ones, which might suggest that warning against the negative consequences of music was widely recognised before the positive effect of music moved into the main subject of musical discourse.

<sup>304</sup> This aspect is illustrated in the “Guyue” and *Guoyu* as examined in chapters 2 and 3. See pages 39-41 and 75-76. The “Dayue” also suggests resonance between musical

Apart from the individual kinds of *qi* such as *tianqi* and *diqu*, *qi* is also involved in a diverse range of phenomena according to the *Zuo zhuan*; six *qi* consist of *yin*, *yang*, wind, rain, darkness and brightness, and they are the cause of flavours, colours, sounds, disease and the four seasons.<sup>305</sup> Moreover, *qi* is believed to form feelings; for example, the *Zuo zhuan* says “The people have likes and dislikes, joy and anger, sorrow and pleasure which are generated from six *qi*”,<sup>306</sup> and similarly the *Guanzi* says “Likes and dislikes, joy and anger, sorrow and pleasure are the changes in life. ... [Therefore, the sage] controlled the changes of six *qi* to be proper”.<sup>307</sup>

The “Xing zi ming chu” also supports the idea that feeling consists of *qi* and it suggests a reason why a certain kind of music arouses a certain kind of feeling.

*Qi* of delight, anger, sorrow and sadness are inherent [to humans]. The exposure [of *qi*] on the outside results from external things taking them out. The inherent quality [of humans] is decreed by fate and fate is sent down from Heaven. The way [of humans] originates from *qing* 情 and *qing* is produced from the inherent quality.<sup>308</sup>

喜怒哀悲之氣，性也。及其見于外，則物取之也。性自命出，命自天降。

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sound and *qi* in the natural world, which will be discussed in chapter 5.

<sup>305</sup> *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 708-709 (Zhao 1, i.e. 541 BCE): “Heaven has six *qi*. When they descend they become five flavours; when they are expressed they become five colours; when they are manifested they become five sounds; when they are excessive six diseases occur. Six *qi* are *yin*, *yang*, wind, rain, dark and bright. When they are divided they become the four seasons; when they are ordered they become five distinctions; when they are immoderate, disaster happens. Excessive *yin* [causes] a chill; excessive *yang* [causes] a fever.” 天有六氣，降生五味，發爲五色，徵爲五聲，淫生六疾。六氣曰，陰陽風雨晦明也。分爲四時，序爲五節，過則爲蓄。陰淫寒疾，陽淫熱疾。

As examined in chapter 2, *yin* and *yang* were separated from six *qi* and came to represent two main *qi*. Regarding this aspect, see footnote 93.

<sup>306</sup> *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 891 (Zhao 25, i.e. 515 BCE): 民有好惡喜怒哀樂，生于六氣。

<sup>307</sup> *Guanzi*, 94 (ch. “Jie” 戒 (Admonitions)): 好惡喜怒哀樂，生之變也。... 御正六氣之變。

<sup>308</sup> The meaning of *qing* in this sentence will be discussed below.

道始於情，情生於性。<sup>309</sup>

In general, only when sound emanates from feeling is it faithful, its entering and influencing human *xin* is profound. When one hears sound of laughter, [one feels] fresh; this is delight. When one hears singing and chanting, [one feels] rejoiced; this is excitement.

凡聲其出於情也信，然後其入拔人之心也敏。<sup>310</sup> 聞笑聲，則鮮如也斯喜。聞歌謠，則盍如也斯奮。<sup>311</sup>

When discussing the concept of *xin* in the “Xing zi ming chu”, we have examined that *xin* becomes active when an external thing arrives.<sup>312</sup> The first quotation can suggest the way *xin* becomes active in more detail. For example, if sound is given as an external stimulus, sound interacts with *qi* which according to the above quotation constitutes each feeling such as delight, anger, sadness and sorrow.<sup>313</sup> In this case, *xin* can be regarded as a place where *qi* and sound interact.<sup>314</sup> Therefore, a more direct relation to feeling lies in *qi* than *xin*. This *qi* can be called “potential feeling” in that it has yet to be expressed. The expression of potential feeling depends on an external thing. Similar to a musical instrument that cannot make a sound without being touched, people cannot activate potential feeling without a stimulus from the outside.<sup>315</sup>

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<sup>309</sup> *Guodian Chu mu zhujian*, 179.

<sup>310</sup> Interpreting *gou* 敏 as *hou* 厚 (profound) in accordance with Qiu Xigui. *Guodian Chu mu zhujian*, 182.

<sup>311</sup> *Guodian Chu mu zhujian*, 180.

<sup>312</sup> See page 112.

<sup>313</sup> *Qi* interacts with sound according to the “Xing zi ming chu” while *xin* interacts with sound according to the “Yuelun”.

<sup>314</sup> It seems that the location of *qi* is narrowed down from the body according to the “Yuelun” to *xin* according to the “Xing zi ming chu” as the distinction between the functions of *qi* and *xin* becomes clear in the “Xing zi ming chu”.

<sup>315</sup> *Guodian Chu mu zhujian*, 179: “Instruments made of metal and stone have [their own] sound, [but] if they are not struck they cannot make a sound. Although humans have the inherent quality and *xin*, if [external things] do not take [*qi* of feeling], [feeling] cannot be expressed.” 金石之有聲[也。弗鉤不鳴也]。雖有性心弗取不出。

The six characters in parenthesis are unidentifiable. I follow Pu Maozuo’s 濮茅左 suggestion which is based on the parallel in the “Xing qing lun” 性情論 (Discourse on *xing* and *qing*), one of the bamboo slip texts possessed by the Shanghai Museum. Ma

Music serves as one of the external stimuli, and its effectiveness in evoking a particular feeling can be suggested as follows. In the second quotation, music from *xin* and music to *xin* are closely related because it says when sound faithfully reflects feeling its influence on *xin* is profound. According to this sentence, people's feeling is transmitted through the medium of sound, and this role of sound seems to be based on the resonance between sound and *qi* of feeling. In other words, acting as an external stimulus, sound selects the same *qi* from which it originated; sound emanating from a certain kind of feeling and the feeling evoked by this sound share the same kind of *qi*. This particular selection can explain the specific correspondences between sound and feeling; a hasty and weakening sound makes people pensive and worried because they share the same *qi*.<sup>316</sup>

If the “Xing zi ming chu” connects music and feeling on the basis of *qi* of feeling, the “Yuelun” and “Yueji” connect music and behaviour on the basis of ethical value of *qi*. That is, according to the “Yuelun”, the former kings’ music, beyond the function to evoke feeling, guides the people to the right way, and this function can be more convincingly explained if both music and *qi* retain ethical value. As examined in chapter 3, the “Yuelun” and “Yueji” describe musical sound with adjectives which suggest personality, and as examined above, *qi* is also understood from an ethical viewpoint. If music and *qi* have the same ethical value, it might be easier to claim that they resonate. For example, it is argued that depraved and corrupt *qi* cannot be activated by the former kings’ music; similarly, only refined music resonates with *qi* which is in accordance with *dao*.<sup>317</sup>

In brief, the concept of *qi* is not discussed only as a physical substance; this concept is often discussed from an ethical perspective and it is also closely related to feeling. Ethical implications and the meaning of feeling are also delivered by the concept of *xin*. Because of this shared semantic area, it is supposed that *xin*

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Chengyuan, *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu* vol. 1, 225.

<sup>316</sup> External stimuli for evoking feeling are not only restricted to musical sound. As shown in the second quotation, sound of laughter can also evoke feeling. As long as they reflect feeling faithfully, they seem to be believed to act as a conveyor of *qi*.

<sup>317</sup> 使夫邪汙之氣無由得接焉；正聲感人而順氣應之。For translation, see page 34 and page 79.



came to be used with a different meaning in musical discourse. For example, in the “Yueji” where *qi* carries ethical implications, *xin* is presented as a perceiving organ, and in the “Xing zi ming chu” where *qi* is believed to form feeling, *xin* is presented as a perceiving organ and also as a place where music and *qi* of feeling interact.

### ***Qing* 情 (essential quality, feeling)**

A. C. Graham (1919-1991) suggests that in pre-Han literature, *qing* denotes “the facts” when it comes to situations, or it denotes “genuine” or “genuinely” when it comes to things. After indicating that *qing* is mainly used in relation to things in philosophical contexts, Graham interprets “*qing* of X” as “what X genuinely is”.<sup>318</sup> In addition, he suggests that instead of this conventional meaning, the *Xunzi* and *Liji* raise a slightly different meaning of *qing* that denotes “the genuine in man” or more specifically feelings.<sup>319</sup> Graham’s observation coincides with the two meanings of *qing* in the “Yueji” namely “essential quality” and “feeling”, which was mentioned in 4.2.1.<sup>320</sup> However, insofar as the “Yuelun” is concerned, it seems that this new meaning of *qing* has yet to be developed; the “Yuelun” mentions *qing* only in the examples of *renqing* 人情, *haowu zhi qing* 好惡之情 and *yue zhi qing* 樂之情, and, in these examples, *qing* does not necessarily mean feeling.<sup>321</sup> In addition, no example where *qing* indicates feeling is found in the six musical chapters.

Similar to the “Yueji”, both the meanings of *qing* seem to be valid in the “Xing zi ming chu”. For example, when it is said that “the way of humans originates from *qing*” (*dao shi yu qing* 道始於情), *qing* can be interpreted as essential qualities of humans or what is commonly applied to humans. With this meaning, this sentence may read that the way people should follow is based on what is commonly accepted by humans as the right way. On the other hand, when

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<sup>318</sup> Graham, “The Background of the Mencian Theory of Human Nature”, 259-260.

<sup>319</sup> Graham, “The Background of the Mencian Theory of Human Nature”, 263.

<sup>320</sup> See page 104. What I mean by the term “essential quality” is similar to Graham’s definition of *qing*: what something genuinely is.

<sup>321</sup> *Renqing*, *haowu zhi qing* and *yue zhi qing* can be interpreted as “what is essential to humans”, “a general attitude to likes and dislikes” and “the essential quality of music”.

*qing* is discussed in relation to *xin*, it has a strong emotional connotation as to be interpreted as feeling.<sup>322</sup> For example, when it is said that if sound reflects *qing* faithfully (*sheng qi chu yu qing ye xin* 聲其出於情也信) it influences *xin* profoundly, *qing* can be interpreted as feeling or an emotional state.

In the “Yueji” and “Xing zi ming chu”, *qing* as an inherent quality is barely supposed to result in any negative consequences. However, the emphasis of the “Yueji” on the external standard when *qing* is expressed may suggest a negative connotation of *qing*. The changes in the meaning of *qing* as well as in its connotation can be traced through a comparison of different ways the term *fanqing* 反情 is interpreted. In regard to the way of harmonising one’s will, the “Yueji” mentions *fanqing*.

There is a correspondence between chorus and response; [similarly], abnormality, depravity, wrongness and honesty yield their [destined] results. [For this reason], the principles of myriad things operate together by the same kind. Therefore, a virtuous person harmonises his will by *fanqing*, and accomplishes his behaviour by comparing the kinds.

倡和有應，回邪曲直，<sup>323</sup> 各歸其分。而萬物之理各以類相動也。是故君子反情以和其志，比類以成其行。<sup>324</sup>

Kong Yingda interprets *qing* as an excessive and shrinking feeling (*yinruo zhi qing* 淫弱之情) while glossing the verbal *fan* 反 as “to eliminate” (*fanqu* 反去). Quite the opposite, Chen Hao 陳澧 (1260-1341) suggests “the integrity of one’s nature and feeling” (*xing qing zhi zheng* 性情之正) and reads *fan* as “to

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<sup>322</sup> Regarding *qing* in the “Xing zi ming chu”, Michael Puett argues that *qing* indicates one’s emotional disposition to respond in certain ways while drawing a contrast between a spontaneous response of *qing* and the conscious internalization of *yi* 義. Based on this contrast, Puett argues that one of the central issues of the “Xing zi ming chu” is “to explain how humans can move from *qing* to *yi*”. According to Puett, the root of self-cultivation lies in the “basic emotional dispositions of man” since *qing* is believed to advance towards *yi*. This explanation can support the emphasis on moral cultivation regarding *xin* in the “Xing zi ming chu”. Puett, “The Ethics of Responding Properly”, 46-51.

<sup>323</sup> Interpreting *hui* 回 as *guaiwei* 乖違 (abnormal) in accordance with Kong Yingda.

<sup>324</sup> *Liji zhengyi*, 679.

recover” (*fu* 復).<sup>325</sup> It seems that both interpretations understand *qing* as feeling and recognise its negative aspect; Kong Yingda directly attaches negative meanings to *qing* and Chen Hao assumes a possibility of *qing* going astray. However, Zheng Xuan’s glossing *fan* 反 as *ben* 本 (to be rooted in) challenges the interpretation of *qing* as feeling. An example of *fanqing* 反情 in the “Wuben” 務本 (Devotion to the Fundamentals) chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu* could clarify the meaning of *qing*.

Those who served a ruler in the past obtained the task only when they were capable of the task. [They] received [their duty] only after *fanqing*.

古之事君者，必先服能然後任。必反情然後受。<sup>326</sup>

Gao You interprets *fanqing* 反情 as self-reflection (*neixing* 內省). With ample evidence of *qing* denoting “actual circumstances” (*shiqing* 實情), self-reflection can be understood as the reflection on one’s circumstances.<sup>327</sup> Following this interpretation of *fanqing*, the above quotation from the “Yueji” can be understood as meaning that since every situation has its destined way, a virtuous person should reflect on his circumstances, particularly his emotional circumstances in this context, and then make his will in harmony with this destined way.

In the example of *fanqing*, *qing* seems to mean one’s circumstances that should be examined before undertaking a certain task, and this meaning is in accordance with Zheng Xuan’s interpreting *fan* as *ben*. Although these circumstances seem to imply an emotional state in the “Yueji”, this implication is not strong enough to interpret *qing* as feeling. However, Kong Yingda and Chen Hao understand *qing* as feeling while suggesting its negative aspects. In this way, interpretations of *fanqing* demonstrate that feeling became more widely recognised as the meaning of *qing* and more attention came to be paid to the

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<sup>325</sup> Chen Hao, *Liji jishuo*, 212.

<sup>326</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 99.

<sup>327</sup> I understand “essential quality” and “actual circumstances” as the similar usages of *qing*; in Graham’s term, essential quality of something means what something genuinely is. Similarly, actual circumstances can be interpreted as genuine circumstances.

negative consequences of *qing*.

In sum, following its conventional meaning in pre-Han literature, *qing* mainly denotes essential quality or actual circumstances in the “Yuelun” and six musical chapters. However, the “Yueji” and “Xing zi ming chu” occasionally use *qing* to indicate feeling; in their usages, *qing* is not considered to have a negative impact. However, as the “Yueji” suggests, *qing* is viewed as something that should be regulated and consequently *qing* could be potentially considered to give rise to negative consequences. As anticipated in the “Yueji”, *qing* seems to have been widely recognised as feeling in later period while carrying negative connotations, and the emphasis on the edifying effect of music can be suggested as a possible reason for this change.

#### **4.3 Little recognition of the edifying effect of music in the *Lüshi chunqiu* and emphasis on the edifying effect in the “Yuelun” and “Yueji”**

The “Yuelun” strongly advocates the positive effects of the former kings’ music; however, this idea hardly appears in the six musical chapters of the *Lüshi chunqiu*. The only part that supports the edifying effect of music is the last passage of the “Yinchu”, most of which has parallels with the “Yuelun” and “Yueji”. Presenting a similar viewpoint to the “Yuelun”, this last part deviates from the main argument of the “Yinchu” that advocates the diagnostic function of music. When music is believed to perform a diagnostic function, music is regarded as a direct expression of feeling which is evoked by various circumstances. However, the last part of the “Yinchu” discusses the positive influence of harmonious music provided by a virtuous person, which reminds us of the function of former kings’ music advocated in the “Yuelun”.

Considering the encyclopaedic characteristic of the *Lüshi chunqiu*, it can be suggested that the edifying effect of music has yet to earn wide recognition until around the time of compilation of the *Lüshi chunqiu*; otherwise, this subject would be explored in more detail. As examined in chapter 3, the argument of the “Yuelun” about the edifying effect of music is unconventional in that it supports the exclusive and powerful influence of music on the people. This unconventional idea is supported by the “Yueji” where more than half the lines of the “Yuelun”

appear almost identically, and this idea seems to have gained more currency in later period as supposed by the changes in the meanings of *xin*, *qi* and *qing*.

In the “Yuelun”, *xin* indicates a bodily organ where feeling or ethical properties are seated. This meaning is also valid for many examples of *xin* in the “Yueji”. However, *xin* has another meaning in the “Yueji”: the faculty for perceiving. Considering that some chapters of the *Xunzi* such as “Jiebi” and “Tianlun” as well as other pre-Han texts regard *xin* as the faculty for mental activities, it can be suggested that this meaning appears in musical discourse after it has been widely explored in other contexts. However, the “Yueji” does not fully reflect these discussions since it considers *xin* to respond to external stimuli mechanically without contemplative power. A more active meaning of *xin* is observable in the “Xing zi ming chu” where its reaction is believed to have a fixed direction through practice.

Another layer of meaning in the term *xin* could suggest that the dominant meaning of *xin* in musical discourse loses its own semantic area, which brings us to the concept of *qi*. According to the “Yinchu”, “wildly-moving *qi*” and “depraved and haughty *xin*” are stimulated by low-quality sounds. Both *qi* and *xin* are suggested as an object that is under the influence of music but the adjective of *qi* is more oriented to its physical movement. This difference becomes subtle in the “Yuelun” where “virtuous *xin*” and “depraved and corrupt *qi*” are mentioned. It can be suggested that *qi* comes to replace *xin* based on this shared meaning. This replacement might be facilitated by the similarity in the movements of *qi* and musical sound because this similarity is conducive to a convincing explanation of the effect of music. This suggestion can find support in the “Xing zi ming chu” where *xin* is presented as a perceiving organ and *qi* is believed to constitute feeling.

While each specific feeling is related to *qi*, a more general term for feeling is given in the “Yueji” and “Xing zi ming chu”. *Qing* is mainly interpreted as essential quality or actual circumstance in pre-Han literature, and the six musical chapters and the “Yuelun” also use *qing* in this meaning. Although the “Yueji” expresses a deepened understanding of feeling by conceptualizing it with the term *qing*, this view does not contribute to an advanced argument about the viewpoint

that sees music as an expression of feeling. On the contrary, the “Yueji” anticipates a negative connotation of *qing* by emphasising the external standards for music to serve as an edifying tool.

In short, interpreting *xin* as a perceiving organ, *qi* as a physical substance with ethical value and *qing* as feeling with negative connotations could make the explanation about the effect of music more plausible; musical sound perceived by *xin* can affect feeling and behaviour by resonating with *qi* retaining the same ethical value as musical sound.

## 5. The harmony of music: different interpretations of its cosmic significance between the “Dayue” and “Yueji”

Among the six musical chapters, the “Dayue” and “Shiyin” discuss the concept of harmony (*he* 和) though focusing on different aspects. The central argument of the “Shiyin” is that appropriate sound brings harmony to *xin* which results in pleasure. Therefore, harmony is more related to the concept of *xin* than music in the “Shiyin”. It is in the “Dayue” that harmony is discussed in close relation to music. Harmony is also discussed in relation to human relationships, and the “Yuelun” largely discusses the concept of harmony in this context as it advocates the function of music to achieve harmony among the people. The “Yueji” also supports the function of music to create harmony while comparing music to the harmony of Heaven and Earth. This comparison is also given in the “Dayue”; however, since the “Dayue” and “Yueji” discuss music and harmony from different perspectives this identical comparison might carry dissimilar implications. With an aim to suggest different readings of the same statement, chapter 5 will examine several contexts where musical harmony is discussed mainly focusing on the “Dayue”, “Yuelun” and “Yueji”.

The first part of chapter 5 will explore the meanings of five key terms of the “Dayue”, namely *taiyi* 太一, *duliang* 度量, *shi* 適, *ping* 平 and *gong* 公, and then discuss musical harmony from the viewpoint of the “Dayue”. The second part will propose another interpretation of musical harmony based on the “Yuelun” and “Yueji”, and discuss how this meaning of musical harmony is related to the concept of “*li* and music” advanced in the “Yuelun” and “Yueji”. For a broader perspective from which music is discussed, the *Guoyu* and *Zuo zhuan* will also be examined. In addition, the *Lunyu* will be discussed mainly concerning its view of the concept of “*li* and music”.

### 5.1 Musical harmony in the “Dayue”

In the “Dayue”, *taiyi* is regarded as the main cause of emergence of myriad creatures, and music is also said to be rooted in *taiyi*. Since music, just like the myriad creatures in the natural world, is claimed to come from *taiyi*, it is

suggested that music should be seen as a product of the natural world.<sup>328</sup> However, another aspect of *taiyi* raises a doubt about this suggestion. That is, besides the relation to music, *taiyi* is also understood as the principle that the ruler should follow for the successful governance. Regarding this latter aspect, no detailed explanation as to why the importance of *taiyi* as the principle for the successful ruler is discussed under the title of “great music”. Through an investigation into the five key terms of the “Dayue”, this section will discuss the cosmic harmony of music as well as the ruler’s role in achieving musical harmony, aiming at interpreting music as more than a product of the natural world.<sup>329</sup> If the importance of the ruler’s role in achieving musical harmony is properly explained, this will suggest the reason for relating *taiyi* both to the ruler and to music.

### 5.1.1 *Taiyi* 太一 or *dao* 道: the origin of music

As examined in 4.1.2, the “Dayue” states that *taiyi* designates *dao*, the unseen principle that governs every phenomenon in the natural world.<sup>330</sup> The involvement of *taiyi* in various natural phenomena is explained on the basis of the concepts of *liangyi* 兩儀 (two forms) and *yin-yang* 陰陽 which are derived from *taiyi*. These two concepts are presented as the causes for changes in the natural world.

*Taiyi* gives rise to *liangyi*, and *liangyi* give rise to *yin* and *yang*. *Yin* and *yang* change and transform with one rising and the other descending, and they combine to form a pattern. Confusedly moving around, once they separated they recombine, and once they combined they separate again. This is called “the invariable principle of Heaven”. Heaven and Earth [are like] the wheels of a chariot; when they reach an end they start again; when they reach the extreme they return again. There is nothing that does not accord with [this principle]. The sun, moon, planets and stars [move] with some fast and others slow. In different [movements], the sun and the moon complete their paths. [As] the four seasons arise alternately, some are hot and some are cold. Some

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<sup>328</sup> Li and Liu, *Zhongguo meixueshi*, 416-418.

<sup>329</sup> The term “cosmic harmony” will be used when harmony is compared to harmony of Heaven and Earth or harmony in the natural world.

<sup>330</sup> See pages 99-101.



are short and some are long; some are soft and some are firm. The emergence of myriad creatures is caused by *taiyi* and [they] are transformed by *yin* and *yang*.

太一出兩儀，兩儀出陰陽。陰陽變化，一上一下，合而成章。渾渾沌沌，<sup>331</sup>離則復合，合則復離。是謂天常。<sup>332</sup> 天地車輪，終則復始，極則復反。莫不咸當。日月星辰，或疾或徐。日月不同，以盡其行。四時代興，或暑或寒。或短或長，或柔或剛。萬物所出，造於太一，化於陰陽。<sup>333</sup>

Although *dao* cannot be perceived directly, its existence is proved by the results of its function such as the movements of the heavenly bodies, the emergence of myriad creatures and the rotation of the four seasons. The myriad creatures generated from *taiyi* undergo transformation through the interaction between *yin* and *yang* which is derived from *liangyi*. Regarding *liangyi*, Gao You interprets it as Heaven and Earth (*tiandi* 天地),<sup>334</sup> whereas Chen Qiyou understands it as two opposing properties such as firm and soft, movement and stillness.<sup>335</sup>

Since *liangyi* is presented as the first state of existence derived from *dao*, “Heaven and Earth” can be regarded as a possible interpretation of *liangyi*. However, Chen Qiyou’s reading seems debatable in that his interpretation is

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<sup>331</sup> According to the *Guangya* 廣雅 (Expanded *Erya*), *hunhun dundun* 渾渾沌沌 is a mimetic word expressing movement (*zhuan* 轉). Wang Niansun quotes the “Dayue” to explain the *Guangya*’s definition of *hunhun dundun*. Wang Niansun, *Guangya shuzheng*, 188.

<sup>332</sup> Interpreting *tianchang* 天常 as “the invariable principle of Heaven” (*tian zhi changdao* 天之常道) in accordance with Gao You. *Lüshi chunqiu*, 40. Du Yu also glosses *tianchang* as the same. *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 1007.

<sup>333</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 40.

<sup>334</sup> The “Xici” 繫辭 (Appended Phrases) commentary, the “Liyun” 禮運 (Operation of Ritual) chapter of the *Liji*, and the “Taiyi sheng shui” 太一生水 (*Taiyi* gives rise to water) have parallel lines to the above quotation from the “Dayue”, and they also suggest that *liangyi* indicates *tiandi* as follows. Kong Yingda makes the same interpretation in his annotation on the “Xici” where *liangyi* is said to come from *taiji* 太極 (great ultimate). Kong Yingda et al., *Zhouyi zhengyi*, 158-159. The “Liyun” says *tiandi* 天地 are generated when *dayi* 大一 is split. *Liji zhengyi*, 437. According to the “Taiyi sheng shui”, *tiandi* 天地 are generated after *shui* 水 (water) is generated from *taiyi* 太一. *Guodian Chu mu zhujian*, 125.

<sup>335</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi*, 260-261.

premised on the *yin-yang* relationship between two correlative opposing aspects. In other words, Chen Qiyou classifies certain properties based on the *yin-yang* relationship and understands each pair of properties as *liangyi*. Since the “Dayue” presents *liangyi* prior to *yin-yang*, Chen’s interpretation may be questioned.

In the above quotation, *yin* and *yang* are believed to be the two forces that cause various changes. However, *yin* and *yang* are defined less philosophically in the *Shuowen jiezi* where *yin* is defined as “dark” (*an* 闇) and *yang* as “high and bright” (*gaoming* 高明).<sup>336</sup> This meaning is also observable in the *Lüshi chunqiu*.

If a house is large it is too shady; if a tower is high it is too sunny. Deep shade causes numbness; intense sunlight causes paralysis. These are the harmful results of not moderating shade and light.

室大則多陰，臺高則多陽。多陰則蹶，多陽則痿。此陰陽不適之患也。<sup>337</sup>

Heaven produced the dark and bright, cold and heat, wet and dry. [They caused] the changes of the four seasons and changes of the myriad things. [In these changes], there was nothing that was not beneficial; there was nothing that was not harmful. The sages observed the moderation of darkness and brightness and distinguished what was beneficial to the myriad things in order to enhance [their] life. Therefore, the refined spirit kept secure within the body, [and as a result] the lifespan was extended.

天生陰陽寒暑燥濕。四時之化，萬物之變。莫不為利，莫不為害。聖人察陰陽之宜，辨萬物之利以便生。故精神安乎形，而年壽得長焉。<sup>338</sup>

According to the above, *yin* and *yang* express weather conditions along with cold, heat, wet and dry. In addition, it is suggested that *yin* and *yang* should be controlled in balance for the sake of life. Therefore, *yin* and *yang* might indicate dark and bright in the above contexts.<sup>339</sup> However, the *Lüshi chunqiu* advances

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<sup>336</sup> *Shuowen jiezi*, 304.

<sup>337</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 14 (ch. “Zhongji”).

<sup>338</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 26 (ch. “Jinshu” 盡數 (Fulfill the Natural Span of Life)).

<sup>339</sup> Similarly, *yin* and *yang* belong to the six *qi* (*liu qi* 六氣), namely *yin*, *yang*, *feng* 風 (wind), *yu* 雨 (rain), *hui* 晦 (dark) and *ming* 明 (bright) according to the *Zuo zhuan*. However, instead of “dark and bright”, *yin* and *yang* indicate “cold and heat” in the context of the *Zuo zhuan*. For the full description of this passage, see footnote 305. In

another meaning of *yin-yang* that suggests their interaction.<sup>340</sup>

In the month of *yingzhong*, *yin* and *yang* are obstructed, [so they] are blocked up; [as a result], winter [arrives].

應鐘之月，陰陽不通，閉而爲冬。<sup>341</sup>

In general, humans and things are [the results of] the transformation of *yin* and *yang*. *Yin* and *yang* arise from Heaven and [then] they are completed.

凡人物者，陰陽之化也。陰陽者，造乎天而成者也。<sup>342</sup>

In the above context, “dark and bright” does not fit to *yin-yang* in the literal sense. According to the above quotations, the poor flow of *yin* and *yang* causes winter to come and myriad creatures arise as a result of the interaction between *yin* and *yang*. In this way, *yin* and *yang* are believed to trigger various natural phenomena, and this belief also appears in the “Dayue” where *yin* and *yang* are portrayed as the complementary forces represented by Heaven and Earth namely *liangyi*. It can be suggested that from the specific concept of Heaven and Earth the abstract concept of *yin* and *yang* is derived; therefore, it is said that *yin* and *yang* come from *liangyi*. The interaction between *yin* and *yang* puts the natural world under constant transformation and *taiyi* or *dao* is suggested as the fundamental cause of all the phenomena in the natural world.<sup>343</sup>

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addition, the “Sishi” 四時 (Four Seasons) chapter of the *Guanzi* matches the four *qi* namely *feng* 風 (wind), *yang*, *yin* and *han* 寒 (cold) to spring, summer, autumn and winter. *Guanzi*, 136-138.

<sup>340</sup> Yuri Pines suggests that the concept of *yin-yang* as “basic cosmic forces” was assimilated into general philosophical discourse in the third century BCE when correlative thinking developed. This concept of *yin-yang* can be traced back earlier; however, according to Yuri Pines, these earlier examples were primarily related to particular fields such as cosmology, divination and other proto-sciences. Therefore, it is difficult to argue that *yin-yang* were discussed as cosmic forces in general philosophical discourse earlier than the third century BCE based on these examples. Pines, “Lexical Changes in Zhanguo Texts”, 700-701.

<sup>341</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 48 (ch. “Yinlü”).

<sup>342</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 180 (ch. “Zhifen” 知分 (Knowing Distinctions)).

<sup>343</sup> It is suggested that initially *taiyi* did not indicate *dao*. For example, Ge Zhaoguang argues that *taiyi* originally meant the polar star. Owing to the polar star’s constant image, *taiyi* was adopted as the name of God, and later it came to indicate *dao*. Ge Zhaoguang, “Zhongmiao zhi men”, 47-58. For more articles about the term *taiyi* as the name of the God, see Huang, *Guodian No.1 Chu Tomb and the Earliest Bamboo Slip Versions of the*

Since *dao* is beyond human perception it cannot be described by a specific name; nonetheless, *dao* is called *taiyi* if it unavoidably has to be given a name.<sup>344</sup> Although *taiyi* is not the perfect name of *dao*, it could exhibit the most representative characteristics of *dao*. According to the 25<sup>th</sup> chapter of the *Laozi*, *dao* as the mother of all-under-Heaven gives rise to all the creatures, and it is called *da* 大, an alternate form for *tai* 太 (great).<sup>345</sup> Considering the extremely wide sphere of its activity, *da* or *tai* can be interpreted as “extensiveness”. The *Laozi* also defines *dao* as something undifferentiated that has existed before Heaven and Earth. This definition, which is suggestive of Kong Yingda’s explanation, can clarify the meaning of *yi* 一 (one). That is, annotating the term *dayi* 大一 in the “Liyun” 禮運 (Operation of Ritual) chapter of the *Liji*, Kong Yingda explains that since the primordial *qi* (*yuanqi* 元氣) of the universe has not been differentiated into various beings, it is called one.<sup>346</sup> In brief, two prominent features of *dao* can be indicated by the term *taiyi*: “extensiveness” in terms of the sphere its function reaches and “undifferentiated oneness” as the potential power to generate myriad creatures.

If *taiyi* is extensively involved in every phenomenon in the natural world, the root of music likewise can be said to lie in *taiyi*.

The origin of music lies in the distant [past]. It is generated from *duliang* and rooted in *taiyi*.

音樂之所由來者遠矣。<sup>347</sup> 生於度量，本於太一。<sup>348</sup>

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*Laozi & the Taiyi sheng shui*, 422.

<sup>344</sup> For this description in the “Dayue”, see page 99.

<sup>345</sup> Regarding the 25<sup>th</sup> chapter of the *Laozi*, see page 100.

<sup>346</sup> *Liji zhengyi*, 437.

<sup>347</sup> With reference to the *Beitang shuchao* 北堂書鈔 (Excerpts from Books in the Northern Hall) where *yin* is replaced by *fu* 夫, Chen Qiyong argues that *yin* 音 should be removed to be parallel with the sentence of *yue suo you lai zhe shang ye* 樂所由來者尚也 in the “Guyue” chapter. *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi*, 260. The rare usage of *yinyue* 音樂 in pre-Han literature could support the interpolation of *yin*. However, this cannot be claimed with certainty since the term *yinyue* occurs in the “Shiyin” three times. For the description in the *Beitang shuchao*, see Yu Shinan, *Beitang shuchao*, 487.

<sup>348</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 40.

A more detailed explanation as to why music is rooted in *taiyi* can be advanced from the passage below.

When budding sprouts first arise, they are given a shape through coagulation. [If necessary] arrangements are made to [their] physical form, it makes sound without fail. Musical sound emanates from harmony, and harmony emanates from appropriateness. When the former kings established music, music was achieved based on them.

萌芽始震，凝澁寒以形。<sup>349</sup> 形體有處，<sup>350</sup> 莫不有聲。聲出於和，和出於適。和適先王定樂，<sup>351</sup> 由此而生。<sup>352</sup>

Any physical substance can make sound; therefore, the argument that music is rooted in *taiyi* is more specifically interpreted as meaning that anything that makes sound whether it is animate or inanimate came into being through *taiyi*.

Although, *taiyi* is suggested as the origin of music, the main focus of the above quotation does not seem to lie in musical sound originating from the natural world since it presents appropriateness and harmony as the two principles considered when the former kings established music.<sup>353</sup> This suggests the need of

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<sup>349</sup> Interpreting *ninghan* 凝澁 as *ningdong* 凝凍 (coagulate) in accordance with Zhang Binglin 章炳麟 (1869-1936). The “Shuidi” chapter of the *Guanzi* says “Human beings come into being by coagulation”. 凝澁而爲人. Regarding this sentence, Zhang Binglin explains that *jian* 蹇 is a loan for *han* 寒 which is semantically close to *dong* 凍 (to freeze) according to the *Shuowen jiezi*. By this account, *ningjian* 凝蹇 in the “Shuidi” indicates *ningdong* 凝凍 and so does *ninghan* 凝澁 in the “Dayue”. *Zhang Taiyan quanji* vol. 1, 44; *Shuowen jiezi*, 151.

<sup>350</sup> Chen Qiyu amends *chu* 處 to *xu* 虛 (aperture) assuming that *chu* is an editorial mistake resulting from its similar shape and pronunciation to *xu*. *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi*, 264. Following Chen Qiyu’s amendment, Erica Brindley suggests that “the musical principles of the cosmos derive from the hollows of the world”. Brindley, “Music, Cosmos, and the Development of Psychology in Early China”, 14-15. However, if music is inherent in the cosmos, it does not require artificial arrangements. In my opinion, the ruler’s role in achieving musical harmony is another important subject of the “Dayue”; for this reason, I do not follow this amendment.

<sup>351</sup> Removing *heshi* 和適 in accordance with Bi Yuan.

<sup>352</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 40.

<sup>353</sup> Regarding *sheng chu yu he he chu yu shi* 聲出於和和出於適, Xiu Hailin suggests that harmonious melody is created on the basis of appropriateness; therefore, this sentence is not about natural sound but about artificial sound. Xiu Hailin, *Zhongguo gudai yinyue meixue*, 200-201. My interpretation of this sentence is the same as what Xiu

artificial arrangements to achieve appropriateness and harmony in music, which brings us to the concepts of *duliang* and *shi*.

### 5.1.2 *Duliang* 度量 and *shi* 適: appropriateness in music

As quoted earlier, the term *duliang* 度量 is presented as another crucial concept besides *taiyi* in explaining the origin of music; music originates ultimately from *taiyi*, but the direct source of music is *duliang*. According to Zheng Xuan's annotations on the *Zhouli* and *Liji*, *du* 度 means "units of length" such as *zhang* 丈 and *chi* 尺 while *liang* 量 means "units of volume" such as *dou* 豆, *ou* 區 and *hu* 斛.<sup>354</sup> Based on these annotations, *duliang* can be interpreted as "linear and capacity measures". *Duliang* are required to produce an instrument from which sound emanates; therefore, *duliang* imply the need of artificial arrangements for the standard forms of instruments which might be sanctified by its association with the former kings and more fundamentally Heaven as normative guidelines.<sup>355</sup>

In brief, the argument that appropriateness and harmony should be considered when music is established can be understood as meaning that the standard measure for musical instruments should be adopted to make appropriate sounds which are a prerequisite for harmonious sounds. Appropriate sound could indicate an appropriate stimulus to the ear, and to regard music as a sensory stimulus is to see music as an object of desire. Therefore, from the viewpoint of the "Dayue", the value of music lies in its function to evoke pleasure; throughout the "Dayue", "great music" is mentioned only once while being defined as what

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Hailin suggests, and I will extend my discussion by examining how this artificially achieved musical harmony participates in harmony in the natural world.

<sup>354</sup> *Zhouli zhushu*, 111; *Liji zhengyi*, 299.

1 *zhang* 丈 is equal to 10 *chi* 尺 which was equivalent to 2.31m during the Warring States period. 1 *hu* 斛 is equal to 10 *dou* 斗 or 100 *sheng* 升; 1 *dou* 豆 is equal to 5 *sheng*; 1 *ou* 區 is equal to 5 *dou* 豆. The volume of 1 *hu* was not the same among states during the Warring States period. It approximately amounted to 20L. *Hanyu da cidian* (appendix and index volume), 3.

<sup>355</sup> This implication finds supports in the "Shiyin" where appropriateness is defined in regard to size and weight of instruments. See pages 59-60.

brings delight.<sup>356</sup> For music to evoke pleasure, the intensity of sound needs to remain at an appropriate level because too strong sound only hurts life without pleasure, as described in the “Chiyue”.<sup>357</sup> For this reason, *duliang* or measures are required in order to define the proper standard for musical instruments. Only when sound emanates from a musical instrument in standard form can it serve as an appropriate stimulus which evokes pleasure and thus be regarded as music. This is one of the possible readings of the argument, “[music] is generated from *duliang*”.

The “Dayue” suggests regulation of appetite and desire as the prior task before engaging in music. The reason for this suggestion can be discussed in relation to appropriateness.

There is a way to accomplish music. Appetite and desire must be regulated. It is only when appetite and desire are not depraved and aberrant that [one] can devote an effort to music.

成樂有具。必節嗜慾。嗜慾不辟，<sup>358</sup> 樂乃可務。<sup>359</sup>

Excessive desire for music makes it difficult to keep appropriateness when establishing music; therefore, desire needs to be controlled in order to accept the restrictions imposed on music.<sup>360</sup> Only then does music sound harmonious and makes people happy.

### 5.1.3 *Ping* 平: a necessary condition for enjoying music

Although a standard form is essential to produce a pleasing sound, it is not the only condition for a positive feeling. No matter how beautiful music is, it might not be fully appreciated by the people in a dire situation and thus of little

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<sup>356</sup> For the passage describing “great music”, see page 27.

<sup>357</sup> For this aspect, see 3.1.1.

<sup>358</sup> Interpreting *pi* 辟 as *xiepi* 邪僻 (depraved and aberrant) based on Yu Yue, *Zhuizi pingyi*, 135.

<sup>359</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 40.

<sup>360</sup> The need for regulating desire appears to be contradictory to the concept of an inherent desire for music. As an establisher of music, the sage ruler seems to be particularly expected to regulate desire even in the “Dayue”. However, ordinary people are not required to regulate desire; their desire remains at a decent level by being provided with appropriate stimuli.

value.

It is not that a doomed country and oppressed people have no music, but that their music does not sound pleasing. It is not that a drowning man does not laugh, a condemned man does not sing, or a crazy man does not dance. The music of a disordered age is similar to these. If ruler and subject lose their positions, father and son lose their places, husband and wife lose their propriety, and the people groan, what is to be done about playing music?

亡國戮民，非無樂也，其樂不樂。溺者非不笑也，<sup>361</sup> 罪人非不歌也，狂者非不武也。<sup>362</sup> 亂世之樂，有似於此。君臣失位，父子失處，夫婦失宜，民人呻吟，其以為樂也，若之何哉？<sup>363</sup>

A drowning person can be seen to laugh, but this laugh might not be regarded as a true laugh because it does not express his amusement. Similarly, a doomed country can have music but this music is not considered real music because it does not sound pleasing to the people under adverse circumstances.

A similar idea is proposed in the “Mingli” 明理 (Elucidating the Principles) chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu*.

The people [suffer] sexual disinclination and miscarriages. Wild birds and beasts are barren and infertile. Grasses and trees are stunted and not exuberant. The five crops wither and do not ripen. What is to be done about playing music?

人民淫爍不固。禽獸胎消不殖。草木庫小不滋。五穀萎敗不成。其以為樂也，若之何哉？<sup>364</sup>

The “Mingli” mainly describes bizarre incidents which can be understood as inauspicious signs that reveal the devastating circumstances of a country. Under

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<sup>361</sup> Gao You annotates this sentence quoting the *Zuo zhuan*: “A drowning man is sure to laugh.” 溺人必笑。Regarding this sentence, Du Yu explains that “a drowning man cannot but laugh in spite of himself”. *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 1048. Although it does not sound very plausible, a drowning man might look as if he laughed as Chen Qiyong guesses. *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi*, 265.

<sup>362</sup> *Wu* 武 is interpreted as a loan for *wu* 舞 (to dance) based on Jiang Weiqiao et al., *Lüshi chunqiu huijiao*, 111.

<sup>363</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 40.

<sup>364</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 51.



such devastating circumstances, music might not be fully enjoyed; therefore, producing music is considered pointless. Sage-like rulers can understand this aspect and achieve perfect music but many mediocre rulers cannot undertake this task.

The Five Sovereigns and the Three Kings devoted greatest effort into music. Rulers of chaotic countries have never understood music because they are mediocre rulers.

五帝三王之於樂，盡之矣。亂國之主，未嘗知樂者，是尚主也。<sup>365</sup>

How can the rulers of a disordered age have heard perfect music? [As] they never have heard perfect music, their music is not pleasing.

亂世之主，烏聞至樂？不聞至樂，其樂不樂。<sup>366</sup>

In a disordered age, people find it difficult to feel happy about music, and for this reason, perfect music cannot be accomplished.

With regard to a necessary condition for music to evoke pleasure, the “Dayue” presents the concept of *ping* 平.

All-under-Heaven are in great *ping*, the myriad things are secure and peaceful, and all [the people] follow their superior; only then can music be accomplished.

天下太平，萬物安寧，皆化其上，<sup>367</sup> 樂乃可成。

Delight and glee arise from *ping*, and *ping* arises from *dao*.

歡欣生於平，平生於道。<sup>368</sup>

*Ping* 平 in the second quotation is interpreted as harmony by Gao You. Harmonious circumstances can be one of the features of a society where *ping* is maintained but it seems insufficient to fully describe the meaning of *ping*. On the other hand, Scott Cook understands *ping* as Confucian “*hierarchical* balance

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<sup>365</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 50 (ch. “Mingli”).

<sup>366</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 52 (ch. “Mingli”).

<sup>367</sup> Interpreting *hua* 化 as *sui* 隨 (follow) in accordance with Gao You. *Lüshi chunqiu*, 40.

<sup>368</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 40.

among diverse and unequal parameters”.<sup>369</sup> However, although *ping* could imply a hierarchical balance in a certain context, whether this implication is applicable to the “Dayue” where *ping* is believed to arise from *dao* needs further examination.

Considering that the circumstances of the people are under great influence of the ruler, the statement of “*ping* arises from *dao*” might be interpreted as meaning that *ping* is achieved by ruler’s following *dao*. The last passage of the “Dayue” describes the achievements of the ruler who follows *dao*. Therefore, these achievements can be interpreted as the features of the state where *dao* prevails, and they thus can be regarded as the state where *ping* is achieved.

Therefore, the one [results in] established order and the dual [results in] disordered following. The former sages discarded the dual and emulated the one; on this account, they [could] understand the actual situations of the myriad things. Therefore, if [a man] is able to engage in politics based on the one, [he] brings joy to ruler and subject; harmony to people in distant and near areas; pleasure to the black-headed people; unity to clan relatives. If [a man] is able to cultivate himself based on the one, [he] stays clear of calamity; lives out his full span of life; preserves his life intact. If [a man] is able to govern his country based on the one, the dishonest and treacherous disappear, the wise arrive, and great transformation is achieved. If [a man] is able to govern all-under-Heaven based on the one, cold and hot [weather] is well-suited, wind and rain come timely, and he becomes a sage. Therefore, if understanding the one [they] become perspicacious; if illuminating the dual [they] become demented.

故一也者制令，兩也者從聽。<sup>370</sup> 先聖擇兩法一，<sup>371</sup> 是以知萬物之情。故能

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<sup>369</sup> Cook, “The *Lüshi chunqiu* and the Resolution of Philosophical Dissonance”, 332.

<sup>370</sup> Chen Qiyou interprets *yi* 一 as *dao* or the ruler, and *liang* 兩 as myriad things or subjects. *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi*, 267. Regarding Chen Qiyou’s interpretation, Scott Cook argues that “this is basically the right idea, as we now move from the cosmic order to reflections of its principles as they operate in the human sphere”. Cook, “The *Lüshi chunqiu* and the Resolution of Philosophical Dissonance”, 328. Although this passage suggests the political application of *dao*, it might be difficult to regard *yi* and *liang* as the ruler and subjects or myriad things because this interpretation prevents a consistent rendering of *yi* and *liang* within a short passage. Instead of following Chen Qiyou’s reading, I interpret *yi* and *liang* as the one holistic principle namely *dao* and two

以一聽政者，樂君臣，和遠近，說黔首，合宗親。能以一治其身者，免於災，終其壽，全其天。能以一治其國者，姦邪去，賢者至，成大化。能以一治天下者，寒暑適，風雨時，爲聖人。故知一則明，<sup>372</sup> 明兩則狂。<sup>373</sup>

The above quotation appears right after the passage regarding *dao* whose tentative name is presented as *taiyi*. Therefore, *yi* 一 (the one) in the above quotation can be said to indicate *taiyi* or *dao*. This passage first enumerates the positive effects of *dao* when it is applied to politics; they are portrayed as delight and harmony among people. After this description, more examples of the positive effects of *dao* from three perspectives are described. At an individual level, if a person adopts *dao* as his guiding principle he prolongs his life, and then he achieves great transformation in his country. Finally, at a cosmic level, his governance leads to smooth functioning of the natural world.<sup>374</sup> At this final level, one becomes a sage and his achievement is on a par with that of *dao*.

According to the above quotation, harmony is one of the effects of the implementation of *dao* into governance. In other words, harmony is expected

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principles throughout this passage. The “Buer” 不二 (No Duality) and “Zhiyi” 執一 (Upholding Unity) chapters of the *Lüshi chunqiu* also contrast the advantages of one principle and disadvantages of two principles.

In order to contrast the opposing meanings of *yi* and *liang*, I read *zongting* 縱聽 (disordered following) for *congting* 從聽 based on Xu Weiyu, *Lüshi chunqiu jishi*, 111.

<sup>371</sup> Interpreting *ze* 擇 as *qi* 棄 (to discard) in accordance with Gao You. Yu Yue suggests *ze* 擇 is a mistake for *shi* 釋 (to release) while Wang Shumin suggests *ze* 擇 is interchangeable with *shi* 釋. Yu Yue, *Zhuzi pingyi*, 135; Wang Shumin, *Lüshi chunqiu jiaobu*, 12.

<sup>372</sup> The benefits of *zhiyi* 知一 are discussed in more detail in the “Lunren” 論人 (Assessing Others) chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu*.

<sup>373</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 40-41.

<sup>374</sup> James Sellmann interprets this last achievement as meaning that the ruler “becomes a sage ruler by developing the efficacious abilities to influence the climatic weather condition.” Sellmann, *Timing and Rulership in Master Lü’s Spring and Autumn Annals*, 124. However, these efficacious abilities might not mean a ruler’s direct influence on the natural world. Considering that every opening chapter of the “Shier ji” part describes natural calamities that occur when the ruler violates monthly ordinances, the focus still seems to lie in the ruler’s role in governing society in accordance with changes in the natural world. The ruler can be considered to have an efficacious ability in the sense that his governing the human realm can trigger a response from the natural world. This subject will be discussed in more detail in 5.1.5.

when *ping* is maintained by following *dao*. Although some of the effects such as “pleasure between ruler and subject” suggest a Confucian viewpoint where hierarchical social relationship is emphasised, other achievements such as preservation of life and timely occurrences of natural phenomena make it difficult to interpret *ping* as Confucian hierarchical balance. Balance without the implication of hierarchy might be closer to the meaning of *ping*.<sup>375</sup> In a country where balance is maintained, people are secure and peaceful while forming harmonious social and family relationships. Only under these secure and peaceful circumstances can great music be accomplished because people are provided with favourable conditions for enjoying music; if music is not to be enjoyed it is not considered “real” music and thus the accomplishment of music is unfeasible.

#### 5.1.4 *Gong* 公: statecraft of a successful ruler

In the “Dayue”, music is supposed to bring pleasure; however, this function of music cannot be expected unless security and peace are ensured. Therefore, it is a ruler’s responsibility to achieve *ping* or balance in his country before promoting music, and the concept of *gong* 公 is discussed in relation to a requirement of the ruler for achieving balance.

There are tactics in devoting efforts to music. It must come from balance. Balance comes from *gong*, and *gong* comes from *dao*. Therefore, one can discuss music only with a man who has attained *dao*!

務樂有術。必由平出。平出於公，公出於道。故惟得道之人，其可與言樂乎！<sup>376</sup>

Gao You interprets *gong* 公 as *zheng* 正 (righteousness). However, this

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<sup>375</sup> In order to define “balance”, the meaning of *gong* needs to be identified because the “Dayue” argues that “*ping* comes from *gong*”. The meaning of *gong* is close to impartiality, which will be discussed in the following section. Judging from the meaning of *gong*, it can be suggested that balance is achieved by no one being unfairly treated better or worse out of personal preference.

Emphasising self-cultivation as the means to make one’s *xin* in balance, Erica Brindley interprets *ping* as “the equilibrium of the human heart-mind”. Brindley, “Music, Cosmos, and the Development of Psychology in Early China”, 45. However, I think *gong* is related to an attitude towards others, and thus *ping* which comes from *gong* is more associated with others than oneself.

<sup>376</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 40.

explanation does not provide much information about the meaning of *gong* because the term *zheng* requires another concept to define its meaning; in other words, a criterion for righteousness is needed. Scott Cook defines *gong* as “the absence of hierarchical or value distinctions” from a Laoist viewpoint. Cook draws a contrast between *ping* 平 (balance) and *gong* which according to him represent Confucian and Laoist ideas respectively.<sup>377</sup> As a result, the term *gong* is largely interpreted as an antithesis of Confucian balance that Cook believes the term *ping* implies.

According to the above quotation, a person possessing *dao* can discuss music. Therefore, *gong*, which is directly related to *dao*, can be discussed in connection with a person who assumes a responsibility for the establishment of music, namely the ruler. The term *gong* is discussed as the fundamental requirements for the perfect ruler in the “Guigong” 貴公 (Honouring *gong*) and “Renshu” 任數 (Entrusting to the Principle) chapters of the *Lüshi chunqiu*. Therefore, the meaning of *gong* derived from these two chapters can help elucidate how to understand this term in the context of the “Dayue”. In the “Guigong”, *gong* is suggested as the key to successful rulership.

In the past, when the former sage kings governed all-under-Heaven, they always gave priority to *gong*. [If the ruler governs based on] *gong*, all-under-Heaven should be in balance; [therefore], balance is attained by *gong*. Once we examine the records of the past, there were a multitude of people who won all-under-Heaven. Those who won did so through *gong*, and those who lost did so through partiality (*pian* 偏). In general, the ruler’s status is gained by *gong*.

昔先聖王之治天下也，必先公。公則天下平矣，平得於公。嘗試觀於上志，有得天下者衆矣。其得之以公，其失之必以偏。凡主之立也，生於公。<sup>378</sup>

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<sup>377</sup> While contrasting Confucian implication of *ping* and Laoist implication of *gong*, Cook argues that the *Lüshi chunqiu* intends to efface the divergence between Laoist lack of distinctions and the Confucian hierarchical balance by linking *gong* and *ping*. Cook, “The *Lüshi chunqiu* and the Resolution of Philosophical Dissonance”, 331-332. However, it is doubtful that these two closely related concepts imply conflicting ideas.

<sup>378</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 14.

The above passage reveals a similarity to the “Dayue” by arguing that “*ping* is attained by *gong*”. Similar to the “Dayue”, the “Guigong” uses the term *ping* to express the circumstances of all-under-Heaven. In this passage, *pian* 偏 (partiality) is presented as an antonym for *gong*; therefore, *gong* can be perceived in the sense of “impartiality”. Once the ruler maintains impartiality, he can bring about balance in the whole country. An impartial ruler does not support a particular person or group, and thus balance in terms of no favouritism is achieved, as suggested in the quotation given below.

All-under-Heaven does not belong to one person; it belongs to all-under-Heaven. The harmony of *yin* and *yang* does not bring up [only] one species, sweet dew and seasonable rain are not partial to one thing, and the ruler of the myriad people is not partial to a single person.

天下非一人之天下也，天下之天下也。陰陽之和，不長一類，甘露時雨，不私一物，萬民之主，不阿一人。<sup>379</sup>

The “Guigong” takes natural phenomena as an example of the way of *gong*. Just like the natural world that nurtures all the myriad creatures equally, a ruler should not express special affection towards a particular person. Not only personal feeling but also any information acquired from sensory organs should be rejected in order to be impartial, as described in the “Renshu”.

Furthermore, the ear, eye, wisdom and skill are indeed not sufficient to be trusted. Only enforcing the rule and implementing the principle can be considered [reliable].

且夫耳目知巧，固不足恃。惟脩其數，行其理為可。<sup>380</sup>

If [a sense of] hearing is removed and [thus] there is no means of hearing, acute hearing is gained. If eyesight is removed and [thus] there is no means of seeing, clear seeing is gained. If [the capacity to] know is removed and [thus] there is no means of knowing, impartiality is gained.

去聽無以聞則聰。去視無以見則明。去智無以知則公。<sup>381</sup>

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<sup>379</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 14.

<sup>380</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 144.

<sup>381</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 144.

Information received in sensory organs is not trustworthy. When there is no information from these organs, clear perception is gained. With this clear perception, a ruler should follow the rules and principles.<sup>382</sup> As a specific example of following the rules and principles, the “Renshu” explains the way of responding in accordance with a given situation.

Perfect wisdom discards wisdom, the perfect humaneness forgets humaneness, and the perfect virtue is not virtuous. Without speaking and thinking, wait for a [favourable] time in quiescence and make a response when the time comes. Those who keep serenity of *xin* win. In general, the principle of response [is based on] being clear, pure, *gong* and unadorned, and [it] keeps its beginning and end rightly. Thereupon, [the ruler] masters the rule, brings out singing in chorus without singing first, and causes [others] to follow without taking the lead. The ancient kings seldom acted, but mostly accorded with [a given situation]. Accordance is the skill of the ruler; acting is the way of subjects. Acting entails troubles; accordance entails quiescence.

至智棄智，至仁忘仁，至德不德。無言無思，靜以待時，時至而應。心暇者勝。凡應之理，清淨公素，而正始卒。焉此治紀，無唱有和，無先有隨。古之王者，其所爲少，其所因多。因者，君術也，爲者，臣道也。爲則擾矣，因則靜矣。<sup>383</sup>

In a paradoxical argument, wisdom, humaneness and virtue, which are bound by values of the human realm, are rejected. Forswearing personal thinking and intervention, the ruler should respond to the demands of the occasion. *Gong* is mentioned as one of the requirements necessary for prompt response. In responding to the demands of the occasion, the ruler does not make a personal intervention while allowing subjects to take action.<sup>384</sup> In short, *gong* can be

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<sup>382</sup> The contrast between information from the sensory organs and the rules and principles is similar to the contrast between the concepts of subjective and objective in Huang-Lao 黃老 thought suggested by Peerenboom. According to Peerenboom, “subjective” is related to “what one perceives, experiences, knows based on one’s limited, biased perspective” while “objective” is related to “what corresponds to “the world out there”, to reality”. Huang-Lao thought also argues that one can perceive objective reality by overcoming subjective bias. Peerenboom, *Law and Morality in Ancient China*, 38-39.

<sup>383</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 145.

<sup>384</sup> Two main interpretations about the non-acting ruler and acting subject are suggested;

interpreted as “impartiality” achieved by eliminating personal feeling and judgement; one is able to make the best decision by maintaining impartiality.

### 5.1.5 Cosmic harmony of music in the “Dayue”

Up to this point, five key terms of the “Dayue” have been examined, and one possible reading of the “Dayue” based on these five terms can be suggested as follows. Music whose origin lies in *taiyi* 太一 is regarded as an object of desire; therefore, music is considered of value when it brings pleasure. For music to evoke pleasure, two conditions need to be satisfied: one is regarding musical instruments and the other is regarding the circumstances of the people. As for musical instruments, they should be produced adopting right measures (*duliang* 度量) to maintain appropriateness (*shi* 適). Without appropriateness, their sounds are not harmonious and as a result pleasure cannot be expected. To satisfy this condition, the establisher of music or the ruler is required to regulate his desire. If the ruler has a strong desire for music he seeks for a more and more powerful stimulus and consequently the appropriateness of music is ignored. Another condition for great music is secure and peaceful circumstances of the people because the people find it difficult to enjoy music when in a desperate situation. To foster favourable conditions for enjoying music, the ruler should achieve

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one is regarding its political implication and the other is regarding its philosophical background. Hu Shi 胡適 (1891-1962) understands this scheme as a political system for preventing problems caused by incompetent hereditary rulers. In this system, it is the subject and not the ruler who takes charge of governance. Even though the ruler is said to assume major significance, there is nothing he can do in practical matters under this system. Hu Shi, “*Du Lüshi chunqiu*”, 188-192.

On the other hand, Michael Puett understands a quiescent ruler and an acting subject as one of the strategies that advocate the link between man-made culture and the natural world during the Warring States period. That is, although conscious acting is not the way of the ruler, the ruler is still involved in acting by allowing a subject to act through his quiescence which accords with the way of the natural world. In this way, the ruler contributes to man-made culture while being linked to the natural world. Puett, “Nature and Artifice”, 506-511.

Considering that the *Lüshi chunqiu* was compiled under the supervision of Lü Buwei, Hu Shi’s viewpoint that emphasises constraint of sovereign power can be one of the possible readings of non-acting ruler and acting subject. In-depth discussion about non-acting ruler could suggest an increased philosophical concern about the principle governing the natural world. However, whether the ruler’s quiescence and subject’s act can be contrasted representing the natural world and man-made culture needs further examination.



balance (*ping* 平) in his country by maintaining impartiality (*gong* 公). Besides its role as the origin of music, *taiyi* is suggested as the principle that the ruler should follow for this goal. In short, musical harmony and peaceful circumstances, for which the ruler is responsible, are the necessary conditions for the accomplishment of great music.

According to the above interpretation of great music, music is more of a result of artificial arrangements than a product intrinsic to the natural world. However, regarding musical harmony the “Dayue” advances an argument that seemingly runs counter to the above interpretation.

In general, music is the harmony of Heaven and Earth, and the blend of *yin* and *yang*.

凡樂，天地之和，陰陽之調也。<sup>385</sup>

If we put emphasis on music as a product of the natural world, this statement can read as follows; since music is achieved by the interaction between *yin* and *yang*, music is compared to harmony in the natural world where various phenomena resulting from the interaction between *yin* and *yang* occur in harmony.<sup>386</sup> However, considering the importance of artificial regulation in achieving musical harmony, it seems more reasonable to suggest that this statement shows two aspects of music, as in the first statement of the “Dayue” where *duliang* or measure and *taiyi* are mentioned. In other words, “the blend of *yin* and *yang*” (*yinyang zhi tiao ye* 陰陽之調也) suggests that an interaction between *yin* and *yang* is necessary to achieve music since materials for musical instruments are acquired by this interaction, whereas “the harmony of Heaven and Earth” (*tiandi zhi he* 天地之和) suggests that harmonious music achieved by ruler’s commitment contributes to harmony in the natural world.

This contribution can be understood on the basis of the concept of resonance.

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<sup>385</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 40.

<sup>386</sup> Similar to this reading, musical harmony in the “Dayue” is often interpreted as an expression or imitation of harmony in the natural world. For example, see Li and Liu, *Zhongguo meixueshi*, 418; Cai Zhongde, *Zhongguo yinyue meixueshi*, 226; Brindley, “Music, Cosmos, and the Development of Psychology in Early China”, 14-15; Puett, *To Become a God*, 175.

As the sound of Shida's zither attracts *yin qi*, musical sound is believed to resonate with *qi* pervading the natural world.<sup>387</sup> In order to cause harmonious resonance, sound needs to be harmonious and this is where the ruler's commitment is required; the ruler should consider harmony and appropriateness when establishing music. The ruler's commitment can be understood in a different way if we follow Michael Puett's argument: humans who follow *taiyi* bring harmony to the natural world by means of music.<sup>388</sup> From Puett's viewpoint, the sages' creation of music is understood as the fulfillment of natural processes and music serves as a means for humans to regulate the natural world. From a similar perspective, Puett discusses the "Lunren" 論人 (Assessing Others) and "Wugong" 勿躬 (Not to be Done in Person) chapters focusing on the divine ruler.<sup>389</sup>

However, the main subject of the "Lunren" is the way of judging people and the "Wugong" mainly argues that the ruler should not engage in the duties of his subjects, and these chapters suggest following *taiyi* or *yi* — as the way to succeed in these tasks. Therefore, these chapters can be said to focus more on the application of *taiyi* in the human realm than divine achievements manifested in the natural world. Similarly, if the cosmic harmony of music in the "Dayue" is understood as the result of the ruler's divine intervention in natural processes, it might not go well with one of the main subjects of the "Dayue", namely the application of *taiyi* in the human realm.

According to the "Dayue", the sage does contribute to the smooth operation

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<sup>387</sup> For similar viewpoints, see pages 39-41, 75-76 and 116.

<sup>388</sup> Puett, *To Become a God*, 175.

<sup>389</sup> Michael Puett understands correlative cosmology emerging in the late Warring States period as an attempt to establish genealogical continuity between spiritual and human worlds which was formerly created by the sacrificial system. That is, the sacrificial system anthropomorphized the divine to ensure continuity between the two worlds whereas correlative cosmology undertakes this task by making the divine human. From this perspective, Puett suggests that the sage is endowed with a profound ability even as to affect the operation of the natural world. For various examples of anthropomorphizing the divine based on correlative cosmology, see Puett, *To Become a God*, 160-196.

However, Puett's anthropological approach to the emergence of correlative cosmology might not be readily applicable to the "Dayue" as well as the "Lunren" and "Wugong" where the application of *dao* is discussed mainly in the context of statecraft.

of the natural world, such as well-suited weather and timely wind and rain, by following *dao*. If the divine achievement is not a proper understanding, what can be an alternative reading of these achievements? One possible answer can be formulated based on the descriptions of natural calamities resulting from violating monthly ordinances, which are provided in each opening chapter of the “Shier ji” part. For example, the “Mengchun” 孟春 (The First Month of Spring) chapter describes as follows.

If in the first month of spring the ordinances for summer are put into effect, wind and rain will be unseasonable, grasses and trees will wither early, and the country will thereupon become frightened.

孟春行夏令，則風雨不時，草木早稿，國乃有恐。<sup>390</sup>

Each month exhibits different natural phenomena, which suggests that *dao* operates differently in each month. Similar to the way of *dao*, the ruler should enforce different ordinances in accordance with monthly changes. If the ruler adopts monthly ordinances, he achieves successful governance in harmony with the smooth functioning of the natural world. However, if he deviates from *dao* by violating monthly ordinances, the natural world responds to this deviation by bringing natural calamities. This response or resonance could be explained on the basis of “correlative thinking” that underpins early Han cosmology where all parts of the cosmos are connected like an organic body.<sup>391</sup> As an organic entity,

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<sup>390</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 11.

<sup>391</sup> Correlative thinking, which was developed not only in ancient China but also in most other civilisations, “draws systematic correspondence among aspects of various order of reality or realms of cosmos”. Henderson, *The Development and Decline of Chinese Cosmology*, 1. Angus Graham explains that in ancient China, correlative thinking shaped a vast system where the human realm is related to the cosmic world being grouped into numerical categories based on the concepts of Yin and Yang, Five Phases, Eight Trigrams and Sixty four Hexagrams. Graham, *Yin-Yang and the Nature of Correlative Thinking*, 1.

Joseph Needham characterizes the correlative system in ancient China by using the term “organism”; each correspondence in the system forms one colossal pattern, and every constituent participating in this pattern is expected to behave in a particular way in accordance with its relational position in the whole world of organism. Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China* vol. 2, 281.

This organic system functions on the basis of resonant interaction between constituents. However, as John Henderson indicates, the concept of resonance is not intrinsic to correlative thinking; correlative system can be static numerological one. For example,

“a disturbance in one part of the system reverberates throughout the whole”.<sup>392</sup> Under this system, the ruler’s failure to behave correctly can bring about abnormality in the natural world.

Resonance between the human and natural worlds which is suggested in every opening chapter can be supported by the “Zhaolei” 召類 (Attraction between the Same Kind) chapter.

Things belonging to the same kind attract each other; things sharing the same *qi* join together; the same sounds respond to [each other]. Therefore, if [one] strikes *gong* [on one instrument] then *gong* [on the other instrument] will respond; if [one] strikes *jue* [on one instrument] then *jue* [on the other instrument] will vibrate. ... The sage could not foster the [right] time, but he was able to match his activities to a [given] situation. When [a person’s] activities are in accordance with a [given] situation, his accomplishments become great.

類同相召，氣同則合，聲比則應。故鼓宮而宮應，鼓角而角動。.... 聖人不能爲時，而能以事適時，事適於時者其功大。<sup>393</sup>

The “Zhaolei” does not discuss resonance between the human and cosmic realms as its description is mainly centred on human activities. However, the concept of resonance or response (*ying* 應) bears a resemblance to resonant interaction between the human and cosmic realms that forms the basis of Han cosmology.<sup>394</sup>

Since the *Lüshi chunqiu* warns that natural calamities result from violating monthly ordinances, it can be suggested that the *Lüshi chunqiu* assumes resonance between the human and natural realms although this assumption has

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four seasons are related to four limbs of the body but it does not necessarily assume their interaction at a distance. The concept of resonance was mainly explored by Han cosmologists and it became an important concept in explaining correspondence between the human and cosmic realms. Henderson, *The Development and Decline of Chinese Cosmology*, 22; Henderson, “Cosmology”, 189.

<sup>392</sup> Major, *Heaven and Earth in Early Han Thought*, 31.

<sup>393</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 181-182.

<sup>394</sup> Musical resonance is believed to contribute to formulating Han cosmology by providing empirical evidence of resonance between similar elements. For this argument, see DeWoskin, *A Song for One or Two*, 70-83; Henderson, *The Development and Decline of Chinese Cosmology*, 22-24.

yet to be clearly formulated in an organized argument. Based on this assumption, the smooth operation of the natural world which is described as the divine achievement of the ruler might be more properly understood as the response of the natural world to the ruler's following *dao*. From this perspective, the cosmic harmony of music can be understood as one of the results produced by a favourable response of the natural world to the ruler's following *dao*.

## 5.2 Musical harmony and the concept of “*li* and music” in the “Yuelun” and “Yueji”

Music is also portrayed as the harmony of Heaven and Earth in the “Yueji”. However, unlike the “Dayue” where only musical harmony is discussed, the “Yueji” juxtaposes musical harmony with order of *li*.

Music is the harmony of Heaven and Earth; *li* is the order of Heaven and Earth.

樂者，天地之和也，禮者，天地之序也。<sup>395</sup>

Music is perceived differently between the *Lüshi chunqiu* and “Yuelun”. For example, music is mainly regarded as an object of desire in the *Lüshi chunqiu* whereas music is largely perceived as a governing tool in the “Yuelun”, and the “Yueji” shares the same viewpoint. If their perceptions of music are different, their interpretation of musical harmony might not be the same. Therefore, the same statement: “music is the harmony of Heaven and Earth” in the “Dayue” and “Yueji” can have different implications.<sup>396</sup> Section 5.2 will examine the

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<sup>395</sup> *Liji zhengyi*, 667.

<sup>396</sup> Li Zehou and Liu Gangji suggest that the *Lüshi chunqiu* and “Yueji” present different viewpoints although these two texts equally advocate the cosmic harmony of music. Li and Liu, *Zhongguo meixueshi*, 423-425. However, instead of focusing on how these two texts differently interpret cosmic harmony, their comparison is mainly based on the contrast between Daoist and Confucian viewpoints. For example, they argue that the “Yueji” emphasises harmonious relationships among people in different social strata as the effect produced by music. According to them, although the *Lüshi chunqiu* also supports this aspect, it puts emphasis on *dao* as a crucial factor to enable this function.

I agree that musical harmony is interpreted in close relation to social harmony in the “Yueji” but it is not clearly explained how this social harmony is extended to a cosmic level. In addition, I do not agree that the *Lüshi chunqiu* advances a similar viewpoint on harmony to the “Yueji”. I will discuss how the concept of harmony is differently interpreted between the “Dayue” and “Yueji” and suggest different implications of their

implication of musical harmony in the “Yuelun” both from social and cosmic perspectives, followed by the same examination focusing on the “Yueji”. If a different perception of musical harmony is addressed based on the “Yuelun” and “Yueji”, this will suggest another understanding of the concept of “*li* and music”.<sup>397</sup> Apart from these two texts, the *Lunyu*, *Guoyu* and *Zuo zhuan* will be examined focusing on musical harmony and the concept of “*li* and music”, with an aim to demonstrate the particular role of the “Yuelun” and “Yueji” in advancing the concept of “*li* and music”.

### 5.2.1 Musical harmony in the “Yuelun”

The term *he* 和 (harmony) occurs in the “Yuelun” sixteen times. The high frequency of the term shows that harmony is one of the key concepts in the “Yuelun”; however, harmony seems to be more closely related to harmonious human relationship than musical harmony. Among sixteen occurrences, only four examples mention harmony in relation to music as shown below.

Music is the great uniformity of all-under-Heaven and the fundamental principles of the mean and of harmony.

樂者，天下之大齊也，中和之紀也。<sup>398</sup>

Music is harmony that can never be altered; *li* is regulation that can never be changed.

樂也者，和之不可變者也，禮也者，理之不可易者也。<sup>399</sup>

The large mouth organ and middle mouth organ sound solemn and harmonious.

箏笙簫和。<sup>400</sup>

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cosmic harmony of music.

<sup>397</sup> As discussed in 3.1.3, music is perceived as one of the elements regulated by *li* in the “Shiyin”. Another relationship between *li* and music based on their complementary functions will be discussed in this section.

<sup>398</sup> *Xunzi jijie*, 380.

<sup>399</sup> *Xunzi jijie*, 382. Regarding the parallel sentence in the “Yueji”, Zheng Xuan interprets *li* 理 as *shi* 事. I understand *shi* is semantically close to *zhi* 治 (govern) based on Kong Yingda’s annotation: “once *li* is manifested in appearance and is practised then politeness and respectfulness are regulated.” 禮見於貌行之，則恭敬理事也。 *Liji zhengyi*, 682.

Make music harmonious, without being unrestrained.

和樂而不流。<sup>401</sup>

From the viewpoint of the “Yuelun”, music is expected to edify the people; therefore, it is supposed that musical harmony is closely related to social harmony resulting from the edifying effect of music. This supposition gains support by examining the contexts where the above sentences are mentioned. Apart from the third sentence that describes sounds of musical instruments, the other three sentences understand harmony beyond musical harmony. That is, as examined in chapter 3, the first sentence appears in the third attack on Mozi.<sup>402</sup> In this first attack, after enumerating the beneficial effects of music, the “Yuelun” finally states that music is “the fundamental principles of the mean and of harmony”. Therefore, this harmony is more related to harmony achieved by music than musical harmony. The second sentence is followed by the passage below.

Music unites what is common while *li* distinguishes what is different. The fundamentals of *li* and music govern human *xin*. Seeking out the root [of things] and carrying out transformation to the limit are the essential quality of music. Exhibiting the sincere and eliminating the artificial are the invariable principle of *li*.

樂合同，禮別異。禮樂之統，管乎人心矣。<sup>403</sup> 窮本極變，樂之情也。著誠去偽，禮之經也。<sup>404</sup>

The pairing of *li* and music was mentioned in the “Shiyin”, but it did not

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<sup>400</sup> *Xunzi jijie*, 383.

<sup>401</sup> *Xunzi jijie*, 385. 和樂 can be interpreted in two ways: *heyue* (making music harmonious) and *hele* (harmonious and pleasant). Both interpretations seem acceptable in this context but I choose the former since the same phrase occurs after the description of performing music. For this description, see *Xunzi jijie*, 384.

<sup>402</sup> See page 78.

<sup>403</sup> The meanings of *tong* 統 and *guan* 管 are uncertain. The “Yueji” has a similar sentence where *tong* is replaced by *shuo* 說 (theory) and *renxin* 人心 is replaced by *renqing* 人情 (human feeling). Regarding this sentence, Zheng Xuan glosses *guan* 管 as *bao* 包 (embrace). *Liji zhengyi*, 682. From a viewpoint that emphasises the effects of music and *li* on *xin*, I translate *guan* as “govern” while understanding *bao* as “embracing human *xin* as the area where the effects of music and *li* reach”. In addition, among various meanings of *tong*, I choose a meaning close to *shuo*.

<sup>404</sup> *Xunzi jijie*, 382.

discuss the complementary functions of *li* and music. In the “Shiyin”, music is regarded as an object of desire, and as an object whose form needs to be regulated by *li*, music does not occupy an equal status with *li*. However, in the “Yuelun”, music seems to assume the same significance as *li*; *li* and music serve as the complementary tools for unity and distinction. Music and *li* are believed to influence *xin*; that being so, unity and distinction can be said to be the result of music and *li* influencing *xin*. Similarly, when it is said that “music is harmony that can never be altered” this harmony may indicate harmony achieved by music influencing *xin*.

The fourth sentence is presented as one of the five conditions that are required to succeed in cultivating oneself and stabilizing the country and all-under-Heaven as well.<sup>405</sup> Therefore, it can be said that this sentence also assumes the effect of harmonious music. In this way, even in the cases where harmony is mentioned in relation to music, harmony has strong implication of social harmony. In short, the interpretation of musical harmony of the “Yuelun” is different from that of the “Dayue” in that this concept is more oriented to social harmony than harmonious sounds. Another difference between the “Yuelun” and “Dayue” can be found in their viewpoints on the relation between music and the natural world.

Thus, [music’s] clarity and brightness embody the sky; its breadth and greatness embody the earth.<sup>406</sup> [The dancing movements] of looking up and down and revolving resemble the four seasons.

故其清明象天，其廣大象地，其俯仰周旋有似於四時。<sup>407</sup>

The drum is the king of music! Therefore, it resembles the sky. The bell resembles the earth; the chime stone resembles water; the large mouth organ,

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<sup>405</sup> *Xunzi jijie*, 385: “Being clear about [the distinction between] noble and humble; distinguishing superior and inferior; making music harmonious without being unrestrained; respecting the elders without leaving anyone out; being peaceful and comfortable without disorder. These five kinds of conduct are sufficient to rectify oneself and to make the country tranquil. If the country is tranquil, all-under-Heaven becomes tranquil.” 貴賤明，隆殺辨，和樂而不流，弟長而無遺，安燕而不亂。此五行者，是足以正身安國矣。彼國安而天下安。

<sup>406</sup> In order to emphasise the physical properties of *tian* 天 and *di* 地, I term them as “the sky and the earth” instead of “Heaven and Earth”.

<sup>407</sup> *Xunzi jijie*, 381-382.



middle mouth organ, double pipe and vertical flute resemble planets, stars, the sun and the moon; the *tao*, *zhu*, *fu*, *ge*, *qiang* and *qia* resemble myriad things.<sup>408</sup>

鼓，其樂之君邪！故鼓似天。鐘似地，磬似水，竽笙簫和箎籥似星辰日月，<sup>409</sup> 鞀祝拊鼙控榻似萬物。<sup>410</sup>

Images of music and musical instruments are compared to the constituents of the natural world. In addition to their similar images, the comparison between the drum and the sky is based on their similar positions within their categories. In this way, the hierarchical order is believed to exist among musical instruments as well as among the constituents of the natural world. Although music is discussed in close relation to the natural world, the “Yuelun” does not go so far as to argue that music is the harmony of Heaven and Earth; the concept of harmony rests in social harmony and has yet to be extended to a cosmic level.<sup>411</sup> Nevertheless, by making a direct comparison between music and the natural world, the “Yuelun” opens up the possibility of musical harmony assuming cosmic significance. However, this cosmic harmony might be closely related to social harmony, as implied in the equal position of the sky to the king.

### 5.2.2 The concept of “*li* and music” in the “Yueji”

It is in the “Yueji” that musical harmony is extended to a cosmic level; in

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<sup>408</sup> *Tao*, *zhu*, *fu*, *ge*, *qiang* and *qia* are percussion instruments. According to Zheng Xuan’s annotations on the *Zhouli*, *tao* 鞀, whose alternative graph is *tao* 鞀, is a small drum with a handle, and sound is made by shaking the drum’s ears. *Zhouli zhushu*, 356. According to Zheng Xuan’s annotations on the *Liji*, *fu* is a small drum made of leather, the inside of which is filled with chaff; *qiang* is similar to *zhu*, and *qia* is similar to *yu* 敔. *Liji zhengyi*, 684, 580 and 690. Regarding *zhu* and *yu*, see footnote 171.

<sup>409</sup> I have removed the characters *xiao* 簫 and *he* 和 in accordance with Wang Yinzhi. Before this passage, the “Yuelun” says that “*yu* and *sheng* sound solemn and harmonious; *guan* and *yue* sound spirited and valiant”. 竽笙簫和，箎籥發猛. Wang Yinzhi reads *su* 肅 (solemn) for *xiao* 簫 and based on this sentence he argues *xiao* and *he* are not the names of musical instruments, and for this reason, they should be removed. Wang Niansun, *Dushu zazhi*, 11: 83.

<sup>410</sup> *Xunzi jijie*, 383-384.

<sup>411</sup> A similar opinion is voiced by Erica Brindley who suggests that although music is not claimed to influence cosmic operation, the resemblance between music and cosmic operation is raised in the “Yuelun”. Brindley, “Music, Cosmos, and the Development of Psychology in Early China”, 38-39.

addition, not only music but also *li* assumes cosmic significance.

Great music shares harmony with Heaven and Earth and great *li* shares division with Heaven and Earth. There is harmony; therefore, hundreds of things do not lose [their nature]. There is division; therefore, sacrifices are offered to Heaven and Earth.

大樂與天地同和，大禮與天地同節。和故百物不失。<sup>412</sup> 節故祀天祭地。<sup>413</sup>

Music is the harmony of Heaven and Earth; *li* is the order of Heaven and Earth. There is harmony; therefore, hundreds of things all grow. There is order; therefore, numerous things are all differentiated. Music is created from Heaven and *li* is established by Earth.<sup>414</sup> If [*li*] is established unduly it [results in] chaos; if [music] is created unduly it [results in] violence. Only after having a clear understanding of Heaven and Earth can [one] promote *li* and music.

樂者，天地之和也，禮者，天地之序也。和故百物皆化。<sup>415</sup> 序故羣物皆別。樂由天作，禮以地制。過制則亂。過作則暴。明於天地然後能興禮樂也。<sup>416</sup>

While music and *li* exert influences within the human realm in the “Yuelun”, their influences are extended to the natural world in the “Yueji”; music which is claimed to come from Heaven represents harmony among the myriad creatures and *li* which is claimed to have association with Earth represents the different features of the myriad creatures.<sup>417</sup> In the “Yuelun”, musical harmony implies social harmony, especially when it is paired with order of *li*, and this aspect seems

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<sup>412</sup> Interpreting *bushi* 不失 as *bushi qi xing* 不失其性 (not to lose their nature) in accordance with Zheng Xuan.

<sup>413</sup> *Liji zhengyi*, 666.

<sup>414</sup> According to Kong Yingda, the image of music matches *yang* and the image of *li* matches *yin*. This is why Heaven is claimed to create music and Earth is claimed to establish *li*. *Liji zhengyi*, 667.

<sup>415</sup> Interpreting *hua* 化 as *sheng* 生 (grow) in accordance with Zheng Xuan.

<sup>416</sup> *Liji zhengyi*, 667.

<sup>417</sup> The emphasis on social harmony in the “Yuelun” and the emphasis on cosmic harmony in the “Yueji” can be supported by their different words-choices. In other words, the “Yuelun” does not mention *tiandi* 天地 which encompasses the natural world as well as the human realm whereas the “Yueji” mentions this term eighteen times. *Tianxia* 天下 whose meaning is usually restricted to the human realm appears five times in the “Yuelun” and ten times in the “Yueji”.

to be still valid when music and *li* are discussed at a cosmic level in the “Yueji”. In other words, the cosmic level of *li* and music might be presented to advocate the harmony and order in the human realm. The comparison of the similar passages between the “Xici” 繫辭 (Appended Phrases) commentary and the “Yueji” will buttress this aspect.

“Xici”

The sky is high and the earth is low; [therefore], *Qian and Kun* are determined.<sup>418</sup> Once low and high are arranged, noble and humble are assigned. The movement [of the sky] and stillness [of the earth] are always the same, and [thus] **the firm and the soft** are clearly differentiated. *Fang* gathers by kind, and things are differentiated according to species; [as a result], **good fortune and misfortune** arise. The heavenly bodies are formed in the sky and earthly creatures take form on the earth; [as a result], **change and transformation occur**. Therefore, the firm and the soft rub each other, and the eight trigrams mingle with each other. They are aroused by thunder and lightning, and fertilized by wind and rain. [As] the sun and the moon move, it is once cold and once hot.

天尊地卑，乾坤定矣。卑高以陳，貴賤位矣。動靜有常，剛柔斷矣。方以類聚，<sup>419</sup> 物以群分，吉凶生矣。在天成象，在地成形，<sup>420</sup> 變化見矣。是故

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<sup>418</sup> *Qian* is the first hexagram consisting of six solid lines which represent pure *yang*. *Kun* is the second hexagram consisting of six broken lines which represent pure *yin*. According to Kong Yingda, the power of *Qian* is comparable to *yang* of Heaven and the adaptability of *Kun* is comparable to *yin* of Earth. *Zhouyi zhengyi*, 145.

<sup>419</sup> Interpretation of *fang yi lei ju* 方以類聚 is debatable. Kong Yingda interprets *fang* 方 as “the law, method, nature and behaviour” (*fa shu xing xing* 法術性行) and Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200) interprets *fang* as “the course of matters going” (*shiqing suo xiang* 事情所向). *Zhouyi zhengyi*, 145; Zhu Xi, *Zhouyi benyi*, 285. In line with Zhu Xi’s interpretation, Jin Jingfang 金景芳 (1902-2001) understands this phrase as meaning that human activities are differentiated by kinds such as reading and farming. Jin Jingfang, *Zhouyi Xicizhuan xinbian xiangjie*, 5. On the other hand, Gao Heng 高亨 (1900-1986) argues *fang* is a mistake for *ren* 人 (human beings) resulting from their similar shape in the seal script. Gao Heng, *Zhouyi Dazhuan jinzhu*, 381. Not sure about which interpretation is closer to the original meaning of the “Xici”, I leave *fang* un-translated.

<sup>420</sup> Interpreting *xiang* 象 as the sun, moon, planets and stars (*ri yue xing chen* 日月星辰) and *xing* 形 as mountains, rivers, grass and trees (*shan chuan cao mu* 山川草木) in accordance with Kong Yingda. *Zhouyi zhengyi*, 145.

剛柔相摩，八卦相蕩。鼓之以雷霆，潤之以風雨。日月運行，一寒一暑。<sup>421</sup>

“Yueji”

The sky is high and the earth is low; [therefore], **ruler and subject** are determined. Once low and high are arranged, noble and humble are assigned. The movement [of the sky] and stillness [of the earth] are always the same, and [thus] **the small and the large** are differentiated. *Fang* gathers by kind, and things are differentiated according to species; [for this reason], **the nature and fate** [of each creature] are not identical. The heavenly bodies are formed in the sky and earthly creatures take form on the earth. In this way, ***li* is the distinction between Heaven and Earth**. *Qi* of the earth rises up and *qi* of the sky goes down. *Yin* and *yang* rub together and the sky and the earth mingle with each other. They are aroused by thunder and lightning and boosted by wind and rain. They move following the four seasons and they are warmed up by the sun and the moon; as a result, the hundred transformations are vigorous. In this way, **music is the harmony of Heaven and Earth**.

天尊地卑，君臣定矣。卑高已陳，貴賤位矣。動靜有常，小大殊矣。方以類聚，物以羣分，則性命不同矣。在天成象，在地成形。如此則禮者天地之別也。地氣上齊，天氣下降。陰陽相摩，天地相蕩。鼓之以雷霆，奮之以風雨。動之以四時，煖之以日月，而百化興焉。如此則樂者天地之和也。<sup>422</sup>

“*Qian* and *Kun*” and “the firm and the soft” in the “*Xici*” are replaced by “ruler and subject” and “the small and the large” in the “*Yueji*”, which shows the emphasis of the “*Yueji*” on social distinction and different shapes. The “*Xici*” claims that good fortune and misfortune arise after arguing that things are differentiated according to species, which implies that good fortune and misfortune are the results of interactions between different species. Unlike the “*Xici*” focusing on interaction, the “*Yueji*” emphasises distinctions among species by indicating their different nature and fate. Occurrences in the sky and on the earth are depicted as change in the “*Xici*” while the “*Yueji*” says “*li* is the distinction between Heaven and Earth”, rather out of context. In addition, after

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<sup>421</sup> *Zhouyi zhengyi*, 145-146.

<sup>422</sup> *Liji zhengyi*, 667-670.

describing various natural phenomena, the “Yueji” states that “music is the harmony of Heaven and Earth”.

Compared with the “Xici” where interactions between different forces are focused on, the “Yueji” puts more emphasis on different features in the natural world. In addition, the “Yueji” reads a social hierarchical order from the features of the sky and the earth, which expresses the belief that the natural world is homologous with the human realm. This belief also appears in the sentence where the heavenly bodies and earthly creatures are considered to be distinguished by *li*. In addition, music is compared to various natural phenomena. Since the function of music to induce harmony becomes crucial when music is paired with *li*, what is compared to the harmony of Heaven and Earth might not be harmonious musical sound but the harmony in society that is achieved by music. By this account, it can be suggested that the “Yueji” discusses the cosmic harmony of music from a different perspective from the “Dayue” where harmonious sounds are believed to participate in harmony in the natural world.

The “Yuelun” and “Yueji” share a similar viewpoint in that they advocate the complementary functions of *li* and music. On the other hand, they express different viewpoints in that the functions of *li* and music are valid for the human realm in the “Yuelun” while their effects are extended to a cosmic level in the “Yueji”. However, this difference might not mean that the cosmic significance of *li* and music is irrelevant to the human realm because the natural world appears to be viewed as the homologous body of human society where the perfect example of harmony and order is manifested. Therefore, it seems more reasonable to regard the viewpoint of the “Yueji” as the intensification of that of the “Yuelun”; cosmic harmony and order are suggested as an expression that extols the complementary functions of *li* and music in the human realm and they do not express a belief in the actual influences of *li* and music on the natural world.<sup>423</sup>

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<sup>423</sup> Regarding music and *li* in the “Yueji”, Erica Brindley argues “they both participate in and enhance the basic operations of the cosmos”, and music can be regarded as an indicator for the successful functioning of the cosmos. Brindley, “Music, Cosmos, and the Development of Psychology in Early China”, 40-41. Although the “Yueji” describes these aspects, I would rather understand it as a rhetorical expression to laud their function in the human realm.

If cosmic harmony and order are to support social harmony and order, the role of the ruler becomes consequential. That is, it is the ruler who is responsible for creating social harmony and order comparable to cosmic harmony and order through establishing music and *li*. Therefore, the ruler should have a clear understanding of Heaven and Earth before establishing *li* and music.<sup>424</sup> If the ruler understands the principle underlying the operation of Heaven and Earth, he can adopt this principle when establishing *li* and music. For this reason, the music established by the enlightened ruler is said to be a result of profound observation.<sup>425</sup>

### 5.2.3 Musical harmony and “*li* and music” in the *Lunyu*, *Guoyu* and *Zuo zhuan*

The “Dayue” only mentions the cosmic harmony of music whereas the “Yueji” mentions it along with the cosmic order of *li*. In addition, musical harmony has different implications; harmonious sounds participate in harmony in the natural world in the “Dayue” while musical harmony is closely related to social harmony in the “Yuelun” and social harmony achieved by music is compared to harmony in the natural world in the “Yueji”. In brief, the “Dayue” discusses musical harmony itself whereas the “Yuelun” and “Yueji” more focus on the function of music to create social harmony in conjunction with *li*. In order to understand their divergent views from a wider perspective, this section will discuss the *Lunyu*, *Guoyu* and *Zuo zhuan*. In addition, it will discuss whether the concept of “*li* and music” advanced in the “Yuelun” and “Yueji” is also discussed from the same perspective as in these texts.

In the *Lunyu*, harmony is not discussed in relation to music, let alone the cosmic harmony of music. Instead, harmony is considered important when practising *li*.

Master You said, “In practising *li*, harmony is highly regarded. The way of the former kings deemed it beautiful; [therefore], both small and great matters

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<sup>424</sup> *Liji zhengyi*, 667: “Only after having a clear understanding of Heaven and Earth can [one] promote *li* and music.” 明於天地然後能興禮樂也。

<sup>425</sup> *Liji zhengyi*, 678: “Music observes profoundly.” 樂觀其深矣。

depended on it. When things go amiss, one who knows harmony [only] harmonises them without distinguishing them by *li*; [then], it will still go amiss”.

有子曰，“禮之用，和爲貴。先王之道，斯爲美，小大由之。有所不行，知和而和，不以禮節之，亦不可行也”。<sup>426</sup>

Ma Rong 馬融 (79-166) understands this passage as meaning that people only apply harmony when practising *li* without knowing that distinction is another vital aspect of *li*, while Xing Bing 邢昺 (932-1010) reads the contrast between harmony of music and distinction of *li* from this passage.<sup>427</sup> As Liu Baonan 劉寶楠 (1791-1855) indicates, Xing Bing’s relating harmony to music might not be appropriate in this context.<sup>428</sup> Xing Bing’s reading seems to be affected by the viewpoint of the “Yueji”; however, in spite of the pairing of *li* and music in the *Lunyu*, the question still remains whether or not their complementary functions are advocated as in the “Yueji”. Some passages of the *Lunyu* express a seemingly similar viewpoint to the “Yueji”.

Confucius said, “When *dao* prevails all under Heaven, *li*, music, punitive expedition and conquest are issued by the Son of Heaven. When *dao* does not exist all under Heaven, *li*, music, punitive expedition and conquest are issued by the feudal lords. If they are issued by the feudal lords, few [states] will not be lost within ten generations”.

孔子曰，天下有道，則禮樂征伐自天子出。天下無道，則禮樂征伐自諸侯出。自諸侯出，蓋十世希不失矣。<sup>429</sup>

If a name is incorrect what is said does not concord with [what is meant]. If what is said does not concord with [what is meant], what is to be done cannot be accomplished. If what is to be done cannot be accomplished, *li* and music do not arise. If *li* and music do not arise, heavy or light penalty is [imposed] improperly. If heavy or light penalty is improper, the people have nowhere to

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<sup>426</sup> *Lunyu zhushu*, 8 (LY 1.12).

<sup>427</sup> *Lunyu zhushu*, 8.

<sup>428</sup> Liu Baonan, *Lunyu zhengyi*, 16.

<sup>429</sup> *Lunyu zhushu*, 146 (LY 16.2).

put their hands and feet.

名不正，則言不順。言不順，則事不成。事不成，則禮樂不興，禮樂不興，則刑罰不中。刑罰不中，則民無所錯手足。<sup>430</sup>

The first quotation seems to imply the political application of music; *li* and music are mentioned along with punitive military expeditions, and four of them are considered crucial in holding the political power. This implication finds support from Kong Anguo's explanation about music in the second passage which was quoted by He Yan 何晏 (c.190-249): the superior are comforted by *li* while customs are changed through music.<sup>431</sup> In addition, similar to the quartet of *li*, music, punitive expedition and conquest given in the *Lunyu*, the “Yueji” presents the quartet of *li*, music, punishment and governance as shown below.

*Li* is used to direct the will; music is used to harmonise sounds; governance is used to unify behaviour; punishment is used to prevent illegitimacy. The ultimate ends of *li*, music, punishment and governance are the same; they are used to unify the people's *xin* and to put forward the way of ruling [the country].

禮以道其志，樂以和其聲，政以一其行，刑以防其姦。禮樂刑政，其極一也，所以同民心而出治道也。<sup>432</sup>

The “Yueji” regards music as a governing tool to unify the people functioning with *li*, punishment and governance. Then, does the *Lunyu* also assume the function of music to create harmony in conjunction with *li*? Considering that the concept of harmony is hardly discussed in relation to music in the *Lunyu*, it might be difficult to expect an affirmative answer to this question. As discussed in chapter 3, the *Lunyu* largely perceives music as an object under the regulation of *li*.<sup>433</sup> Considering this perception, it may be suggested that Kong

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<sup>430</sup> *Lunyu zhushu*, 114 (LY 13.3).

<sup>431</sup> *Lunyu zhushu*, 114.

<sup>432</sup> *Liji zhengyi*, 661.

<sup>433</sup> See page 63. In addition to this viewpoint, the *Lunyu* determines the aesthetic value of music according to its moral implications, as shown in Confucius's evaluation of the music of Sovereign Shun and the music of Sovereign Wu. *Lunyu zhushu*, 31 (LY 3.25): “The master spoke of the Shao as being perfectly beautiful as well as perfectly good; but



Anguo's interpretation and the concept of music in the above passage from the "Yueji" demonstrate another perception of music different from what the main text of the *Lunyu* seems to convey.

If both harmony and distinction are considered essential in practising *li*, music could be the perfect example of *li* with its aesthetic value achieved by harmony among various musical elements such as sound, tempo and rhythm. Therefore, when music is mentioned with *li* in the *Lunyu*, it might be more appropriate to understand music as a representative example that manifests the principle of *li* rather than the complementary counterpart of *li*.<sup>434</sup> For this reason, even though the *Lunyu* mentions the pair of *li* and music, it does not necessarily mean that their complementary functions are acknowledged as in the "Yueji". This might explain why harmony which is emphasised as the effect of music in the "Yuelun" is hardly discussed in relation to music in the *Lunyu*.<sup>435</sup>

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of the Wu as being perfectly beautiful but not perfectly good." 子謂韶，盡美矣，又盡善也。謂武，盡美矣，未盡善也。

As He Yan suggests, Confucius's evaluation is largely based on the difference between Sovereign Shun and Sovereign Wu in their virtue; Sovereign Shun ascended the throne through his virtue while Sovereign Wu ascended the throne through military punitive expeditions. Although the *Lunyu* acknowledges moral implications of music, it does not seem to believe highly valued music can make the people behave well.

<sup>434</sup> *Lunyu* 17.11 and 17.21 can be interpreted from this perspective. *Lunyu zhushu*, 155: "The master said, 'Li, li! Does it indicate jade and silk? Music, music! Does it indicate bells and drums?'" 子曰，禮云禮云，玉帛云乎哉？樂云樂云，鐘鼓云乎哉？ *Lunyu zhushu*, 156: "If a virtuous person suspends the practice of *li* for three years, *li* will certainly decay; if he does not engage in music for three years, music will certainly be destroyed." 君子三年不為禮，禮必壞，三年不為樂，樂必崩。

Ma Rong interprets *Lunyu* 17.11 as suggesting that the importance of music lies not in bells and drums but in its function to change customs. However, the function to change customs does not seem to be advocated in the *Lunyu*. It would be closer to the main idea of *Lunyu* 17.11 if we read the importance of the right arrangements of the paraphernalia for musical performances as specified in *li*. In the same way, the destruction of music can be understood as the violation of the rules for musical performances.

My understanding of the relationship between *li* and music in the *Lunyu* could be supported by Masayuki Sato's interpretation of "*li* and music" in the *Lunyu* as a metaphor of "a proper state institution". Sato, *The Confucian Quest for Order*, 192-193.

<sup>435</sup> As Angus Graham indicates, the "Yuelun" is regarded as the first document that theorises about the affinity of *li* and music which had been recognised by Confucians since Confucius himself. Graham, *Disputers of the Tao*, 259. Although the "Yuelun" was probably influenced by Confucius's emphasis on *li* and music, their interpretations of music in relation to *li* might need to be distinguished.

Unlike in the *Lunyu*, the concept of harmony is discussed in relation to music in the *Guoyu* and *Zuo zhuan*. For example, the *Guoyu* defines harmony and balance in regard to sound. According to the first quotation below, if sounds that are played simultaneously match each other while not losing their own timbre this is defined as harmony. If one of the sounds is muffled because of the other sound, their balance is disrupted and thus harmony is not maintained.

In general, governance manifests music. Music goes after harmony and harmony goes after balance. Sounds are used in order to harmonise music and pitch-standards are used in order to balance sounds. ... [Every] sound is preserved when responding to each other; it is called harmony. Soft sound and big sound do not violate each other; it is called balance. ... Soft sound is suppressed and big sound surpasses, [and, as a result, soft sound] is not received in the ears; this is not harmony. [When one] listens to sound, it is scattered and faint; this is not balance.

夫政象樂。樂從和，和從平。聲以和樂，律以平聲。... 聲應相保曰和，細大不踰曰平。... 細抑大陵，不容於耳，非和也。聽聲越遠，非平也。<sup>436</sup>

Big [sound] is emitted clearly while soft [sound] is ringing; this is the way of harmony. Being harmonious and balanced it lasts long; if it lasts long stably then it is in harmony; if it is in harmony with clarity, [one movement] comes to an end; when [one movement] ends [another movement] starts again then it is pleasant. This [process symbolizes] how [successful] governance is achieved. Therefore, the former kings considered it precious.

大昭小鳴，和之道也。和平則久，久固則純，<sup>437</sup> 純明則終，終復則樂。所以成政也。故先王貴之。<sup>438</sup>

Music is a mixture of various pairs of opposing elements such as high and low pitch, soft and big sounds, and slow and fast tempo. Musical harmony is achieved when these pairs attain balance. The *Guoyu* does not discuss music only

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<sup>436</sup> *Guoyu*, 3: 128.

<sup>437</sup> Wei Zhao quotes *Lunyu* 3.23 to explain the term *chun* 純 which is glossed as *hexie* 和諧 (harmonious and consonant) by He Yan. *Lunyu zhushu*, 30: “When [musical notes] are arranged freely they sound harmonious.” 從之，純如也。

<sup>438</sup> *Guoyu*, 3: 137.

for the sake of music; it also uses music as an illustrative example for harmony in society by discussing music in close relation to governance as in the second quotation above. Harmony among various musical elements might adequately symbolise successful governance which aims to create harmony among the people in different social strata.

One of the illustrative examples that imply a close relation between music and governance is provided by a story where Yanzi 晏子 (c.578-500 BCE) draws a distinction between harmony and sameness (*tong* 同).<sup>439</sup> Explaining their difference, Yanzi advises Lord Jing of Qi 齊景公 (r. 547-490 BCE) on a ruler's attitude towards his subjects; the ruler should reject a subject who always assents to the ruler's opinion and accept a subject who raises a different opinion trying to yield the best result by mutual understanding.<sup>440</sup> When contrasting the difference between harmony and sameness, Yanzi gives an example of music; their difference is as distinctive as the difference between an attractive combination of various sounds and an isolated sound.

In this way, although harmony is defined in musical term its implication is closely related to governance. Musical harmony is not only mentioned as a metaphor for statecraft; it is also believed to exert a direct influence on the ruler, which strengthens its connection to governance.

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<sup>439</sup> *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 858-861 (Zhao 20, i.e. 520 BCE).

<sup>440</sup> A similar argument is advanced in the “Zheng yu” 鄭語 (Narratives of Zheng) of the *Guoyu* (16: 515-516): “Harmony generates things but sameness cannot continue [to generate]. Balance between one thing and the other is called harmony. Therefore, [harmony] makes things grow vigorously and things are directed to harmony. If one thing is assisted by the same thing, they are all discarded. For this reason, the former kings produced the hundred things by blending earth, metal, wood, water and fire. Therefore, [the former kings] enhanced taste by blending five tastes; [they] protected their body by strengthening the legs and arms; [they] had acute hearing by harmonising five pitch-standards. ... An isolated sound does not sound [beautiful]; one [colour] does not make a [beautiful] pattern; one flavour does not taste good; comparison cannot be made [with] a single thing. Your majesty stays away from the kind of [people who are for harmony] and only associate with [people who are for] sameness. Heaven has taken perspicacity away from you. Even though you are to seek for no harm, is it possible?” 夫和實生物，同則不繼。以他平他謂之和。故能豐長而物歸之。若以同裨同，盡乃棄矣。故先王以土與金木水火雜，以成百物。是以和五味以調口，剛四支以衛體，和六律以聽耳。... 聲一無聽，物一無文，味一無果，物一不講。王將棄是類也而與剽同。天奪之明，欲無弊得乎？

The former kings blended the five tastes and harmonised the five tones, thereby making their *xin* in balance and bringing perfection to their governance.

先王之濟五味，和五聲也，以平其心，成其政也。<sup>441</sup>

Harmony among various sounds or tastes is directly connected to successful governance because it exerts a positive influence on the ruler by inducing a balanced state of *xin*.<sup>442</sup> The implication of good-governance that musical harmony has is also drawn in the belief that musical harmony cannot be determined only by music but it is more importantly determined by the people's attitude towards music. For example, when King Jing of Zhou praises harmonious sound of a huge bell, Zhou Jiu 州鳩, an official of music, disapproves of king's evaluation saying as follows.

The superior made a [musical] instrument. When all the people are delighted at it, [its sound] is considered harmonious. Now, money has dried up and the people have been exhausted. There is no one who does not have grudge and lamentation. I do not know whether it is harmonious.

上作器。民備樂之，則爲和。今財亡民罷。莫不怨恨。臣不知其和也。<sup>443</sup>

From Zhou Jiu's viewpoint, if performing music yields negative consequences to the people, no music can be considered harmonious. In short, musical harmony, which is achieved by perfect combination of opposing qualities in sound, rhythm and tempo, is evaluated in close relation to governance in the *Guoyu* and *Zuo zhuan*.<sup>444</sup> On the one hand, harmonious music exerts a positive influence on the ruler; on the other hand, the attitude of the people towards ruler's enjoying music is regarded as one of the deciding factors to musical harmony. Therefore, the ruler should consider the circumstances of the people before

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<sup>441</sup> *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 859 (Zhao 20, i.e. 520 BCE).

<sup>442</sup> This positive effect results from *qi* according to the *Guoyu*. For details, see pages 73-75.

<sup>443</sup> *Guoyu*, 3: 130-131.

<sup>444</sup> As known from Yanzi's rejection of sameness, harmony can be achieved on the basis of different elements, and music might manifest harmony successfully more than anything else with its various opposing elements.

promoting or enjoying music. In this way, musical harmony is not only restricted to harmony in music but it is also related to good-governance according to the *Guoyu* and *Zuo zhuan*.

Despite descriptions that support a close relation of music to governance, music is hardly recognised as a complementary counterpart of *li* in the *Zuo zhuan* and *Guoyu*. Furthermore, even the basic term “*li* and music” (*liyue* 禮樂) does not appear in these two texts. In addition, the cosmic significance of music is not discussed in the *Zuo zhuan* and *Guoyu*. Instead, *li* assumes cosmic significance in the *Zuo zhuan*.

On the whole, *li* is the invariable principle of Heaven, the propriety of Earth, and the conduct that the people [should engage in]. It is the invariable principle of Heaven and Earth; therefore, the people truly follow it. [*Li*] follows the brightness of Heaven and is in accordance with the nature of Earth. [Heaven] gives rise to the six *qi*, and makes use of the five elements. *Qi* becomes the five tastes; it is expressed in the five colours; it is manifested in the five tones. If these [tastes, colours and tones] are overly expressed, then confusion and disorder occur, and the people lose their nature. For this reason, *li* was created to nurture their nature. The six domesticated animals, the five sacrificial animals, and the three oblatory animals were arranged to nurture the five tastes. The nine patterns, six decorations and five designs were arranged to nurture the five colours. The nine songs, eight tunes, seven notes and six pitch-standards were arranged to nurture the five tones. ... *Li* is the discipline for the superior and inferior; it is the warp and weft of Heaven and Earth; it is what the people live by. Therefore, the former kings esteemed it. Therefore, a man who can curb and straighten himself so as to rush to *li* is called an accomplished man. Is the greatness [of *li*] indeed no wonder!

夫禮，天之經也，<sup>445</sup> 地之義也，民之行也。天地之經，而民實則之。則天之明，因地之性。生其六氣，用其五行。氣爲五味，發爲五色，章爲五聲。淫則昏亂，民失其性。是故爲禮以奉之。爲六畜五牲三犧，以奉五味。爲九文六采五章，以奉五色。爲九歌八風七音六律，以奉五聲。... 禮，上下

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<sup>445</sup> Interpreting *jing* 經 as *changdao* 常道 (the invariable principle) in accordance with Du Yu. *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 888.

之紀，天地之經緯也，民之所以生也，是以先王尚之。故人之能自曲直以赴禮者，謂之成人。大不亦宜乎！<sup>446</sup>

*Li* is compared to the invariable principle or the warp and weft of Heaven and Earth. However, this cosmic significance does not seem to express the belief in the influence of *li* on the natural world. *Li* is established to nurture the nature of the people and it is regarded as the discipline for superior and inferior; therefore, the cosmic significance of *li* seems to be addressed purely in order to laud its role in the human realm. This aspect can be supported by Kong Yingda's explanation: *li* whose function lies in making intrinsic nature (*tianxing* 天性) remain at an appropriate level is modeled on Heaven that nurtures humans without excessiveness by providing *qi*, taste, sound and colour.<sup>447</sup> This explanation suggests that the cosmic significance of *li* underlines the value of *li* as the fundamental principle of the human realm. However, unlike the "Yueji", the above passage does not discuss order achieved by *li*. In addition, being under the control of *li*, music does not have the same status as *li*. In this way, the above passage does not make a contrast between harmony of music and order of *li*. This might suggest that the cosmic order of *li* is addressed after the complementary pair of "*li* and music" and the cosmic harmony of music gain recognition.

### **5.3 Harmonious sounds versus social harmony achieved by music: leading to different interpretations of the cosmic harmony of music and of the concept of "*li* and music"**

Musical harmony in the "Dayue" indicates harmonious sounds that evoke pleasure; as an object of desire, music is expected to bring pleasure and only harmonious sounds can perform this function. In contrast, musical harmony is discussed in close relation to successful governance in the "Yuelun" and "Yueji" where the function of music to achieve harmony among the people is considered crucial. The *Guoyu* and *Zuo zhuan* also discuss musical harmony in relation to successful governance; therefore, the "Yuelun" and "Yueji" can be said to discuss the concept of harmony from a similar viewpoint to the *Zuo zhuan* and *Guoyu* but

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<sup>446</sup> *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 888-891 (Zhao 25, i.e. 515 BCE).

<sup>447</sup> *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 888.

distinguish their viewpoints by endowing music with a more powerful function to achieve social harmony. Compared with the “Yuelun” and “Yueji”, the “Dayue” pays more attention to music itself by emphasising harmonious sounds. Considering that musical harmony implies social harmony in various pre-Han texts, it can be suggested that harmonious sounds and their cosmic significance are particularly advocated in the “Dayue”.

Not only the “Dayue” but also the “Yueji” supports the cosmic harmony of music; however, since harmony is perceived differently in the “Dayue” and “Yueji” it is assumed that cosmic harmony is also interpreted from different perspectives. In the “Dayue”, the cosmic harmony of music implies resonance between musical sound and *qi* in the natural world; harmonious music makes harmonious resonance with *qi* in the natural world contributing to the smooth operation of the natural world. Alternatively, this can be understood as one of the examples where the ruler’s following *dao* causes the well-functioning natural world. In the “Dayue”, cosmic significance is valid only for music and the concept of “*li* and music” is not advanced. However, the “Yueji” discusses the cosmic harmony of music along with the cosmic order of *li*. One possible explanation as to how harmony of music and order of *li* came to be paired in the “Yueji” while acquiring cosmic significance can be suggested as follows.

The pairing of “*li* and music” is addressed in the *Lunyu* but their complementary functions have yet to be discussed. Music is mainly perceived as an object under restriction of *li*; in this sense, music can be considered a subordinate concept of *li*, which is also valid for the “Shiyin” where music is mainly regarded as an object of desire. In addition, the *Guoyu* and *Zuo zhuan* do not advance the combined term of “*li* and music”, not to mention their complementary functions. It is in the “Yuelun” that the functions of *li* and music are clearly contrasted. Therefore, the complementary pair of *li* and music can be suggested as a new perception that emerged around the third century BCE. The concept of “*li* and music” assumes cosmic significance in the “Yueji” and this significance can be understood as a conjoined viewpoint of the “Dayue” and “Yuelun”.

That is, the profound effect of music suggested in the “Yuelun” endows

music with the status comparable to *li*, which leads to the complementary pair of *li* and music. However, the “Yuelun” pays attention to resonance between music and *qi* in the body and it does not discuss the cosmic harmony of music. Therefore, it can be suggested that the recognition of the cosmic harmony of music described in the “Dayue” might facilitate the effects of *li* and music assuming cosmic significance in the “Yueji”. If we understand it this way, the cosmic significance of music in the “Yueji” owes much to the philosophy contributing to the viewpoint of the “Dayue”, although they perceive musical harmony from different perspectives.

The cosmic significance of music in the “Yueji” can be understood from a similar perspective to the *Zuo zhuan* where *li* as the fundamental principle of human society is compared to the principle of Heaven and Earth. That is, the “Yueji” compares harmony achieved by means of music to the harmony of Heaven and Earth. By this account, it can be suggested that the “Yueji” compares harmony of music and order of *li* to the well-functioning natural world in order to extol the ruler’s successful governance by means of music and *li*.

Lastly, in response to the question posed in 5.1, the reason for discussing *taiyi* as the principle for the successful ruler under the title of “great music” can be suggested as follows; if we regard musical harmony as one of the achievements of the successful ruler, the concept of *taiyi* assumes importance in discussing great music since it is the core principle that the ruler should follow to be the successful ruler.



## 6. Twelve pitch-standards: generated by the *Sanfen sunyi fa* and assigned to the twelve months

Chapter 6 will discuss the main subject of the “Yinlü” chapter namely “the twelve pitch-standards” (*shier lü* 十二律), focusing on the *Sanfen sunyi fa* 三分損益法 (Method of subtracting or adding a third) or the method of generating the twelve pitch-standards and monthly ordiances, as the “Yinlü” can be divided into two parts according to these two topics. In the previous chapters, the perspectives of the *Lüshi chunqiu* were contrasted with those of the “Yuelun” and “Yueji”. However, in chapter 6, no contrast with the “Yuelun” and “Yueji” will be made since these two texts do not discuss the twelve pitch-standards.<sup>448</sup> Instead, the “Yinlü” will be analysed in comparison with the *Guanzi*, *Huainanzi*, *Shiji* and *Han shu* where the method of achieving the twelve pitch-standards or the five notes is discussed.<sup>449</sup> In addition, the *Guoyu* will be discussed given its focus on the twelve pitch-standards.

Chapter 6 consists of three main parts that discuss the meaning of the

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<sup>448</sup> The “Yuelun” does not mention any of the pitch-standards. In the “Yueji”, only two are mentioned. Unlike the twelve pitch-standards, all five notes are mentioned in the “Yueji” while representing ruler, subjects, people, work and things. This description mainly suggests ethical implication of musical notes. The passages of the “Yueji” where pitch-standards and five notes are mentioned are as follows.

*Liji zhengyi*, 668: “What music [indicates] is not *huangzhong* and *dalü* or string instruments and singing or shields and axes.” 樂者，非謂黃鐘大呂弦歌干揚也。

*Liji zhengyi*, 662: “*Gong* represents the ruler; *shang* represents subjects; *jue* represents the people; *zhi* represents work; *yu* represents things. If these five [notes] are not chaotic, there is no discordant sound. If *gong* is chaotic, [music] is disorganized [suggesting that] the ruler is arrogant. If *shang* is chaotic, [music] is slanted [suggesting that] the subjects are corrupt. If *jue* is chaotic, [music] sounds depressing [suggesting that] the people are resentful. If *zhi* is chaotic, [music] sounds sorrowful [suggesting that] work load is overburdensome. If *yu* is chaotic, [music] sounds dangerous [suggesting that] the wealth [of the country] is depleted. If these five are all chaotic transgressing each other in turn, this is called insolent [music]. If it is like this, the ruin and collapse of the country do not take [even] a single day.” 宮爲君，商爲臣，角爲民，徵爲事，羽爲物。五者不亂則無怙懣之音矣。宮亂則荒，其君驕。商亂則陂，其官壞。角亂則憂，其民怨。徵亂則哀，其事勤。羽亂則危，其財匱。五者皆亂，迭相陵，謂之慢。如此則國之滅亡無日矣。

<sup>449</sup> Here my analysis is extended to the Han texts. I will argue the *Sanfen sunyi fa* was theoretically applied to the twelve pitch-standards with lack of practical consideration, and this argument will be supported by the way this method becomes more schematized up to the *Han shu*. For this reason, the *Huainanzi*, *Shiji* and *Han shu* will be analysed in this chapter.

chapter title *yinlü*, the *Sanfen sunyi fa* and monthly ordinances. While exploring the meaning of the term *yinlü*, I will discuss the key term of this chapter namely *shier lü* as well as its related terms such as *wu yin* 五音 (five notes) and *liu lü* 六律 (six pitch-standards). I will then analyse the first part of the “Yinlü”, where the formation of the twelve pitch-standards by the *Sanfen sunyi fa* is described, in comparison with the above mentioned texts. In addition, I will discuss the classification of the twelve pitch-standards into two groups while examining how the *Sanfen sunyi fa* was affected by this classification. The second part of the “Yinlü” describes monthly ordinances while calling each month using the name of each pitch-standard. I will examine how the twelve pitch-standards are associated with monthly ordinances.

### 6.1 Translation of the chapter title “Yinlü” 音律

In classical texts, the term *yinlü* is of low frequency;<sup>450</sup> apart from an example as a chapter title in the *Liushi chunqiu*, *yinlü* appears only in the *Heguanzi* 鶡冠子 (Pheasant Cap Master) one time as two monosyllabic words *yin* and *lü*, and in the *Zhuangzi* one time as a compound.

Occupy entirely and defend stoutly. Stop and move swiftly. Change [the way of doing] as the occasion demands. Once ahead and once behind. *Yin* and *lü* are played at one another. Once right and once left. Nothing is impossible for *dao*.

錮據堅守。呼吸鎖移。與時更爲。一先一後。音律相奏。一右一左。道無不可。<sup>451</sup>

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<sup>450</sup> In modern Chinese, *yinlü* is defined as *lülü* 律呂 (pitch-pipes or pitch-standards) or *gongdiao* 宮調 (mode). Zhongguo Shehui Kexueyuan, *Xiandai Hanyu cidian*, 1623. However, this definition is not sufficient to clarify the meaning of *yinlü* since *lülü* 律呂 is suggested as a synonym for *yinlü*. *Xiandai Hanyu cidian*, 892. In this way, *lülü* and *yinlü* define each other without further explanation. The ambiguity of the term *yinlü* can also be supported by its various synonyms such as *shenglü* 聲律, *yuelü* 樂律 and *lülü* 律呂 presented in Zhongguo Yishu Yanjiuyuan Yinyue Yanjiusuo, *Zhongguo yinyue cidian*, 464. Considering the low frequency of the term *yinlü*, the semantic area of this term seems to have been extended in later period.

<sup>451</sup> Lu Tian (explanation), *Heguanzi*, 86-87 (ch. “Shibing” 世兵 (War of the World)).

Graham argues that the *Heguanzi* was written “during the last decades before the victory

If [one] strikes *gong* [on one instrument] then *gong* [on the other instrument] will respond; if [one] strikes *jue* [on one instrument] then *jue* [on the other instrument] will respond. [It is because] their *yinlü* are the same.

鼓宮宮動，鼓角角動。音律同矣。<sup>452</sup>

In the *Heguanzi*, *yin* and *lü* seem to be differentiated in the same way front and rear, right and left are differentiated. However, in the *Zhuangzi*, what is common among *gong* or among *jue* is called *yinlü*.<sup>453</sup> Since the “Yinlü” chapter discusses the twelve pitch-standards only, it seems that the chapter title *yinlü* indicates one concept as in the *Zhuangzi*. Examination of each single word *yin* and *lü* might suggest how this compound represents one single concept.

In contrast to the rare usage of the compound *yinlü*, the monosyllabic words *yin* and *lü* frequently appear in various classical texts, usually being combined with numerals that limit their range: for example, *wu yin* 五音 (five *yin*), *liu lü* 六律 (six *lü*) and, in a few cases, *shier lü* 十二律 (twelve *lü*). In music theory,

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of Han in 202 B.C.” based on a taboo on the name of the first emperor of Qin, parallel parts with other texts, and the philosophical ideas of the *Heguanzi*. However, Graham does not believe all the chapters were written before the Han. For example, he argues that chapters 16 and 19 were added after the other chapters had been arranged. For details, see Graham, “A Neglected Pre-Han Philosophical Text”, 500-509.

Although the date of each chapter needs further examination, it is a general consensus that the *Heguanzi* dates from the third and second century BCE. For more discussions about the date of the *Heguanzi*, see Defoort, *The Pheasant Cap Master*, 21-24.

As for the “Shibing” chapter, because of its parallel lines with the “Funiao fu” 鵬鳥賦 (Owl Rhapsody) written in 174 BCE by Jia Yi 賈誼 (200-168 BCE), the authenticity of the *Heguanzi* has been impugned. For example, Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773-819) claims that the *Heguanzi* is a forgery which took lines from the “Funiao fu”. Liu Zongyuan, *Liu Hedong ji*, 4: 57-58. Regarding the borrowing between these two texts, see Defoort, *The Pheasant Cap Master*, 60-70.

<sup>452</sup> Wang Shumin, *Zhuangzi jiaoquan*, 940 (ch. “Xu Wugui” 徐無鬼).

<sup>453</sup> Two sentences parallel to the above quotation from the *Zhuangzi* are found in the *Huainanzi* where *sheng* 聲 or *yin* 音 is used in place of *yinlü*. For the parallel lines in the *Huainanzi*, see Liu Wendian, *Huainan honglie jijie*, 200 and 365. Similarly, the “Yingtong” 應同 (Responding to the Same) chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu* states that “Similar sounds respond to [each other]. If [one] strikes *gong* [on one instrument] then *gong* [on the other instrument] will respond; if [one] strikes *jue* [on one instrument] then *jue* [on the other instrument] will vibrate.” 聲比則應。鼓宮而宮應，鼓角而角動。 *Lüshi chunqiu*, 94. In addition, the same sentence appears in the “Zhaolei” as quoted in page 147. These examples support the contention that *yinlü* represents one concept in the *Zhuangzi*.

*wu yin* represent the five notes, namely *gong* 宮, *shang* 商, *jue* 角, *zhi* 徵 and *yu* 羽 that constitute a pentatonic scale. No absolute pitch is assigned to these five notes; in order words, these notes are movable and only the interval between each note in a certain mode is fixed.<sup>454</sup>

With the same meaning as *wu yin*, *wu sheng* 五聲 is more frequently used in classical texts. The frequencies of *wu sheng* and *wu yin* in several texts are as follows:<sup>455</sup>

	<i>Shujing</i>	<i>Zuo zhuan</i>	<i>Guoyu</i>	<i>Zhouli</i>	<i>Guanzi</i>	<i>Zhuangzi</i>	<i>Lüshi chunqiu</i>	<i>Heguanzi</i>
<i>wu sheng</i>	1	7	1	5	4	4	5	2
<i>wu yin</i>	0	0	0	0	4(3) <sup>456</sup>	1	4	7

Except for the *Heguanzi*, *wu sheng* is in higher frequency than *wu yin*. In particular, the *Zuo zhuan* and *Zhouli* do not use the term *wu yin* in contrast to a relatively high frequency of *wu sheng*. Despite no occurrence of *wu yin*, the *Zuo zhuan* and *Zhouli* use the term *yin* with modifiers: for example, *ba yin* 八音 (eight kinds of sound) and *de yin* 德音 (virtuous sound or good reputation). *Ba yin* indicates the sounds from the eight categories of musical instruments made of metal, stone, string, bamboo, gourd, clay, leather and wood.<sup>457</sup> In this case, *yin* implies musical sound. The example of *de yin* also reveals the implication of *yin*

<sup>454</sup> *Zhongguo yinyue cidian*, 330. This explanation is supported by research about ancient scales based on excavated bells. For the different functions of *yin* and *lü* based on ancient bell inscriptions, see Falkenhausen, *Suspended Music*, 280-309.

<sup>455</sup> The order of texts presented in this table does not necessarily follow chronological order. Since the exact date of each text cannot be claimed for sure, this dissertation will roughly surmise their chronological order based on their records on certain topics. For example, in this table, *wu yin* does not appear from *Shujing* to *Zhouli*. From this observation, it can be supposed that these four texts are earlier than the others.

<sup>456</sup> In the *Guanzi*, the term *wu yin* appears four times: three are in the “Zhouhe” 宙合 (All-Embracing Unity) chapter and one is in the “Diyuan” 地員 (Categories of Land) chapter. However, among three in the “Zhouhe”, the second one is a repetition of the first. Therefore, the second occurrence is difficult to count as another example. For the passages where the term *wu yin* appears, see *Guanzi*, 39 and 173.

<sup>457</sup> *Zhouli zhushu*, 353: “All are spread by eight kinds of sound [emanating from] metal, stone, clay, leather, string, wood, gourd and bamboo.” 皆播之以八音金石土革絲木匏竹.

having a beautiful sound.<sup>458</sup> In contrast, *sheng* often indicates sound with negative connotation or animal sounds: for example, *chi sheng* 侈聲 (showy sound), *yin sheng* 淫聲 (lascivious sound), *xiong sheng* 凶聲 (inauspicious sound) and *chai lang zhi sheng* 豺狼之聲 (sounds of jackals and wolves).<sup>459</sup>

However, this contrast is not always valid; *yin* and *sheng* are often not clearly distinguished. For example, as known from the term *wu sheng*, the meaning of *sheng* is not restricted purely to negative sound or non-musical sound; it can also indicate musical sound. In addition, although *yin* mostly indicates musical sound, it does occasionally indicate non-musical sound such as animal sound: “Hearing the call of cattle, Ge Lu of Jie says ‘They are three living sacrifices. All of them will be used [for this purpose. I know it from] their sounds (*yin* 音).”<sup>460</sup> The unclear distinction between *sheng* and *yin* might explain why the *Zhouli* uses the terms such as *yinsheng* 音聲 and *shengyin* 聲音 when either *yin* or *sheng* is sufficient to convey the meaning.<sup>461</sup> It might be because *sheng* and *yin* were supposed to have a similar meaning.<sup>462</sup> The unclear boundary between *yin* and *sheng* can also be found in the *Liushi chunqiu*.

When Lord Huan did not speak about something that he would conceal,

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<sup>458</sup> In addition to these two terms, the *Zuo zhuan* uses terms such as *gu yin* 鼓音 (sound of the drum), *nan yin* 南音 (sound of the south or sound of Chu) and *qi yin* 七音 (seven kinds of sound). It also says that “*Yin* is a carriage of music and the bell is the instrument of *yin*”. 音樂之輿也，而鐘音之器也。 *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 867 (Zhao 21, i.e. 519 BCE). These examples also support *yin*'s connotation of musical sound. In addition, according to the *Zuo zhuan*, *wu sheng* is achieved by six *qi* which come from Heaven, and *qi yin* 七音 are arranged to regulate the expression of *wu sheng*. This description suggests that *yin* is closer to arranged sound than *sheng*. For this description, see page 164.

<sup>459</sup> *Zhouli zhushu*, 344 and 358; *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 708 and 912.

<sup>460</sup> *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 285 (Xi 29, i.e. 631 BCE): 介葛盧聞牛鳴曰，是生三犧。皆用之矣。其音云。

<sup>461</sup> In the *Zhouli*, *shengyin* appears two times and *yinsheng* appears once. *Zhouli zhushu*, 188, 357 and 564.

<sup>462</sup> Regarding *yinsheng* in the *Zhouli*, Jia Gongyan describes the difference between *sheng* and *yin*. *Zhouli zhushu*, 188: “Individually emitted sound is called *sheng* and harmoniously matched sounds are called *yin*.” 單出曰聲，和比曰音。 However, as a Tang commentator, Jia Gongyan was possibly being affected by later interpretations of *yin* and *sheng*.

Master Guan [recognised it] through Lord Huan's appearance and voice, and Lord Huan's wife [recognised it] by his walk, *qi* and intention. Even though Lord Huan did not speak, he was like a bright beacon in the dark of night.

桓公之所以匿者不言也，今管子乃以容貌音聲，夫人乃以行步氣志。桓公雖不言，若暗夜而燭燎也。<sup>463</sup>

You do not resemble my husband. How is it that your voice is very much similar to his?

狀貌無似吾夫者，其音何類吾夫之甚也？<sup>464</sup>

The ruler must pay heed to [the ways of others] speaking and responding.

人主出聲應容，不可不審。<sup>465</sup>

In the above three passages, *yinsheng*, *yin* and *sheng* all mean “voice”, which reveals the shared semantic area between *yin* and *sheng*. In the six musical chapters, *sheng* occurs nine times and *yin* occurs thirty-three times. The much higher frequency of *yin* may indicate that *yin* had already become a more dominant term in musical discourse at the time of the compilation of the *Lüshi chunqiu* although the difference in meaning between *yin* and *sheng* has yet to be clearly distinguished.<sup>466</sup> In short, *yin* has a stronger connotation of musical sound than *sheng*, but their contrast is not clearly perceived in the *Zuo zhuan*, *Zhouli* and *Lüshi chunqiu*. However, the *Heguanzi* emphasises a contrast between *yin* and *sheng*.

*Wu yin* are arranged; *wu sheng* are intrinsic.

五音調也，五聲故也。<sup>467</sup>

*Yin* corresponds to strategies and *sheng* corresponds to tasks. *Yin* represents three kinds of light in the sky and *sheng* represents five officials of the earth.

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<sup>463</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 156 (ch. “Jingyu” 精諭 (Subtle Communication)).

<sup>464</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 177 (ch. “Shijun” 恃君 (Relying on Rulers)).

<sup>465</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 152 (ch. “Shenyng” 審應 (Examining Responses)).

<sup>466</sup> The “Yinchu” also shows unclear distinction between *sheng* and *yin*: “The sounds (*sheng*) of Zheng and Wei and the sounds (*yin*) of mulberry fields.” 鄭衛之聲，桑間之音。In this way, *sheng* is not clearly distinguished from *yin* in the *Lüshi chunqiu*.

<sup>467</sup> *Heguanzi*, 6 (ch. “Yexing” 夜行 (Travelling by Night)).

音者其謀也，聲者其事也。音者天之三光也，聲者地之五官也。<sup>468</sup>

[Each of] the five notes and [each of] the four seasons follow its own kind. Vagueness gives birth to [vivid] colour. *Yin* and *sheng* achieve balance in relation to each other.

五范四時，<sup>469</sup> 各以類相從。昧玄生色。音聲相衡。<sup>470</sup>

The *Heguanzi* clearly distinguishes *yin* and *sheng* while comparing them to the sky and the earth.<sup>471</sup> The high frequency of *wu yin* in the *Heguanzi* suggests that *yin* came to be used dominantly with the meaning of musical sounds or arranged sounds. This dominance might contribute to reinforcing the contrast between *yin* and *sheng*. Another example of their contrast is offered in the second chapter of the *Laozi*.

Being and non-being generate each other; hardness and easiness complete each other. The long and the short manifest each other; the high and the low fill each other. *Yin* and *sheng* respond to each other;<sup>472</sup> front and rear follow each other.

有無相生，難易相成。長短相形，高下相盈。音聲相和，前後相隨。<sup>473</sup>

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<sup>468</sup> *Heguanzi*, 41 (ch. “Duowan” 度萬 (Fathoming Myriad Things)).

<sup>469</sup> Interpreting *wu fan* 五范 (five patterns) as *wu yin* 五音 (five notes) in accordance with Lu Tian 陸田 (1042-1102). *Heguanzi*, 70.

<sup>470</sup> *Heguanzi*, 70 (ch. “Taihong” 泰鴻 (Massive Vastness)).

<sup>471</sup> The later usage of *wu yin* finds support from a metaphorical meaning of *wu yin*. In the *Heguanzi*, *wu yin* is mentioned when discussing the art of war. For example, the “Shibing” chapter says “In the past, those who fought well arrayed the troops in accordance with the five elements, and they waged war in accordance with the five notes”. 昔善戰者，舉兵相從，陳以五行，戰以五音. *Heguanzi*, 86. In addition, the “Tianquan” 天權 (Heavenly Weighing) chapter says “Array the troops in accordance with the five elements; wage war in accordance with the five notes. Arrange *gong* and *jue* on the left side; arrange *shang* and *yu* on the right side; *zhi* as a ruler follows them”. 陳以五行，戰以五音。左倍宮角，右挾商羽，徵君爲隨. *Heguanzi*, 111-112.

<sup>472</sup> *He* 和 is often interpreted as harmony. For example, D. C. Lau translates this phrase as that “Note and sound harmonize with each other”. Lau, *Tao Te Ching*, 5. However, since I read *yin* and *sheng* as musical sound and non-musical sound, I interpret *he* 和 as “respond to” which I think more clearly demonstrates the correlative relationship between *yin* and *sheng*. If *he* is understood this way, it can imply the change between *yin* and *sheng* as Cai Zhongde suggests. Cai Zhongde, *Zhongguo yinyue meixueshi*, 138-139.

<sup>473</sup> Wang Bi’s 王弼 (226-249) edition puts *jiao* 較 (to compare) and *qing* 傾 (to

*Yin* and *sheng* seem to be correlatively related just like the other opposing concepts such as long and short. However, traditional as well as modern interpretations of these terms often overlook their correlative relationship. For example, Cheng Xuanying 成玄英 (fl. 631-655) interprets them as the sounds of *gong* and *shang* and the sounds of string and bamboo.<sup>474</sup> In addition, Chen Guying interprets *yin sheng* as sounds of musical instruments and human voice.<sup>475</sup> In these interpretations, both *yin* and *sheng* are perceived as musical sounds, and thus their opposing meanings are not clearly expressed.<sup>476</sup> Standing apart from those interpretations, Cai Zhongde contrasts artificial and beautiful sound of *yin* with natural and unpleasant sound of *sheng* while indicating the correlative opposing relationship between *yin* and *sheng*.<sup>477</sup> This interpretation appears to be more plausible in that it enables *yin sheng* and the other examples to be understood in a similar way.

The contrast between *yin* and *sheng* becomes more distinctive in the “Yueji”. As examined in chapter 4, according to the “Yueji”, *sheng* indicates crude sound and *yin* indicates musical sound and they are even distinguished from an ethical perspective.<sup>478</sup> In short, although *yin* and *sheng* came to be more clearly distinguished as suggested in the *Heguanzi* and “Yueji”, this distinction does not seem to have been widely perceived until the end of the Warring States period. Considering the later distinction between *yin* and *sheng*, it can be suggested that this distinction contributed to the replacement of *wu sheng* by *wu yin*.

*Lü* 律 or pitch-standard has absolute pitch and six or twelve of them form a

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incline) instead of *xing* 形 and *ying* 盈. Wang Bi (annotation), *Laozi*, 1. *Laozi* texts excavated from Mawangtui and Guodian employ *xing* 形 and *ying* 盈 or their alternative forms. *Guodian Chu mu zhujian*, 112.

<sup>474</sup> Cheng Xuanying, *Daodejing yishu*, 145.

<sup>475</sup> Chen Guying, *Laozi jinzhu jinyi*, 54-55.

<sup>476</sup> *Yin sheng* are even regarded as a single concept. For example, Gao Heng interprets *yin sheng xiang he* 音聲相和 as meaning that big and small, high and low sounds (*yinsheng*) harmonise with each other. In this explanation, Gao Heng sees *yin* 音 and *yinsheng* 音聲 as the same. Gao Heng, *Laozi zhenggu*, 6.

<sup>477</sup> Cai Zhongde, *Zhongguo yinyue meixueshi*, 138.

<sup>478</sup> Regarding the description of *yin* and *sheng* in the “Yueji”, see pages 103-104.



group under the name of *liu lü* 六律 or *shier lü* 十二律. In contrast to a high frequency of *liu lü*, the term *shier lü* only appears in the *Lüshi chunqiu* and a similar term, namely *shi you er lü* 十有二律 (ten and two pitch-pipes), appears in the *Zhouli*.<sup>479</sup> The low frequency of *shier lü* can suggest that the whole set of the twelve pitch-standards was not widely recognised before they are discussed in the *Lüshi chunqiu*.

According to the *Lüshi chunqiu*, twelve pitch-standards refer to *huangzhong* 黃鐘 (yellow bell), *dalü* 大呂 (great regulator), *taicu* 太簇 (great budding), *jiazhong* 夾鐘 (compressed bell), *guxian* 姑洗 (old and purified), *zhonglü* 仲呂 (mean regulator), *ruibin* 蕤賓 (luxuriant), *linzhong* 林鐘 (forest bell), *yize* 夷則 (equalising rule), *nanlü* 南呂 (southern regulator), *wuyi* 無射 (tireless) and *yingzhong* 應鐘 (resonating bell).<sup>480</sup> The *Zhouli* and *Guoyu* also list twelve pitch-standards but two of the names in the *Zhouli* are not the same as those in the *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Guoyu*: *hanzhong* 函鐘 for *linzhong* and *xiaolü* 小呂 for *zhonglü*.<sup>481</sup>

Regarding notes and pitch-standards, Lothar von Falkenhausen argues that

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<sup>479</sup> *Zhouli zhushu*, 359: 凡爲樂器，以十有二律，爲之數度。以十有二聲，爲之齊量。According to Zheng Xuan, *shi you er lü* indicate twelve pitch-pipes rather than twelve pitch-standards because Zheng Xuan interprets *shudu* 數度 as *guangchang* 廣長 (thickness and length). Based on Zheng Xuan's reading, this sentence might read as "when making the musical instruments, adjust the thickness and length using the twelve pitch-pipes and determine the size of [the bell] using the twelve sounds". Contrasted with *shi you er sheng* 十有二聲, *shi you er lü* seem to indicate twelve pitch-pipes that produce twelve pitch-standards. However, in the "Yinlü", *shier lü* might indicate twelve pitch-standards since the "Yinlü" mentions wind which implies sound when describing how *shier lü* came into being.

The term *liu lü* 六律 occurs in various texts including the *Shujing*, *Zhouli*, *Zuo zhuan*, *Guoyu*, *Guanzi*, *Mengzi*, *Heguanzi*, *Zhuangzi* and *Lüshi chunqiu*.

<sup>480</sup> Translations of the names of the twelve pitch-standards are quoted from Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China* vol. 4, 171.

<sup>481</sup> After pitch-standards formed a closed set within one octave, their nomenclatures seem to have been unified as described in the *Lüshi chunqiu*. Around the time of Marquis Yi of Zeng, the system of naming pitch-standards was different from what is described in the *Lüshi chunqiu*, *Guoyu* and *Zhouli*. For example, the Zeng inscriptions provide twenty-two names of pitch-standards which were ranged beyond the scope of one octave. For details, see Falkenhausen, *Suspended Music*, 287-291.

originally twelve movable notes existed, and the function of pitch-standards was to assign pitch to notes. This is why pitch-standards are not written independently but written along with notes on the inscriptions of the bells excavated from the tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng which dates back to the middle of the fifth century BCE: for example, *taicu zhi gong* 太簇之宮 (*gong* of *taicu*).<sup>482</sup> Therefore, each pitch-standard can occupy *gong* and once the pitch of *gong* is determined the other notes are accordingly assigned their pitch as the interval between notes is fixed. According to Falkenhausen, this clear boundary between *yin* and *lü* became blurred at the end of the Warring States period, and as a result, pitch-standards began to appear independently.<sup>483</sup> This independent usage contributed to the establishment of a closed dodecatonic gamut of twelve pitch-standards limited to one octave.<sup>484</sup>

Coming back to the chapter title *yinlü*, if *yin* and *lü* are read separately as Knoblock and Riegel suggest, *yin lü* are translated as “notes and pitch-standards”.<sup>485</sup> However, the “Yinlü” discusses the twelve pitch-standards only and makes no mention of the five notes; therefore, “notes and pitch-standards” might be seen as a debatable translation. This being the case, it might be more appropriate to regard *yinlü* as a disyllabic compound meaning pitch-standards.<sup>486</sup> The question of how *yinlü* represents the meaning of *lü* can be resolved from Falkenhausen’s observation. That is, if the boundary between *yin* and *lü* came to be blurred as Falkenhausen indicates, *yin* and *lü* can be combined to form a sort of biased compound oscillating between the narrower meaning of each of the two

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<sup>482</sup> According to Falkenhausen, around the time of Marquis Yi, “a full dodecatonic gamut of twelve pitch-standards had not yet been defined” and “octavic equivalency could not be taken for granted”. *Suspended Music*, 291.

<sup>483</sup> An example of the conflation of *yin* and *lü* is observable in the *Zhouli*. *Zhouli zhushu*, 355: “*liu lü* are adopted as *yin*.” 以六律爲之音。

<sup>484</sup> Falkenhausen, *Suspended Music*, 281-309.

<sup>485</sup> Knoblock and Riegel, *The Annals of Lü Buwei*, 156.

<sup>486</sup> I have not found a clear example where *yinlü* is translated as pitch-standards. However, when explaining the overall idea of the “Yinlü”, Lin Pinshi mentions *shier yinlü* 十二音律 together with *shier lü* 十二律, which might show that he understands *yinlü* as pitch-standards. Lin Pinshi, *Lüshi chungiu jinzhu jinyi*, 149.

monosyllabic terms,<sup>487</sup> in a similar way that *shengyin* or *yinsheng* indicates either *sheng* or *yin* at a time when *sheng* and *yin* have yet to be clearly distinguished.

## 6.2 *Sanfen sunyi fa*

The *Sanfen sunyi fa* 三分損益法 is a method (*fa* 法) of generating pitch-standards or notes by subtracting (*sun* 損) or adding (*yi* 益) one third (*sanfen* 三分) of the length of a pitch-pipe.<sup>488</sup> When one third of the length is subtracted, a sound higher by a fifth is produced and when one third of the length is added it results in a sound lower by a fourth. By repeating subtraction and addition, all twelve pitch-standards can be acquired. If a pitch-standard is achieved by adding a third it is called “creation by moving upwards” (*shangsheng* 上生); if achieved by subtracting a third it is called “creation by moving downwards” (*xiasheng* 下生).<sup>489</sup> The first description of the *Sanfen sunyi fa* which is presented in the *Guanzi* is regarding the five notes. It is in the *Lüshi chunqiu* that this method is first applied to the twelve pitch-standards. In addition to these two texts, the *Huainanzi*, *Shiji* and *Han shu* describe this method.

According to Falkenhausen, it is not that the gamut of the twelve pitch-standards emerged through the *Sanfen sunyi fa* but that pre-existing twelve pitch-standards were linked to the *Sanfen sunyi fa*. In other words, after the whole gamut of twelve pitch-standards were established, the *Sanfen sunyi fa*, which was applied to the five notes as early as the Western Zhou period, came to be applied

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<sup>487</sup> In the *Lüshi chunqiu*, the meaning of *yinlü* seems closer to *lü* while in the *Zhuangzi* its meaning seems closer to *yin*.

<sup>488</sup> The term *Sanfen sunyi fa* seems to appear at least after the *Han shu*. The “Yinlü” does not use the term *Sanfen sunyi fa*. It mentions *sanfen* 三分 and *yi* 益 when explaining how the twelve pitch-standards are achieved. However, instead of *sun* 損, it mentions *qu* 去 (to remove). Therefore, the term *Sanfen sunyi fa* in all likelihood was not coined based on the “Yinlü”. Among the *Guanzi*, *Huainanzi*, *Shiji* and *Han shu* where the *Sanfen sunyi fa* is discussed, only the *Han shu* mentions *sun* 損; the *Guanzi* and *Shiji* use *qu* 去 and the *Huainanzi* only mentions *shangsheng* 上生 and *xiasheng* 下生. Therefore, the term *Sanfen sunyi fa* might have been coined based on the *Han shu*. However, I have not found who first coined this term. Although the term *Sanfen sunyi fa* is not suggested in any of the texts chapter 6 deals with, I will use this term in order to indicate the method for achieving the twelve pitch-standards or the five notes.

<sup>489</sup> *Zhongguo yinyue cidian*, 330.

to the twelve pitch-standards.<sup>490</sup> From Falkenhausen's observation, it can be suggested that the *Sanfen sunyi fa* was theoretically applied to the twelve pitch-standards with lack of practical consideration.

This theory is supported by the fact that when pitch-standards are acquired by the *Sanfen sunyi fa* the interval between each pitch-standard is irregular. In addition, the last pitch-standard in formation order namely *zhonglü* cannot generate *huangzhong* one octave higher than initial *huangzhong* with which the *Sanfen sunyi fa* begins, which results in the *Sanfen sunyi fa* being valid only for one cycle. For these reasons, it is argued that ancient dodecatonic scale based on the *Sanfen sunyi fa* is merely a theoretical system.<sup>491</sup> In later period, more complicated scales are suggested: for example, a 60-note scale by Jing Fang 京房 (77-37 BCE) and a 18-note scale by Cai Yuanding 蔡元定 (1135-1198).<sup>492</sup> These attempts could attest to the lack of practicality in the dodecatonic scale based on the *Sanfen sunyi fa*. The following section will examine the descriptions of the *Sanfen sunyi fa* in the *Guanzi*, *Lüshi chunqiu*, *Huainanzi*, *Shiji* and *Han shu* with an aim to advocate the theoretical aspect of the *Sanfen sunyi fa* by demonstrating how this method was schematized from the *Guanzi* to the *Han shu*.

### 6.2.1 *Sanfen sunyi fa* for the five notes in the *Guanzi* and *Shiji*

The “Diyuan” 地員 (Categories of Land) chapter of the *Guanzi* describes the *Sanfen sunyi fa* as a method of achieving the five notes.<sup>493</sup>

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<sup>490</sup> Falkenhausen, *Suspended Music*, 304-307. In addition, Falkenhausen indicates that the names of six pitch-standards classified as *liu lü* 六呂 have regularity in that all of them end with *lü* 呂 or *zhong* 鐘 whereas the names of six pitch-standards classified as *liu lü* 六律 have no such regularity. Based on this observation, Falkenhausen argues that *liu lü* 六律 appeared earlier than *liu lü* 六呂. Falkenhausen, “On the Early Development of Chinese Musical Theory”, 435-438. This argument also supports the gradual establishment of the twelve pitch-standards.

<sup>491</sup> *Zhongguo yinyue cidian*, 330.

<sup>492</sup> For details about these scales, see *Zhongguo yinyue cidian*, 241 and 353.

<sup>493</sup> Regarding the date of the “Diyuan”, Luo Genze 羅根澤 (1900-1960) suggests that this chapter was probably not written earlier than the Han since it might have been impossible to obtain detailed information about a wide range of land before the Han because of the borders of the states. Luo Genze, *Guanzi tanyuan*, 116. On the other hand, W. Allyn Rickett suggests that this chapter “probably dates from the latter half of the third century B.C., after Five Phases ideology came to dominate all forms of Chinese

In general, [when] five notes are to be obtained, firstly [the length corresponding to] the number one is settled and then it is divided into three. By repeating [this process] four times, the square of nine [namely 81] is obtained. From this number, *huangzhong*, the first note [that serves as] the small root of [the other notes] is achieved and it becomes *gong*. [81] is divided into three and one portion of it [namely 27] is added to [81], then 108 is obtained and it becomes *zhi*. [108] is again divided into three and one portion of it [namely 36] is removed from [108], and then it becomes suitable to achieve *shang*. [72] is again divided into three and what is obtained [from this division] is added [to 72], and then it becomes *yu*. [96] is again divided into three and the quotient [32] is removed [from 96], and then it becomes suitable to achieve *jue*.<sup>494</sup>

凡將起五音，凡首先主一而三之。<sup>495</sup> 四開以合九九。以是生黃鐘小素之首，<sup>496</sup> 以成宮。三分而益之以一，爲百有八，爲徵。不無有三分而去其乘，<sup>497</sup> 適足，以是生商。有三分，而復于其所，以是成羽。有三分，去其乘，適足以是生角。

As described above, the method of the *Guanzi* begins with adding one third (*yiyi* 益一), and five notes are obtained following the order of *gong*, *zhi*, *shang*,

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proto-scientific thought”. Rickett, *Guanzi: Political, Economic and Philosophical Essays from Early China* vol. 2, 259. I support Rickett’s opinion since the descriptions of the *Sanfen sunyi fa* suggest that the “Diyuan” seems slightly earlier than the “Yinlü”.

<sup>494</sup> Without linear measure, these numbers can be regarded as relative length as suggested by Falkenhausen, *Suspended Music*, 305.

<sup>495</sup> Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 (578-648) and Yin Zhizhang 尹知章 (d. 718) interpret *fanshou* 凡首 as “the primary note” 音之總先. *Guanzi*, 173; Yin Zhizhang (annotation) and Dai Wang (collation), *Guanzi jiaozheng*, 311. Opposing Yin Zhizhang’s interpretation, Zhang Binglin argues that *fan* 凡 is an alternate for *feng* 風 (tune) and *shou* 首 has a similar meaning to *diao* 調 (movement). *Zhang Taiyan quanji* vol. 1, 195. With difficulty in translating the sentence based on those interpretations, I tentatively follow Li Mian 李勉 who removes *fan* 凡 and reads *shouxian* 首先 as an adverb. Li Mian, *Guanzi jinzhu jinyi*, 911 and 919.

Reading *li* 立 (establish or settle) for *zhu* 主 in accordance with Wang Yinzhi. Wang Niansun, *Dushu zazhi*, 8: 44.

<sup>496</sup> Interpreting *su* 素 as *ben* 本 (root) in accordance with Fang Xuanling. *Guanzi*, 173.

<sup>497</sup> Some scholars suggest *bu wu* 不無 (not without) should be removed while others suggest no amendment is required since *bu wu you* 不無有 is the same as *you* 有. *You* 有 is a loan for *you* 又 (again). For details, see Guo Moruo et al., *Guanzi jijiao*, 910.

*yu* and *jue*. The pipe length of each note is calculated as follows.

<i>gong</i>	<i>zhi</i>	<i>shang</i>	<i>yu</i>	<i>jue</i>
81	$81 \times \frac{4}{3} = 108$	$108 \times \frac{2}{3} = 72$	$72 \times \frac{4}{3} = 96$	$96 \times \frac{2}{3} = 64$

If these five notes are arranged in ascending order of pitch, the result will be *zhi* (108), *yu* (96), *gong* (81), *shang* (72), *jue* (64) since the shorter a pipe length is the higher its pitch is. As a result, the tonic *gong* is located in the middle.

Another description of the *Sanfen sunyi fa* for the five notes appears in the “Lüshu” 律書 (Monograph about *Lü*) of the *Shiji*, but the sequence of addition and subtraction differs from what is observed in the *Guanzi*.

The square of nine namely 81 becomes [the length of] *gong*. One third of it being removed, it becomes 54; it is [the length of] *zhi*. One third of it being added, it becomes 72; it is [the length of] *shang*. One third of it being removed, it becomes 48; it is [the length of] *yu*. One third of it being added, it becomes 64; it is [the length of] *jue*.

九九八十一以爲宮。三分去一，五十四以爲徵。三分益一，七十二以爲商。三分去一，四十八以爲羽，三分益一，六十四以爲角。<sup>498</sup>

The formation order of the five notes is the same as the *Guanzi*, but in the *Shiji*, subtraction proceeds first; therefore, the pipe length of each note is calculated differently.

<i>gong</i>	<i>zhi</i>	<i>shang</i>	<i>yu</i>	<i>jue</i>
81	$81 \times \frac{2}{3} = 54$	$54 \times \frac{4}{3} = 72$	$72 \times \frac{2}{3} = 48$	$48 \times \frac{4}{3} = 64$

The five notes arranged in ascending order of pitch are *gong* (81), *shang* (72), *jue* (64), *zhi* (54), *yu* (48); therefore, *gong* becomes the lowest note.

### 6.2.2 *Sanfen sunyi fa* for the twelve pitch-standards in the *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Huainanzi*

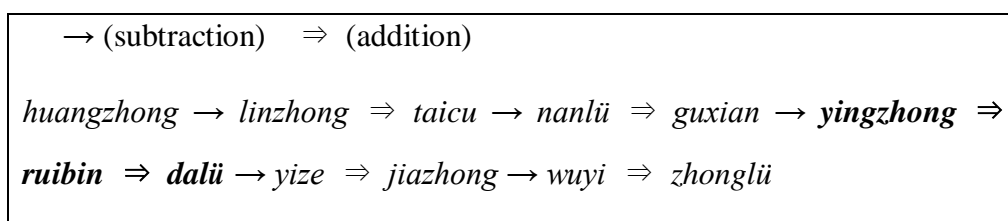
In the “Yinlü” chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu*, the *Sanfen sunyi fa* is first associated with the twelve pitch-standards.

<sup>498</sup> *Shiji*, 25: 1249.

*Huangzhong* gives rise to *linzhong*; *linzhong* gives rise to *taicu*; *taicu* gives rise to *nanlü*; *nanlü* gives rise to *guxian*; *guxian* gives rise to *yingzhong*; *yingzhong* gives rise to *ruibin*; *ruibin* gives rise to *dalü*; *dalü* gives rise to *yize*; *yize* gives rise to *jiazhong*; *jiazhong* gives rise to *wuyi*; *wuyi* gives rise to *zhonglü*. [Among three] parts obtained by trisecting, one part is augmented by moving upwards. [Among three] parts obtained by trisecting, one part is removed by moving downwards. *Huangzhong*, *dalü*, *taicu*, *jiazhong*, *guxian*, *zhonglü* and *ruibin* are [achieved by moving] upwards; *linzhong*, *yize*, *nanlü*, *wuyi* and *yingzhong* are [achieved by moving] downwards.

黃鐘生林鐘，林鐘生太簇，太簇生南呂，南呂生姑洗，姑洗生應鐘，應鐘生蕤賓，蕤賓生大呂，大呂生夷則，夷則生夾鐘，夾鐘生無射，無射生仲呂。三分所生，益之一分以上生，三分所生，去其一分以下生。黃鐘大呂太簇夾鐘姑洗仲呂蕤賓爲上，林鐘夷則南呂無射應鐘爲下。<sup>499</sup>

The “Yinlü” does not directly state the order of subtraction and addition; instead, it presents the formation order of pitch-standards. In addition, it states that the lower seven pitch-standards from *huangzhong* to *ruibin* are achieved by moving upwards, and the higher five pitch-standards from *linzhong* to *yingzhong* are achieved by moving downwards. From these statements, the order of subtraction and addition is identified as follows:



The order of subtraction and addition shows irregularity before and after *ruibin* where addition occurs twice successively. That is, up to *ruibin*, subtraction and addition occur in turn. If following this regularity, subtraction should occur when *dalü* is achieved from *ruibin* but addition occurs again. Owing to two successive occurrences of addition, the twelve pitch-standards are located within the same octave. In other words, if *dalü* is achieved by subtraction its pitch becomes higher than *ruibin* by a perfect fifth; as a result, *dalü* can not be included

<sup>499</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 47.

in the same octave.<sup>500</sup>

While providing a more detailed description, the “Tianwen xun” 天文訓 (Explanation about the Patterns of the Sky) chapter of the *Huainanzi* follows the same line as the “Yinlü”. For example, it clarifies the order of subtraction and addition along with the length assigned to each pitch-standard.<sup>501</sup> The twelve pitch-standards arranged in ascending order of pitch as well as in formation order according to the *Huainanzi* are as follows.

In ascending order of pitch:

<i>lü</i>	<i>huang zhong</i>	<i>da lü</i>	<i>taicu</i>	<i>jia zhong</i>	<i>gu xian</i>	<i>zhong lü</i>	<i>ruì bin</i>	<i>lin zhong</i>	<i>yize</i>	<i>nanlü</i>	<i>wuyi</i>	<i>ying zhong</i>
length	81	76	72	68	64	60	57	54	51	48	45	42

In formation order:

<i>lü</i>	<i>huang zhong</i>	<i>lin zhong</i>	<i>tai cu</i>	<i>nan lü</i>	<i>gu xian</i>	<i>ying zhong</i>	<i>ruì bin</i>	<i>dalü</i>	<i>yize</i>	<i>jia zhong</i>	<i>wuyi</i>	<i>zhong lü</i>
length	81	54	72	48	64	42	57	76	51	68	45	42

In the first table, intervals between the adjacent two pitch-standards are not the same: they are five, four or three. The second table shows that only the first five numbers are calculated accurately because 81, 54, 72 and 48 are multiples of three. However, from *yingzhong*, their lengths are calculated in approximate figures because the length of *guxian*, i.e. 64, is not a multiple of three.

### 6.2.3 *Sanfen sunyi fa* for the twelve pitch-standards in the *Han shu*

The “Lüli zhi” 律曆志 (Treatise on *Lü* and the Calendar) of the *Han shu* describes another way of the *Sanfen sunyi fa* applied to the twelve pitch-standards. According to this method, subtraction and addition take place in turn to the end, and, as a result, the arrangement of the twelve pitch-standards does not coincide with what is observed in the *Lüshi chungiu*.

<sup>500</sup> For example, if *huangzhong* is assigned to C *ruibin* is assigned to F#. If *dalü* is achieved by subtraction, it is assigned to C’# which is higher than F# by a perfect fifth. In this case, *dalü* and *ruibin* are not included in the same octave. However, if *dalü* is achieved by addition, it is assigned to C# which is lower than F# by a perfect fourth, and thus *dalü* and *ruibin* are located in the same octave.

<sup>501</sup> For this description, see Liu Wendian, *Huainan honglie jijie*, 113.



Divide [the length of *huangzhong*] into three and leave out one portion to achieve *linzhong* by moving downwards. Divide [the length of] *linzhong* into three and add one portion to achieve *taicu* by moving upwards. Divide [the length of] *taicu* into three and leave out one portion to achieve *nanlü* by moving downwards. Divide [the length of] *nanlü* into three and add one portion to achieve *guxian* by moving upwards. Divide [the length of] *guxian* into three and leave out one portion to achieve *yingzhong* by moving downwards. Divide [the length of] *yingzhong* into three and add one portion to achieve *ruibin* by moving upwards. Divide [the length of] *ruibin* into three and leave out one portion to achieve *dalü* by moving downwards. Divide [the length of] *dalü* into three and add one portion to achieve *yize* by moving upwards. Divide [the length of] *yize* into three and leave out one portion to achieve *jiazhong* by moving downwards. Divide [the length of] *jiazhong* into three and add one portion to achieve *wuyi* by moving upwards. Divide [the length of] *wuyi* into three and leave out one portion to achieve *zhonglü* by moving downwards.

參分損一，下生林鐘。參分林鐘益一，上生太簇。參分太簇損一，下生南呂。參分南呂益一，上生姑洗。參分姑洗損一，下生應鐘。參分應鐘益一，上生蕤賓。參分蕤賓損一，下生大呂。參分大呂益一，上生夷則。參分夷則損一，下生夾鐘。參分夾鐘益一，上生亡射。三分亡射損一，下生中呂。<sup>502</sup>

The twelve pitch-standards are obtained in the same order as in the *Lüshi chunqiu*. However, since addition and subtraction occur in turn before and after *ruibin*, *dalü* which is generated after *ruibin* occupies a higher pitch than *ruibin*. Accordingly, *dalü*, *jiazhong* and *zhonglü* are not included in the same octave. Different arrangements of the twelve pitch-standards between the *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Han shu* are well illustrated by Falkenhausen.<sup>503</sup>

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<sup>502</sup> *Han shu*, 21: 965.

<sup>503</sup> The figures on the next page are from Falkenhausen, *Suspended Music*, 303.

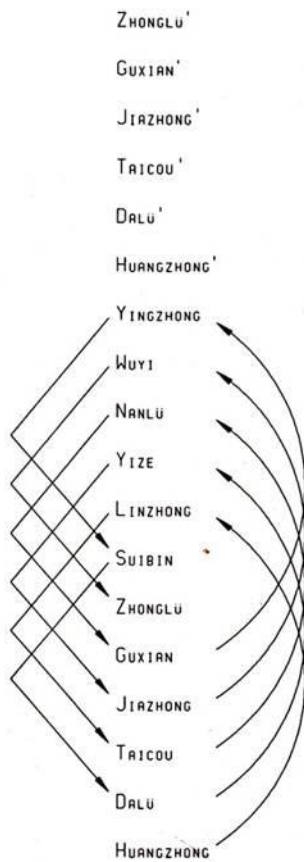


FIGURE 143. Generation of pitch standards according to the *Lüshi Chunqiu*.



FIGURE 144. Generation of pitch standards according to the *Han Shu*, "Lüli-zhi."

Since addition and subtraction occur in turn before and after *ruibin*, the number of pitch-standards achieved by moving downwards is six and by moving upwards is also six according to the *Han shu*. This even distribution is conducive to the classification of the twelve pitch-standards into two groups. That is, the twelve pitch-standards achieved by moving upwards are classified as six *lü* 律 and the other six pitch-standards achieved by moving downwards are classified as six *lü* 呂 while representing *yang* and *yin* respectively as described in the "Lüli zhi".

There are twelve pitch-standards. Six of them [characterised as] *yang* are *lü* 律 while the other six [characterised as] *yin* are *lü* 呂. *Lü* 律 gathers *qi* to classify things. The first is *huangzhong*; the second is *taicu*; the third is

*guxian*; the fourth is *ruibin*; the fifth is *yize*; the sixth is *wuyi*. *Lü* 呂 assists *yang* to diffuse *qi*. The first is *linzhong*; the second is *nanlü*; the third is *yingzhong*; the fourth is *dalü*; the fifth is *jiazhong*; the sixth is *zhonglü*.

律十有二。陽六爲律，陰六爲呂。律以統氣類物。一曰黃鐘，二曰太族，三曰姑洗，四曰蕤賓，五曰夷則，六曰亡射。呂以旅陽宣氣。<sup>504</sup> 一曰林鐘，二曰南呂，三曰應鐘，四曰大呂，五曰夾鐘，六曰中呂。<sup>505</sup>

This classification cannot be applied to the *Lüshi chunqiu* where seven pitch-standards are achieved by moving upwards and five pitch-standards are achieved by moving downwards. The classification of the *Han shu* seems to gain currency afterwards as supposed from the statement in the “Lüli zhi” of the *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (Book of the Later Han): “*Yang*’s giving rise to *yin* is called creation by moving downwards and *yin*’s giving rise to *yang* is called creation by moving upwards.”<sup>506</sup>

#### 6.2.4 *Sanfen sunyi fa* for the twelve pitch-standards in the *Shiji*: coexistence of the methods of the *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Han shu*

The “Lüshu” of the *Shiji* describes two ways for the *Sanfen sunyi fa* to be applied to achieving the twelve pitch-standards; one is identical to the way derived from the *Lüshi chunqiu* and the other is from the *Han shu*. For example, when calculating the lengths of pitch-pipes, the *Shiji* follows the *Lüshi chunqiu* as shown below.

The lengths of pitch-pipes: The length of *huangzhong* is 81 *fen* and it is *gong*.<sup>507</sup> The length of *dalü* is  $75 \frac{2}{3}$  *fen*. The length of *taicu* is 72 *fen* and it is *jue*. The length of *jiazhong* is  $67 \frac{1}{3}$  *fen*. The length of *guxian* 64 *fen* and it is *yu*. The length of *zhonglü* is  $59 \frac{2}{3}$  *fen* and it is *zhi*. The length of *ruibin* is  $56 \frac{2}{3}$  *fen*.<sup>508</sup> The length of *linzhong* is 54 *fen* and it is *jue*. The length of *yize* 50

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<sup>504</sup> Interpreting *lü* 旅 as *zhu* 助 (to assist) based on Wang Xianqian, *Han shu buzhu*, 370.

<sup>505</sup> *Han shu*, 21: 958-959.

<sup>506</sup> *Hou Han shu*, 3001: 陽生陰曰下生，陰生陽曰上生.

<sup>507</sup> 1 *fen* was 0.231cm from the Warring States to the Western Han period. *Hanyu da cidian* (appendix and index volume), 3.

<sup>508</sup> *Ruibin* is achieved by moving upwards after *yingzhong*. Since the length of *yingzhong*

$\frac{2}{3}$  *fen* and it is *shang*. The length of *nanlü* is 48 *fen* and it is *zhi*. The length of *wuyi* is 44  $\frac{2}{3}$  *fen*. The length of *yingzhong* is 42  $\frac{2}{3}$  *fen* and it is *yu*.

律數：黃鐘長八寸七分一，<sup>509</sup> 宮。大呂長七寸五分三分一。<sup>510</sup> 太簇長七寸七分二，角。夾鐘長六寸一分三分一。<sup>511</sup> 姑洗長六寸七分四，羽。仲呂長五寸九分三分二，徵。蕤賓長五寸六分三分一。<sup>512</sup> 林鐘長五寸七分四，角。夷則長五寸四分三分二，<sup>513</sup> 商。南呂長四寸七分八，徵。無射長四寸四分三分二。應鐘長四寸二分三分二，羽。<sup>514</sup>

<i>lü</i>	<i>huang zhong</i>	<i>daliü</i>	<i>taicu</i>	<i>jia zhong</i>	<i>gu xian</i>	<i>zhong lü</i>	<i>ruibin</i>	<i>lin zhong</i>	<i>yize</i>	<i>nanlü</i>	<i>wuyi</i>	<i>ying zhong</i>
length	81	75 $\frac{2}{3}$	72	67 $\frac{2}{3}$	64	59 $\frac{2}{3}$	56 $\frac{2}{3}$	54	50 $\frac{2}{3}$	48	44 $\frac{2}{3}$	42 $\frac{2}{3}$

The length of *ruibin* is longer than that of *yingzhong*, which means that adding a third occurs when *ruibin* is achieved from *yingzhong*. For the same reason, addition occurs when *daliü* is achieved from *ruibin*. Therefore, the sequence of subtraction and addition follows the *Lüshi chunqiu* where addition occurs successively before and after *ruibin*. However, when describing the ratio

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is 42  $\frac{2}{3}$  *fen*, the exact number for *ruibin* is 56  $\frac{8}{9}$  *fen*, not 56  $\frac{2}{3}$  *fen*. In the same way, *daliü*, *yize*, *jiazhong*, *wuyi* and *zhonglü* which are achieved after *ruibin* have approximate figures of length. Regarding how these approximate figures are obtained, see the next footnote.

<sup>509</sup> Reading *shi fen* 十分 for *qi fen* 七分 based on Sima Zhen, *Shiji suoyin*, 82. Based on the *Shiji*'s description that goes "the square of nine namely 81 becomes [the length of] *gong*" 九九八十一以爲宮, Sima Zhen 司馬貞 (eighth century) suggests it should be *ba cun shi fen yi* 八寸十分一. He also suggests the other *qi fen* 七分 in this passage are mistakes for *shi fen* 十分. Following Sima Zhen's correction, I read all *qi fen* in this quotation as *shi fen*.

<sup>510</sup> Reading *san fen er* 三分二 for *san fen yi* 三分一 based on Wang Yuanqi, *Shiji sanshu zheng'e*, 7. After achieving first five pitch-standards up to *guxian*, length cannot be measured in a natural number. The *Shiji* expresses the remainders with approximate figures: if the remainder is bigger than 0.5, it is considered  $\frac{2}{3}$ , and if the remainder is smaller than 0.5, it is considered  $\frac{1}{3}$ .

<sup>511</sup> Reading *qi fen* 七分 for *yi fen* 一分 based on Wang Yuanqi, *Shiji sanshu zheng'e*, 8. The length of *jiazhong* does not accord with Wang Yuanqi's explanation. That is, following his explanation, the length of *jiazhong* should be 67  $\frac{2}{3}$  *fen* instead of 67  $\frac{1}{3}$  *fen* because when the length of *jiazhong* is calculated from 50  $\frac{2}{3}$  which is the length of *yize*, the remainder is bigger than 0.5.

<sup>512</sup> Reading *san fen er* 三分二 for *san fen yi* 三分一 based on *Shiji sanshu zheng'e*, 8.

<sup>513</sup> Removing *si fen* 四分 based on *Shiji sanshu zheng'e*, 8.

<sup>514</sup> *Shiji*, 25: 1249.

of a bell the *Shiji* follows the *Han shu*. Using the names of the Twelve Earthly Branches instead of the names of the twelve pitch-standards, the *Shiji* presents the ratio of a bell of each pitch-standard in proportion to that of *huangzhong*.

Achieving a fractional number of a bell: *zi* is 1; *chou* is  $\frac{2}{3}$ ; *yin* is  $\frac{8}{9}$ ; *mao* is  $\frac{16}{27}$ ; *chen* is  $\frac{64}{81}$ ; *si* is  $\frac{128}{243}$ ; *wu* is  $\frac{512}{729}$ ; *wei* is  $\frac{1024}{2187}$ ; *shen* is  $\frac{4096}{6561}$ ; *you* is  $\frac{8192}{19683}$ ; *xu* is  $\frac{32768}{59049}$ ; *hai* is  $\frac{65536}{177147}$ .

生鐘分：子一分，丑三分二，寅九分八，卯二十七分十六，辰八十一分六十四，巳二百四十三分一百二十八，午七百二十九分五百一十二，未二千一百八十七分一千二十四，申六千五百六十一分四千九十六，酉一萬九千六百八十三分八千一百九十二，戌五萬九千四十九分三萬二千七百六十八，亥十七萬七千一百四十七分六萬五千五百三十六。<sup>515</sup>

Twelve Branches	<i>zi</i> 子	<i>chou</i> 丑	<i>yi</i> 寅	<i>mao</i> 卯	<i>chen</i> 辰	<i>si</i> 巳	<i>wu</i> 午	<i>wei</i> 未	<i>shen</i> 申	<i>you</i> 酉	<i>xu</i> 戌	<i>hai</i> 亥
Figure	1	$\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{8}{9}$	$\frac{16}{27}$	$\frac{64}{81}$	$\frac{128}{243}$	$\frac{512}{729}$	$\frac{1024}{2187}$	$\frac{4096}{6561}$	$\frac{8192}{19683}$	$\frac{32768}{59049}$	$\frac{65536}{177147}$

The number of *wu* (*ruibin*) is bigger than that of *hai* (*yingzhong*); the number of *chou* (*dalü*) is smaller than that of *wu*. Therefore, addition occurs when *ruibin* is achieved from *yingzhong* whereas subtraction occurs when *dalü* is achieved from *ruibin*. Since addition and subtraction occur in turn before and after *ruibin*, it follows the method of the *Han shu*.

As described above, when presenting the lengths of pitch-pipes, the *Shiji* assigns the five notes to one or two of the pitch-standards. Their correspondences along with the length of each pitch-standard and note are as follows:

<i>lü</i>	<i>huangzhong</i>	<i>dalü</i>	<i>taicu</i>	<i>jiazhong</i>	<i>guxian</i>	<i>zhonglü</i>	<i>ruibin</i>	<i>linzhong</i>	<i>yize</i>	<i>nanlü</i>	<i>wuyi</i>	<i>yingzhong</i>
length	81	$75 \frac{2}{3}$	72	$67 \frac{1}{3}$	64	$59 \frac{2}{3}$	$56 \frac{2}{3}$	54	$50 \frac{2}{3}$	48	$44 \frac{2}{3}$	$42 \frac{2}{3}$
<i>yin</i>	<i>gong</i>		<i>jue</i>		<i>yu</i>	<i>zhi</i>		<i>jue</i>	<i>shang</i>	<i>zhi</i>		<i>yu</i>
length	81		64		48	54		64	72	54		48

<sup>515</sup> *Shiji*, 25: 1250.

The “Tianwen xun” of the *Huainanzi* states that “*Huangzhong* is *gong*; *taicu* is *shang*; *guxian* is *jue*; *linzhong* is *zhi*; *nanlü* is *yu*”.<sup>516</sup> These correspondences are based on the same length between pitch-standards and notes. For example, both *taicu* and *shang* have the same length of pitch-pipe, 72. However, except for the correspondence between *huangzhong* and *gong*, the other correspondences suggested in the *Shiji* do not conform to the *Huainanzi*. For this reason, it is argued that *taicu* should correspond to *shang*; *guxian* to *jue*; *linzhong* to *zhi*; *nanlü* to *yu*. In addition, it is argued that *zhi* and *shang* assigned to *zhonglü* and *yize* should be removed.<sup>517</sup> However, it is doubtful whether the *Shiji* should be interpreted on the basis of the *Huainanzi* at the expense of too many modifications.<sup>518</sup> Instead of making many corrections, we may suggest that the *Shiji* and *Huainanzi* are based on different traditions. To trace the tradition on which the *Shiji* is based, other theories prior to the *Shiji* need to be examined. For this purpose, the correspondence between pitch-standards and notes suggested in the *Lüshi chunqiu* and the *wu xing* 五行 (five elements) theory will be discussed below.<sup>519</sup>

According to the *Lüshi chunqiu*, the twelve months, twelve pitch-standards,

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<sup>516</sup> Liu Wendian, *Huainan honglie jijie*, 113: 黃鐘爲宮，太蔟爲商，姑洗爲角，林鐘爲徵，南呂爲羽。

<sup>517</sup> Wang Yuanqi, *Shiji sanshu zheng'e*, 8-9.

<sup>518</sup> The *Shiji* was written by Sima Qian (c.145 or c.135 BCE-?) and the *Huainanzi* was composed under the patronage of Liu An 劉安 (c.179-122 BCE). Considering the similar time period of composition, it might be difficult to regard only one of the records as the correct one.

<sup>519</sup> Regarding the translation term of *wu xing*, John Major argues that “five elements” is inappropriate in that “the Chinese concept of wu-hsing is one of function rather than constituent matter”. For this reason, as the translation term of *wu xing*, Major supports “five phases” which implies cyclical transformation. Major, “A Note on the Translation of Two Technical Terms in Chinese Science”, 1-2.

The idea of cyclical transformation is supported in the “Yingtong” chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu* where the rise and fall of the dynasties are explained on the basis of the *wu xing* theory. However, this idea does not seem to be strongly advocated in the *Lüshi chunqiu*; for example, it is unclear whether the *Lüshi chunqiu* assumes cyclical transformation of the five elements when it assigns five notes to them. In this dissertation, *wu xing* is interpreted as “five elements” although I agree “five phases” is a more appropriate term for the *wu xing* theory.

five notes and five elements correspond to each other as follows:<sup>520</sup>

month	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
<i>lü</i>	<i>taicu</i>	<i>ja</i> <i>zhong</i>	<i>gu</i> <i>xian</i>	<i>zhong</i> <i>lü</i>	<i>rui</i> <i>bin</i>	<i>lin</i> <i>zhong</i>	<i>yize</i>	<i>nan</i> <i>lü</i>	<i>wuyi</i>	<i>ying</i> <i>zhong</i>	<i>huang</i> <i>zhong</i>	<i>dalü</i>
<i>yin</i>	<i>jue</i>		<i>zhi</i>			<i>shang</i>					<i>gong</i> <i>yu</i>	
<i>wu xing</i>	wood		fire			metal					earth	water

The first pitch-standards in each group are *taicu*, *zhonglü*, *yize* and *yingzhong*. In the *Shiji*, these four pitch-standards correspond to *jue*, *zhi*, *shang* and *yu*. Since each pair of *taicu* and *jue*, *zhonglü* and *zhi*, *yize* and *shang*, *yingzhong* and *yu* belongs to the same group, these four correspondences seem to be based on the category presented in the *Lüshi chunqiu*.

Now, the remaining correspondences are those between *guxian* and *yu*, *linzhong* and *jue*, *nanlü* and *zhi*. *Huangzhong*, *linzhong*, *taicu*, *nanlü* and *guxian* are the first five pitch-standards achieved by the *Sanfen sunyi fa*. In ascending order of pitch, they are arranged as *huangzhong*, *taicu*, *guxian*, *linzhong* and *nanlü*. In the *Shiji*, the latter three pitch-standards correspond to *yu*, *jue* and *zhi* whose order seems to follow the *wu xing* theory. In other words, according to the *wu xing* theory, water gives rise to wood and wood gives rise to fire. According to the *Lüshi chunqiu*, *yu* is in the same group as water; *jue* as wood; *zhi* as fire.<sup>521</sup> Therefore, if these three notes are arranged following the formation order of the five elements, it is *yu*, *jue* and *zhi*.<sup>522</sup>

<sup>520</sup> Each opening chapter of the “Shier ji” part presents a pitch-standard, note and element assigned to each month. The table below is based on those chapters.

<sup>521</sup> In the *Shiji suoyin*, Sima Zhen explains that since *huangzhong* is assigned to *gong*, following the *wu xing* theory where earth is believed to give rise to metal, *dalü* is assigned to *shang*. Sima Zhen, *Shiji suoyin*, 82. The *wu xing* theory may explain *gong* is followed by *shang* since the *Lüshi chunqiu* assigns *gong* and *shang* to earth and metal respectively. However, the cyclical transformation of the five elements might not apply between *huangzhong* and *dalü*. Therefore, why *dalü* is assigned to *shang* or metal remains unanswered. Besides, it is not *dalü* but *yize* that is assigned to *shang* in the above quotation from the *Shiji*.

<sup>522</sup> Another possible explanation is based on the cyclical conquest order of the five elements (*xiangsheng* 相勝). For example, Kim Byunghoon suggests that if the five elements are arranged in this order they are earth, wood, metal, fire and water, and following this order, the five notes are arranged in the order of *gong*, *jue*, *shang*, *zhi* and *yu*. If we match the first five twelve pitch-standards in formation order to *gong*, *jue*,

Five elements and Five notes	earth( <i>gong</i> )→metal( <i>shang</i> )→water( <i>yu</i> )→wood( <i>jue</i> ) → fire( <i>zhi</i> )
First five pitch-standards achieved by the <i>Sanfen sunyi fa</i> in ascending order of pitch	<i>huangzhong</i> → <i>taicu</i> <sup>523</sup> → <i>guxian</i> → <i>linzhong</i> → <i>nanlü</i>

In the above table, only the notes are arranged following the *wu xing* theory; the pitch-standards which are arranged in ascending order of pitch are irrelevant to the *wu xing* theory. In short, when assigning pitch-standards to notes, the *Shiji* is based on two suggestions. On the one hand, it follows the classifications of the pitch-standards and of the five notes described in the *Lüshi chunqiu*. On the other hand, it arranges the first five pitch-standards achieved by the *Sanfen sunyi fa* in ascending order of pitch, and matches them to the five notes which are arranged following the order of cyclical transformation among the five elements.<sup>524</sup>

If the above supposition regarding the correspondences between *guxian* and *yu*, *linzhong* and *jue*, *nanlü* and *zhi* is correct, it can be suggested that the twelve pitch-standards are not perceived from the *wu xing* theory as clearly as the five notes are. In other words, despite the direct influence of the *wu xing* theory on the arrangement of the five notes, this theory is not considered seriously when the twelve pitch-standards are arranged. In addition, the *Shiji* shows that the correspondences between the twelve pitch-standards and the five notes according to their same length of pitch-pipes might belong to another tradition, and for this reason, attempts to amend *Shiji* on the basis of the *Huainanzi* may not do justice to the *Shiji*.

### 6.2.5 Special features in the evolution of the *Sanfen sunyi fa*

#### Schematization of the *Sanfen sunyi fa*

Varied descriptions of the *Sanfen sunyi fa* demonstrate its evolution into a

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*shang*, *zhi* and *yu* respectively, we can also obtain the correspondences between “*jue* and *linzhong*”, “*zhi* and *nanlü*”, “*yu* and *guxian*”. Kim Byunghoon, *Yulyo wa Dongyang sasang*, 49-50.

<sup>523</sup> Only *taicu* has two possible corresponding notes, namely *jue* and *shang*. The *Shiji* chooses *jue* as the counterpart of *taicu*. Therefore, it is supposed that the *Shiji* puts more emphasis on *Lüshi chunqiu*'s classification.

<sup>524</sup> This second suggestion remains doubtful because the arrangements of the twelve pitch-standards and the five notes are based on different principles. This supposition is subject to change when a more convincing explanation is proposed.



more theoretical framework. First of all, regarding the *Sanfen sunyi fa* for the five notes, the *Guanzi* and *Shiji* present different sequences of addition and subtraction. In other words, the method of the *Guanzi* begins with adding a third making *gong* located in the middle whereas the method of the *Shiji* begins with subtraction making *gong* located in the lowest. *Guanzi*'s method seems more appropriate for musical purposes considering that the tonic *gong* is the central note, but the *Shiji* does not follow the *Guanzi*. The reason for this change can be suggested as being that the *Sanfen sunyi fa* for the twelve pitch-standards where subtraction proceeds first is reversely applied to the earlier method for the five notes.<sup>525</sup> Therefore, it can be suggested that this change was driven by a theoretical need rather than a practical need.

The application of the *Sanfen sunyi fa* to the twelve pitch-standards reveals another theoretical aspect in the evolution of the *Sanfen sunyi fa*. That is, when the five notes are achieved by the *Sanfen sunyi fa*, the first four notes in formation order have pitch-pipes whose length is in multiples of three. Therefore, up to the fifth note, the length of a pitch-pipe is calculated in an exact number (*Guanzi*: 81 → 108 → 72 → 96 → 64, *Shiji*: 81 → 54 → 72 → 48 → 64). However, to acquire the twelve pitch-standards, the *Sanfen sunyi fa* should proceed after the length reaches 64 which is not a multiple of three. Therefore, from *yingzhong*, i.e. the sixth pitch-standard in formation order, the length cannot be calculated exactly. For this reason, it is argued that the *Sanfen sunyi fa* was originally a method for the five notes but later it was extended and adapted to the twelve pitch-standards in an imperfect manner.<sup>526</sup> In light of this problematic aspect, it

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<sup>525</sup> One of the reasons for proceeding subtraction first when the *Sanfen sunyi fa* is applied to the twelve pitch-standards can be suggested as being that the order of twelve pitch-standards were already arranged within an octave from *huangzhong* to *yingzhong* in ascending order of pitch. Therefore, to meet this order, it might have needed to proceed with subtraction first; otherwise, *huangzhong* cannot occupy the lowest pitch.

<sup>526</sup> For example, Jeong Yakyong 丁若鏞 (1762-1836), a Confucian scholar in Joseon 朝鮮 Dynasty (1392-1910), argues that “The method of the *Guanzi* begins with adding a third starting from *gong* while Sima Qian’s method begins with subtracting a third starting from *gong*; this is a different [aspect] between them. However, after alternating five times they cannot achieve [notes]; this is a common [aspect] between the two methods. For this reason, their methods only achieve five notes and the sixth note has not ever existed. Those who discussed pitch-standards in later period insisted on applying

can be suggested that the application of the *Sanfen sunyi fa* to the twelve pitch-standards was devised out of a theoretical need.<sup>527</sup>

Although the *Sanfen sunyi fa* is applied to the twelve pitch-standards out of a theoretical need, the *Lüshi chunqiu* does not completely ignore the practical aspect. That is, if following the method of the *Lüshi chunqiu* where addition occurs twice before and after *ruibin*, the twelve pitch-standards cannot be evenly divided into two groups based on whether subtraction or addition occurs. However, following this method, the twelve pitch-standards are located within the same octave continuously.

Unlike the *Lüshi chunqiu*, the *Han shu* suggests the method where subtraction and addition occur by turns before and after *ruibin*. As a result, six pitch-standards are achieved by addition and the other six pitch-standards are achieved by subtraction, and each group of six pitch-standards is characterised as *yin* or *yang*. In this way, *Han shu*'s method renders a neatly arranged classification possible; however, following this method, the twelve pitch-standards cannot be located within the same octave. Considering that melody is primarily composed of notes within the same octave, it can be suggested that the *Han shu* gives less priority to the practical aspect compared with the *Lüshi chunqiu*.

The methods of the *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Han shu* coexist in the *Shiji* while showing a transitional stage in the evolution of the *Sanfen sunyi fa* into schematization. After this coexistence, a more conceptual system has survived as described in the *Han shu*.

### **Classification of the twelve pitch-standards**

In the *Han shu*, two groups of pitch-standards are considered to represent *yin*

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this method to the twelve pitch-standards; is it possible?” 管子之法，先自宮始，而三分益一，太史之法，先自宮始，而三分損一，此其異也。然其五轉而窮，不可復生則二法皆同。故止有五音，未有六音。後之言律者，乃欲強移此法，冒之於十二律，而可得乎？ Jeong Yakyong, *Akseo gojon*, 97-98.

<sup>527</sup> In this sense, discussions about the *Sanfen sunyi fa* applied to the twelve pitch-standards might need to be distinguished from an enormous amount of traditional writings about scales which consider practical aspects more seriously.

and *yang*. In addition to the *Han shu*, the *Guoyu* classifies the twelve pitch-standards into *liu lü* 六律 and *liu jian* 六閒 and the *Zhouli* classifies them into *liu lü* 六律 and *liu tong* 六同.<sup>528</sup> However, whether these terms are related to the concept of *yin* and *yang* as those in the *Han shu* needs examination because the *Lüshi chunqiu* that shows a strong influence of *yin-yang* theory nevertheless does not adopt this kind of terminology although it sees the twelve pitch-standards from a *yin* and *yang* perspective.<sup>529</sup>

In the *Lüshi chunqiu*, only the term *liu lü* 六律 is mentioned in the “Xiaoxing” 孝行 (Conduct of Filial Piety) and the “Chachuan” 察傳 (Scrutinizing Hearsay) chapters.<sup>530</sup> In addition to *liu lü*, the term *lülü* 律呂 appears in the “Guyue” chapter: “*Gong* of *huangzhong* can achieve all [the other pitch-standards]. Therefore, it is said that *gong* of *huangzhong* is the root of *lülü*.”<sup>531</sup> Regarding this sentence, Sun Shucheng 孫蜀丞 (1894-1966) argues *lülü zhi ben* 律呂之本 (the root of *lülü*) should be amended to *lü zhi ben ye* 律之本也 (the root of *lü*) following the examples in the *Han shu*, *Jin shu* 晉書 (Book of the Jin), *Shuoyuan* 說苑 (Garden of Stories), *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 (Collection of Literature arranged by Categories) and *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (Imperially reviewed Encyclopaedia of the Taiping era).<sup>532</sup> On the other hand, Chen Qiyu adds *liu lü liu lü* 六律六呂 before *jie keyi sheng zhi* 皆可以生之.<sup>533</sup> Considering that the classification of *liu lü* 六律 and *liu lü* 六呂 is first suggested in the *Han shu*, Chen Qiyu’s amendment seems to lose much of its plausibility because he uses the terms that might well only have been established

<sup>528</sup> *Guoyu*, 3: 132; *Zhouli zhushu* 353.

<sup>529</sup> Regarding the concept of *yin-yang* in the *Lüshi chunqiu*, see pages 129-130; regarding the viewpoint that sees the twelve pitch-standards from a *yin* and *yang* perspective, see pages 44-45.

<sup>530</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 202 and 101.

<sup>531</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 44: 黃鐘之宮，皆可以生之。故曰黃鐘之宮，律呂之本。

<sup>532</sup> Sun Shucheng, “*Lüshi chunqiu juzheng*”, 413.

<sup>533</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi*, 300.

after the compilation of the *Lüshi chunqiu*.<sup>534</sup>

In short, the *Lüshi chunqiu* does not introduce the terms representing the two groups of pitch-standards; it only mentions the term *liu lü* 六律 but this term does not seem to reflect *yin* and *yang* theory. Unlike the *Lüshi chunqiu*, the *Guoyu* and *Zhouli* use the terms to indicate the two groups of pitch-standards but these terms also seem irrelevant to *yin* and *yang* theory.<sup>535</sup> According to Falkenhausen, *liu jian* 六閒 and *liu tong* 六同 are associated with the characteristic of the pitch-standards rather than *yin* and *yang* theory. That is, *jian* 閒 (between) implies that six pitch-standards classified as *liu jian* were inserted between the pre-existing six pitch-standards namely *liu lü* 六律, and *tong* 同 (the same) implies that six pitch-standards classified as *liu tong* have a close relation to *liu lü* 六律.<sup>536</sup>

In spite of no apparent relation of *yin* and *yang* theory to the term *liu tong*, the *Zhouli* classifies the twelve pitch-standards into two groups of *yin* and *yang*.<sup>537</sup> Therefore, it can be suggested that the *Zhouli* also perceives the twelve

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<sup>534</sup> Besides the occurrence in the “Guyue” chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu*, *lülü* 律呂 appears in the *Guoyu*. Therefore, *lülü* 律呂 in the “Guyue” might not require amendment. However, *lülü* 律呂 appears in the *Guoyu* only once while *liü lü* 六律 appears in various texts including the *Zuo zhuan*, *Zhouli*, *Mengzi*, *Heguanzi* and *Zhuangzi*. The high frequency of *liu lü* 六律 can support Sun Shucheng’s opinion.

<sup>535</sup> The language of the *Zhouli* is supposed to be of the Warring States period, and some concepts advanced in the *Zhouli* such as *wu xing* 五行 suggest that the *Zhouli* cannot date back earlier than the fourth century BCE. Boltz, “*Chou li*”, 27.

In relation to the *Zhouli*, this dissertation offered several observations such as no occurrence of *wu yin* in contrast to several occurrences of *wu sheng* and different names of two pitch-standards. These observations can suggest that the *Zhouli* might be earlier than the *Lüshi chunqiu*, but considering their shared viewpoint that sees pitch-standards from a *yin* and *yang* perspective, their dates of composition might not be a long time apart.

<sup>536</sup> Falkenhausen, *Suspended Music*, 297.

Regarding the term *liu tong*, Zheng Xuan provides a different explanation in his annotation to the *Zhouli*: pitch-pipes of *yang lü* 陽律 are made of bamboo which belongs to *yang* while pitch-pipes of *yin lü* 陰律 are made of copper which belongs to *yin*. *Tong* 同 is a loan for *tong* 銅 (copper). *Zhouli zhushu*, 358.

<sup>537</sup> *Zhouli zhushu*, 353: “The music master takes charge of *liu lü* and *liu tong* and creates harmony among *yin* and *yang* sounds. The *yang* sounds are *huangzhong*, *taicu*, *guxian*, *ruibin*, *yize* and *wuyi*; the *yin* sounds are *daliü*, *yingzhong*, *nanliü*, *hanzhong*, *xiaoliü* and

pitch-standards from a *yin* and *yang* perspective although this viewpoint has yet to be directly reflected in the terminology used. It is in the *Han shu* that the terms for the two groups of pitch-standards represent *yin* and *yang* while pitch-standards are classified as *lü* 律 and *lü* 呂.<sup>538</sup> Among two types of the *Sanfen sunyi fa*, namely the one in the *Lüshi chunqiu* and the other in the *Han shu*, *Han shu*'s method that conforms to *yin-yang* classification came to assume an established form.

### 6.3 Correspondence between the twelve pitch-standards and twelve months

The correspondence between pitch-standards and months presented in every opening chapter of the “Shier ji” part is collectively described in the “Yinlü” chapter.

In the age of the great sages' good-governance, *qi* of Heaven and Earth combined to produce the wind. At the winter solstice, the moon gathers the wind and gives rise to the twelve pitch-standards. In the second month of winter, daytime is shortest; therefore, [this month] gives rise to *huangzhong*. The third month of winter gives rise to *dalü*; the first month of spring gives rise to *taicu*; the second month of spring gives rise to *jiazhong*; the third month of spring gives rise to *guxian*; the first month of summer gives rise to *zhonglü*. In the second month of summer, daytime is longest; therefore, [this month] gives rise to *ruibin*. The third month of summer gives rise to *linzhong*; the first month of autumn gives rise to *yize*; the second month of autumn gives rise to *nanlü*; the third month of autumn gives rise to *wuyi*; the first month of winter gives rise to *yingzhong*. If the wind and *qi* of Heaven and Earth are appropriate, the twelve pitch-standards are settled.

大聖至理之世，天地之氣，合而生風。日至則月鐘其風，以生十二律。仲冬日短至，則生黃鐘。季冬生大呂，孟春生太簇，仲春生夾鐘，季春生姑洗，孟夏生仲呂。仲夏日長至，則生蕤賓。季夏生林鐘，孟秋生夷則，仲

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*jiazhong*.” 大師掌六律六同以合陰陽之聲。陽聲黃鍾大蕤姑洗蕤賓夷則無射，陰聲大呂應鍾南呂函鍾小呂夾鍾。

<sup>538</sup> This classification seems to have gained currency afterwards since Wei Zhao explains *liu jian* based on *Han shu*'s classification of *yang lü* 陽律 and *yin lü* 陰呂. *Guoyu*, 3: 135: “*liu jian* means that six *lü* are located between *yang lü*.” 六間，六呂在陽律之間。

秋生南呂，季秋生無射，孟冬生應鐘。天地之風氣正，則十二律定矣。<sup>539</sup>

According to the “Yinlü”, the wind is involved in the creation of the twelve pitch-standards. The involvement of wind in making musical sound is also described in the “Qiwu lun” 齊物論 (On Evening Things Out) chapter of the *Zhuangzi*. Describing the way that sound emanates from an aperture when the wind blows through it, the “Qiwu lun” draws a comparison between *tian lai* 天籟 (sounds of Heaven), *di lai* 地籟 (sounds of Earth) and *ren lai* 人籟 (sounds of humans).<sup>540</sup> In addition, the *Guoyu* says “music circulates the winds of mountains and rivers, and it brightens virtue over a wide and vast distance”.<sup>541</sup> As in these examples, the “Yinlü” supports a close relation between the wind and music by stating that pitch-standards are created from the wind.

The link between *huangzhong* and the second month of winter (*zhongdong* 仲冬) or the eleventh month of the lunar calendar can be understood from a *yin* and *yang* perspective. That is, *huangzhong* is the first pitch-standard among the twelve pitch-standards and it is characterised as *yang*, so it can be suggested that *huangzhong* represents the beginning of the *yang* force.<sup>542</sup> In the second month of winter, the winter solstice occurs and the *yin* force reaches an apogee while the *yang* force begins to spring forth. Therefore, it can be understood that by assigning *huangzhong*, which represents the beginning of *yang*, to the second month of winter when the *yin* force reaches the apogee, the *Lüshi chunqiu* implies the influence of *yin* and *yang* theory that argues “a predominantly *yin* phenomenon always contained at least a germ of *yang* and vice versa”.<sup>543</sup>

However, *yin* and *yang* theory seems to be applicable only to this first link

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<sup>539</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 47.

<sup>540</sup> Wang Shumin, *Zhuangzi jiaoquan*, 42-48.

<sup>541</sup> *Guoyu*, 14: 460: 夫樂以開山川之風也，以耀德於廣遠也。

<sup>542</sup> Although the *Lüshi chunqiu* suggests that the twelve pitch-standards are divided into two groups of *yin* and *yang*, it does not clarify which one is regarded as *yin* or *yang*. Therefore, it cannot be said for sure that *huangzhong* is classified as *yang* only based on the *Lüshi chunqiu*. However, it may be assumed that *huangzhong* is classified as *yang* in the *Lüshi chunqiu* following the *Zhouli*.

<sup>543</sup> Major, *Heaven and Earth in Early Han Thought*, 29.

since the other pitch-standards are assigned to each month from lower to higher pitch successively. As examined earlier, the twelve pitch-standards are classified into two groups according to *yin* and *yang*. Therefore, when arranged in ascending order of pitch, the twelve pitch-standards are conceptualized as *yin* and *yang* by turns. However, as for the twelve months, the strength of *yin* and *yang* changes gradually in regular sequence. Therefore, if pitch-standards from lower to higher pitch are assigned to each month successively, their *yin* and *yang* do not match each other. For instance, if *huangzhong* is assigned to the second month of winter, it is appropriate to assign *taicu*, the next pitch-standard among the ones conceptualized as *yang*, to the third month of winter (*jidong* 季冬). However, *dalü* which is classified as *yin* is assigned to this month. This incongruity shows that the link between the twelve pitch-standards and the twelve months does not take *yin* and *yang* theory into serious consideration although the link between *huangzhong* and the second month of winter implies the influence of this theory.

After assigning the twelve pitch-standards to the twelve months, the “Yinlü” describes seasonal changes and monthly ordinances while designating each month using the name of its corresponding pitch-standard.<sup>544</sup>

In the month of *huangzhong*, do not start earthen construction. Be careful not to open the covered in order to keep Heaven and Earth sealed and shut, for *yang qi* is about to seep out. In the month of *dalü*, the full term [of the year] is nearly completed and the [new] year will soon begin again. Your farmers should not be employed. In the month of *taicu*, *yang qi* begins to arise and grasses and trees sprout in great number. Encourage the farmers to till the soil and never to lose the proper time. In the month of *jiazhong*, be lenient, generous, gentle and balanced. Practise virtue and discard punishment. Never undertake [military] affairs that cause harm to the myriad living things. In the

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<sup>544</sup> Monthly ordinances define government decrees in accordance with seasonal changes and they also describe the calamity or peculiar phenomena that take place when these ordinances are violated. Regarding the origin of monthly ordinances, it is suggested that the early form of monthly ordinances was a farming calendar that defined farm work in every month, and that this farming calendar came to take a form of monthly ordinances by legal and religious aspects being added around the Western-Zhou period. Mizoguchi Yūzō et al., *Chūgoku shisō bunka jiten*, 470. On the other hand, Hu Jiacong 胡家聰 suggests that monthly ordinances were established by the philosophy of the *Yin-Yang* School being added to the legalism of Qi 齊. Hu Jiacong, *Guanzi xintan*, 123.

month of *guxian*, extend the roads and open the paths. Repair ditches and channels in good condition. If these orders are promulgated, blessed *qi* is coming quickly. In the month of *zhongliu*, do not gather the mass of people, and promote agriculture during a royal tour. Since grasses and trees are about to grow, do not distract the minds of the people. In the month of *ruibin*, when *yang qi* is at its peak, comfort the strong and nurture the youth. If the court is disquieting, grasses and trees will wither early. In the month of *linzhong*, grasses and trees are exuberant and abundant. The *yin [qi]* is about to cause damage, [so] do not embark a large undertaking, and nourish *yang qi*. In the month of *yize*, revise the law and amend criminal law. Select warriors and sharpen weapons. Interrogate and punish the unrighteous and embrace those in distant areas. In the month of *nanliu*, hibernating species enter their caves. Urge farmers to harvest and gather [the crops]. [Let them] not dare to be lazy or remiss [in their duties] and [make them] devote an effort to yield a large harvest. In the month of *wuyi*, judge the guilty decisively. Follow the law and do not pardon [those who break the law]. Do not procrastinate in dealing with lawsuits, and [settle] them quickly according to [historical] precedents. In the month of *yingzhong*, *yin* and *yang* are obstructed, [so] they are blocked up and, as a result, winter arrives. Amend and clarify the rules for mourning. Make people assume a cautious attitude about funerals.

黃鐘之月，土事無作。慎無發蓋，以固天閉地，陽氣且泄。大呂之月，數將幾終，歲且更起。而農民，無有所使。太蕤之月，陽氣始生，草木繁動。令農發土，無或失時。夾鐘之月，寬裕和平。行德去刑。無或作事，以害羣生。姑洗之月，達道通路。溝瀆修利。申之此令，嘉氣趣至。仲呂之月，無聚大眾，巡勸農事。草木方長，無攜民心。蕤賓之月，陽氣在上，安壯養俠。<sup>545</sup> 本朝不靜，草木早槁。林鐘之月，草木盛滿。陰將始刑。無發大事，以將陽氣。<sup>546</sup> 夷則之月，修法飭刑。選士厲兵。詰誅不義，以懷遠方。南呂之月，蟄蟲入穴。趣農收聚，無敢懈怠，以多為務。無射之月，疾斷有罪。當法勿赦。無留獄訟，以亟以故。應鐘之月，陰陽不通，閉而為冬。

<sup>545</sup> Bi Yuan suggests *xia* 俠 is a mistake for *jiao* 佼 (beautiful). Agreeing with Bi Yuan's opinion, Chen Qiyu interprets *zhuangxie* 壯俠 as *dingzhuang* 丁壯 (a sturdy youth). *Lüshi chunqiu*, 47; *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi*, 334.

<sup>546</sup> Interpreting *jiang* 將 as *yang* 養 (to nurture) in accordance with Gao You. *Lüshi chunqiu*, 48.



修別喪紀.<sup>547</sup> 審民所終.<sup>548</sup>

The parallels with the above passage are scattered in each opening chapter of the “Shier ji” part; therefore, this passage can be regarded as a patchwork from those chapters which share number of basic characteristics.<sup>549</sup> Similar to the above quotation, one passage from the *Guoyu* seemingly suggests the relation between the twelve pitch-standards and monthly ordinances. This passage describes the functions of the twelve pitch-standards but it enumerates *liu lü* 六律 first followed by *liu jian* 六間 without linking them to the twelve months.

The number six has a quality of the middle; therefore, it is called *huangzhong*. [*Huangzhong*] spreads and nurtures six *qi* and nine virtues. The sequence starts from *huangzhong*. The second is *taicu*; it is [played] by metal [instruments] and helps *yang* let the dormant emerge. The third is *guxian*; it makes the myriad things embellishing and pure; it fathoms [the will of] the spirits and ushers guests in. The fourth is *ruibin*; it makes the spirits and people balanced and tranquil; a vessel of drink is offered and cups are exchanged by [*ruibin*]. The fifth is *yize*; it chants and sings the nine rules; it pacifies the people [and encourages them] not to be disloyal. The sixth is *wuyi*; it announces the excellent virtue of the sages and displays norms and manners to the people. Six inserted [pitch-standards] are created in order to boost those depressed and dispirited and to expel those who are slack and go too far. The first inserted one is *daliu*; it helps things propagate. The second inserted one is *jiazhong*; it lets weak [*qi*] of each interval between the four [seasons] flow.<sup>550</sup> The third inserted one is *zhonglü*; it spreads *qi* of the middle. The fourth inserted one is *linzhong*; it harmonises and examines various things. Never allow [the people] not to assume [a duty] and let them [accomplish the task]

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<sup>547</sup> I understand *bie sangji* 別喪紀 as meaning that “distinguish the rules for mourning from other rules”. For this reason, I translate *bie* as “clarify”.

<sup>548</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 47-48.

<sup>549</sup> The two versions show textual variations which often resulted from textual corruption. Assuming that these two versions have a common origin, D. C. Lao tackles textual corruption by comparing each parallel. Regarding this comparison, see Lau, “A Study of Some Textual Problems in the *Lü-shih-ch’un-ch’iu* and Their Bearing on Its Composition”, 74-82.

<sup>550</sup> Interpreting *sixi* 四隙 (four cracks) as *sishi zhi jian* 四時之間 (intervals between the four seasons) in accordance with Wei Zhao. *Guoyu*, 3: 136.

promptly and be very cautious [about their duty]. The fifth inserted one is *nanlü*; it assists *yang* to flourish. The sixth inserted one is *yingzhong*; it is equally beneficial to vessels and utensils, and makes [them] conform to [*li*] and return to [constancy].<sup>551</sup>

夫六中之色也，故名之曰黃鍾，所以宣養六氣，九德也。由是第之。二曰太簇，所以金奏贊陽出滯也。三曰姑洗，所以修潔百物，考神納賓也。四曰蕤賓，所以安靖神人，獻酬交酢也。五曰夷則，所以詠歌九則，<sup>552</sup> 平民無貳也。六曰無射，所以宣布哲人之令德，示民軌儀也。爲之六閒，以揚沈伏，而黜散越也。元閒大呂，助宣物也。二閒夾鍾，出四隙之細也。三閒仲呂，宣中氣也。四閒林鍾，和展百事，<sup>553</sup> 俾莫不任肅純恪也。<sup>554</sup> 五閒南呂，贊陽秀也。六閒應鍾，均利器用，俾應復也。<sup>555</sup>

Some of the functions are interpreted in relation to seasonal changes. For example, when explaining the sentence about *taicu*, Wei Zhao explains that “animals that went into hibernation begin to move during the first month of spring” which is a quotation from the “Mengchun” chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu* where *taicu* is believed to represent the first month of spring.<sup>556</sup> In addition, Wei Zhao quotes Jia Kui 賈逵 (30-101) and Tang Gu 唐固 (c.155-225) who explained the reason for playing metal instruments based on the *wu xing* theory; metal instruments are played because *taicu* serves as *shang* which belongs to the same category with metal.<sup>557</sup>

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<sup>551</sup> Interpreting *ying fu* 應復 as *ying qi li fu qi chang* 應其禮復其常 (conform to *li* and return to constancy) in accordance with Wei Zhao. *Guoyu*, 3: 137.

<sup>552</sup> Wei Zhao interprets *jiuze* 九則 as the rules of nine achievements (*jiugong zhi ze* 九功之則). According to the *Zuozhuan*, *jiugong* consist of six treasuries (*liufu* 六府) and three matters (*sanshi* 三事); *liufu* are water (*shui* 水), fire (*huo* 火), metal (*jin* 金), wood (*mu* 木), earth (*tu* 土) and crops (*gu* 穀) and *sanshi* are rectifying virtue (*zhengde* 正德), utilising beneficially (*liyong* 利用) and improving living condition (*housheng* 厚生). *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 320.

<sup>553</sup> Interpreting *zhan* 展 as *shen* 審 (examine) in accordance with Wei Zhao. *Guoyu*, 3: 136.

<sup>554</sup> Interpreting *su* 肅 as *su* 速 (prompt) in accordance with Wei Zhao. *Guoyu*, 3: 136.

<sup>555</sup> *Guoyu*, 3: 132.

<sup>556</sup> *Lüshi chunqiu*, 9: 蟄蟲始振.

<sup>557</sup> *Guoyu*, 3: 134. As described in page 186, according to the *Shiji*, *taicu* is assigned to

In this way, Wei Zhao understands some of the sentences in relation to monthly ordinances and the *wu xing* theory. However, this relationship could result from the emphasis on these two ideas that probably gained currency in later period, considering that only limited sentences can be interpreted on the basis of these ideas. Instead of these two ideas, the above quotation seems to be more readily understood in the context of ritual ceremonies. For example, *ruibin* seems to represent music played in the process of cup-exchange in ceremonies, and the function of *wuyi* suggests one of the important roles of the ceremony, namely, extolling sage kings and edifying the people.

In sum, while describing monthly ordinances, the *Lüshi chunqiu* first makes a link between the twelve pitch-standards and the twelve months. Before the *Lüshi chunqiu*, the twelve pitch-standards did not appear to be perceived in relation to monthly ordinances because the *Guoyu* does not clearly reflect seasonal changes when it describes the functions of the twelve pitch-standards. Considering this weak connection between seasonal changes and the twelve pitch-standards, little significance might be claimed regarding the link between the twelve pitch-standards and twelve months; the twelve pitch-standards came to indicate the twelve months simply based on their common feature of twelve elements, probably inspired by emphasis on the yearly process of the natural world.

#### **6.4 What does the *Lüshi chunqiu* suggest about the term *yinlü*, *Sanfen sunyi fa* and the link between pitch-standards and months?**

Chapter 6 analysed the “Yinlü” chapter focusing on three aspects: the meaning of the chapter title *yinlü*, the evolution of the *Sanfen sunyi fa* and the correspondence between the twelve pitch-standards and the twelve months. Regarding the term *yinlü*, it was suggested that this term refers to “pitch-standards” rather than “notes and pitch-standards” since the “Yinlü” discusses the twelve pitch-standards only. The usage of *yinlü* with the meaning of *lü* implies an unclear boundary between *yin* and *lü*. That is, separate usages of *yin* and *lü* such

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*jue* not *shang*. Therefore, Jia Kui and Tang Gu’s explanation can support a stronger influence of the *wu xing* theory on assigning pitch-standards to notes in later period.

as *wu yin* and *liu lü* are commoner than the compound form of *yinlü* in pre-Han literature. From this higher frequency of separate usages, it might be assumed that *yin* and *lü* were more clearly distinguished in their earlier usages. However, as they came to have a shared semantic area the compound form with the meaning of one of the two monosyllabic terms came to gain acceptance.<sup>558</sup>

The “Yinlü” provides the first description of the *Sanfen sunyi fa* applied to the twelve pitch-standards. Based on the “Yinlü”, two aspects that support the schematization of the *Sanfen sunyi fa* can be pointed to. First, the application of the *Sanfen sunyi fa* to the twelve pitch-standards shows that the *Sanfen sunyi fa* is discussed as a theoretical method rather than a practical one since the lengths of pitch-pipes, which are required for musical purposes, are not considered seriously; the “Yinlü” does not describe the lengths of pipes, and even though they are presented in the *Huainanzi* and *Shiji* it is calculated only in approximate figures.

On the other hand, the “Yinlü” suggests that practical aspects of the *Sanfen sunyi fa* were not entirely ignored in its earlier application. In the “Yinlü”, the occurrence of addition and subtraction shows irregularity but this irregularity enables the twelve pitch-standards to be arranged within the same octave. However, later in the *Han shu*, subtraction and addition occur in turn regularly. This regularity causes three of the twelve pitch-standards to be located an octave higher although this regular pattern is conducive to dividing pitch-standards evenly into two groups that go by the name of *lü* 律 or *lü* 呂. However, this classification is not applicable to the *Lüshi chunqiu* where the numbers of pitch-standards in each group are not the same. This difference could show that theoretical aspects of the *Sanfen sunyi fa* are more emphasised in the *Han shu* than in the *Lüshi chunqiu*.

The much lower frequency of *shier lü* than *liu lü* suggests that the whole set of the twelve pitch-standards was a subject of little attention before the third century BCE. The twelve pitch-standards began to assume importance in the

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<sup>558</sup> As mentioned earlier, the usage of *yinlü* as a disyllabic compound in pre-Han literature only occurs two times: one in the *Lüshi chunqiu* and the other in the *Zhuangzi*. Therefore, instead of a general theory, this argument can be understood as a suggestion as to why these two examples could be read as either *yin* or *lü*.

*Lüshi chunqiu* and their importance appears to owe a large part to the particular viewpoint of the *Lüshi chunqiu*. In other words, the *Lüshi chunqiu*, especially the “Shier ji” section, attaches great importance to seasonal changes as shown in its structure that represents the twelve divisions of the year. The importance of the twelve months might contribute to the importance of the twelve pitch-standards although their link seems to be simply based on the common feature of twelve elements. In brief, the “Yinlü” shows an increased significance ascribed to the twelve pitch-standards by relating them to the twelve months and by applying the *Sanfen sunyi fa* to the twelve pitch-standards, but their importance might be little appreciated from a musical perspective.

Before the “Yinlü”, the *Sanfen sunyi fa* was described in the *Guanzi* as a method for generating the five notes. In addition, the functions of the twelve pitch-standards are described in the *Guoyu* although its focus is not on monthly ordinances. In light of these records, it can be suggested that the “Yinlü” develops a more detailed argument based on previous discussions while being promoted by the emphasis on seasonal changes, one of the central issues of the *Lüshi chunqiu*. The “Yuelun” and “Yueji” do not discuss the twelve pitch-standards, not to mention the *Sanfen sunyi fa*, which reinforces dissimilarity between the *Lüshi chunqiu* and these two texts in their main concerns on music.

## 7. Conclusion

### **The rise of musical discourse in the *Lüshi chunqiu* and “Yuelun”**

The six musical chapters of the *Lüshi chunqiu* and the “Yuelun” chapter of the *Xunzi* demonstrate that music began to be discussed as a serious subject of philosophical discourse around the third century BCE. Before these texts, particular functions or characteristics of music hardly occupied the centre of discussion while music was largely treated as one of the objects of desire or as an element accompanying a ceremony. In the former case the effects produced by music are also expected to arise from other objects of desire, and in the latter case the central focus appears to be placed not on music but on a ceremony or on *li* that defines the proper type of music in a certain ceremony. Therefore, strictly speaking, it was in the *Lüshi chunqiu* and “Yuelun” that “a discourse on music” began to emerge.

One of the widely held views on music was to see it as an object of desire. However, as an object of desire, music often became a target of criticism because of wasteful expenditure; an insatiable desire for enjoyment resulted in people seeking out more and more extravagant music which required substantial amounts of human and material resources. Given the constant turmoil during the Warring States period, criticism of music might have been the norm rather than the exception. However, the *Lüshi chunqiu* and “Yuelun” raise objections to this criticism while acknowledging the innate nature of a desire for music, and they attach particular significance to music relying on the concept of *qi*, yet from different perspectives.

### ***Lüshi chunqiu*: positive recognition of the inherent desire for music and of pleasure**

According to the *Lüshi chunqiu*, music performs a diagnostic function since it directly expresses people’s feeling, and music is also used to laud the achievements or virtue of the ruler. However, considering the *Lüshi chunqiu*’s position as a firm advocate for preservation of innate endowments such as life, its dominant view on music might be that it is an object of desire which serves as a source of happiness. This view can be considered crucial in that it is closely

related to the core arguments about music in the *Lüshi chunqiu*. In other words, by suggesting the positive effects of music in relation to pleasure, the *Lüshi chunqiu* could successfully refute the condemnation of music while emphasising appropriateness and harmony in music, which ultimately contributes to advancing the concept of the cosmic harmony of music. From the *Lüshi chunqiu*'s viewpoint, music is beneficial since it provides pleasure which eventually enhances life, and it is also indispensable to humans because they have an inherent desire for music.

However, a positive recognition of desire could give nothing but permission for selfish enjoyment of music. The authors or compilers of the *Lüshi chunqiu* might have seen this problem since the “Shiyin” and “Chiyue” chapters can be read as a solution to this problem. According to the “Chiyue”, extravagant music only hurts life without bringing pleasure. As an object of desire, the most essential function of music might be evoking pleasure; therefore, if music is extravagant it is not regarded as real music because it cannot perform this key function. Consequently, reckless enjoyment of music cannot be justified on the grounds of the inherent desire for music. The emphasis on appropriate sound in the “Shiyin” can be understood from the same perspective; sound needs to remain appropriate in order to provide pleasure. The emphasis on pleasure evoked by music shows that the *Lüshi chunqiu* sees music as an object of desire in line with a prevailing view on music, and with its positive recognition of desire and pleasure, the *Lüshi chunqiu* refutes a negative evaluation of music.

### ***Lüshi chunqiu*: resonance between musical sounds and *qi* in the natural world**

Despite widespread criticisms of music, music was not always criticized; music was believed to enhance the bodily function by producing *qi* inside the body and also believed to facilitate the operation of the natural world by inducing the smooth circulation of *qi*. Whereas the former effect is also produced by other objects of desire, the latter effect might be expected only from music since it seems to require physical movement in order to resonate with *qi*. For this reason, the physical movement of sound can be considered to contribute to music assuming importance while being distinguished from other objects of desire.

The cosmic harmony of music expressed in the statement that “music is the harmony of Heaven and Earth” can be suggested as one of the core arguments of the six musical chapters of the *Lüshi chunqiu*, and the concept of resonance between music and *qi* appears to occupy an integral role in formulating this argument. That is, according to the *Lüshi chunqiu*, the sound of a musical instrument can attract *qi* in the natural world, thereby promoting stable living conditions for various creatures. By extension, harmonious sounds can promote the cosmic harmony by bringing about the smooth flow of *qi* that pervades the natural world. In this case, it appears that the resonance between music and *qi* is caused by their similar physical movements.

This cosmic significance could carry a different implication if the concept of resonance is understood on a wider scale. That is, the *Lüshi chunqiu* emphasises appropriateness in achieving musical harmony, which suggests that musical harmony is more something that is artificially achieved than what inherently exists in the natural world. This suggestion allows musical harmony to be regarded as an achievement of the ruler. From this perspective, the comparison of musical harmony to harmony in the natural world can be understood as one of the examples that show the propitious resonance between the human and natural worlds resulting from the ruler’s successful attunement to the principles governing the natural world.

**“Yuelun”: the edifying effect of music based on the resonance between music and *qi* in the body**

Just as the *Lüshi chunqiu*, the “Yuelun” acknowledges the indispensability of music by reason of the inherent desire for music. However, unlike the *Lüshi chunqiu*, the “Yuelun” does not seem to be very conscious of the pitfall of positive recognition of a desire for music. In fact, its main argument does not treat music as an object of desire; instead, the “Yuelun” mainly sees music as a means for guiding the people in a way conducive to successful governance. From this perspective, the “Yuelun” strongly criticizes Mozi. However, this criticism might not do justice to Mozi who regarded music as a mere object of desire. Although the “Yuelun” expresses strong opposition to Mozi, if the “Yuelun” is read as a response to Mozi it might create a one-dimensional interpretation of the “Yuelun”



while obscuring their disparate perceptions of music.

Although the “Yuelun” initially mentions desire to support the indispensability of music, its attitude towards desire seems more watchful than favourable, and this attitude might explain why the “Yuelun” sees music as an edifying tool. To advocate the edifying effect of music, the “Yuelun” relies on resonance between music and *qi* in the body. According to the “Yuelun”, refined musical sound results in exemplary behaviour since it stimulates *qi* of moral value. In this way, by interpreting both music and *qi* in the context of moral concerns, the “Yuelun” establishes specific correspondences between music and behaviour. In this case, the resonance between music and *qi* seems based on their shared ethical value.

### **The concepts of “harmony” and “*li* and music” in the *Lüshi chunqiu***

Both the *Lüshi chunqiu* and “Yuelun” discuss music in relation to desire and *qi* which might be suggested as two of the contributory factors behind the rise of musical discourse. However, they have different attitudes towards desire and this might contribute to their diverging views on music. In addition, the different layers of *qi* they discuss suggest that their main focuses are not the same. Being aware of their differences helps clarify the concepts of “harmony” and “*li* and music” from the viewpoint of the *Lüshi chunqiu*. In musical discourse, the concept of harmony often implies social harmony and this implication culminates in the “Yuelun” and “Yueji” where music is believed to create harmony among the people. However, this implication is hardly observable in the *Lüshi chunqiu*. With little moral implication, the *Lüshi chunqiu* understands musical harmony as harmonious currents of air that on the one hand serve as a pleasing sensory stimulus and on the other hand make harmonious resonance with *qi* in the natural world.

The complementary concept of “*li* and music” advanced in the “Yuelun” has to do with its emphasis on the function of music to create harmony. That is, harmony achieved by music would be more effectively advocated if paralleled with the proper distinction assigned by *li*. However, music is more of a subordinate concept to *li* from the viewpoint of the *Lüshi chunqiu* where music,

as an object of desire, is assumed to be regulated by *li*. Moreover, since the *Lüshi chunqiu* discusses musical harmony mainly focusing on harmonious sounds, the complementary function of *li* might not need to be seriously considered. This could explain why the “Dayue” chapter does not contrast music to *li* when it argues for the cosmic harmony of music.

From the viewpoint of the *Lüshi chunqiu*, the cosmic harmony of music can be interpreted as harmonious resonance between music and *qi* in the natural world, and it needs to be distinguished from the cosmic harmony of music discussed in the “Yueji”. That is, the “Yueji” attaches cosmic significance to the complementary concept of “*li* and music” which is advanced in the “Yuelun”. Therefore, its cosmic harmony, mostly paired with the cosmic order of *li*, is more related to social harmony achieved by music; the natural world can manifest the perfect example of the human realm where harmony and order are maintained in balance. In brief, the cosmic harmony of music is achieved by the movement of sound according to the *Lüshi chunqiu* whereas the cosmic significance is attached to music in relation to its function to achieve harmony among the people according to the “Yueji”.

### **The crucial belief underpinning the *Lüshi chunqiu*'s viewpoints on music: importance of what belongs to Heaven**

Considering the long length of the six musical chapters reaching about 3300 characters and the diverse topics they discuss, the *Lüshi chunqiu* can be said to provide unprecedentedly detailed discussions about music. The *Lüshi chunqiu* expresses a positive attitude towards music which serves as an object of desire more strongly than any other ancient Chinese texts probably because of its positive recognition of the inherent desire for music and the enhancement of life fostered by pleasure. This recognition can be interpreted as an emphasis on the preservation of inherent endowments of humans. The *Lüshi chunqiu* also emphasises what is naturally given when it argues for the cosmic harmony of music: although music is an artificial product, it needs to be in tune with harmony in the natural world.

As suggested in the twelve divisions of the “Shier ji” section, natural

changes in the yearly process are considered crucial in the *Lüshi chunqiu*, and humans are required to conform to these changes. If this requirement is understood more broadly as meaning that humans should conform to what is naturally given, it can be suggested that the six musical chapters reflect the central belief of the *Lüshi chunqiu* as it claims that music should contribute to the enhancement of what belongs to Heaven; this can be life in a narrow sense or the operation of the natural world in a broad sense.

The importance of the twelve divisions of the year is also reflected in the “Yinlü” chapter where the twelve pitch-standards are discussed in relation to the twelve months and *Sanfen sunyi fa*. The link between the twelve pitch-standards and twelve months appears to be simply based on their common feature of twelve elements, and the *Sanfen sunyi fa* becomes more schematized from *Lüshi chunqiu* to *Han shu*. These aspects can suggest that the twelve pitch-standards gained importance as an element representing a theoretical framework with no serious consideration of musical theory, under the influence of increased concern about the yearly process.

The *Lüshi chunqiu* discusses music mainly in relation to its physical property in the sense that it sees music as a sensory stimulus which produces currents of air. The *Lüshi chunqiu* attaches significance to this physical phenomenon by addressing its positive effect on life and by extending its harmonious movement to a cosmic level, both of which can be understood as the enhancement of what belongs to Heaven. These viewpoints, being contrasted with those of the “Yuelun” where music is mainly discussed from an ethical perspective, demonstrate one of the main perceptions of music around the third century BCE when music began to be discussed as an important subject in its own right.

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